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## TO ALL MEMBERS.

The second year of the present war finds the Royal Central Asian Society carrying on its various activities in spite of all obstacles. Its valuable library was divided up, but, by extraordinary misfortune, some works that were placed in a cement building were destroyed owing to a direct hit by a heavy bomb.

Although a few members have been compelled by circumstances to resign, the membership has kept up wonderfully so far; unless, however, all the members unite in support of the Society, the loss of membership experienced by other Societies may well overtake the Royal Central Asian Society also. All the more, therefore, do I beg all members who consider the work of the Society to be valuable, not only to make every effort to continue their own support, but to do their utmost at this juncture to bring in new members. In order to facilitate their efforts to this end, it has been arranged that all members of the three Services and of the Merchant Navy shall be eligible to join without entrance fee.

There seems every reason to believe that the Royal Central Asian Society will in the future have an even more important part to play and an even greater influence to exert than in the past.

President

## NOTICES

THE Council announces with the very deepest regret the resignation of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode from the Chairmanship of the Council of this Society. Sir Philip's work with the British Red Cross has increased so much that he has been obliged to curtail some of his many interests. We are happy, however, to think that he has accepted the office of Honorary Vice-President, which will maintain his official connection with the Society.

It is difficult to assess adequately the great benefit which the Society has acquired from Sir Philip's unvaried interest and wise guidance. We sincerely trust that we shall retain the benefit of these again in happier times.

In General Sir John Shea, who has acted as Vice-Chairman and has been elected by the Council to fill the vacant Chairmanship, we are fortunate to have an officer who, like Sir Philip, fought with distinction under Lord Allenby. He is now the Commissioner for London for the Boy Scouts' Association, which post keeps him in touch with men and things and constitutes a distinct asset to the Society.

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It is a great satisfaction to feel that at long last a mosque will be built in the heart of London worthy of being a central place of worship for all Moslems in the British Isles. A site was purchased and the foundation-stone laid in 1937, thanks to the munificence of the Nizam of Hyderabad, but it was not until last spring that His Excellency the Egyptian Ambassador was able to announce that the King of Egypt had given his patronage to the project and that Lord Zetland, Lord Halifax and Lord Lloyd had approved the scheme. It is an honour to be remembered that it was at a dinner of this Society in February of last year—a dinner at which Lord Lloyd took the Chair, and at which Lord Zetland, the High Commissioner for India, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and other members of the Mosque Committee were present as members and guests of the Society—that the Egyptian Ambassador was able to make the announcement. A large number of members were present. H.M. the King has received four members of the Mosque Committee, and His Majesty's Government has been approached and a grant of £100,000 made. It is well that the mosque is still to be built and will not be in danger from enemy action. May it be a place of beauty and great peace, a "homecoming" to all Moslems who come to this country.

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The Honorary Librarian wishes to thank those members who have already given books to build up a library to replace those which have been destroyed by enemy action: General Sir William Beynon for journals and books on India; Miss Gertrude Patterson for a rare book on Syria, beautifully illustrated, published in 1836; Mr. Harold Goad, Colonel W. B. Lane and others. These are especially valued at this time.

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Members only are responsible for their statements in the Journal. These must be taken as expressing a personal opinion only.

# THE PRESENT POSITION IN THE PACIFIC

By W. F. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS

Given at a luncheon lecture on October 31, 1940, Sir John Pratt, K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

**I** REMEMBER an occasion some years ago in the House of Commons, when Lady Astor was speaking about the difficulties and the joys of matrimony, and someone, a bachelor, was rash enough to interrupt her, and to draw down upon himself the very eloquent and very rapid reply of Lady Astor as a most famous married woman. He saved himself on that occasion by saying that the outsider sees most of the game.

I feel that that must be my plea to-day, because, as Sir John Pratt has already informed you, I have never had the good fortune to go to the Far East, and, consequently, I feel a great deal of nervousness in addressing such a distinguished audience. All I can say in my defence is that it is a subject that interests me vastly, and a subject that I have tried to study. It is so complicated and so large that it is very difficult to try even to give a bird's-eye view within the time that is at my disposal.

I want, first of all, to refer briefly to the character of British interests in the Far East. No doubt you all remember that on July 18 the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, made a statement in connection with the closing of the Burma Road, and said among other things: "His Majesty's Government are not unmindful of the various obligations accepted by Great Britain, including the obligation to the National Government of China and to the British Territories affected. They are, however, also bound to have regard to the world situation, nor could they ignore the dominant fact that they are engaged in a life-and-death struggle."

That, I think, said, as plainly as words could say, that at that time this country, and with it the Empire, regarded the Far East as a somewhat secondary interest, because the main challenge and the main danger that we were facing was in the Western, as distinct from the Far Eastern world.

Since then the whole situation has changed. On September 27 it

was announced to the world that Japan had signed a pact for ten years with Germany and Italy, which identified her with the Axis Powers, and, therefore, perhaps, performed one service for us, because up to that time we had been inclined to think that the Far East was a region remote from our own immediate interests, and that actions in the Far East could not damage our hopes and interests, centred as they were in the Western world. On top of that, to confirm the changed situation, came the decision of the Government to reopen the Burma Road on October 18.

I think that we are much more capable now of appreciating how organically the whole of the world is interconnected, because in July and in August our attention was necessarily focused upon the fact that we were undergoing the Nazi aerial *Blitzkrieg* against this country, and the fate of the world seemed to depend upon that. I do not think it is unduly rash to say that the aerial *Blitzkrieg* against this country has now reached a stage where we can say with some confidence that it is certainly not going to decide the destinies of the world; and, in addition to that, we know that the war is spreading rapidly, and very importantly, to the eastern end of the Mediterranean; and we are gradually becoming more accustomed to the idea that the fate of ourselves, and with ourselves the rest of the world, is not necessarily going to be settled in the north-western corner of Europe.

A further point is that, whenever you deal with Far Eastern questions in relation to this country, you can never lose sight of the fact that Great Britain, as the senior member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, cannot take decisions, in so far as they affect the Far East, independently. There are a great many Dominions and dependencies of the Empire that have perhaps as immediate an interest in the Far East as we have ourselves. You will forgive me, perhaps, if I mention them to you. Canada is a Pacific country, Australia, New Zealand, to a large degree India, the Far Eastern dependencies, the East African Colonies, and even to a certain extent the Union of South Africa; and whatever we do, or whatever we decide not to do, in the Far East, particularly in time of war, can only be done in relation to the interests, the aims and the policies of those parts of our Empire which, geographically, have an even more direct interest in the Pacific than we have ourselves.

I would like to remind you, by way of illustration, of the fact that in January of this year the Australian Government decided to appoint one of the leading members of the Federal Cabinet, Mr. R. G. Casey,

as its Minister to Washington. Later, they appointed Sir John Latham to be the Minister of the Australian Government in Tokyo. Those two appointments showed very directly the interest that the Commonwealth of Australia is taking in the development of policies in the Pacific.

Within the last few days a conference has been called, on the initiative of the Viceroy, in Delhi, and the delegations to this conference are composed of members of all those countries and dependencies of the British Empire which are east of Suez. They are confronted with a double task: the first part is so to co-ordinate their resources and their means and methods of manufacture, that they will be able to facilitate the work of Great Britain in carrying on the war; and, secondly, but I think no less importantly, they are concerned so to concert their own efforts that, if it should become necessary, they will be able to undertake, to a greater degree than was ever before envisaged, their own self-defence against any attacks that may be launched against them.

Finally, just as Canada was prominently associated with the United Kingdom and the United States, when the conversations were taking place that led to the formation of the joint Canadian-United States Defence Board, and to the famous agreement whereby Great Britain agreed to lease to the United States certain air and naval bases in return for the transfer of fifty American destroyers; so the conversations, about which we know, but of which we would like to know more, on plans for the concerted defence of British and American interests in the Pacific have shown that Australia is going to play as prominent a part in those conversations as Canada did in the earlier ones concerning the Atlantic.

Therefore, I think it is most important, especially in time of war, when we are a united Empire, and when the Eastern Group are already initiating efforts to help themselves as a Group, to remember that, whatever our Far Eastern policy is going to be, it has got to be a policy that will square with the interests and the aims of those parts of our Empire that are east of Suez.

The next point I want to attempt to make is this. There are a number of countries in the Pacific; and I think you will find upon examination that the policies and aims of those Pacific countries are all affected to a very great degree to-day by the course of events in the Western world. In other words, Pacific policy is not something that can be considered *in vacuo*. How far, or how little, action may be taken in that quarter of the world will be very largely determined by what is happening in the Continent of Europe, whether it is in the

north-west or down in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. May I give you a few examples?

On July 18, when the Prime Minister announced the decision of the Government about the closing of the Burma Road, in reply to a question asked by Mr. Hore-Belisha, he said: "I think that what happens in the Far East is probably likely to be very much influenced by what happens here."

You find similarly in Japan that in November of last year they formed a body, which became known as the Institute of the Pacific, and which was charged with the duty of preparing public opinion in Japan to take advantage of the opportunities that would be offered to the Japanese Government and nation by the preoccupation of the Western Powers with the course of the war in Europe. The Institute put out a lot of propoganda, which was intended to familiarize the Japanese people with the "golden opportunity to rectify the unjust distribution of natural resources in the South Seas," by seizing such countries as Burma, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies, which were necessary to Japan from the point of view of her expansion plans. There you have a very clear case of how the tempo of the expansionist policy in Japan is being regulated by what is happening in other parts of the world.

Again, Russia. It is hardly necessary to remind you that Russian policy has been completely opportunist. I want to refer to it later on, so I shall merely mention now that Russia apparently is willing to hear proposals from Japan about a Russo-Japanese agreement in connection with the Far East, simply because Russia is uneasy about the development of events in Europe, in so far as they affect her interests. It is stated in the newspapers to-day that Russia is sending 140 planes to the help of Greece.\* If that is true, it means that Russia's immediate interests are directed more towards the West than the East; and possibly she would be very ready to come to some kind of accommodation with Japan.

Then, take the United States. The predominant fact in the foreign policy of the United States to-day is that she has realized the double threat that confronts her, both from the Atlantic and from the Pacific. That is obviously going to govern her policy, and the tempo and scale of her rearmament.

Finally, you have China, which has made very clear to the rest of the world that, because of her interests, apart from more objective con-

\* Later contradicted.



siderations, her sympathies and her hopes lie with the Allied Powers, because from them alone she can hope to receive material support, and because through their triumph alone can she hope to be able to vindicate the causes for which she is fighting.

From that point I want to pass on to a consideration of the strategies of the leading Powers in the Pacific, and I am going to begin with a very cursory examination of British strategy. I do not think it is always sufficiently appreciated that not only is British strategy basically a sea strategy; but, on grounds of expense and general capacity, it has never been possible for Great Britain to go further than to ensure the defence at sea of only two of the three areas which are recognized as being areas in which *main* fleet actions may take place. Those three areas are the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the South Pacific (including the Indian Ocean). I think the answer, as I suggested before, is perfectly simple; it is a matter of expense, of economic capacity. It has not been possible for us, despite the very strong and the very wise recommendation of Lord Jellicoe, after he made his tour of the Empire in 1919, that there should be a composite battle fleet in the Far East, to do more than this.

Be that as it may, we have only two battle fleets; although as a result of the growing threat to our interests in the Far East in the past ten years, we have set about building, and have recently completed, a fortress base at Singapore. It is significant, however, in the light of what I have said, that no battle fleet has been based at Singapore; and we have to rely for our naval defence in the Far East upon the squadrons which are within reasonable distance of that part of the world—*i.e.*, the China Squadron, the East Indies Squadron, the Royal Australian Navy, the New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy, and the rather smaller Royal Indian Naval Squadron.

As against that, of course, it is fair to mention that the distances in that part of the world do provide a protection which is not always taken into account.

I should just like to say quickly that in 1931 there was a very great volume of opinion which said we should have taken naval action against the Japanese. Those people forget that to have taken naval action against them would have been to have put upon whatever ships of the Royal Navy we could have concentrated in that area an impossible task, because they would have had to steam so far that it would have been completely impossible, had they come through the action successfully, for them to return to their bases.

The same applies in relation to the Army and the Royal Air Force. We have never had more than small garrisons in the Far East. We have a garrison in Singapore and one in Hongkong, but we have withdrawn the garrisons in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai.

We are now in a very difficult position, because though you can make an estimate of what were the British armed forces in the Far East a couple of months ago, such an estimate is quite out of tune with the position as it is to-day. That is, of course, entirely due to the drastic change that has been brought about in the attitude and policy of the United States of America by the triple pact between Germany, Italy and Japan of September 27 of this year. It is now reasonable to assume that there may be very large reinforcements sent by the United States to the Far East, and it is quite possible that the Empire to-day may be ready and capable of making a contribution to the defence of the Far East which would never have been envisaged before the last few months.

Let me give you two examples. At the present time the Australian Government has announced that it has over 300,000 men under arms, and by no means all of that force, as you know, has been despatched for service overseas. Secondly, I think it was about three weeks ago that the British Press announced that units of the Royal Australian Air Force had arrived for service in Singapore, in order to reinforce the air garrison there, and, if necessary, to release units of the Royal Air Force for service in other parts of the world. That completely changes the defence situation in the Far East at the moment, but changes it in such a way as is impossible to define. A civilian could not attempt to give any indication of what forces may be available for sending to the Far East in order (1) to strengthen the existing garrisons, and (2) to relieve the Imperial garrisons there for service in other parts of the world.

But I think it is fair to say this, that that probability of help from the United States on the one hand, and from the Empire on the other, does mean that our territories and interests in the Far East will in future be more amply protected than they have been in the past.

Finally, should a situation arise in the near future in which we should become the enemies of Japan, I think we should also bear in mind—and bear in mind to quite a large degree—the possibility of the help that we can receive by acting in line with China in her war against Japan. In so far as I am able to judge, I think the Chinese resistance to the Japanese has become more effective in recent months.

I want now to try to give a summary of the strategic interests of the United States in the Pacific. Basically, of course, the strategy of the United States, like that of Great Britain, is a naval strategy. Until recently that fact was rather obscured, because the two American Continents were very far removed from other parts of the world. It was simply necessary, with the significant exception of the last war, for the United States to lay down the Monroe Doctrine, which was obviously the basis of the whole of her defensive policy, that no threat should be launched against the integrity and independence of countries in both the American Continents, and her strategy has been aligned to that policy.

Mainly speaking, the United States Navy has functioned more in the Pacific than in the Atlantic. The U.S.A. has a chain of bases stretching from Dutch Harbour in Alaska to Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, and with advanced out-ports at Midway Island, Johnson Island and Palmyra. In addition, there is the potential base of Guam, and, beyond this again, Manila in the Philippines. The idea of the American Government was to be able to keep the Japanese so far away from the United States that their own country would be secure from any form of direct attack.

Distances, again, I think, bear out my contention. Take, *e.g.*, Pearl Harbour. It is 2,098 miles from San Francisco, 3,380 miles from Tokyo and 4,859 miles from Manila. It is generally agreed that 2,500 miles is the maximum steaming radius of a battle fleet, and in the light of the figures I have given you it becomes convincingly clear that neither the U.S. Navy nor the Japanese Navy could fight each other, unless either side was able to provide itself with more advanced defence bases.

Such then, I think, was the structure of American strategic policy, until the time came when this triple pact of Germany, Italy and Japan was signed at the end of September. Then, the whole of American strategy was changed. I do not want to take up my short time more than is necessary by reminding you that up till September 27 there were strong influences working towards a change in American policy, because the Americans were beginning to be seriously worried about the threat to their own security from the Atlantic caused by the Nazi onrush. They are not so worried as they were two months ago because of our successful resistance to the Germans in this country. But they have now to face the problem of a simultaneous attack being launched against them, both from the Atlantic and from the Pacific. They have

reacted to that problem very much more vigorously than we would have expected some time ago. First of all, particular stress is laid upon the vital importance of the Panama Canal, because the American Navy at the moment is not of such a size that it can dominate both oceans simultaneously. Secondly, it has determined those who are in charge of American policy and American defence to work as hard and fast as they can for the creation of a Navy, an Army and an Air Force that will be capable of meeting such a double threat, should it come simultaneously.

They began by concentrating upon the Atlantic side of defence. There was a Pan-American Conference at Havana. It was followed by the establishment of the Joint Defence Board between Canada and the United States, and finally by the memorable agreement under which we gave to the U.S.A. leases of certain bases in return for the transfer of fifty over-age American destroyers. Now, we know that conversations have been begun with the United Kingdom and Australia in Washington for the extension of this same co-operation to the Pacific.

There has been the clearest indication in the Press that the Americans are no longer going to continue their present policy of evacuating the Philippines; and I think there is every reason to believe that they now will take as firm a stand in the Pacific as they have already taken in the Atlantic.

May I just add as a footnote that this position on the part of the United States is not entirely dictated by political considerations: 85·9 per cent. of the annual needs of the U.S.A. of crude rubber is supplied by the East Indies, and 78·4 per cent. of its tin comes also from the East Indies. The U.S.A., unlike the Continental countries, has amassed no reserves of these commodities; and, consequently, would be put into an extremely awkward position if it were suddenly cut off from its supplies. Thus, there is a very important and very powerful economic interest in the Far East, as well as the equally strong and important interest of the American Government and people in the maintenance of the independence of those countries, and the ultimate triumph of democratic institutions.

The main difficulty that confronts the United States of America is whether, in the time available, it will be able to complete its defence programme. The U.S.A. is not, and never has been, a military Power. It has now launched building programmes for its Navy and for its Air Force, and expansion programmes for its Army, which are going to tax its resources very heavily, particularly as, throughout the whole of

this period, the U.S.A. is determined to continue to give to Great Britain the maximum amount of material aid.

Take, for instance, the fleet programme of the U.S.A. Shipbuilding yards have never been developed to anything like the same extent that they have in this country, and you find experts admitting that it would be quite impossible for the U.S.A. to complete this fleet programme before 1946-7. The question of air expansion comes under the same difficulty. We are constantly asking for larger supplies of aeroplanes and aero-engines from the United States during the very time when they are trying to extend their own Air Force.

Then you have, of course, the final problem that the United States has passed the Conscription Act, and has now to provide not only training but equipment for a far greater force than has ever been mobilized since America entered the last war. That, I think, is the biggest problem the U.S.A. has got to face, and it is perhaps because of that that Mr. Kennedy, the American Ambassador\* here, spoke strongly, two or three days after his return to the U.S.A., against the entry of the U.S.A. into the war. I do not think we should judge that Mr. Kennedy is altogether actuated by selfish motives, because he did say that the U.S.A. could give more effective help to Great Britain by concentrating upon the provision of material supplies than by entering the war.

That, I think, is the problem that lies before the United States, and it is one, naturally, which I cannot attempt to answer.

Lastly, I want to try to summarize the difficulties and the opportunities that confront Japan. You remember, no doubt, that on August 1 we were given a statement on the foreign policy of Japan, which was issued after a meeting of the Japanese Cabinet. Very briefly, that statement envisaged the division of the world into regions. The basic reason for this division was that each regional zone should be under the control of an Imperial State, and, as far as the Far East was concerned, the rôle of Japan was to be the Imperial State which should be in control. That, to my mind, is the basic meaning of the New Order. Japan has been concerned for many years past to put that policy into effect; and I think it is important to note from the very beginning that she starts with one great advantage. She is the only first-class military Power on the spot. There is no other great military Power in Eastern Asia. You may say I am forgetting Russia, but Russia, or the effective political part of Russia, is separated from the Far East by the vast distances of Siberia. So, I think in essence it is

\* Since resigned.

true to say that Japan is the only great military Power that is geographically present in that part of the world.

But just as other Powers are handicapped by the vast distances in that part of the world, so also is Japan. She has been terribly handicapped by the great extent of China, and the immense difficulties of maintaining her lines of communication in her Chinese campaign. Equally, she would be handicapped by the long sea distances that separate her even from such places as Manila and Singapore.\* To that extent we have a certain measure of protection on our side, and the Japanese have a certain measure of difficulty on their side.

What Japan needs, therefore, might be summarized as follows :

- (1) She needs a firm and defendable frontier against Russia.
- (2) She needs the power to beat down Chinese resistance.
- (3) In order to go further, she urgently needs advanced bases to the south and to the east in the Pacific.
- (4) No less urgently she needs sufficient supplies to carry out her expansion, and to maintain her economic life.

It is a very difficult and very complex programme which she has to face. Her policy of expansion is generally divided under two heads: the landward into China, which has become particularly the concern of the Army, and the southward expansion overseas, which is associated with the Japanese Navy.

The first policy has been in full swing for some three years, and its lack of success has gravely handicapped the chances of Japan being able to carry out, with any hope of success, the second, or seaward policy. But the outbreak of the war changed the situation very greatly. The Powers with colonial territories coveted by Japan became so preoccupied with the war, or fell victims to the onrush of Nazi aggression, that their territories tended to lie open to a quick Japanese advance, with the result that Japan would be able to equip herself with a good deal of the resources and supplies that she so sorely lacks. So, you can see that the very basis of Japanese policy is opportunism, the ability to be able to take advantage of the opportunities presented by changing circumstances.

Let me give you just one or two further illustrations of that. In August twelve months ago the Germans and the Russians startled the

\* This handicap would be greatly reduced if Japan obtained a base at Camranh Bay in Indo-China.

world with their agreement. Japan reacted from it very violently. Just over twelve months passed; and then Japan decided it was to her interest to forget her distrust and suspicion of German behaviour, and once again to sign along the dotted line, and to re-identify herself actively with the Axis Powers. That was done undoubtedly because at that time Japan believed that Germany and Italy were going to win the war. But even since then we have seen a modification of Japanese policy. It was, no doubt, expected, by those who are in control in Tokyo, that this demonstration of solidarity between Germany, Italy and Japan would shake the confidence of the Allies. Quite the reverse, as you know, happened. The British Government decided to reopen the Burma Road. The American Government went ahead with its defence programmes, and various statements were made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull which left no doubt whatever that the United States were fully prepared to resist, and indeed, if possible, to prevent, any further extension of Japanese aggression.

What was the upshot in Japan? In the middle of October the Japanese Foreign Minister summoned the Provincial Governors to Tokyo, and made them a very surprising speech. He went to some pains to point out that Japan was definitely interested in the preservation of peace; that the Triple Pact was by no means directed against America, indeed it was in the interests of America; that it was a peace pact. Then, on the following day, an official spokesman of the Foreign Office in Tokyo announced to an astounded world that Japan had not surrendered her autonomous conduct of foreign policy into the hands of Hitler; that she still retained freedom of decision. It became apparent to everybody that the Japanese had begun already to feel that they had made a mistake, that they were going to retune their policy, and to be considerably more moderate than they had been one week before, when the Prime Minister declared that, if America wanted to fight, Japan was only too ready to meet her. So, the Japanese policy is purely opportunist. If they feel that the chances are poor, and that they may be landed in a situation in which the disadvantages will out-balance the potential advantages, then they seem more inclined to halt and to wait.

But, I do think it is important not to adopt that opinion too confidently. There are in Japan a number of groups who participate in the formulation of policy, and it seems to me to be always a matter of extreme difficulty to decide how far you can be confident that any one of these groups has the effective power of making a

decision. At times, you find that the forward group will be in the ascendancy; at times, the cautionary. I think it would be rash to expect that Japanese foreign policy will always be guided by calculation and caution. In fact, in September you had a very good illustration of the way in which caution was thrown to the winds. Japan leapt on that occasion into the arms of Germany and Italy, believing she was going to get a good dowry. Since then she has found she has not made such a good match, and I think she might like to have a convenient divorce, if it could be arranged without scandal.

Lastly, I want to make one further point. I do not think in this country we have ever been ready to pay sufficient attention to the scale and the size of Japanese rearmament. Those, of course, who have access to information may take a different view. But, since 1931, there has been a tendency to say, "Why don't we go in and mop up the Japanese?" I think it is important to give full consideration to the strength of Japan both on the basis of distance, and also on the basis of the actual forces with which she can oppose any effort made to attack her.

So that there are, in effect, two points. You may find that, because Japan is a very proud and sensitive, and rather mercurial, nation, she may decide at any time to jump in a certain direction; and, consequently, if such a situation should come about, we should be confronted with a military difficulty, the magnitude of which might come as a surprise to the ordinary rank and file of the civilians in this country.

May I use one last illustration? As you know, the Japanese have appointed Lieutenant-General Tatekawa as their new Ambassador in Moscow. There has been a very great deal of mention in the Press of the instructions that have been given to him for his diplomatic mission. It seems at the moment as if Japan is anxious, at a very great cost, to reach an accommodation with Russia. For instance, it has been reported in the Press that she is willing to admit the exclusive interest of the Russians in Outer Mongolia, and the Russian interest in Singkiang. We cannot tell at this stage what will happen in the course of these negotiations. But, if you look back over the history of the world, even for the past two years, you cannot rule out the possibility of such an agreement being made, and, as a result of that agreement, a sudden, and perhaps characteristic, switch in Russian foreign policy. As a result, the Russians might adopt a benevolent attitude towards the activities of Japan in China, thereby possibly releasing a percentage of the Japanese forces for activities in the South Pacific.



So, I want to conclude by saying that I think the Japanese situation is essentially fluid and uncertain; as it is, of course, for the whole of the Pacific. You have in the Pacific a very great number of factors, which overlap and which, in many senses, are unpredictable. To list only a few of them, you have, to begin with, the ability of the British Empire not only to resist but to attack Germany and Italy, and, at the same time, our capacity to defend our territories and interests in the Far East, should this become necessary. Then, you have the scale and the tempo of American rearmament, and the direction of its foreign policy. Then, you have the intentions of Russia. You have next the intentions of Japan itself; and, last, the power of resistance of the Chinese.

Perhaps I have neglected the Chinese rather unpardonably in what I have tried to say; but I think their position, interests and strategy are so clear that they do not need elaboration as do those of the other Powers.

Any attempt to survey the strategic situation in the Pacific brings out to my mind the cardinal importance of co-operation between the British Empire and the U.S.A. It is important in relation to the war. It is no less important as a promise of what may be done when the war has been won.

The second point is this. No one can study the situation in the Pacific without being driven to the conclusion that whatever happens, or fails to happen, there will for the present, and for some time to come, be determined entirely by force, using that word in its broadest sense, or by the prestige which large force can confer. Therefore, we have to be realists in our estimate of the Pacific, as in our estimate of the situation in the rest of the world. We have to be able to mass, and effectively to use, force in such a way as to maintain our interests and the causes for which we are fighting; and the more effectively, the more conclusively, we can do that—whether it be in the Pacific, or in the Mediterranean, or on the north-western shores of Europe—the more certain we can be that ultimately we shall be able to carry out and consolidate the causes for which we originally took up arms.

A discussion followed.

# SOME OF OUR MALAYAN PROBLEMS

By G. E. CATOR, C.M.G.

Paper given at a meeting held on November 12, 1940, Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., in the Chair.

ONE almost inevitably connects nowadays the name "Malaya" with "Singapore," and "Singapore" with the words "Naval Base." I do not, however, propose to address you on the strategic potentialities in the military sense of this most important area, for I have neither the extent of knowledge nor the specialized experience to make such a survey; and in any case I have a healthy respect for the censorship. What I propose to talk about this afternoon is the internal political and administrative problems which face Malaya; but as these are interconnected with the strategical position of Singapore and Malaya generally, in the sense that both are primarily the results of geographical position, I will begin by giving you some description of Malaya and its environment. In doing so, I shall probably be repeating what most of you know, but nevertheless I will observe the discreet hint given in your memorandum for the guidance of lecturers, and will not take any great knowledge in the audience for granted.

The territory known as British Malaya is a peninsula in the south-east corner of the mainland of Asia, which separates the Indian Ocean from the China Sea.

Not the whole peninsula is British or under British protection, for the territory of Siam—or, as it is now called, Thailand—extends to well south of the Isthmus of Kra and forms the whole land frontier of the States of Kedah and Kelantan and part of that of the State of Perak.

The eastern coast of British Malaya is flanked by the China Sea, and on the west the Straits of Malacca divide it from the island of Sumatra. To the east and south, at distances varying from a few hundred yards from the shores of Singapore to many hundreds of miles, is grouped that great Eastern Archipelago, which includes Java, the Celebes and the Moluccas, Borneo, the Philippines, and, far to the south-east, New Guinea.

At the nodal point of this vast complex and wealthy area stands Singapore, guarding the ocean highways east and west and north and

south, and forming the natural collecting and distributing centre, not only for the trade of Malaya and the surrounding archipelago with the outer world, but for sea-borne trade between the Far East and the continents and sub-continent which lie to the west and south.

I do not wish to burden this lecture with tables and statistics, but it will give you some idea of the vastness and complexity of this sea-borne traffic when I tell you that the foreign trade of Malaya for the first six months of 1940 amounted to a total of £115,000,000. The foreign trade of Malaya, in fact, exceeds that of all the other British Colonies and possessions in the whole world put together.

It is the dominant position which Singapore, by virtue of its geographical situation, occupies which is the principal factor in the strategic importance, whether for war or for peaceful trade, of Malaya; and for this we have to thank the genius and foresight of Sir Stamford Raffles, who almost alone saw a hundred and twenty years ago in the desolate and almost deserted island of Singapore one of the key positions of the world.

Geographical position is, as I have said, the principal factor in the strategic importance of Malaya, but it is by no means the only factor, for the wealth and resources of the country, quite apart from its geographical position, make it a prize worth seizing—and holding. British Malaya is the world's greatest single producer both of tin and rubber—products in great demand and indeed essential for the progress of the modern world, whether in war or peace. It is, too, a country where there is still plenty of room for development and expansion: with an area roughly equal to that of England without Wales, it supports a population of little over five million persons, of whom nearly 20 per cent. reside in the cities of Singapore and Penang. Add to this that Malaya lies between China on the one side and India on the other—vast countries to whose teeming industrious and struggling populations this rich and gentle land with its natural resources and mild and equable climate is a very paradise of opportunity. I need hardly add that there are other countries, both in the East and West, with vast teeming and industrious populations but more predatory inclination, to which Malaya would be a glittering prize, but with that aspect of Malayan politics I do not, as I said at the beginning of this lecture, propose to deal.

The political constitution of Malaya is complex—in fact, among Malaya's many other claims to our admiration is the fact that a country of 50,000 square miles in extent and with a population of little over

5,000,000 supports not only with equanimity but satisfaction no fewer than eleven separate Administrations: indeed, if we include Brunei in Borneo, which also falls within the sphere of the High Commissioner, the number is a round dozen.

The country also includes, in sufficient numbers to warrant separate inclusion in the census returns, representatives of no fewer than seventeen nationalities. One might suppose that such a country would be for a Dictator a little heaven of oppressed minorities, longing for the strong arm of a Führer to deliver them from intolerable wrongs; but in actual fact both Government and governed get on together with a minimum of friction, and, generally speaking, every nationality shows a nice respect for the rights and even the foibles of its neighbours, so that taking it by and large Malaya is at present one of the most contented, as it is one of the most prosperous, communities in the world.

The connection of the British with Malaya began nearly 350 years ago, when in A.D. 1600 a charter was granted to the East India Company, in virtue of which the Company established factories at Bantam and Acheen in Sumatra. The Company immediately found itself in competition with the corresponding Dutch Company, and the latter in 1615 proposed an amalgamation of interests. This proposal was after some hesitation turned down, and the upshot was that the English were ousted from the trade of the Eastern Archipelago but maintained their hold in India. So one curious result of this refusal to co-operate is that England became the dominant power in India; and Dutch supremacy in the trade of Malaya and the Archipelago was not seriously challenged till the establishment by the Honourable East India Company of the Settlement of Penang in 1786.

Forty years later, following the establishment of the Settlement of Singapore in 1819 and the final retrocession of Malacca in 1824, the Malay Peninsula was firmly established as a British "sphere of influence," which the Dutch did not seek to disturb. Perhaps we may fix as the crucial date 1827, the year in which Penang became, as Singapore had been from its inception, a free port.

It was trade and not any imperialistic ambitions which brought the British to Malaya, and that incidentally is one of the reasons for the good feeling that prevails between British and other races. The British have never appeared as conquerors, but have always had for the sake of trade to consider the feelings and prejudices of the people of the country.

For nearly fifty years after the establishment of British commercial supremacy in Malaya, His Majesty's Government pursued a policy of

the strictest non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Malay States, and it was not until 1873 that the rivalry of two powerful gangs or factions of Chinese competing for the control of the tin mines of Larut produced disturbances which the Sultan of Perak (whose own position was far from secure) was powerless to quell. In 1874 the State of Perak accepted British protection, and Selangor followed suit in the same year.

During the next forty years the remaining States of what now constitute British Malaya came under British influence and accepted British protection. It is important to remember that, except for the territory of Malacca and a small strip of territory on the mainland opposite Penang, called Province Wellesley, there is no British territory on the mainland of the Peninsula, nor have the British ever claimed any special privileges for their nationals in that area. It is divided into States, each under its own ruler, and the relation of each State with His Majesty's Government is regulated by treaty.

In 1895 the rulers of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang entered into an Agreement constituting their States a Federation. This Treaty, though it brought to the Federated States a high degree of material prosperity, also brought with it a degree of centralization of authority which the Rulers of the States concerned ultimately felt to conflict with the promises contained or implied in the original treaties under which they had accepted British protection.

There was never any bitterness in the attitude of the Rulers, and the unswerving loyalty of each and all to the British connection lent weight to their dignified protests, which were reinforced by the indisputable fact that none of the other States which had subsequently accepted British protection were prepared to join the Federation, and that these States and their rulers did indubitably enjoy a wider measure of internal self-government than did the States which had accepted Federation.

The centralization effected under Federation was not the result of malice aforethought or of deliberate policy, but of a series of accidents, the first and most important of which was the extraordinary and amazing measure of prosperity and development which followed the peace and security established by British protection. This prosperity came in such a measure and at such a speed that it would have been beyond the resources of the rulers themselves and their advisers to cope with it without some form of close co-ordination.

In spite of the impressive progress made under Federation, His Majesty's Government had the courage and wisdom to decide that

these material arguments could not be allowed to outweigh the moral obligation to honour in full the undertakings which had originally been given. Accordingly it was decided that the Federation must retrace its steps, and that a much wider measure of internal self-government must be accorded to the constituent elements. The "New Policy," as it is generally called, which retains the Federation but restores a large measure of legislative, executive and administrative control to the States, was instituted about eight years ago, and it is too early to make any final appraisal of its results. All that can be said is that up to the present it has justified the hopes of its more moderate supporters and falsified the predictions of the prophets of disaster. It is standing up successfully to the severest test to which such an experiment could be put—that of war conditions.

Nevertheless, it can hardly be argued that this multiform government is ideal for a country of this size and homogeneity—and, in fact, for any community less prosperous it would be an impossibility. The evolution of a United States of Malaya is one of the principal problems which in the next fifty years will engage the attention of the Administrations concerned.

British Malaya consists of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, the four Federated States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, and the five Unfederated States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu. The State of Brunei in Borneo is also within the sphere of the High Commissioner.

The Straits Settlements comprise the islands of Singapore and Penang, standing guard at the southern and northern ends of the Straits of Malacca, and of Malacca, the first seat of British influence in the Peninsula, midway between them. Labuan, an island off Borneo, is also one of the Settlements. The constitution of the Straits Settlements is of the usual Crown Colony type with an official majority in the Legislative Council and unofficial representation on the Executive Council. The history of the relations of Great Britain with the various Malay States has been described, and relations with each of these are governed by treaty. Each is ruled by a Sultan, except Negri Sembilan, which is a confederation of nine small States under an elective chief called Yang di Pertuan, and Perlis.

A Malayan Sultan is in theory an absolute ruler, and to guide and assist him he has the advice of a State Council. The States being Mohammedan, the ruler is also "Head of the Church."

The unifying element lies in the fact that the Governor of the

Straits Settlements is also High Commissioner for the Malay States and guides general policy. Under the orders of the High Commissioner is the Malayan Civil Service, which provides the administrative machine, and the necessary technical services, such as Public Works, Education, Medical and Health, Police, and so forth.

In less than a man's lifetime the whole economic structure of Malaya outside the Straits Settlements has altered beyond recognition. The change has been more rapid and more violent than that of our own industrial revolution, and the impact has fallen on a race little adapted by tradition, environment and outlook to face sudden change. A country which in 1870 was in the Anglo-Saxon stage of civilization has in seventy years been whirled through the centuries into the complexities of the twentieth century. No wonder the Malays are somewhat bewildered by this magic-carpet flight.

It has been said that Mr. Ford has had a greater influence in altering the outlook of the unchanging East than those great historical figures of whom we have record. There is, no doubt, a good deal of exaggeration in this, but, so far as Malaya is concerned, it is very largely true, for it was the coming of rubber that was in the main responsible for the change of which I have spoken.

During the first half of the period of British protection material progress was extraordinarily rapid, for the peace and security this produced encouraged immigration and attracted capital, but it did not impinge with extreme violence on the life of the ordinary Malay. He had stability in place of turmoil, order in place of perpetual disorder, and regularity in place of arbitrary whims and personal prejudices.

For the rest there was plenty of room for all, and if the Chinese chose to come to the country to work in the tin mines with greater industry and greater engineering skill than the Malay could command, there was nothing to complain of in that; and if Europeans chose to come and fell jungle in order to plant products for export, well, the jungle is pretty well illimitable, and there was no reason to grudge a share of it to others.

It was not till the advent of the motor car in the first decade of this century created a world-wide demand for rubber that the pace of development quickened to a headlong rush. The rubber tree takes kindly to Malayan climatic conditions, and early prices reached such fantastic heights that all the world and his wife wanted to buy rubber or plant rubber or otherwise get in on the crest of the wave.

Malay peasants, whose way of life for generations had been sub-

sistence agriculture on small holdings and unquestioning obedience to the will of their Raja, found themselves capitalists, offered fabulous sums to sell or mortgage their land, and, having sold it, had no notion what to do with the proceeds except spend them as rapidly as possible, leaving themselves without land, without the capacity to live in a competitive world of which they knew nothing, and often loaded with a burden of debt—not that debt in itself troubled them, for it was a condition to which they were well accustomed as well as to the most convenient way, according to their experience, of escaping unpleasant consequences—but the processes of English law for the proof and recovery of debt were to them incalculable.

Fortunately steps were taken to avert the immediate danger before the damage was irremediable, as it would have been, politically and economically, if one of the results of British protection had been seen to be the ruin of the Malay peasantry.

A greatly increased flow of immigration was another result of British protection. There had always been a steady flow of migration between China and Malaya—I am here speaking of the Malay States, for the Straits Settlements are in this connection in a different category—mainly concerned with the exploitation of the Malayan tin deposits. This movement was greatly stimulated by the establishment of British protection, for it became safe to invest capital, and both Chinese and Europeans were quick to take advantage of the opportunity. But once again it was rubber which was responsible for the greatest and most rapid increase in the flow, and for a very significant alteration in its character.

The Chinese who came to mine were, with some exceptions, normally birds of passage. They came, they made money, and they went back to China or to the Straits Settlements and acquired no permanent interest in the country. Except in a police sense, they were not an important political factor.

When the rubber boom came, however, the Chinese both in the Straits Settlements and in their own country were as anxious as other people to dip their hands in this new crock of gold.

They rushed to acquire land in the Malay States and thus built up a new class, which, though its members may not be, and often are not, permanent residents in the country, yet has a permanent and hereditary right in the soil of the country, and as such feels that it has a stake in the country which justifies it in claiming a voice in its direction and government. Again, European capital was invested in rubber, and for



the estates thus created a large labour force was required. This was recruited mainly from Southern India.

Finally, the prosperity engendered by the rubber boom offered opportunity for a host of middlemen, clerks and shopkeepers, and the inevitable acceleration of Government activities led to a rapid expansion of staff. The demand could not be met by the Malays, for education is a plant of slow growth, and there simply had not been time to educate a generation of Malays to accept these new responsibilities; so Government service, always a prized perquisite, went to outsiders. In fact, as a direct result of British protection in Malaya, the Chinese outnumber the Malays; in particular they outnumber the Malays by nearly 30 per cent. in the richest and most developed of the Malay States.

This situation has, as may be supposed, begun to raise considerable political problems in the Malay States. In the Straits Settlements the position is, of course, different, for that is British territory; children born there are British subjects, and, provided British predominance is maintained, there is no question of special rights as between other nationalities.

I said earlier that Malaya was free from racial bitterness, and that is entirely true of the Straits Settlements, and is still in the main true of the Malay States: personal relations between the various nationalities are usually of the most cordial kind, and there is a general desire to live and let live. But the Malays are steadily becoming conscious of a sense of national unity, and view with disquiet the rising tide of Chinese population and influence in their country. It is true that of recent years new Chinese immigration has been drastically limited, but the Malays cannot forget that they are in their own country outnumbered by the most industrious, pertinacious and pervasive race in the world, and that in China many more thousands are only waiting for the barriers to be lifted before they too enter into this land of opportunity.

I have so far given you the Malay point of view. Now let us look at the problem from the Chinese angle.

It is a fair claim that the Chinese have made British Malaya. British administration has provided the necessary security, and British capital the means of development; but 80 per cent. of the actual work of trade and 90 per cent. of the sheer hard back-breaking slogging that is involved in opening a new country has been done by Chinese. Without the remorseless energy and the untiring perseverance of the Chinese, Singapore and Penang would be petty trading stations and the Peninsula still an uncharted jungle. On the whole, the Chinese

permanently or temporarily settled in Malaya have shown themselves peaceable, law-abiding and loyal.

In the Straits Settlements their position is clear: they have the opportunity and their children have the right to become British subjects with the privileges hereto appertaining, but in the Malay States they have no acknowledged position, for they are neither British subjects nor the subjects of the ruler on whose territory they live. However long their residence and however distinguished their services, neither they nor their children can by residence in a Malay State acquire any rights or enjoy any privileges which are not open to the most recently arrived coolie.

I have been trying to give you a fair representation of the Malay and the Chinese case; now let us examine the British point of view. So far as the Straits Settlements are concerned, our attitude is perfectly simple and straightforward: they are and will remain British in outlook, policy and institutions.

In the Malay States the task is more complex. We have to honour our treaty obligations to the Malays and at the same time deal fairly with the Chinese, who have done so much to develop Malaya's resources. The latter task has not been made easier by the growth of political consciousness and national aspirations, however much we may sympathize with the spirit and hopes which they represent. The great stirring of the waters in China since 1912 has its repercussions in Malaya. Before the Revolution a Chinese who left his native country ceased to be an object of interest to the Chinese Government. Since that date, the Republic of China has not only taken that legitimate interest in the welfare of its nationals resident in Malaya which is right and proper for any Government, but it has tried to impress on them its own authority and even to intervene in the internal politics of Malaya. How far this represents a definite policy, and how far it is merely the youthful exuberance of inexperience, remains to be proved.

What will be the effect on the Chinese attitude, if they are victorious in their present struggle with Japan, is at least a matter of speculation. The behaviour of the Chinese actually resident in Malaya has on the whole been unexceptionable, but it is the uneasy sense that behind the Chinese in Malaya is an authority bent on exerting its influence over every Chinese in Malaya that makes the Malay rulers and their people hesitant to agree to extending privileges which they fear may be abused and used merely as levers for converting Malaya in fact if not in name to a province of China.

I have left to the last the third large element of the mixed Malayan population, the Southern Indians, for they do not constitute a political problem in the sense discussed above. In the main, Indian immigrants are of the labouring class and do not want to make a permanent home in Malaya, though there are slight signs of a change in this direction. Their rights, interests and welfare are under the constant survey of the Government of India, the relations of which with the Administration of Malaya have hitherto been of a cordial and friendly kind. But here, too, as in the case of the Chinese, there is a considerable residue, which has made Malaya its permanent home, and feels a sense of grievance in suffering from the same disability as the Chinese permanent residents in not being in all respects on the same footing as the subjects of the Sultans in the Malay States.

That is our second problem: that of reconciling the interests in the Malay States of the Malays and of the immigrant races who have made Malaya their home; and it will be realized that in Malaya the task of implementing British policy of equipping Colonies and Protectorates for self-government presents peculiar difficulties.

There is, however, something in the atmosphere of Malaya which makes for reasonableness and a spirit of give and take: there is no religious animosity and little racial feeling, and there is an almost universal sense of loyalty to and pride in partnership in the British Empire; so that at least the experiment starts in an atmosphere of goodwill, and its difficulty must be a stimulus rather than an obstacle.

The first step, which is now in progress, is to bring the Malays up to the standard of development reached by the races with which they are in competition; and the means of achieving this is education, and possibly the most important and vital thing is that education should extend to the women. Our Chairman to-day, Sir Richard Winstedt, and his predecessor, Mr. Wilkinson, have laid well and truly the foundations of the education of children in Malaya, and this is being carried on by a body of men whose professional qualifications, sense of duty and devotion to their task, is as high as the most exigent could demand. Higher education is being provided for at Raffles College, in the College of Medicine, in Technical and Agricultural Schools, and just before the war a Commission was sent from England by the Colonial Office to report whether the time had come to combine these activities into a University of Malaya.

In other spheres of education in its wider sense, such as hygiene and the prevention of disease, economics, and the problem of indebtedness

(a problem of alarming magnitude in Malaya, as in other Eastern countries) and what I may term the political sense, admirable work is being done by a number of agencies, of which the Medical Department, the Agricultural Department, and, last but by no means least, the Co-operative Department are worthy of special mention.

As for political sense, you will, if you look at a Malayan Year Book, be astounded by the number of Councils, Committees, Boards and public bodies which deal with almost every aspect of political and social life in Malaya. As a method of administration it may be called slow, clumsy and possibly extravagant, but as a method of political education it has great merits. All nationalities alike sit on these various Boards and learn by practical experience that you cannot ride roughshod over other people's susceptibilities, and that your own immediate advantage is not necessarily the final goal.

I have dwelt at length on the questions which this problem of immigration raises, because, so far as I know, it exists in Malaya in a more intensified form than in any other part of the British Empire, and because on its solution depends the future peace and prosperity of one of the richest, most important and potentially happiest portions of the world.

There are, of course, many other urgent and important problems concerning the Malayan administration, but some are of merely domestic interest, and others arise from or are connected with immigration, and the amazingly rapid development of Malaya and the social problems to which this has given rise. There is an increasing tendency—thanks principally to the work of the League of Nations—to deal with these subjects by means of consultation and co-operation with neighbouring Governments.

In the spheres of the control and prevention of disease, in education, in questions relating to labour, the traffic in women and girls, in rural hygiene and economics, in the control of the opium traffic and in many other directions where co-operation involves no derogation of sovereignty, the League has done invaluable work. It is a matter of ordinary commonsense that we in Malaya have much to learn from the American experiment in the Philippines, from the progress of Thailand, from the development of Indo-China, and especially from the brilliant success of the Dutch Colonial system of the Netherlands East Indies; and these administrations in turn can profit and learn by our failures and successes in Malaya.

In the past there has been too little of such co-operation and ex-

change of information, even between constituent parts of the British Empire. That gap is being closed by the unification of the Colonial, Administrative and Technical Services, but even so it is really as important for us in Malaya to know how some social problem, presenting similar features to one which confronts us in Malaya, is being treated in the Philippines, or the Netherlands East Indies, as to know how Trinidad deals with a problem superficially similar but perhaps essentially different.

I think I am right in saying that Sir Richard Winstedt set us a good example by visiting Java to study vernacular education before reforming the Malayan system, but I cannot remember that his example was followed until the League of Nations gave us the lead.

The third big task which faces the Malayan Governments is therefore the pooling of information and the working out of a system of co-operation on matters of common interest with our neighbours in South-Eastern Asia.

Now, in making these comments on our problems in Malaya, I hope I have given the impression that there is a great deal to be done: that is so, but we may, I think, also take full credit for what has been achieved. We found Singapore and Penang desolate and almost uninhabited islands, and we have made them great cities and centres of trade. We found the Malay States a poverty-stricken wilderness of jungle and swamp, riddled with disease, distracted by piracy and the feuds of petty rulers, and we have made of them a peaceful and prosperous and smiling land. We have built roads and bridges, ports and railways, schools and hospitals. We have raised a huge revenue and devoted the whole of it to the welfare of the country from which it came. In the sphere of public health I doubt whether there is any country in the world where medical skill and attention, whether for prevention or cure, is at the service of the public on the terms and to the extent which prevail in Malaya. In the sphere of education no one would claim that our system is perfect, but it does represent a genuine and generally successful effort to offer every child of whatever nationality, rich or poor, a ladder by which he may climb. Above all, we have given the country security, so that a man may reap the fruit of his labours in peace and bring up his children in the hope of a fuller life than he has enjoyed.

As for the Malays themselves, British protection has confronted them with problems but provided them with opportunities and the means to take advantage of those opportunities. It is fair to say that,

to the Malays of the Peninsula, British protection has meant a new lease of life; and without it they would have been overwhelmed and smothered in the flood of uncontrolled immigration.

The proof of a pudding is in the eating, and the test of the soundness of an administration is in the respect and loyalty it commands among those whom it serves. By that test British administration in Malaya comes out well, for there is no doubt of the loyalty to and pride in partnership in the British Empire which is shared by all ranks, classes and communities in Malaya. Malaya has always taken a high view of the responsibilities as well as the privileges which attach to that partnership.

During the last war Malaya's loyalty was unquestionable and help generous. Between 1919 and 1939 the people of Malaya contributed over £20,000,000 to the cost of Imperial defence. Since the threat of war became imminent they have offered as free gifts to His Majesty's Government £4,000,000. They are raising by special taxation a sum of £2,000,000 a year, and they have presented free of interest a loan of over £5,000,000.

These have not been "benevolences" forced or suggested from Government House or Downing Street. In the Straits Settlements they have been given on the initiative and at the request of the Unofficial members of Council, and have had the unqualified support of all communities; in the Malay States the contributions have been given at the instance of the Rulers and with the approbation of their people: indeed, the task of their British advisers has been, not to urge them to give but to restrain them from offering beyond the resources of their State. Over and above this, the Malaya Patriotic Fund for the relief of suffering caused by the war, the subscribers to which include every community in Malaya and every class from labourer to prince, have sent £225,000 to the British Red Cross and other war service organizations, while working parties of women of all nationalities and all creeds have sent over two hundred cases of comforts.

It seems to me to show a remarkable understanding and sympathy that the first thing these parties sent, after comforts for the fighting forces, was clothing and requisites for the evacuated children, and, since the bombing of London, case after case of clothing and comforts, in addition to generous money gifts, have been sent to those who have lost their homes and possessions.

So far Malaya's contribution to the war—outside the gifts—has been in the economic sphere. Malaya is the world's greatest single

producer of tin and rubber, and for both these commodities the United States of America are Malaya's best customers. So, apart from the direct supply to Great Britain of these indispensable commodities, Malaya plays an important part in the vital problem of dollar exchange.

If a sterner test of loyalty comes, there is no doubt what the response will be. Singapore is one of the great fortresses of the world, and by sea, land, and air is protected by a powerful garrison. It is a source of pride to Malaya that the garrison includes a Malay regiment. The regular garrison is supplemented by an efficient volunteer force, in which Europeans and Eurasians, Malays, Chinese and Indians serve side by side. It is also supported by a volunteer Air Force, recruited from the Flying Clubs which the Government has so wisely encouraged during the past ten years. And the peculiar aptitude of the Malays of the Straits Settlements for the sea has provided a Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve unit, which recently earned the high praise of the Admiral commanding. Food supplies have been stored and measures taken to increase local supplies; conscription has been introduced; transport has been organized, and steps taken to meet any emergency. Whatever test faces Malaya, I think the people there are prepared to meet it.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to congratulate Mr. Cator on crowding so much information into such a very short time. There were one or two points which he had not time to emphasize, but he has emphasized the two most important: Malaya's strategic position would be altered if Indo-China were to fall into the hands of the Japanese. But the east coast of Malaya is a very difficult coast, the country being covered with jungle and quite easy to defend, though a footing in Indo-China would allow an air force to get within striking distance of Malaya. The second point is the racial problem of Chinese and Malays, due solely to their numbers, for the relationship between the two races is most friendly.

Mr. Cator did not tell us how five or six thousand years ago ladies were using rouge in the Malay Peninsula—a small matter, but reminding one that the Malay Peninsula was one of the land approaches through which primitive races migrated down to the Archipelago as far as Australia.

Another point is that Islam had a great deal to do with the rise of Malay power and trade in fifteenth-century Malacca. Brahmins lost

caste by crossing the sea, but Mohammedanism had no such prejudice, and this gave a great stimulus to Oriental trade.

Another interesting point is that it was under the Portuguese in 1511 that Malacca became, what it never would have become otherwise, the centre of trade for the whole of the Archipelago.

Mr. Cator just mentioned free trade, which most Englishmen have regarded as a very great virtue. It may be a virtue, but at the time it was regarded as a painful necessity. The reason it was started in Penang and was such a success there was that the Dutch East India Company was backed by its Government, while the British trader was not, so that he could not establish a monopoly, and his only chance of getting trade was by free trade; this proved so acceptable to the Malays that they did their best to break the Dutch monopolies.

I am sure you will all wish me on your behalf to thank Mr. Cator for his very interesting lecture.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, after which the meeting terminated.



## ANGLO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

By THE RT. HON. SIR ROBERT CLIVE, P.C., G.C.M.G.

A reply to Viscount Kano's paper on "Anglo-Japanese Relations" in the October *Journal*.

**T**HERE is a certain naïveté—an assumption of ignorance on the part of his readers I might call it—in Viscount Kano's contribution on the subject of Anglo-Japanese relations in the October number of this *Journal*.

For instance, he says: "The British maintain that Japanese aggression is once more becoming evident. Nothing can be further 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." This is the conclusion drawn from the statement which precedes: "Since the introduction of trade and exchange controls by this country (Great Britain) and the increased effect of British economic warfare, it has become increasingly difficult for Japan to obtain her raw material requirements. This has led her to look elsewhere in her neighbourhood, and the international repercussions which her explorations 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 of 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, French Indo-China and the South Sea Islands."

In other words, it is solely owing to British policy that Japan has been forced to seek new markets in Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies, and the British are pleased to call this aggression, whereas Japan is merely extending to these fortunate countries the "new order" in the Far East. But, this being so, why should international repercussions be the *natural* corollary? There seems to be a flaw in the argument. If France had not collapsed and Germany had not brutally invaded Holland, could Japan have extended the benefits of the "new order" to these French and Dutch colonies? To the uninitiated it would seem rather that the German military successes in May and June were seized on by the Japanese Government as a heaven-sent

opportunity to extend the great Pan-Asia movement now termed the "new order." It has long been customary to make Great Britain the scapegoat, but it is going rather far to hold her responsible for the extension of the "new order" to the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China and the South Sea Islands!

Anglo-Japanese friction dates, as Viscount Kano correctly states, from the Washington Conference. In a recent talk on the subject I asked my audience to consider the question also from the Japanese point of view. I said: "When under pressure from the United States and the Dominions H.M. Government scrapped the Japanese Alliance, Japan felt that she had been let down by her former ally. It was a blow to her national pride. She always hated the Nine-Power Treaty, which she felt had been forced upon her in place of the alliance."

In adopting this attitude—a very human one—the Japanese always ignored two things: (1) That the Russian menace to our two countries, which was the foundation of the alliance, no longer existed in 1922, and (2) that it was not so much Great Britain as the English-speaking world which opposed the continuance of the alliance and desired to substitute for it a multilateral agreement to safeguard peace in the Far East. The British Empire and the United States were still under the spell of the "war to end war" and other Wilsonian *clichés*, and it is unfortunate that the Japanese never made any allowance for the circumstances under which the alliance came to be scrapped.

Another remark of the Viscount somewhat surprised me. "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." And again: "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. . . ."

Unfortunately, so far as the question of confidence is concerned, the absorption of Corea and Manchuria has resulted in the gradual elimination, followed by the almost complete extinction, of British trade interests in those territories, and I am reminded of Low's cartoon of the "open door" with a Japanese soldier standing by the door, through which he is seen kicking out the foreigners.

The late Mr. Sugimura said to me one day before leaving Tokyo to take up his post as Ambassador in Rome in 1939 that Japan would be only too ready to come to an understanding with Great Britain about China, whereby Japan would leave us complete liberty of action in

China south of the Yangtse in return for our disinteresting ourselves in North China. Earlier in the year, however, an authorized statement of Japanese policy had been given to the Press in which virtual suzerainty over the whole of China was claimed—*e.g.*: “Should the Powers, in view of the situation arising from what has happened in Manchuria and Shanghai, attempt to act in concert in regard to China, such action would acquire political significance. Even if its proposed object is only to help China economically, Japan cannot but oppose any such development.”

Japan was well aware that the European Powers had no territorial ambitions in China. What they, and in particular Great Britain, wanted was to maintain and develop the trade they had built up. Japan was determined to capture that trade. With the advantages of geographical position and cheaper labour she was in a strong position to attack it, and did not conceal her resentment at the efforts of Sir Frederick Leith Ross in 1935-6 to help China to stabilize the currency in the interest of international trade.

Viscount Kano is on surer ground in his comments on the traditional foreign policy of China and the attitude of English left-wing intellectuals, who have made it very difficult for the “sane and experienced elements in the British and Japanese Governments who want to collaborate and compromise to do so.”

I was always in favour of an understanding with Japan in so far as this was compatible with the independence of China. Therein lay the difficulty. The days of sphere-of-interest agreements were over, and no agreement affecting China could be made without the consent and approval of the Chinese Government.

At the same time I felt that the question of Manchoukuo was a question apart from the rest of China, and that it would have been wiser on certain conditions to recognize the *de facto* situation there, more especially after we had condoned the far more heinous action of Mussolini in Abyssinia.

The Viscount sees fit, however, to dub British foreign policy towards Japan as “consistently and continuously unfriendly.” I don’t know from what moment he dates this sweeping assertion, but, so far as I was concerned, during the three years I was Ambassador, from 1934 to 1937, I can conscientiously deny it. The unpleasant Keelung incident had at length been liquidated, the old sore of “perpetual leases” had been healed by a reasonable compromise, the visit of Prince Chichibu to England to attend the Coronation was of good augury—in fact, the

outlook in May, 1937, gave hope for an improvement in Anglo-Japanese relations. It was the undeclared war on China two months later that shattered these hopes.

All foreign policy in the long run is based on self-interest. The main interest of the British Government in the Far East is to uphold British trade, while maintaining friendly relations with both China and Japan. If the British Government has broadly supported the policy of Chiang Kai-Shek, it is because Chiang Kai-Shek is the first Chinese since the institution of the Republic to work for and in large measure succeed in creating a unified China. Japan conceives that a unified China is detrimental to Japanese interests and her eventual expansion. Great Britain believes that a unified China is in the interest of international trade and the maintenance of peace and order in China. Any one who lived in China as I did, from 1920 to 1923, during the dismal period of rival war lords and chronic civil war, can but endorse this view. Nor can it be admitted that Japan with her vast and inspiring trade expansion really stands to lose by a unified China. Herein lies the conflict in views between the British and Japanese Governments, and it is a travesty of the truth to refer to British policy as "consistently and continuously unfriendly to Japan."

No one questions that Japan is the predominant military power in the Far East, though the present generation is all too apt to forget that that predominance owes much to the former Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Six months ago Japan appeared to have three alternatives in her foreign policy :

(1) Friendly relations with Great Britain and the U.S.A. This would have entailed recognition of China's right to live in her own way and a renunciation of the claim to suzerainty over China.

(2) Alliance with the Axis Powers. Viscount Kano, however, has no illusions about "Germany's selfish nationalistic ideology or of Italy's unreliable policy."

(3) A close understanding with the U.S.S.R.; but this would have meant a complete break with the past and a scrapping of the Anti-Comintern Pact.

She has chosen to adopt the second alternative, which from the point of view of self-interest will be justified only if the Axis Powers are certain to win the war.

Japan would appear, therefore, to have departed from that attitude of extreme caution in her foreign commitments which in the past she has been careful to maintain.

There are probably many Englishmen like myself who retain friendly feelings for Japan but are driven to the conclusion that the present trend of Japanese policy has been forced upon her by the militarists and is inconsistent with her real interests. Japan, like Great Britain, is a land of tradition. Both are fundamentally conservative, and though our ways of thinking are poles asunder, yet there is a common heritage of intense national patriotism peculiar to island empires and of devotion to our sovereigns which Japan will hardly find in her present Axis partners.

# BRITAIN AND THE ARAB WORLD, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN WAR

By NEVILL BARBOUR

Luncheon meeting on November 20, 1940, Sir Harold Satow, K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

**T**HE subject which I have been given to-day is "Britain and the Arab World, with Special Relation to the European War." The phrase "Arab World" is perhaps a little ambiguous. Arabic-speaking world is a better description for the countries which it is intended to cover. For the link between them is linguistic, rather than racial. If you will excuse me, I will just run over one or two elementary points about the Arabic-speaking world, which, I think, are a useful background to the specific points that we are coming to.

The Arabic-speaking world consists altogether of some fifteen principal kingdoms, principalities, protectorates, and so forth. These stretch from the Atlantic coast of Morocco in the west to the Iranian frontier in the east. The various countries differ enormously in size, population, wealth and degree of political independence. None of them is yet as powerful, industrially or militarily, as, say, Czecho-Slovakia was before Munich. The most primitive of them are, from the material point of view, still extremely backward. Centuries ago some of them were, of course, very powerful states. There is certainly no need for me to remind you of the glory of the Caliphate of Baghdad or of the triumphs of Saladin. Perhaps, however, I may digress for a moment to recall a forgotten page of history which illustrates the reputation which the Western Arab world once enjoyed. There is a little-known, but apparently well-authenticated, story in the chronicle of Matthew Paris. This tells how King John of England, a little before the signing of the Magna Carta, sent British ambassadors to the Sultan of Morocco. Through these he offered not only to become the Sultan's liege, but even, it is said, to accept the faith of Islam, if the Sultan would give him military aid. The relative strength of Morocco and ourselves in those days was evidently very different from what it is to-day!

The lowest point of the military strength of the Arabic-speaking world was reached about the beginning of the last century. From that

date it has steadily risen in importance. The progress which has been made can be seen by reading the description of modern Egypt given by the English orientalist, Lane, about a hundred years ago, and comparing it with the Egypt of to-day: the contrast is startling. Not only in Egypt, but also in other portions of the Arabic-speaking world, the transformation is continuous. In Europe and in America there are now hundreds of Arabic-speaking students from Syria, Iraq, Palestine, North Africa and other countries. They are very intelligent and keen, and I do not think anybody can doubt that in a few decades the Arabic-speaking countries will be very much stronger and more materially advanced than they are to-day. I hope, and I am sure we all hope, that, when that time comes, they will be our allies and will still be associated closely with us, as free peoples, in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause.)

To-day the time is short, and I propose to confine myself as regards details to the Arabic-speaking countries in Asia—*i.e.*, primarily, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Arabia proper. Those are the Arab countries in the stricter sense of the word, as opposed to the Arabic-speaking countries, and it is with them that British relations are particularly close and important. Here again I must ask your leave to go a little back in history in order to give the background of the events of to-day.

Before the war of 1914-18, these countries all formed provinces of the Turkish Empire; for this reason, though not politically independent, they enjoyed a high degree of economic, administrative and social unity. For thirty or forty years before the war the idea of Arab nationalism had been taking root amongst them. The Arab deputies in the Turkish Parliament formed a national bloc, analogous in its way to that of the Czech deputies in the Austrian Parliament or the Irish members at Westminster. Various schemes were put forward for increasing the political autonomy of the Arab provinces. One of them, for example, envisaged the formation of a sort of dual Turko-Arab régime, on the model of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. None of them came to anything very much, or were taken very seriously in Europe; but as projects they did exist.

In the year 1911, after a violent scene between Turkish and Arab deputies, thirty-five of the latter wrote a letter to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, which constituted him to some extent the accredited representative of Arab national aspirations. During the war of 1914-18 these aspirations were utilized by the British Government to inaugurate an Arab revolt in the Hejaz. The negotiations which preceded this

episode are recorded principally in the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence. From this exchange of letters it is quite clear that the British Government wished, as far as possible, to limit the promise of independence to the Hejaz and to the interior of Arabia. The Sherif, on the other hand, had no intention of taking up arms except as the representative of integral Arab nationalism, and he insisted that he must have a promise of British support for the realization of Arab independence, in the full meaning of the word, in the whole, or almost the whole, of the Arabic-speaking territories of Asia.

Owing to the exigencies of the war, the conditions in which the negotiations were conducted were difficult, and, as we all know and as was stated by the Palestine Royal Commission, the wording of the correspondence on the British side was unfortunately very much less clear than was desirable. Then the revolt began, and when it began it was, rather unexpectedly, successful. The British Government, in their desire to maintain and extend it, thus became by degrees committed to a much wider support of the Arab thesis than they had originally intended or desired.

At the termination of the war it became necessary to settle the account. This settlement was not achieved without a great deal of disputing and a certain amount of bloodshed. In the end, however, the Arab claim was, in practice, recognized over a great part of the area. Not only the Hejaz and Arabia became independent, but a new state was constituted in Iraq, while Transjordan received a degree of autonomy adapted to the special conditions of that province.

The fact that we did meet Arab aspirations to such a very large extent has given us enormous credit with Arab national leaders, and is one of our greatest assets at the present time.

In that settlement the position in Syria was the reverse of satisfactory from the Arab point of view. But this was due not to the British, who gave the Arabs very considerable diplomatic support, but to our French allies. As a matter of fact, certain of the more far-sighted Arab leaders had foreseen that this was likely to occur and some of the leading Syrians had quite early in the war suggested a solution of the difficulty. Their proposal was that Britain should allow the French to round off their African Empire by taking over Nigeria, in return for which the French would resign to Britain their claims on Syria. This naturally did not appeal to the British officials to whom it was proposed, and I do not think anything more was heard of it.

As regards the area in which British influence was predominant,



there was, of course, one district in which the Arab and the British points of view remained entirely unreconciled. The possibility of this dispute was quite certainly not in the minds of the negotiators of the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence, for the particular question which gave rise to it had not come into prominence at all at the time of the negotiations. The district concerned was, of course, Palestine; and I am sorry to say that the trouble which began then has remained as an influence which embitters British and Arab relations ever since. At this particular moment, thanks in large measure to the White Paper of 1939, the position in Palestine is happier than it has been for many years. The question cannot, indeed, be said to have been solved, but within the country it is for the moment dormant. Abroad, in the other Arab countries—in Iraq, in Saudi-Arabia, in North Africa, and in the influential Arab communities in the United States—its embittering influence is as serious a problem as ever.

Before we continue with that subject I would like for a moment to consider the contrast between the position of the Arab world in the last war and its position now. Throughout the last war the entire regular Arab divisions in the Turkish army were fighting against us, and they were a very considerable and numerous force. The Arab civil administration and all the material resources of the Arab countries were at the disposition of our enemies. On the other hand, a certain number of the keenest Arab national leaders officered a force which participated actively on our side, the force itself being composed principally of Bedouin. The position at present is very different. During the present war Arab regular troops in those countries where they exist—for the Arab resources of man-power in Syria and Palestine are at present, from a military point of view, not exploited at all—are neutral, and very friendly towards us; while the Arab civil administration and the resources of the Arab countries are in no way at the disposal of the enemy, but to a considerable degree at our disposal. This, on balance, is a very much more favourable position than that in the last war.

On the other hand, enemy propaganda is constantly seeking to exploit such anti-British feeling as remains from past misunderstandings and is now maintained to some extent by the Palestine question. Only a month ago the Arabic broadcasting station at Zeesen issued a so-called statement of Arab policy, which it repeated on several subsequent occasions. It read :

“Germany has always sympathized with Arab aspirations and hoped that the Arabs will one day regain a position in the world

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“Germany has always sympathized with Arab aspirations and hoped that the Arabs will one day regain a position in the world

worthy of their race and of their great past. The German Government has followed with interest the struggle for independence of the Arab countries. Arabs can rely unhesitatingly on German support in that struggle. In making this declaration Germany is in full accord with her ally Italy."

Such a declaration, coming from a person with Hitler's reputation as regards Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and other countries, is not likely to carry the slightest conviction to Arab listeners, any more than to other listeners. Besides, those to whom it is addressed know that, in view of the remoteness of Germany from the Arab world, its practical application is nil.

They know, too, with regard to the last part ("in making this declaration Germany is in full accord with her ally Italy"), that Italy has by no means shown sympathy to Arab independence in the only area of the Arab world in which she was in a position to give practical effect to it—namely, in Libya.

German broadcast propaganda in Arabic is simply sheer agitation, devoid of any intellectual or rational appeal. Such effect as it does have is due partly to the nationalist appeal in it, and partly to the fact that the Iraqi announcer, who is employed by Berlin, is in some respects a most remarkable broadcasting personality. I personally enjoy listening to him in the same way that I enjoy watching a very good stage performance by a clown. The performance is brilliant, certainly; but it is clowning all the same.

The Italians are not liked, to put it in the mildest form, in any part of the Arab world, and, although they have carried on a very intensive propaganda, I do not think that the results which they get from it have repaid the energy which they have put into it. There is a good deal of evidence that the Italians are quite well aware of this themselves. Their disappointment sometimes finds an almost comic expression. A correspondent in an American newspaper, for example, recently reported the following appeal to King Farouk of Egypt. It appeared in the Italian newspaper the *Messagero* :

"Take courage, young monarch. Youthful Italy will aid you. All we ask is some concrete indication of your desire to be delivered."

I have been referring chiefly to the Arab countries. Here it is suitable again to mention Egypt, which, while possessing a marked individuality of its own, has long established itself as the chief intellectual

centre of all people who speak Arabic. It has certainly been of enormous assistance to us in this war that the press of Egypt and its leading men of letters have come out so strongly and enthusiastically for the Allied cause.

In view then of this failure of German and Italian propaganda, some people may find it a little disappointing that Arab opinion, while giving us undoubtedly a great deal of rather passive support, has not found expression in a more active intervention on our side. I suppose that the desire to keep out of war as long as possible is very natural. It is very tempting to play for safety in these matters, though it cannot be said that the example of the other countries that have done so can have given anybody any reason to suppose that it is likely to be a successful policy.

As regards political factors which, in the Arab world of Asia, tend to hinder enthusiasm for the British cause, the principal undoubtedly remains the question of Palestine. Certainly the White Paper of 1939 gave considerable satisfaction to Arab opinion, but at the same time the document was very much of a compromise. It by no means accepted the Arab claims in their entirety or anything near it; nor was it accepted, even as a compromise, by the official leaders.

The White Paper envisages a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine on very generous lines. The national home that one sees coming, as the result of that White Paper, is a national home comparable to the national home which the Welsh people possess in Britain or which the Druzes possess in Syria. The White Paper permits the immigration of another 75,000 Jews into Palestine without the permission of the majority of the inhabitants of the country. It envisages the further immigration of Jews into Palestine after that, should this consent be subsequently gained. Should it not be gained, it does not say how the illegal immigration will be prevented, and it has to be remembered that we were not successful in preventing it in the past. The White Paper sanctions the further use of the big sums of money acquired from all over the world for buying land, and it is not perhaps always realized that the area in which the buying of land is permitted is so large, and there is so much non-Jewish land still in it, that land can continue to be bought for many years on the same scale as for the last twenty. What it does do is to limit the acquisition of land to a certain area. That means to say, it is tending to develop the Jewish national home as a homogeneous body concentrated in a particular geographical area.

When the time comes, according to the provisions of the White Paper, for Palestinians to be appointed as heads of Departments, it guarantees to the Jews a number of these posts proportionate to the size of the Jewish population. That is a privilege that I do not think the Welsh people enjoy in Britain.

The White Paper has, nevertheless, gone a considerable way to meet the Arab point of view, and undoubtedly it is a factor which has contributed to the present peacefulness of Palestine.

I think we may go further and say that such hostile reaction or doubt as is shown by Arabs to the White Paper is due less to its apparent terms than to the fear that its interpretation and application will not be such as is acceptable to Arab opinion. Its terms, they think, may in the future give rise to misunderstandings, such as arose over the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence.

From the political point of view, then, if the passive support of the Arab world is to be turned into something more active, the first necessity is strict adherence to the terms of the White Paper as approved by Parliament, and in particular the application of the paragraph concerning the appointment of Palestinians as heads of Departments.

I feel you will probably like a few words on a subject which quite often gets into the British Press now—the possibility of a federation of Arab states. Arab opinion, I think, regards this question as far less actual and far less immediately important than the recognition of the independence of the individual countries which make up the Arab world. A prominent Iraqi statesman is said to have been asked about this subject by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs some two years ago, and to have replied: “I think, my lord, that the British and the Arabs would do well to beget their children first before they set about marrying them off to one another.”

Nevertheless, it would almost certainly assist our cause in the Arab world if we made it clear that our attitude towards such projects is not hostile in principle. It would be desirable to emphasize that any such federation is essentially a matter for Arabs themselves to think out, but that, as far as we are concerned, we will not oppose any scheme which is clearly acceptable to them. On the other hand, it would almost certainly be dangerous to take the lead in advocating any specific proposal of non-Arab origin, more especially if it could be suspected that we were doing so in the hopes of promoting some private purpose of our own.

There is one other country which, owing to its past history and its

geographical proximity, must always of necessity take a particular interest in the affairs of the Arab world. This is, of course, our ally Turkey. Turkish policy towards the Arab world during the last twenty years has been marked by the same wisdom which has distinguished it in other spheres. The one question over which there was serious disagreement was that of the Sanjak of Alexandretta. The Arabic-speaking inhabitants of that district are, I believe, in the majority. On the other hand, the Turkish-speaking inhabitants are equally undoubtedly the largest homogeneous group. Nor is it desirable or practical to ignore in such circumstances the consequences of past relations of Turks and Arabs in the area. Moreover, no traveller, proceeding from the south, can fail to be struck, when he reaches Antioch, by the fact that he has passed into a different climate and a land of different culture. The roofs of the houses themselves are no longer flat, but sloping and covered with moss-encrusted tiles. I remember, too, when I was once buying plums from an Arab shop-keeper in Jaffa and asked him whence they came, he replied: "Turkish work," meaning that they came from the Antioch district.

There can, however, be no doubt that the separation of Alexandretta from Syria was a severe blow to Arab national feeling; but I think that the then Arab Government in Damascus, by repressing any violent explosion of feeling, not only acted very loyally towards the French Mandatory authorities, but also with a due sense of Arab interests. There was, in fact, a great deal of justification for the Turkish claim, and, painful as the sacrifice was, it was well worth the while of Arab nationalists to make it, in order to preserve Turkish goodwill. The success of the British and Turkish cause is in any case an essential factor in the preservation of the independence of the Arab countries and their peaceful development. In this connection it is interesting to note that a recent broadcast from Ankara, which presumably reflects the opinion of the Turkish Government, spoke with approval of the proposal to form a closely allied block of Arab states from the Turkish to the Egyptian frontiers. (Applause.)

A short discussion followed. A member who had recently returned from the Middle East emphasized the importance of demonstrating to the Arabs British determination to carry out the promises made in the White Paper of 1939. He appealed to Zionists to facilitate this by accepting the White Paper and thus leaving the final decision on the future of Palestine to be settled in five years' time by discussion between

the representatives of Great Britain and the whole population of Palestine in the manner envisaged in the White Paper.

He also dwelt on the problem of Syria. The Syrian Arabs wanted two things: (1) Settlement of Palestine for the Arab people; (2) the independence of Syria, or rather the acceptance of the Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936. If the agreement of the French could be secured to this we should have Syria working with us, and could adopt an active instead of a passive attitude towards the Arab world.

A member who represented the Zionist point of view declared that Zionists never could and never would accept the White Paper, but that they had nevertheless not allowed this feeling to interfere in any way with their wholehearted support of Great Britain. He believed in the possibility of a federation of Arab states which should include a Jewish unit, that is, the Jewish National Home, on condition that there was a desire to recognize justice in the case of both Jews and Arabs.

After a few minor points had been raised by other members, the meeting was closed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by the Chairman.



# THE RÔLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

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

I PROPOSE to make a brief survey of the four Moslem States, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, and to give some account of their political actions and reactions since the termination of the last World War.

To take Afghanistan: two months after the Armistice in 1918, King Habibulla, who had dismissed a German Mission from Kabul, and throughout the war had guided the policy of his country with consummate skill, was murdered. The customary fight for the throne was won by Amanulla, the third son of the deceased Amir, who, as Governor of Kabul, had possession of the treasury and won over the army with promises of its contents—promises which incidentally he never kept. His uncle and rival, Nasrulla Khan, was declared to be guilty of instigating the assassination and was thrown into prison, where he speedily died.

Nasrulla Khan had been popular, alike with the *mullas* and the army, and his unjust condemnation caused grave discontent. So much so was this the case that Amanulla, realizing the danger of his position, decided to gamble on the fanaticism of his subjects, and declared *jihad*, or Holy War, against the British.

The campaign which ensued, known as the Third Afghan War, in less than one month was decided in favour of the British. The Amir thereupon in a letter to the Viceroy of May 31, 1919, stigmatized the air bombardments of Kabul and Jalalabad which had taken place as unjustifiable acts of aggression, but added that he was "nevertheless prepared to be magnanimous" and had ordered the cessation of hostilities.

The Peace Treaty was delivered to the truculent Afghan delegates as an ultimatum. It was signed on August 8, 1919, and the British representative, Sir Hamilton Grant, acknowledged in a letter that "Afghanistan was officially free and independent in its internal and external affairs." By this Treaty the handsome subsidy paid to Habibulla was cancelled. The Treaty was severely criticized, especially in military quarters, the feeling being that peace should have been dic-

tated at Kabul. However, such a course would almost certainly have produced a long period of anarchy, while it was considered that the interests of Afghanistan, alike in her trade relations and her fear of Russia, lay in maintaining friendly relations with India.

Before dealing with further negotiations with the Amir which culminated in a treaty, we must turn to Afghan relations with Russia. Amanulla had despatched a Mission to Moscow in the summer of 1919 and had subsequently received a Bolshevist Envoy. Negotiations were checked by the ferocity of Bolshevist attacks on Moslem Bukhara which led to the Amir and hundreds of his subjects taking refuge in Afghanistan. In spite of this set-back, in August, 1921, a Russo-Afghan Treaty was ratified by the Amir. It included "a yearly free subsidy of one million roubles together with a supply of munitions." The reciprocal establishment of Legations and Consulates was also agreed upon.

It is most important to note that, at this period, Russia also negotiated treaties with Turkey and Iran, and that all these treaties were signed at Moscow. The three Moslem states also made treaties with each other. Russia for her part was anxious to make some friends in a generally hostile world, while the three Moslem Powers were certainly actuated by unfriendly feelings towards Great Britain.

To return to Afghanistan, after a Conference held at Mussoorie, which merely produced an *aide-mémoire*, the Amir, undoubtedly influenced by the fate of Bukhara, in October, 1920, invited the Viceroy to send a Mission to Kabul with powers to conclude a treaty. Upon opening the negotiations, Sir Henry Dobbs declared the first Afghan drafts to be "wholly unacceptable." Owing to the Treaty negotiated with Russia, the Amir, who also feared that the British might again invade Afghanistan, was distinctly unfriendly. At this juncture various acts, including the suspicious loss of the Mission mailbag, led to a suspension of negotiations. Finally, however, the impulsive Amir suddenly signed the Treaty on November 21, 1921. It included the creation of Legations and Consulates in each country, while various boundary disputes and trade questions were included in the settlement. To quote Sir Sydney Muspratt, the Military Adviser: "The tedium of the negotiations was varied by a series of ultimatums. More than once the Mission was packing up, but the dove with the olive branch arrived in time. It was a most reliable bird."

King Amanulla now started on a programme of reforms, which were odious in the eyes of his conservative subjects. Especially obnoxious was the new Administrative Code, drafted by a Turkish adviser. It

was declared to be unlawful by the *mullas*, and in 1921 a serious revolt broke out which was only crushed with great difficulty. It seems that the tribesmen especially resented a rule which deprived the father and the husband of his power to treat his daughter and his wife as mere chattels.

In 1928 King Amanulla visited Egypt and Europe, returning home via Turkey and Iran to Kabul. Treated with great hospitality everywhere, he was especially gratified by his reception in England.

I have already mentioned the first series of treaties which formed a network between the states of the Middle East and the Soviet Government and with each other. To continue with the second series, a treaty of neutrality and mutual non-aggression with the Soviet Government was signed in 1926, while similar treaties were signed with the other Moslem Powers of the Middle East. It is to be noticed that whereas all the treaties of 1921 were signed at Moscow, of the second series of 1925-1928, only one was signed at the Russian capital.

Upon his return to Kabul, Amanulla delivered a speech which lasted for five days! During his journey the Queen had appeared in Europe unveiled and had been photographed. She also appeared unveiled at a banquet which was held during the celebrations at Kabul. This action and the determination of Amanulla to force the wearing of European clothes on all inhabitants of Kabul and on visitors to the city, added to the education of girls on European lines, excited the fury of the *mullas*. Taking advantage of it, a brigand named Habibulla was able to seize Kabul, whereupon Amanulla fled to Kandahar and finally sailed to Europe in 1929.

A new dynasty was founded by Nadir Khan of the same Durrani tribe, who, in spite of many defeats, finally overthrew Habibulla and was declared King of Afghanistan in 1929.

Among his acts was a new treaty of neutrality and non-aggression with the Soviet Government which was negotiated in 1931. In the following year, at the "World Disarmament Conference" of the League of Nations, the vote for the substantial reduction of armaments was adopted by forty-two votes to two, with eight abstentions. The two hostile votes were Germany and the U.S.S.R., while Afghanistan and Turkey, who had become members of the League in 1934, figured among the abstaining States.

King Nadir Shah, a truly great ruler, was assassinated in 1933, but thanks to the loyalty of his brothers, his son was immediately proclaimed King Zahir Shah. During his reign progress is being made

cautiously. The economic policy has been to reduce imports of sugar and textiles by growing beets and cotton, while a second object has been to eliminate middlemen in favour of the Ashami Company, which is largely a Government concern.

The Four-Power Treaty of Saadabad, which was signed in 1937, may be best described as one of *bon voisinage*, but is not a military alliance. It was signed by Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq at the palace of Shah Riza, and certainly makes for peace among these Moslem states. Russia was not included in this series of treaties.

I will now quote from a speech made by Lord Zetland in March of 1940 at a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association. He said: "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 subsidies 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."

To conclude, Afghanistan declared her neutrality shortly after the outbreak of the present war, and there are rumours that the Axis Powers are utilizing ex-King Amanulla, who has resided in Rome since his abdication, as a pawn for creating trouble in Afghanistan. The Government, however, under the firm rule of the young King's uncles, while afraid of Russia, remains steadfast in its friendship with the British Empire.

IRAN, during the last World War, was the theatre of much fighting, mainly between Russia and Turkey. Great Britain had also played her part, fighting the Turks in the Karun Valley. Moreover, in South Iran the small column which I commanded captured the German Missions which had been established to support the Niedermayer Mission to the Amir, which has already been referred to. The South Persia Rifles which I raised and British troops at Bushire were also engaged with local tribes, including the brave Kashgais, who were organized by that most capable German agent, Wassmuss. Shiraz was invested for some two months by the Kashgais during the summer of 1919, but we finally defeated the besiegers and broke them. North-West Iran was the theatre of gallant General Dunsterville, who, with only one thousand British bayonets, denied the oil of Baku to the enemy in the critical autumn of 1918. He also prevented a march by the Turks on Tehran from the west. Finally, a cordon was formed on

the western border of Afghanistan, and a British force actually penetrated as far east as Merv and did excellent work.

In 1919 an Anglo-Iranian Agreement was negotiated, by the terms of which Great Britain supplied expert advisers for the several departments of the administration. Moreover, an Iranian army was to be enrolled and officered by British officers; and finally a loan of £2,000,000 was to be made. This Agreement was signed in August, 1919. The timorous Prime Minister failed to summon the *Majlis* immediately and gradually vested interests and nationalist fears that Great Britain intended to rule Iran as she had ruled Egypt, tended to make the Agreement most unpopular. Meanwhile, the months passed without the *Majlis* being assembled.

We now come to the rise of the present Shah. In 1920 a Bolshevist force seized the port of Enzeli (now Pahlevi) and overran the Caspian province of Gilan. The British, who, at this period, kept a brigade stationed at Kazvin under Brigadier-General (now Field-Marshal Sir Edmund) Ironside, insisted on the Persian Cossack Division under its Russian officers expelling the invaders. It was, however, routed and fell back in utter disorder on the British lines. General Ironside arranged for the force to be reorganized by a British officer and, inspecting it some weeks later, asked him to recommend a Persian officer to place in supreme command, in place of the Russian officers who had been dismissed. "Riza Khan" was the prompt response of the officer, and in this dramatic fashion the future Shah secured high command.

Before long Riza Khan was approached by politicians at Tehran, who were hostile to Ahmad Shah. Thereupon he marched his division swiftly on the capital and seized the reins of government. Assuming the key position of War Minister, Riza Khan immediately formed a Cabinet, which unanimously rejected the Treaty with Great Britain, and the *Majlis*, which had just been assembled, confirmed this decision. To Lord Curzon, who persisted in thinking of Iran as it had been a generation ago, this was a bitter blow, and British prestige has hardly yet recovered from the effects of this disastrous policy.

To return to the Bolshevist invasion of 1920, the invaders met with little resistance, and could probably have taken Tehran without much difficulty. However, its leader reported that the people were bitterly hostile, and that there was no industrial population that could be won over to the doctrines of Bolshevism. Accordingly, it was decided to evacuate Gilan and to make friends with Iran. In pursuance of this

new policy, in 1921, a treaty was concluded. By its terms Russia renounced all debts due to the Czarist Government and handed over the *Banque d'Escompte*, a Russian business, various roads and the Julfa-Tabriz railway to Iran—a singularly generous settlement. It was stipulated in this Treaty that a Customs Convention should be negotiated but, in view of the crude economic views held at Moscow, this proved to be a very difficult task. Indeed, in 1926, an embargo was placed on exports from Iran to Russia by the Bolshevik authorities. Her relations with Iran may still be described as uneasy.

In 1923, Sultan Ahmed Shah, to whom I had been presented and who struck me as an amiable nonentity, fearing for his life, took refuge in Europe. Two years later Riza Khan, who as Prime Minister and Minister of War had become all-powerful, was elected Shah.

One of the first acts of the new ruler had been to amalgamate the South Persia Rifles (which had been disbanded and then re-enlisted) and the Persian Cossack Division into an army some 40,000 strong. Thanks to his grim determination, it was the first Iranian army to be properly paid, armed, equipped and fed. Using this instrument, Shah Riza gradually disarmed the nomad tribesmen, whom he forcibly converted into agriculturists. He thereby gradually created law and order.

The fortunate discovery of oil in the Karun Valley finally led to the creation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. It has provided the Shah with a large annual income, it has raised the prosperity of the neighbouring province, and has facilitated the introduction of mechanized transport. In addition, the generous treatment of the thirty thousand Iranian employés and their families, for whom housing, education, and medical care are provided, has produced satisfactory results in more than one direction. Finally, the British Government, a shareholder in the Company to the tune of £2,000,000, also benefits to a considerable extent from the abundant supply of petrol.

No better example of the change in the relations between the East and the West and the advance of the Conservative Orient can be shown than by the acceptance by the West of the abolition of the system under which Europeans could not be tried by native courts. In Iran, the Soviet Government renounced capitulatory privileges in 1921, and six years later New Judicial Regulations, based mainly on French law, were formally inaugurated by the Shah. Finally, just a century after Russia had imposed these Capitulations by the Treaties of Turkomchai, they were abolished.

Realizing the supreme importance of communications, the Shah

has carried through the tremendous task of uniting the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea by the Trans-Iranian Railway, which was officially opened in 1938. The distance is 860 miles, and tunnelling operations of exceptional difficulty were involved. The reason for creating a port in the Persian Gulf was clear, but not so the choice of a terminus in the south-east corner of the Caspian, which is served by no line of steamers. All the trade from Baku still enters Iran via Enzeli (now Pahlevi), and so from the commercial point of view the alignment was a mistake. His Imperial Majesty may, of course, have been influenced by strategical reasons, or, possibly, by other factors in this fertile area. It remains to add that there is considerable traffic on the Trans-Iranian Railway, but, including the important oil which is carried in tanks, it is all one-way traffic—from south to north. A second line is under construction from Tehran westwards which will ultimately unite with the Turkish railway system. Numerous roads are also being constructed to link up the various cities which, owing to difficulties of the terrain, are badly served by the main line.

Under the impulse of this energetic ruler, great strides have been made in the development of industry. Sugar refineries, textile and paper mills, match and cigarette factories have sprung up at various important centres and an industrial population is gradually being formed. One drawback to the many admirable features of the new order is the creation of monopolies for sugar, tea, opium, tobacco, motor-cars, etc., etc. In many cases the merchants who dealt in these wares have been ruined, while the Government officials frequently lack the necessary training and experience. Corruption still prevails.

It remains to add that by a clever system of barter Germany has supplied Iran with machinery for many of her factories, while German engineers, working for very low salaries, are in permanent charge of the machinery which they have installed. British trade has accordingly suffered a heavy blow.

Mention has been made in the section dealing with Afghanistan of the two sets of Treaties in which the Moslem Powers drew together. In the first, Russia negotiated with Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey in 1921 and following years, and all these treaties were signed at Moscow. Finally the Pact of Saadabad, which was signed at the Shah's palace of Saadabad and which was, as described above, a pact of *bon voisinage*, included the four Moslem Powers of the Middle East, but not Russia.

In Iran there are large German and Italian colonies. The Germans, who are 1,500 strong, have a Brown House, which is a centre of anti-

British propaganda, while their Legation staff includes a Press Attaché and a journalist propagandist. The Germans are employed in factories, and some of them own hair-dressing and other establishments. Since the expulsion of the German Minister from Iraq, Tehran has become the chief centre of propaganda in the Middle East, which is aided *volens volens* by every German subject.

The Italian colony, numbering perhaps 1,200, has a Fascist Club, but is not so highly organized as the German colony. Most of its members work at some distance from Tehran and are, in many cases, employed on railway construction. This was particularly the case with the Trans-Iranian Railway.

To conclude, Iranian opinion was naturally influenced by the collapse of France, but the fact that the Royal Air Force is gnawing the vitals of Germany is carefully noted. Iran, who naturally fears Russia, in my opinion, will remain neutral.

The Arab Kingdom of IRAQ, with its population of Arabs and Kurds, was formed out of the Turkish provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. It was conquered by the British during the last world war, but not without the severe reverse sustained by the capture of Kut-al-Amara, in 1916.

Ten days after the signature of the Turkish armistice at Mudros, on November 7, 1918, an Anglo-French Proclamation was issued to the inhabitants of these provinces, promising them the establishment of national governments and administrations, based on their free choice.

Delay in carrying into effect these promises, which was inevitable under the circumstances, caused a revolt of the Shia tribes, who were incited by the fanatical *Mujtahids*, or "Doctors of the Sacred Law." This rebellion was crushed with difficulty and, in June, 1921, Amir Faisal, who had been expelled from Syria by the French, appeared at Baghdad. He was welcomed enthusiastically as their ruler by the people and was crowned King on August 23, 1921.

The early years of his reign were troublous. The Turks on the north were hostile until they were driven out in 1923, the year of the Conference of Lausanne. Moreover, Ibn Saud, the Sultan of Nejd, who is now the admirable King of Saudi Arabia, after the defeat of Ibn Rashid, the Chief of the Shammar tribe, and the occupation of Hail, his capital, in November, 1921, claimed the allegiance of the Anizah tribe, which had always owned allegiance to the Turks; he also permitted his fanatical Akhwan, who, contrary to Arab custom, killed



men, women, and children, to attack the Iraq Desert Corps and the shepherds whom they protected.

There were also difficulties as to the nature of the relations between the British and Iraq Governments and an Anti-Mandate agitation disturbed the population. However, in 1922, Sir Percy Cox, that truly great British official, and the real founder of the Kingdom of Iraq, signed a treaty between the two Powers for a period of twenty years.

At this time there was also serious trouble in Kurdish Iraq, which was successfully dealt with by Air-Marshal Sir John Salmond. It was, however, the period of Mustafa Kemal's final defeat of the Greeks, which naturally reacted unfavourably on the political situation in Iraq.

King Faisal had issued a proclamation ordering elections for the Constituent Assembly in October, 1922, whereupon the *Mujtahids* forbade all participation in them. They even threatened that anyone who voted would be denied burial in a Moslem cemetery!

At this period there was a change of Government in England, and Mr. Bonar Law's Cabinet decided that the original twenty years of the Treaty should be reduced to a maximum of four years after the ratification of the peace with Turkey, which actually took place on August 6, 1924. It also laid down that, in the event of Iraq becoming a member of the League of Nations, the Treaty would automatically cease. Furthermore, a promise was made to reconsider the financial obligations of Iraq to the British Government, after ratification. A warning was, however, given that failure to pass the Treaty by June 10 would be regarded as rejection. Under this stimulus and not without difficulty, the instrument was accepted by the Iraq Assembly and by the League of Nations. It was finally ratified by King George and King Faisal in the winter of 1924.

Among the important measures passed by the Iraq Cabinet at this period were the Agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as it is now designated, for the dredging of the Shatt-al-Arab and the grant of a concession to an international body, termed the Turkish Petroleum Company, of the right to exploit the oil wells of the Kingdom. Long-term contracts were also signed with over one hundred British advisers and technical experts.

The question of the Mosul province proved to be a thorny one. By the Treaty of Lausanne it was provided that the dispute should be brought before the League of Nations unless settled by agreement within nine months. In 1924, negotiations took place at Constantinople. There Sir Percy Cox, with a view to securing the mountain home of

the Assyrians, demanded districts lying north of the Brussels line, so called because it was formulated by the Council at Brussels. The Turks, however, refused to abate their claim to the whole province. In August of this year the League appointed a Commission to study the question on the spot, and finally the inclusion of the Mosul province within Iraq was agreed upon in a treaty signed at Angora on behalf of Great Britain, Iraq, and Turkey on June 5, 1926. At this period a Pact of Security for ten years was also negotiated with Iraq, by the terms of which Turkey was to receive a 10 per cent. share of the royalties of the Mosul oil wells for a period of twenty-five years. As a result of this settlement the Assyrians lost their national home, being somewhat naturally regarded as rebels by the Turks, while the new boundary line bisected Kurdistan.

The award of the League having settled this most important question, a third treaty, in which Iraq was formally recognized to be an independent state, followed in 1927; and Great Britain furthermore promised that if the present rate of progress were maintained, she would support her candidature for admission to the League of Nations in 1932. The League, at this period, felt considerable doubt as to the administrative, political and social progress of Iraq, but a declaration by the British Government to be responsible for any falling short in her behaviour was accepted, provided that Iraq gave a declaration guaranteeing minority rights, justice, international law and other safeguards. This declaration was signed, and on October 3, 1932, Iraq was duly admitted a member of the League.

A serious point of issue between Iraq and Iran was the status of the large number of Persians who inhabited that country. In 1924, persons desirous of renouncing Iraq nationality were called on to do so. This question affected thousands, many of whom neither understood the purport of the announcement nor were able to pay the fee that was demanded. To add to this complication, the Iranian Government claimed for those nationals whose status was established, the privilege of Capitulations at a time when, in Iran, it was denouncing them in the case of Europeans. It furthermore declared that until they were granted, the Government of the Shah did not intend to acknowledge Iraq. To this arbitrary announcement the Iraq Government pointed out that, under Turkish rule, Iranians had enjoyed no capitulatory privileges in Iraq and, again, that Iran had expressed no intention of granting Iraqi subjects similar privileges in Iran. Another point was that the number of Iranian subjects living in Iraq was so great that the

grant to them of capitulatory privileges would seriously hamper both administration and justice. The case for Iraq was overwhelmingly strong, but Iranian pride held the field until, in 1929, the British Government appealed to the League for its approval to terminate the Anglo-Iraqi Judiciary Agreement, by which certain privileges were enjoyed by foreigners of European birth. The Shah thereupon realized that the bottom was knocked out of his case, and negotiations were opened which led to the despatch of a Mission from King Faisal to congratulate His Imperial Majesty on the third anniversary of his accession. At a banquet, the formal recognition of Iraq was announced and constituted a valuable contribution to peace and progress in the Middle East.

King Faisal, whose rule had been that of a benevolent despot, died in 1933, and was succeeded by his son King Ghazi I., who was aged twenty-one. The young King, who had won much popularity by his openly displayed approval of the campaign against the unfortunate Assyrians, which I cannot touch on from lack of time, attempted to control the state as his father had done. This, however, owing to his lack of experience, he was unable to do, and, generally speaking, he was content to accept the views of his British advisers and Iraqi ministers.

In October, 1936, General Bakir Sidki marched on Baghdad, which he bombarded from the air, and insisted on the appointment of a ministry composed of his followers. Jafar Pasha, the most highly esteemed Iraqi, who was Minister of Defence, was murdered while attempting to negotiate with the mutineers. Nor did Sidki himself escape retribution, for he was murdered by a soldier in 1937, and a bloodless *coup d'état* brought General Nuri Pasha as-Said to the Premiership in 1938.

Reference must now be made to the question of the Shatt-al-Arab, which caused serious friction between Iraq and Iran. Its régime was based on the Treaty of Erzerum of 1847, by which the whole waterway from a point two miles below Fao was recognized as being subject to the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire. This was the only connection between these Turkish provinces and the Persian Gulf, whereas Iran had Bushire, Bandar Abbas, and other ports. On the other hand, the result was that the Karun River with its ports of Muhamra and Ahwaz were only accessible to the Persian Gulf through the territorial waters of Iraq. Shah Riza raised this thorny question, which came before the League Council in January, 1935, but without

result. Finally, in view of the feeling of the four Moslem Powers of the Middle East towards co-operation, Iran and Iraq signed a Pact settling definitely the Shatt-al-Arab question on the terms that Iran should be given an anchorage off Abadan Island. This Agreement on July 8, 1937, was followed by the important four-power Pact of Saadabad, signed at Tehran by Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, which was, as already stated, essentially a pact of *bon voisinage* and not a military alliance.

King Ghazi died as the result of an accident on April 4, 1939, and was succeeded by his son, Faisal II., a boy of four. His maternal uncle, Amir Abdulla, a young man in the twenties, who had been educated at the Victoria College, Alexandria, was appointed Regent.

At the outbreak of hostilities, under the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of Alliance, the King of Iraq had contracted "to furnish to His Britannic Majesty on Iraq territory all the facilities and assistance in his power." Iraq severed her diplomatic relations with Germany, and her Minister was given his passports. He had consistently abused his position by the creation of Nazi centres in Iraq, and even, it is stated, in the Persian Gulf. To carry out these sinister plans he had spent much money in the maintenance of agents and in subsidizing the Press. It is to be noted, however, that when Italy declared war diplomatic relations with that country were not broken off.

In March, 1940, the murder of Sayyid Rustam Haidar, the Minister of Finance, caused a serious crisis. The Prime Minister, General Nuri Pasha as-Said, who was determined to investigate the circumstances attending the tragedy, met with so much obstruction that he decided to resign. At this juncture the young Regent was informed by the Chief of the General Staff that the army objected to the return of Nuri to the Premiership. Acting promptly, the Regent, having taken over control of the trunk telephones, asked each General personally whether he objected to the inclusion of General Nuri and another General in a new Cabinet. In each case the officer replied that, as an officer in the army, he did not wish to express an opinion. The Regent, however, ascertained that there were two objectors. Accordingly, placing these two officers on the retired list, he instructed General Nuri Pasha to form a new Cabinet, and through this firm action a serious situation was successfully dealt with.

In April, 1940, complete agreements on all questions between Iraq and Saudi Arabia were reported as the result of an Iraqi Mission which visited Ibn Saud, and established excellent personal relations with His

Majesty. Again in July of the same year the visit of an Iraqi delegation to Angora further cemented the good relations between the two countries that were strengthened by the Pact of Saadabad.

To conclude this section, the completion in July, 1940, of the last section of the Baghdad railway which links Iraq alike to Europe and the Persian Gulf, together with her position on the main air route to India, are of great advantage. Furthermore, the completion of the Haifa-Baghdad motor road undoubtedly adds to the importance of Basra as a port. Finally, she is the fortunate possessor of rich oil wells. Difficulties due to growing pains are being overcome; education, commerce, and agriculture are alike progressing, and good relations with Great Britain and neighbouring Moslem States are assured.

The last and by far the most powerful of the Moslem States under review is TURKEY. To glance back at the outbreak of the last World War, in 1913 Enver Pasha became Minister of War and, on August 2, a secret alliance known only to himself and Talaat Bey, the Grand Vizier, was concluded with Germany. There was a struggle between Enver's party and that headed by the Turkish Minister of Finance, which was opposed to entering the war. The former was, however, much strengthened by the gift to Turkey of two German warships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, which had taken refuge from the British Fleet in the Dardanelles. When these ships which, although they had become units of the Turkish Navy, were still under German command, attacked Russian ships in the Black Sea, that Power, followed by France and Great Britain, declared war on Turkey.

Turkey was jockeyed into the war by her pro-German party, and, in the first stages of the hostilities, Russia captured Erzerum and Trebizond. Turkey, on the other hand, successfully defended the Dardanelles against the British, but failed to cross the Suez Canal into Egypt. She, however, struck a serious blow at the British by the capture of Kut-al-Amara in the spring of 1916. Finally she was defeated and driven out of Iraq by Sir Stanley Maude and Sir William Marshall, and with the support of the Arab tribes from Palestine by Lord Allenby, after which the British occupied Syria. These defeats led to the representative of Turkey signing an armistice on board a British warship at Mudros on October 30, 1918. The Allies thereupon occupied the Straits and Constantinople.

At this point a brief reference is called for as to the various portions of Turkish territory desired by the three chief belligerents. In 1916

the Sykes-Picot Agreement was drawn up by Sir Mark Sykes and George Picot representing Great Britain and France respectively. Russia was also negotiated with. The formal notes exchanged in May, 1916, allocated to France Syria, Cilicia, a considerable portion of Southern Anatolia and the Mosul district. Great Britain wished for a strip of country running across the extreme south of Syria to Iraq where the provinces of Baghdad and Basra were claimed. Finally Russia earmarked Constantinople with a few miles of hinterland on either side of the Bosphorus, together with a considerable portion of Eastern Anatolia. In April, 1917, Italy, at the Conference of St. Jean de Maurienne, agreed to this arrangement, provided that she herself also received a considerable part of the Anatolian plateau.

In addition to these plans, there was keen rivalry between Italy and Greece, who both wanted Smyrna. In the event Greece was the first to secure this key city.

At this period the position of the Turks was desperate. If we include the Balkan War, they had been fighting almost continuously for seven years. They were left with only the broken remains of their armies, but, fortunately for them, they gained invaluable time to reorganize while the Allies were disputing the terms of the Peace. They were also able to retain large quantities of their war material since the victors, who were disbanding their armies, were not strong enough to disarm them fully. In May, 1919, however, the Greeks occupied Smyrna, where they massacred the Turkish inhabitants, while the foolish scheme of creating an Armenian State, which would include the Eastern provinces of Turkey, was discussed.

During this momentous period Turkey was breaking with the old order. In July, 1919, a National Congress met at Erzerum, at which Mustafa Kemal, who had proved himself a doughty opponent of the British at the Dardanelles, presided.

It was followed by the meeting of a new Parliament with a nationalist majority at Constantinople in January, 1920. On this occasion the demands of the Nationalists were formulated in the "National Pact." They included self-determination for the Arab provinces; agreement to open the Straits to the commerce of the world; the retention of all territories with Turkish inhabitants; the security of Constantinople; the abolition of the Capitulations; and, finally, the settlement of the public debt on reasonable terms.

The Sultan, who highly disapproved of the Nationalist movement, was supported by the Allies who, on March 20, arrested many of its

leading members. Nothing daunted, Mustafa Kemal organized a new Turkish Government with its capital at remote inland Angora. The Allies, determined to checkmate this challenge to their authority, permitted the Greek army to advance beyond the area already occupied by it, to Brusa; it also occupied Eastern Thrace. In further support of this policy, on August 10, 1920, they concluded the Treaty of Sèvres with the Sultan. This Treaty meant nothing less than the partition of the Turkish Empire. Greece was to have Smyrna and its fertile hinterland and Eastern Thrace; France and Italy were to divide the southern provinces between them, while an independent Armenian State was to be created in Turkey's north-eastern provinces with its frontiers drawn by the President of the United States.

Mustafa Kemal fully realized the intense seriousness of the situation, but he also was aware that the armies of the Allies were being disbanded and that time was on his side. Early in 1920 he defeated a French force at Marash in Cilicia, which defeat convinced their Government that to occupy South-East Anatolia was beyond its power. She therefore decided to concentrate her energies on Syria. The Turkish leader also attacked and captured Kars from the Armenian Republic, and a peace was concluded at Alexandroupolis on January 3, 1921. In the month of October of the same year a treaty was concluded with Soviet Russia. By its terms Kars and Ardahan were acknowledged as belonging to Turkey, who restored Batum to Russia. As already mentioned, Russia negotiated treaties at this period with Afghanistan and Iran, while the three Moslem States also negotiated treaties with one another. During this year the Greek army was beaten back in Anatolia—not once, but twice—in January and again in April.

In view of the dissensions prevailing among the Allies, at a Conference held in London in January, 1921, neutral zones on each side of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were laid down and forbidden to the belligerents.

The next important step was taken by France, who, acting independently in October, 1921, signed an Agreement at Angora, which recognized the Turkish Government officially. In the following year, on August 10, the Allies proclaimed their neutrality, and sixteen days later the Greek army was completely routed. During its retirement on Smyrna it burnt the towns and massacred the Turkish populations. The victors entered Smyrna on September 6, and a week later this important city was destroyed by fire.

A column of the Turkish army then advanced on the neutral zone and reached the wire entanglement at Chanak where the British alone remained, the French and Italian detachments having withdrawn across the Dardanelles. The situation was a critical one, and General Sir Charles Harrington, whose death was recently reported, deserved the greatest credit for having settled matters by personal negotiation with General Ismet, without an armed collision.

To return to Angora, on October 1, 1922, the Sultanate was abolished by the Great National Assembly, and Sultan Muhammad VI. took refuge on a British warship and disappeared from the scene.

The Lausanne Conference, which met in November, 1922, signed a Peace Treaty with Turkey on July 24, 1923. By its terms Turkey secured the demands embodied in the National Pact with the sole exception of the Mosul province, which, as already mentioned, was awarded to Iraq. She had already abolished Capitulations in 1914, and this was agreed to at Lausanne. Thus by valour, crowned by decisive victory in the field and statesmanship, Turkey justly won back her rightful place in the world. In the words of Mustafa Kemal, she had won "the greatest diplomatic victory in history." To ensure that there should remain no outstanding minority problems, exchanges of Turks and Greeks were carried out with the help of the League of Nations and were completed in 1929.

In the following year a Treaty of Friendship marked the re-establishment of cordial relations between the two former enemies, and, in 1933, this was followed up by a ten-year Pact of Cordial Friendship, which reflected credit on both Governments.

We now turn to Turkey and the Balkan States. By 1933, she had placed her relations with the various states on a friendly footing. But, in this year, the accession of Hitler to power caused the international situation to deteriorate. In 1934 Turkey, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania signed the Soviet Convention for the Definition of the Aggressor; and, in the same year, Turkey, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece signed a Pact of Balkan Understanding. The earlier Pact provided for a mutual guarantee of frontiers, joint consultation on matters of common interest and, in a secret Protocol, it was laid down that if any signatory were attacked by a non-Balkan Power and was assisted by a Balkan State, the terms of the Pact would operate against that Balkan State. In spite of the absence of Bulgaria and Albania from this Pact, due in Bulgaria's case to hopes of obtaining the south part of Dobruja (which has now been secured), and in the case of Albania, to



Italy's hostility, a Permanent Council was established, and regular meetings arranged.

Turkey, who had not forgotten that Italy had robbed her of Libya and of the Dodecanese, took a prominent part in the sanctions imposed on Italy for her unjustifiable attack on Abyssinia in 1935 and supported the proposal to impose oil sanctions. However, with the new situation created by the removal of the sanctions, together with Hitler's fortification of the Rhineland, Turkey determined to regain the right to fortify the Dardanelles. She had strongly protested against the sections in the Treaty of Lausanne which forbade such fortification and which had compelled her to demilitarize a wide belt of territory on each side of them. However, supported by Great Britain at a Conference held at Montreux in 1936, she regained full rights of fortification. She was, moreover, given full powers to restrict the passage of warships other than those belonging to the Black Sea States. Finally, if she were at war, she could close the Straits at will. By a happy coincidence, on the day before the remilitarization was effected, I was visiting the ruins of Troy and saw at a distance the troops that brought the new order into operation.

We now come to reforms achieved by *Ataturk*, or "Father Turk," as he was termed. In 1924 he passed three laws: (a) Expelling the Ottoman dynasty; (b) abolishing the Caliphate; and (c) seizing the religious foundations and handing them over to the newly formed Commissariat of Public Instruction. He had now become a Dictator and ruthlessly suppressed all opposition; he even ignored parliamentary immunity. He also dealt ruthlessly with the wild Kurds, who hated the new order, killing all the grown males whom he captured.

His decrees in favour of westernization began with the prohibition of the fez, which was preceded by the issue of peaked caps to the army. Since this headgear made it impossible to lay the forehead on the ground while praying without moving it round, there was considerable opposition, and on the last night that a Turk could legally wear the fez there was rioting. But no concessions were made, and heavy sentences, which included hard labour, were passed on those who were obstinate in public. Privately, old men continued to don the forbidden fez. With this abolition of the fez European clothes were ordered to be worn by the stern dictator.

A more far-reaching change was the substitution of Latin for the Arabic script. Here again the *Ataturk* led the way. In the summer of 1928, after using the Latin script on postage stamps and then on paper

money, he acted as school-teacher to his high officials. Later, the matter was introduced by the President himself, and it was unanimously agreed that, from the beginning of June, 1929, Latin script should alone be used. At first there was paralysis, so far as the publishing of books or newspapers was concerned, but the advantages were finally seen to be overwhelming, and the reform was, generally speaking, approved.

Among the last treaties to be negotiated by the *Ataturk* was the Pact of Saadabad of July, 1937, in which, as mentioned above, the four Moslem powers united to express their friendship for each other. In November, 1938, Turkey suffered a grievous loss in the death of the great founder of the New Turkey, who passed away honoured and mourned by all. He was succeeded by Ismet Inoni, who won the first victory over the Greeks at Inoni and adopted it as his surname. He was Prime Minister under the *Ataturk* for many years, and is the most experienced statesman in the country, who favours organization and administration on the present lines.

In 1938 a new Turko-Greek Treaty was negotiated, which was to stay in force for a decade. By its terms Turkey and Greece promised to remain neutral if one of them is attacked. Each country would prevent the transport of troops or munitions through its territory to any state attacking either of them. In case of war, however, the two states would reconsider the situation and decide to act in accordance with their interests.

I have not time to deal at any length with the remarkable industrial growth of Turkey under the new order, but a brief reference to the Industrial Five-Year Plan, which was probably inspired by the success of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan, is perhaps desirable. Based on a credit of sixteen million Turkish pounds,\* granted by the Soviet Union, the Plan was directed to the establishment of certain consumption goods and to starting certain basic industries which would furnish the means of production. Under the first class were textiles, paper, glass and porcelain; under the second, coal, coke, iron, chemicals, copper and sulphur were included. The establishment of basic industries was calculated to facilitate the growth of secondary industries which might become private enterprises.

Turkey's industrial revolution, which I am obliged to omit for reasons of time, has been accompanied by the marked improvement of com-

\* A Turkish pound is about 5.23 to the £ sterling.

munications. The pre-Republic railways were owned by foreign companies whom the State bought out. Other lines have now been constructed. One of the most important completed the missing sections of the Baghdad Railway, as already mentioned. From Adana, which is now united to the Bosphorus, it runs into Syrian territory at Aleppo. Later it follows the frontier between Syria and Turkey to Nisibin. There it traverses the Syrian *Bec de Canard*, as it is termed, and enters Iraq territory some miles west of Mosul. Lines have also been constructed in the eastern provinces, and it is hoped to link up with the Tehran-Tabriz line which is now under construction.

Turkey had long been anxious to recover the Hatay (signifying Hittite) which formed part of Syria under the mandate of France. This territory, which included the important harbour of Alexandretta, and was inhabited by a large Turkish population, was handed back to her in July, 1939, by France when she was arranging for the termination of her mandate in Syria. This addition to Turkey is of considerable importance to her.

In the spring of 1939 the German invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, and perhaps even more the seizure of Albania by Italy, caused Turkey the most serious concern, influenced without doubt by the Italian menace that the strong naval base of Leros in the Dodecanese constituted to shipping routes converging on the Dardanelles. In May a Treaty of mutual assistance was concluded with Great Britain to be supplemented in June by a similar Franco-Turkish Agreement. These Treaties declared that, in the event of an act of aggression, leading to war in the Mediterranean, Turkey would reciprocally co-operate. In both cases the need of guarding the security of the Balkan States was emphasized. Finally, Turkey stressed her friendship with Russia and declined to join in any movement hostile to that country.

With the sudden collapse of France the position of Turkey was materially weakened, since she lost the support of the powerful French army in Syria and could only rely on her own forces and the British Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean. There was also the widely held view that Great Britain would collapse under the intolerable strain that was being placed on her, in which case Germany in all probability would have enslaved her. The policy of Russia is enigmatical, and negotiations undertaken by the Turkish Foreign Minister in the autumn of 1939 broke down because Russia pressed Turkey, as part of a Black Sea Mutual Assistance Pact, to keep the Dardanelles closed to the warships of any nation hostile to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the alliance

of the Soviet with Nazi Germany followed by its campaigns in Poland and Finland shocked Turkey.

To conclude this summary, Turkey, who alone of the four Moslem Powers has prepared her country against air attack, as the guardian of the key position of the Dardanelles, has stood loyally by her pact in spite of the disasters that have mainly been our lot. She now realizes that our incomparable airmen have materially changed the situation in our favour, and that our magnificent Navy has not only blockaded the Reichland, together with the conquered states, but by establishing its control of the Mediterranean has rendered the *mare nostrum* of vaunting Mussolini a subject of jest. She also realises that the evacuation of Dunkirk was, under the circumstances, a notable feat.

The sudden attack on Greece by Italy seriously affects Turkey, but there is every reason to believe that she will remain staunch and loyal to her pledges.

Brigadier-General Sir OSBORNE MANCE commented on the above paper : Turkey, by her extraordinarily successful internal and external policies, had secured a leading position in both these directions even before the present war. The situation with regard to the Moslem States in the East was not a live one at present. There was no alliance between them, only a treaty of friendship and an agreement to consult together if their mutual interests were threatened.

With regard to the Balkans, Turkey had been a realist from the beginning. Looking at the situation objectively, she had seen that the only means of ensuring the safety of the Balkans was a Balkan Pact. Unfortunately she did not succeed in bringing this about, mainly because of the extreme shortsightedness of other States, particularly Rumania, who did not see where their real interests lay. On the other hand, Turkey's most powerful neighbour was Russia, and it was Russia who had helped Turkey in the beginning to establish her present régime. Turkey would certainly not wish to become engaged in any war in the west if there were any chance of Russia coming in against her in the east. Had Turkey even been sure that Russia would remain neutral in the present war she would very probably have taken a stronger line than she had done with regard to the Balkan States. In present circumstances Turkey was only obliged to come to the aid of Greece if she were attacked by another Balkan State. There was also another treaty by which Turkey and Greece guaranteed their mutual frontier. Both these treaties really applied to Bulgaria, and if she were

to come into the war it would be almost impossible for Turkey to stay out.

Again, Turkey might have taken more risk with regard to Russia if she could have counted on the French Army in Egypt. The defection of Syria was a very serious blow to her. She had relied upon the French in Syria for the defence of one of her frontiers.

The cession of Alexandretta to Turkey had been perfectly right though it had not been done in the right way. Alexandretta was obviously an outlet for Turkey and not for Syria, who had an outlet in Tripoli and Beirut. It had been given to France largely for political reasons and not for reasons affecting communications, and as soon as a railway serving the interior had been built Alexandretta with its immediate hinterland—not necessarily the whole Sanjak—should have been returned to Turkey. Then France could have asked, in return, for the old Baghdad railway going from Aleppo to the Iraq frontier. If France had done this, although it might not have been altogether a British interest, Syria would have had communication with Iraq without going through Turkey. At the moment Syria had to go quite a long way into Turkey and come back again to Syria before reaching Iraq, and Iraq had to cross Syria twice in order to get from Iraq to Turkey. It was absolutely essential that Turkey should have Alexandretta as an outlet for a great part of Central and Eastern Anatolia. The only mistake had been the failure to come to an equitable arrangement with regard to Syria.

# EXPLORATION IN BALUCHISTAN

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

At a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association, held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, October 23, 1940, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., read a paper on "Exploration in Baluchistan," which was illustrated by lantern slides. Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to preside here today, a great compliment.

I do not think that I need use many words in introducing to you the speaker this afternoon; he is so well known to you—General Sir Percy Sykes. We all know him as a distinguished officer who has done important work in Southern Persia, not only in the last war, but before that war, and we all know that he is a master of the subject on which he is going to speak. I need say no more than to introduce to you Sir Percy Sykes. (Applause.)

**B**ALUCHISTAN consists of a huge semi-desert country, divided between the British and Persian (now termed Iranian) Governments. It stretches for a distance of some six hundred miles from the Indian province of Sind to the Iranian province of Kerman; the coastal area, which runs inland for some sixty miles to a low range, is known as Makran. As a proof of the arid aspect of the country, the saying runs: "When the Almighty created the world Baluchistan was formed from the *dèbris*."

In a previous journey undertaken in the first half of 1893, I had crossed Iran from the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea to Meshed and thence to Kerman. Near that city I had met H.H. the Farman Farma, the Governor-General, and had travelled with him for a few days. When I said good-bye to my hospitable host to continue my journey to Shiraz and Bushire, His Highness had warmly invited me to meet him again in Baluchistan, where he intended to tour in the coming winter, and promised to facilitate my explorations. As will be seen, his help was of the greatest value to me.

The main objective of the journey I am about to describe was to explore a mountain range with a high peak known as Kuh-i-Taftan, or "The Boiling," which term might well prove to signify a volcano, while it was stated to be covered with perpetual snow. Its attractiveness was increased by the fact that it had never been explored by any

European. My companion was Major Brazier-Creagh of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and the party included Sultan Sukhru, a capable Indian surveyor.

We landed in the early autumn of 1893 at the little port of Chahbar on the desolate coast of the Arabian Sea, where the Superintendent of the Indo-European Telegraph station had kindly arranged for camels to be collected. We soon ascertained that the Baluchis possessed no ropes and had no idea of charging their beasts, while loads that a Persian muleteer would willingly have accepted provoked a chorus of injured protests. We were also surprised by the large number of camel drivers standing about, until we were informed that, in many cases, each leg of a camel possessed an owner! Finally, supplied with ropes by our host, we apportioned our belongings and helped our servants to tie them up and load the camels. These Baluchis of the coastal area were the descendants of the savage Ikthyophagi, or "Fish-Eaters," mentioned by Nearchus, who, by the orders of Alexander the Great, sailed and rowed along this coast more than two thousand years ago, to the head of the Persian Gulf. To-day they are a simple and feckless race. To give an instance, we heard of a Baluchi woman who had been taken by her English mistress to London. Upon her return her compatriots assembled in great force to question her, and listened with awe to her account of the wonders of Farangistan, which they all professed themselves anxious to visit. However, having been asked whether the dates were good, and, upon the reply being given that there were no date palms in Farangistan, the Baluchis unanimously agreed that no country without dates was fit for them to visit. They were probably right!

In the East it is wise to make the first stage a short one. Accordingly, upon reaching Tiz, distant only seven miles, we camped near some muddy water-holes surrounded by ruins. Tiz had been an important harbour in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., and had exported sugar grown in Makran, and also silk, but this trade had disappeared long ago. It is especially interesting to note that Stein failed to find any remains indicating commercial activity in pre-Moslem times.\*

Our chief anxiety during the first stages was the entire absence of fodder for our horses. Fortunately we had brought a supply of grain from India, but we were most thankful when we were able to buy some bundles of green rice, since our horses were suffering from lack of such fodder. After marching very slowly over most forbidding country for

\* *Vide Archæological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran*, pp. 87-93.

about a week we reached the little town of Geh. It consisted of date groves occupying the fork of two streams backed by a picturesque old fort. The aridity of the surrounding hills enhanced the vivid green of the rice-fields, and Geh always brings back to my mind the most beautiful village in Baluchistan.

We were the first Europeans to appear on the scene, and, quite naturally, there was much excitement among the Baluchis, who, however, became friendly when the magical word *hakim*, or doctor, was pronounced; and Brazier-Creagh here, as elsewhere, won us popularity. We were visited by Chakar Khan, an old chief of the ruling family, who was full of complaints against the Persian authorities, but was quite friendly to us.

We now paid off our most unsatisfactory *dasht*, or "coastal," Baluch, and engaged a much more satisfactory lot of Baluch and camels, who were accustomed to the hills. We then decided, before marching northwards to Bampur, to explore the unknown area situated between Geh and Fanoeh to the north-west. The blank on the map contained quite a number of small villages, at one of which to my surprise I heard men whistling. In the East whistling is generally stigmatized as "devilish speech."

The last stage into Fanoeh led up a riverbed between high cliffs. The track, which was full of rocks of various gorgeous colours, some of them weighing hundreds of tons, made riding impossible while the heat was intense, so we were very glad to reach the palm-groves of Fanoeh, where we were welcomed by two somewhat boorish sons of Chakar Khan. One of them, hearing of Brazier-Creagh's geological activities, solemnly offered to sell us some tons of stone!

We climbed a lofty mountain and westwards looked over unexplored country which I was able to survey on a subsequent journey. Northwards we caught the first glimpse of the beautiful Bazman peak, which we climbed later on.

Upon returning to Geh by a different route we received a letter of welcome from the Farman Farma, stating that he would reach Bampur in January. Its Governor sent with the letter an official who helped to arrange the difficult questions of transport and supplies.

The route from Geh across the mountainous district of Lashar to Bampur was one of the most difficult I have ever experienced. Only the local camels could have managed it, and I felt very anxious for my sixteen-hand charger who, however, never made a false step. Our guide's donkey, on the contrary, fell into the river with its rider!



At Fahraj, renamed Iran-Shahr by the present Shah, we were received by the Governor of Persian Baluchistan, Assad-ud-Daula, who was not particularly friendly at first, partly because our thirst for information on every subject led him to believe that we were seeking for treasure!

We found the Bampur Valley, with its ruined fort, to be extremely fertile. In it Alexander the Great, who termed it Pura, rested his worn-out army after their severe losses during the march across the barren wastes of Gedrosia, as Baluchistan was then termed. The land is Government property, and the inhabitants of the valley are serfs, who produce the crops on which the Persian garrison depends, and are very badly treated. They came dressed in tattered rags to our tents and exclaimed: "Look at us and pity us." Brazier-Creagh helped the sick, and we appealed to the Farman Farma to improve their lot, but without much success, I fear.

Leaving our heavy baggage at Fahraj, we set out on the second stage of our journey to find Kuh-i-Taftan. Marching eastwards in the first instance, we camped at the prosperous village of Aptar. Thence crossing a low range we reached Magas, which is situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet, the highest at which date-palms can flourish. The old chief, Dilawar Khan, and his nephews were, physically speaking, the finest men we met. They claimed to be of Afghan descent and impressed us most favourably.

From Magas we swung northwards and, to our intense delight, soon caught the first sight of the white cone of Kuh-i-Taftan. After halting at the village of Paskuh, with a very dark population which probably belonged to pre-Baluch stock—the dominant race having only conquered the country in the eleventh century of our era—we entered unknown and bandit-infested Sarhad—

"a territory  
Wherein were bandit earls and caitiff knights."

On this day we met a party of armed men and thought that our adventures were about to begin. However, Jiand Khan, who was a Chief of the Kurd tribe and a noted raider, was most friendly. He declared that he was the owner of some date groves situated to the north of Jalk, and that he wished to become a British subject. When serving on the Perso-Baluch Boundary Commission some three years later I found that the information he gave me, which I had noted down, was accurate, and these date groves were handed over to Jiand Khan and were shown to lie on the Persian side of the boundary. Jiand Khan said that he

had heard that the British intended to annex Sarhad, and was evidently anxious to create a good impression.

Sarhad is an upland country which is situated about halfway between Quetta and Kerman, with low-lying deserts of considerable width to its east and west. Water is abundant, as the proximity of the lofty Kuh-i-Taftan would imply. Unfortunately, however, raids, rebellions and blood feuds have depopulated it, even the orchards having been cut down for fuel. The capital, known as Kwash or "Sweet" (probably as applied to its water), consisted of a fort in a good state of repair, garrisoned by perhaps one hundred soldiers. In the vicinity were some tents of the nomadic population. The Governor, who was a Khan of Bam, and sorely in need of the medical aid which Brazier-Creagh was able to afford him, furnished us with some supplies, but repeatedly declared that it was too late in the year to climb Kuh-i-Taftan. It was actually mid-December, so we determined to make our attempt without further delay. Two stages brought us to a hamlet in the main valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. We pitched our tents, while an adjacent cave provided good shelter for the servants and horses.

Brazier-Creagh was temporarily laid up, so on Christmas Eve, 1893, having secured two most unwilling guides, I started off without him some hours before dawn. For seven miles it would have been possible to ride but for the bitter cold, which made walking imperative. The valley appeared to end suddenly and we were faced by an extraordinary fissure up which we scrambled, to find ourselves in quite a new country above it, which immediately recalled *Jack and the Beanstalk* to my mind. We now ascended a valley strongly impregnated with sulphur, and, at an elevation of some 10,000 feet, the actual steep climb up the cone commenced. Huge boulders had to be surmounted for some distance, and the last thousand feet were covered with deep white lava ash, which was responsible for the myth of the eternal snow. Finally, at 2 p.m., after an eight hours' climb almost without a rest, we reached the summit. While Sultan Sukhru, whose pluck was noteworthy throughout the expedition, was setting up the plane-table, I took the altitude at 12,450 feet, by boiling water in my hypsometer and made the two guides happy by the gift of the hot water! The great peak, I found, was double-headed, the northern, and very slightly higher crest, being termed Ziarat Kuh or "Mountain of Pilgrimage," while, on the southern peak, was the volcano, known as Madar Kuh or "Mother Mountain." Here clouds of sulphurous smoke were belching out of

the somewhat small crater, from which specimens of sulphur and sal-ammoniac were collected with some difficulty. Upon describing the volcano to the late General McMahon, Vice-President of the Royal Geological Society, he informed me that it was in the *solfatara* stage of its existence. As was only natural, it was an object of reverence, and apparently when the villagers became converts to Islam the mountain was termed Kur-i-Chelel-Tan, or "Mountain of Forty Beings," in memory of forty holy men who were stated to have disappeared into the crater.

The view was the most extensive that I had ever enjoyed, and so clear was the air that it ranged for perhaps one hundred miles in every direction. We took bearings on the beautiful Kuh-i-Bazman and many other peaks and then scrambled downhill back to the valley and camp—tired but happy.

On New Year's Day, 1894, we once again started across unexplored country to find the village of Bazman, where we had arranged for our heavy baggage and stores to be sent. Supplies, supplemented by partridges, had run very low. Moreover, our camel drivers, who had earned what was wealth to them, were most anxious to leave these frozen uplands and to return to the warm Bampur valley, where the grazing was excellent. Consequently they drove off our guide with dire threats. For three stages we did not see a solitary human being and, as our guide had deserted us, we were afraid of losing the way. On the fourth day we had only one feed left for the horses and, like them, were living on barley. However, we knew that Bazman could not be much more than thirty miles distant, although we did not know in which part of the range it was situated. Some ten miles after starting we sighted a solitary black tent. Nothing would induce its occupant to leave its protection, but he pointed out a hill beyond which, he asserted, Bazman lay. Hour after hour we plodded along and had decided that the camels could not stand much more, even though they were very lightly laden, when suddenly, to our delight, we sighted date palms, and, not long after, reached Bazman, where we found our stores, and were able to purchase some supplies.

The ascent of the mountain, locally termed Kuh-i-Khidr-i-Zinda, or the "Living Khidr,"\* was no easy task. There had been heavy falls of snow and for the last two thousand feet we had to force our way through drifts that were occasionally up to our armpits. However, the

\* The Prophet Khizr, as he is more usually termed, is the guardian of the traveller and is believed to have drunk of the water of eternal life.

summit, represented by a huge rock poised on three other rocks of similar size, was reached at last, and we made the altitude 11,200 feet.

The plane-table was set up and the view was even more beautiful than from the Kuh-i-Taftan, which with its mantle of snow right down to the plain made a picture I can never forget. Of especial interest was the fact that we could pick up the mountain we had climbed near Fanoch, and another mountain to the east of Fahraj, on which the plane-table had also been set up. Tumbling down through the snow-drifts, we reached our bivouac with the two most lofty mountains in unexplored Baluchistan to our credit.

In the first week of February we received a second letter from the Farman Farma, who kindly sent us some badly needed supplies and transport. Upon reaching his camp at Fahraj His Highness gave us an official welcome, his band playing the National Anthem, an act of courtesy which moved us deeply. He also encouraged the Chiefs to visit us, and we gained much valuable information from them. Treated as honoured guests by our host, we started off on the long journey to Kerman in February. To our delight we travelled due west down the Bampur River past the Jaz Morian, or "Haunt of Birds," a lake formed by its junction with the waters of the Halil Rud, which we followed up to the fertile district of Rudbar. We were the first Europeans to pass this way since Alexander the Great, more than two thousand years previously.

In Rudbar we were indeed on historical ground, since it was in this district, termed Salmous by one historian, that the Macedonian Conqueror formed a standing camp. Here his weather-beaten and ragged Admiral Nearchus, who had successfully followed the coast, appeared. Alexander, seeing him in such a miserable plight, feared that the fleet was lost, and we can imagine his joy and that of the army when its safety in the harbour of Harmozia (Hormuz) was reported. Craterus, too, who, in charge of the elephants and heavy baggage travelling down the Helmand and across the desert, also rejoined the army in this valley. By a happy coincidence, during a later visit I was able to purchase a Greek alabaster unguent vase of this period.

A brief mention of Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, is now called for. Travelling across Persia to Kerman and making for Hormuz from that city, he passed down the valley of the Halil Rud. Attacked by brigands, most of his fellow-travellers were captured, but he and his party escaped to the shelter of Conosalmi. *Cono* signifies a *kanat*, or underground irrigation channel, and *salmi* may well have

been the Salmous where Alexander camped. However this may be, the greatest of land travellers undoubtedly crossed the track of the greatest of conquerors in this valley.

In fertile Rudbar spring was at its height, and its green crops, its orchards in blossom, and its rich grazing formed a delightful contrast to our long marches across an arid country. We had throughout been indebted to our host not only for our food and that of our party, but also for forage. At each stage the requisite supplies had been collected, the country being entirely uninhabited, although there were ruins of villages, whose names had not been forgotten. Continuing our journey upstream to the district of Jiruft, we crossed the Halil Rud with some difficulty, since it was in flood, and visited the site of Marco's Camadi, which he described as "formerly a great and noble place . . . but now of little consequence," owing to Tartar raids. This site, which Sir Aurel Stein has recently examined,\* is known as Shahr-i-Dakianus, by which name Moslem legend is connected with that of the Seven Sleepers and the Emperor Decius.

Quitting the fertile valley of the Halil Rud, we crossed the lofty Jabal Bariz and descended on to the great Iranian plateau. During this period of the journey there were frequent discussions as to the relative swiftness of British and Persian horses. The Prince's doctor, who had studied in Paris, from a natural desire to please his master, stoutly maintained the superiority of the Persian breed. Finally, to set this burning question at rest, I agreed to race my charger "Cotmore" against the pick of His Highness's stables. A course of rather less than a mile was agreed upon; Brazier-Creagh, a lightweight, rode "Cotmore"; I acted as starter and the Prince, of course, was the judge. As was only to be expected, "Cotmore" won easily by several lengths, to the utter astonishment of His Highness. His wrath was kindled against his jockey, whom he threatened with the bastinado, but finally he quite recovered his good temper and harmony was restored. Actually the very severe Persian bit prevents horses from galloping at their best pace.

At Mahun we fully enjoyed the beauty of one of the famous walled gardens of Persia. Situated on a gentle slope the dainty pavilion looked down on a vista with fountains, formed by a brook which was then parted into channels and fell in cascades over the terraces into a smaller basin below, with a fine gateway decorated with blue tiles. The garden was planted with rose bushes along the channels, backed by weeping

\* In distinct Chinese Turkestan there is another ruined city bearing the same name. *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-156.

willows, plane trees, cypresses and fruit trees, while the singing of the nightingales and the scent of the roses constituted an overpowering contrast to us wayworn travellers. No wonder our friends exclaimed: "If there is a Paradise on earth, 'tis this, 'tis this, 'tis this!" Close by was the exquisite blue-tiled shrine, set in a charming garden, of Shah Namatulla, whose prophecies are still current throughout the Moslem world. One of them ran:

"Fire-worship for a hundred years,  
A century of Christ and tears,  
Then the true God shall come again,  
And every infidel be slain."

This prophecy, I have been told, was one of the causes of the Indian Mutiny.

To conclude, at Kerman I struck my former journey. There we said good-bye to the Farman Farma, who remained my lifelong friend. Brazier-Creagh returned to India, while I rode across Persia to Tehran on my way home, little realizing that a few months later I should be retracing my steps, with a mission to found the British Consulate for Kerman and Persian Baluchistan.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will all agree, first of all, that it has been a most interesting lecture and that we have been shown some delightful films.

I have had a good deal to do with this part of the world and I would like to refute one of the aspersions that our speaker has made. (Laughter.) I was what is the equivalent to being the Governor of Baluchistan for many years, and I know a good deal of the country which our Lecturer has spoken about. But when he talks of it being all arid country and says something about God making it the last thing in the world, I as a late ruler of it distinctly resent that.

His remarks may apply somewhat accurately to the tract that he was speaking of—Persian Baluchistan—but there are many, many parts of Baluchistan which are very fertile, and from which Government derives a good revenue. There are many oases and many well-watered tracts, and the country as a whole does not deserve the disparaging terms Sir Percy has used.

Sir PERCY SYKES: I was lecturing on Persian Baluchistan.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, you did say so.

Sir PERCY SYKES: The Baluchis said so.

The CHAIRMAN: The Persian Baluchis may have said so, but I don't think the people of British Baluchistan would accept their verdict.

After some few words of friendly banter between the Chairman and the Lecturer about the dark complexions given to Baluchis in the films shown in the course of the lecture, complexions which the Chairman said were in life no darker than Southern French or Italians, the CHAIRMAN continued: We now come to the Kuh-i-Taftan and the volcano, which Sir Percy has so picturesquely described. The Lecturer mentioned that my father had asked him about this volcano. The reason for that was this: When I was demarcating the Baluch-Afghan boundary in 1892-1893, I came upon a smoking volcano in the western end of that boundary line. I mentioned it in a lecture to the Geographical Society and also to the Geological Society, and there were several scientists at my lectures, who said that there could not possibly be a volcano so many miles from the sea. As my veracity as an explorer seemed in doubt, I suggested to my father that he should refer to one Captain Percy Sykes, who, I knew, had just made an exploring visit to that part of the world and could confirm my statement. Captain Sykes was able to do so and to prove that Koh-i-Taftan was a volcano, a real volcano, but in the sulphetara stage. I take this opportunity of thanking Sir Percy for exonerating me and establishing my credit as a truthful historian.

I may mention that years afterwards, in 1902-1905, I had to visit that part of the world again on my Seistan Arbitration Commission, and was constantly in sight of the Koh-i-Taftan, and during 1903 and 1904 that volcano, sulphetara though it may be, became very active, and one could see the smoke of it by day and sometimes at night. So the Koh-i-Taftan has been established, thanks to your Lecturer, as a volcano. But let me tell you that all the wide tract eastwards from the Koh-i-Taftan up to near Nushki at the edge of the foothills west of Quetta is full of dead volcanoes, and their dead craters can be found in numbers. Some of these form highish hills, but on one of these hills is a very high natural pillar about 500 to 600 feet high, locally known as the Neza-i-Sultan. It is a most prominent feature, but situated so far from frequented routes that very few have been privileged to see it. It is the core of some old big volcano, of which the walls of the surrounding crater have disintegrated away.

It is, I think, partly to the existence of this volcanic tract here that you can attribute the earthquake area that you find near Quetta.

May I apologise for these digressions and ask you to express, as I know you want to do, most hearty thanks to Sir Percy Sykes for the pleasant and interesting paper he has given us.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD: It is my pleasant duty—though I have been rather anticipated by Sir Henry McMahon—to propose a vote of thanks to our Lecturer this afternoon, and I would also like to take the opportunity of thanking Sir Henry for presiding to-day. We have had a most interesting lecture.

Although I know very little about Baluchistan (in fact, I have only seen it from a distance, and that was from an aeroplane flying up the Persian Gulf), I can confirm what Sir Percy said as regards the dry character of the country.

I will now ask you to pass in the usual way a very hearty vote of thanks to our Lecturer to-day for his most interesting lecture and slides. . . .

I would also ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Sir Henry for presiding over our meeting to-day.



# TRAVELS IN IRANIAN BALUCHISTAN

By J. V. HARRISON

Lecture, illustrated by films and slides, given on October 10, 1940, Mr. E. H. Keeling, M.C., M.P., in the Chair.

In introducing the Lecturer, the Chairman said he was a geologist of great learning and distinction who was now in charge of the geological section of the Oxford University Museum, but at the time he made the journey in Iranian Baluchistan with the authority of H.I.M. the Shah. There were few who had travelled in this barren country, and the Society was fortunate in having an account of it.

**T**HE town of Bam, near the southern extremity of the Dasht-i-Lut, is connected by motor roads with Tehran and served as a starting-point. There is a small busy arched bazaar, where its government and business are conducted, on the northern bank of the river which waters the town. On its other bank scattered houses with large gardens, each surrounded by a high mud brick wall, extend for a mile or more to the channel where water emerges from kanats dug in the barren slopes rising gently to the south. Like other towns in this quarter, large wind-towers surmount most of the larger houses and furnish the draught which mitigates the summer's heat. By arrangement with Yezdi contractors a caravan had been collected awaiting our arrival, and at the start loads employed more than two hundred camels, for the party was large and food had to be carried for about five months. From time to time groups of camels were dismissed at suitable points, and at the end of the expedition about 90 animals were still on the pay-roll.

The caravan climbed the northern slopes of the Jamal Bariz to a pass at 6,300 feet above sea level, where the usual nakedness of the land was clothed in a respectable mantle of shrubs. From here the range rises to about 12,000 feet north-westward, where it is broad-topped and plateau-like, and to lesser heights south-eastwards. It overlooks to the south the almost flat depression of the Jaz Murian, another desert region standing at about 1,100 feet above the sea. The steeper slopes near the mountains are littered with boulders, but further away silt covers the floor, which is usually hard and fairly smooth. Sand dunes are uncommon and restricted to small areas in the south-east of the Jaz Murian, thus conforming to the usual arrangement of Central Asian

deserts. A curious feature of this basin is the sweetness of the water in the wells, and it is said that the water which sometimes collects in the central part of the plain is also fresh, in spite of the constant removal of water from the area by evaporation.

One of the larger villages on the southern side of this plain is Maskutan, a collection of beehive huts. The inhabitants depend upon the flocks of goats, sheep and camels, as well as the date gardens maintained by irrigation from a rill issuing from the lower reaches of a broad gravelly watercourse draining the rough wide-topped greenish-grey range which forms the divide between this basin and the Indian Ocean. Dissection of this range is generally shallow, nevertheless erosion has produced an extent of dreary bad-lands, traversed by infrequent watercourses yielding enough surface water, in selected places or in shallow wells, to make the cultivation of date gardens or minute patches of wheat possible. Rarely rice is raised, and when harvested is left in bags of straw matting upon a site outside the village, where it is free from pillage, although unguarded, on account of a local convention. In the spring of the year streams flow in some of these southern gullies of the range, part of which is known as Kuh-i-Rang. Near one of them, with deep pools of water lying here and there in a narrow gorge, the expedition celebrated the New Year feast, the Id-i-Nuruz, on March 21. A hearty meal of rice and meat washed down by numerous glasses of tea was served out to all hands and everyone had the day off. To entertain themselves the Bashakard men improvised a play, and two ex-slaves of Somali blood provided a slap-stick and clowning dance to the accompaniment of an orchestra consisting of one empty water drum beaten with the open hand. The principal part was taken by a sharp-featured Bashakard, dressed in unaccustomed splendour, who was a mighty chief. His newly acquired wife was stolen by robbers, but they at once returned her to him when they found her to be other than was represented in the marriage contract. His own reaction to the revelation was so strong that he immediately turned her out of his castle in disgust.

The belt some fifty miles from the coast is traversed by ranges running east and west, rising, in one instance, to 6,000 feet above sea level. They are all rough, untidy hills, strewn with harsh angular blocks of sandstone, and are evil things to climb since they demand far more energy than their stature warrants, as at every step some slipping back occurs on the loose superficial material. Rivers run across the grain of the country from north to south, and their broad gravelly dry beds

afford a simple means of access inland. Above the 1,500-foot contour pish palm flourishes along them. It is a fan palm which supplies the fibre for most of the requisites of the primitive folk living here. The leaves are plaited and the pulp beaten out, leaving a kind of rope, which is manufactured into shoes, saddlery, mats and baskets. It may even be impressed to furnish harness, whereby one who is skilled will kindle a fire after twirling one stick against another for perhaps twenty minutes. This performance, enacted to light tobacco in a pipe, also made of pish, was repeated at each stop.

A low-lying plain extends as much as twenty miles back from the sea at some points between the occasional ridges of rocks running right down to tide water. A rather luxurious growth of camel-thorn near the sea affords rich grazing compared to any found up-country, and, due, perhaps, to its saltiness, it furnishes an almost immediate cure for mange, which seriously affected all the camels of the caravan and escort alike after a few months of steady work in the inhospitable hinterland. A few mud volcanoes erupt along this plain, and one is a monster 180 feet high. The central cone is steep-sided and is composed of individual flows of thick mud, which simulate in many respects the features of flows of molten lava. A gently inclined peripheral part belongs to an earlier date when the discharge was a more liquid mud. Between the infrequent paroxysmal eruptions the vents are not completely dormant, for a trickle of water and an occasional belch of gas from the viscous mud shows that life is not extinct.

Amongst the films shown at the lecture was one displaying the dung-beetle hard at work rolling a ball of dung several times its own size, seeking a soft spot where it may be dug in. The enthusiasm and determination, the doing "whatsoever-thy-hand-findeth-to-do-with-thy-might" of this beetle made a vast appeal to the imagination, and high marks must be given to the dung-beetle when an assessment of the virtues of dwellers in the lethargic Makran is being made.

The journey came to an end at Chah Bahar, once a station of the Eastern Telegraph Company and now a fishing village and the terminus of a motor road to the Jaz Murian and the provincial capital of Khwash. The houses stand on the eastern side of a circular bay, recalling the shape of Lulworth Cove. It is much the best harbour along the coast of Persia, and may one day be a help to its trade. An annual ceremony in April serves to bring variety and cheer to the native life of Chah Bahar, although at the expense of personal sacrifice on the part of some members of the community. The village band turns out;

a procession forms; the maidens dance; the greybeards parade; the matrons attend; and the small boys, figuring for once in the centre of the throng, walk in honour beneath a gaudy panoply to a shrine at the point and are circumcized.

The journey had involved nearly daily travel with a fresh camp site nightly for five months to enable the mapping of a large region to be accomplished. The winter weather varies considerably from year to year, and in this one, though it often threatened, rain never came to much. Most food was carried from the starting-point, only dates and occasionally goats being obtainable locally. At that time the paper money current in other parts of Iran was useless, since coin alone was accepted by men employed as guides. The camels trekked back overland to Yezd at the journey's end, whilst the personnel dispersed at Chah Bahar on foot or by the British India Company's "Slow Mail" steamer which sailed from Karachi to the head of the Persian Gulf.

The lecture was illustrated by an excellent film and exceedingly beautiful coloured slides.

# THE BADUI

By AUGUST MUHLENFELD

Director, West Indies Division, Netherlands Colonial Office.

Lecture to the Royal Anthropological Institute on December 10, 1940.

**A**LL members of the Society were invited by the Royal Anthropological Institute to hear a lecture on the Badui of Western Java by M. August Muhlenfeld, who is Director of the West Indies Division of the Netherlands Colonial Office, and was formerly Director of the Department of the Interior of the Netherlands East Indies.

M. Muhlenfeld first outlined briefly the history of Java, recalling that the inhabitants already used iron, copper, bronze, and gold, and were in contact with the Hindus of India, nearly 2,000 years ago. In subsequent centuries their knowledge of astronomy and navigation enabled them to carry on a sea-borne trade with China, Indo-China, Siam, Ceylon, and, farther away still, with Madagascar, East and South Africa, and the Persian Gulf. The traders brought home not only profit but, eventually, a new religion, Islam, whose adherents grew, and in the sixteenth century superseded, first, the Javanese empire of Modjopait, and then, in the western part of the country, the Sundanese empire of Padjadjaran.

Although Javanese culture to-day preserves many traces of the original native animism and of the overlay of Shivaism and Buddhism that had come from India, Mohammedanism may be said to have rapidly pervaded the whole of Java, except for a few small areas in the mountains, where anomalous pockets of older beliefs still survive. After a short account of one of these groups, the so-called Tenggerese, in the East, the Lecturer went on to speak at greater length of the most isolated and interesting of them, the Badui, in the West.

Study of the folklore of surrounding regions, and of the Badui's own traditions, seems to show that they are the descendants of persons, perhaps largely of noble lineage, who took refuge from triumphant Mohammedanism in the almost impenetrable interior, at the time when the Padjadjaran empire dissolved. There is even some evidence that

the conquerors deliberately left forty families unmolested, so that they and their offspring might remain as "specimens" of the Padjadjaran people and culture.

In any case the present Badui social organization is exceedingly rigid. In three central villages, *kadjeroan*, live forty strictly endogamous families, who form the nobility, and in each there is a Pu'un, a spiritual and secular chief. In five of the twenty-five outer villages, *kaluaran*, there are a number of families, called *kaoem daelm*, or "people attached to the court," who carry out certain types of manual work which are not permitted to the inner villagers. They are regarded as privileged persons, are within the endogamous unit of the *kadjeroan*, and must not intermarry with others if they are to maintain their status. It is from the *kaoem dalem* that the inner village families are "made up" to forty, if the number happens to fall below the total prescribed; and to the *kaoem dalem* are added any supernumerary inner village families which may be created by marriages in the younger generation.

There are also nine villages of *dangka* type, two of which overlap with the *kaluaran* villages. These are apparently regarded as outposts against the danger of human intruders, and cultural penetration, from the profane outside world.

Dr. B. van Tricht, whose learned paper on the Badui\* was quoted by the Lecturer, has advanced the hypothesis that the inner villagers are of Hindu and Malay-Polynesian stock, while the outer villagers are partly descended from negrito aborigines. However, he was not able to test his theory adequately in the light of physical anthropological data, since after the collection of a few blood specimens and measurements among the *kaoem dalem*, a shaman or medicine-man (*tangkësan*) consulted the spirits of the ancestors, and announced that submitting to such tests and measurements was an infringement of the taboos (*buyut*).

The existence of medicine-men was first revealed by this incident, for they are kept in close seclusion. Their office is hereditary, and they number three. Only two of them are inner villagers, the third being probably descended from one who was banished to an outer village because he broke some taboo.

Most of the many taboos may be summarized in terms of a single, far-reaching injunction: everything is forbidden which was either forbidden or unknown to the ancestors of the Badui, when they broke off

\* "Levende Antiquiteiten in West Java," *Djawa*, 1929, vol. ix., Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 43-111.

contact with the outside world four centuries ago. Horses, wheeled vehicles, lanterns, electricity, and several forms and colours of clothing are taboo. Almost more striking is, however, the faithfulness with which certain religious precepts are followed: lying, theft, and adultery are quite unknown; the Badui are monogamous, and divorce, or re-marriage by the widowed, is very rare. The explanation of these conditions is no doubt partly to be sought in the jealous segregation of the Badui's homes and traditions from external influences. The Pu'uns, and even the three inner villages as a whole, may not usually be seen by strangers; and the holy sanctuary, Artja Domas, was last visited by an outsider in 1864.

The Lecturer revealed the part played by the late Governor of West Java and himself in attempting to safeguard the integrity and isolation of the Badui at a crucial moment in their recent history. The Badui's primitive agricultural methods, which involve the abandonment of each cultivated patch after a few harvests, result in waste of land and considerable deforestation, with potentially serious effects on the neighbouring lowlands' water supply, essential for rice-field irrigation. The Forestry Service of West Java therefore proposed, in 1931, that the whole Badui tribe be removed to a peninsula off the south-western tip of the island, where they could carry on their present customs undisturbed, without any risk of injuring the economic interests of other sections of the population.

Fortunately the Governor and M. Muhlenfeld, then head of the Department of the Interior, realized that this sudden transplantation might mean a death sentence on the ultra-conservative Badui, numbering only 1,520 souls, and already dwindling.

Accompanied by other officials, they therefore undertook a journey to examine the situation for themselves. To visit Tjibeo, one of the inner villages, they were obliged to overrule the objections of the Badui; but as they kept all the local taboos, the Badui finally adopted a friendly attitude. Their observations confirmed them in the conviction that the Badui should not be moved, and an alternative plan was drawn up, providing for a partial exchange of arable land with adjacent areas. Neither the sites of villages nor the sanctuaries would be affected.

The Lecturer believes that, after detailed preliminary investigations had been made, this plan was, in fact, carried out after his own departure from Java, and that all is still well with the Badui.

The President of the Institute, Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, Head of the Department of Oriental

Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum, thanked M. Muhlenfeld for his lecture, and expressed the view that the Badui had reason to be grateful for a very sympathetic and tactful administration, which was to be commended for allowing such an interesting group to live its life as it preferred.



## LADAKH CHRONICLES\*

LITTLE more than a century ago Ladakh was supposed, by Europeans, to possess no written history. Even then, the existence of a chronicle was only reported; no copy had been seen. And less than a century ago Sir Alexander Cunningham, the European best acquainted with the region, disbelieved the report. However, he not only verified it, he discovered a copy. By 1856 another traveller had brought a copy to Europe; ten years later a text and translation were in print. Since then, more copies have been discovered; more texts and translations printed. First an Hungarian, then a Scot, then a German, then two Moravian missionaries, then a Bengali and an Englishman, have contributed further; and, finally, Dr. Petech, beginning in Rome and finishing at Allahabad, summarizes and supplements the whole position. The whole story resolves itself into a typical instance of nineteenth-century pioneer work, advances alternately tentative and over-confident, being added to and revised in the twentieth century; and a basis laid for further advance, both for regional study and on wider lines also.

The wonder is that any advance has ever been made at all. Three types of character are needed for such work: the most highly trained and alert species of student, the toughest of travellers, the most devoted of enthusiasts; and all three types must be found rolled into one body before the work can proceed, combined with a temperament which gains the co-operation of native assistants. Dr. Petech's contribution is not so much text or translation or travel, as reconsideration of the texts and translations compounded by A. H. Francke and issued under the care of F. W. Thomas in vol. ii. of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1926). This reconsideration takes into account subsequent and subsidiary research-work available to the author, and is marked by a care, a competence, and a candidness which leave us hopeful that he is going to continue work thereon.

His method is to select one particular chronicle, the principal one, the "Royal Genealogy of Ladakh," and to endeavour to "determine its origin and nature and profitably bring out the historical materials

\* Dr. Luciano Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)*. Calcutta, 1939.

contained in it." But whereas the Genealogy has been brought up to 1886, this present study ends at the year 1646. This involves, however, commencing with the creation of the world—that is, historically speaking, covering about one thousand years of tradition and recollection, themselves based on experience of life harking back to earlier developments of self-consciousness.

The outstanding feature of the case is the number and size of the hindrances to studying it, which convert it into a sort of historical point-to-point race. Francke himself was never able to work from original texts, only from copies. Only one of these copies was photographic, and that one incomplete. The best text has vanished. Both writers find themselves obliged to write in a language not their own, and though both make a surprisingly good job of that, leaving no obscurities in their meanings, still, that fact is a handicap. Dr. Petech, too, has found it impracticable, almost as often as not, to consult material, printed material, essential to completion of his studies. But even supposing he had had it all before him, how is any one scholar going to make full use of material making such demands on linguistic attainments? comprising, as it does, Chinese, Japanese, Moghul and Persian-Kashmiri historiography. A knowledge of Dard is likewise called for, that being the original language of the district. Then the student needs to be familiar with variants of Tibetan, and some Indian, scripts and orthographies, and with the deciphering of inscriptions employing obsolete forms and available only in imperfect reproductions. Then, too, the examination of political, social, and economic conditions hereabouts is in its infancy; chronology is further advanced, but still dazzling.

Moreover, when verifications are in progress, there is a blank of six centuries when only Chinese sources provide a check; and of those Tibetan chronicles that have been published, the most desirable have not yet been selected for publication; and of those in print, only three have been accessible to Dr. Petech. When it comes to reconciling divergent accounts, names of persons and of places are often found to be known by nicknames abroad and proper names at home. And even when the same name is in use, variations of transliteration and translation are such as frequently render it unrecognizable. Then there are the copyists. All chronicles suffer from suppression of what seems obsolete at the date of copying. This often results in the incorporation of passages torn from their context, a context which alone would render them intelligible nowadays, while what remains may be

obscured by abbreviations and contradictions. And this again is the more liable to happen with the loose-leaf system which is customary in Tibetan areas, whereby anything that gets out of order is likely to remain out of order, reversing chronology. All the above-mentioned workers seem to have been fortunate in their copyists, but even competence and exactness on the part of copyists carry with them their own special risks, those of conjectural restoration of damaged MSS.

In addition to all the foregoing inducements to undertake something easier, the subject would seem, at first sight, to be a singularly barren one. Ladakh itself emerges as a district lacking in constructive or striking virtues or status; one that remained, except for brief intervals, a small principality owing allegiance to its neighbour Guge. Whenever it tried to expand, a foreign invasion followed and Ladakh was smothered; its population was too poor and too scanty for any other result to ensue. Neither are its chronicles an improvement on the others which have come to light in this part of the world; mere haphazard survivals, surviving irrespective of merit or authenticity. Neither is any such reconstruction possible as enabled B. H. Chamberlain to convert the Japanese chronicles into a model study of the kind; since his was a comparatively simple series of problems, however elusive in themselves, Japan having grown up in isolation and the region of which Ladakh forms part having always been Asia's Piccadilly Circus. Besides, most of the contents are of the usual chronicle type, such as we are only too familiar with in European sources—special pleadings of a single ecclesiastical class in its own interests, lauding the usual barren quarrels when the promoters of them cherished the compilers' own class, condemning them when they opposed it, and suppressing mention of the needs, wishes, struggles, hardships, and even the existence, of all those from whom they derived their very subsistence.

In spite of all such obstacles, however, and more also, the author is still left with plenty to study, and the reviewer with as much to attend to. In fact, no one reviewer could be competent to deal with the hosts of problems and elucidations which the author sets before him. It must be enough to say, generally, that here everyone interested in the past and future of Asia will find at least sidelights on his special interests, and reason to thank and to compliment the author.

In singling out some particular aspect for comment, by way of example, there is the fact that this principal chronicle is the only one known to Dr. Petech, amongst all Tibetan chronicles, in which the

cosmology is not purely Buddhist. It contains evidence of the pre-Buddhist period of Tibetan beliefs. This is a section in which the author supplies additional text and translation, supplementing Francke's. Any evidence about this Bon-po religion is worth having. It is no mere antiquarian hobby. It has never died out. It has probably modified the pseudo-Buddhism of the Tibetan regions—a very different area from the Tibet of the map-makers—more than Buddhism has modified Bon-po. Both beliefs made raids on each other's ritual and ideas: both existed as religions, as superstitions, and as party politics. In this latter aspect—and in this only—the pseudo-Buddhism won; and this chronicle and comment show up how and why it won; how the monarchy could best hold its own against an aristocracy whose stronghold lay in its hereditary claim to Bon-po high-priesthoods, by fostering an alien theology. Now any system which claimed to be Buddhist acquired merit in nineteenth-century Europe. An improved sense of proportion, based on more and better knowledge, as regards these claims, and the counter-claims of religions based on local perceptions and experience, is one of the contributions which the present century has to make; dissolving the partisan habit of treating the last-superstition-but-one as the last word in barbarism and the superstition which officially supersedes it as the last word in civilization. In the course of annotating this evidence the author epitomizes bibliographical information about Bon-po, although religion, as such, does not enter the scope of his work.

This is but one example of the nature of this chronicle; rather in the nature of a mine—not much to feed on, but plenty to dig into. And we are only at the beginning. Taking into account the Tibetan climate and its capacity for preserving writing materials intact and unfading, and the willingness of the people to preserve them, and also their willingness to keep them from the knowledge of foreigners, there are endless possibilities in the way of fresh discoveries. All the more need for co-ordination and co-operation in seeing to it that the more valuable records are conceded the prior claim to be printed. Neglect of this by others has clearly been one of the author's chief hindrances.

Some other considerations arise out of the matter and method of this book; wider considerations relating to the matter and method of all Asian history, and, in fact, of history in general. Chronicles and histories alike are but stages in the recording of human affairs; stages in an evolution not yet fulfilled. Both are, essentially, narratives of what has happened that matters; and the diversities we see in them reflect

both the evolution of a capacity to narrate, and of ideas as to what it is that matters. In a chronicle like this "Royal Genealogy," for instance, evolved through many centuries, we see the change from a too cramped to a too fluent style; from verse, which oral recording demanded, to the prose of a written record; and from prose of a kind to a prose style. Not that this is all to the good. Language has been developed rather with a view to disguise the truth than to tell it; and historians tend still to be misled thereby; sometimes, even, to welcome the opportunity, and, in the case of school-books, to find it indispensable.

With regard to ideas as to what matters and shall consequently be allotted all that diminutive space into which the recording must be compressed, we are still more in a state of flux. But here again, in examples like this study under consideration, we are made witnesses of the process of the building-up of a method of dealing with chronicles which we may hope to see applied, in time, more widely—namely, the benefit of having a foreigner concentrate on them, a foreigner free from the current conventions and superstitions to which the most honest of natives are subject, by which, even, they are bound, consciously or unconsciously. All the most progressive of foreign scholars dealing with Asia's chronicles do as Dr. Petech has done, and seek the co-operation of native scholars as a first necessity; but they themselves bring to bear a sense of perspective and a critical faculty which native scholars can hardly acquire, or, if they can acquire them, dare not express. European history is as much in need thereof as Asian.

For the present there is the hopeful evidence, both in this book itself and in all that has led up to it, of common ground still found, co-operation still flourishing, as usual, amidst strife; all the more so in this case since the author has had the advantage of the inspiration, and help of Professor Tucci. Welcome, too, is the evidence of the improvement in book-production in India.

E. S. B.

## REVIEWS

**The History of Afghanistan.** (2 vols.) By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. Vol. I., pp. xiii + 411. Maps and illustrations. Vol. II., pp. viii + 414. Macmillan. 1940. 50s. .

The want of a comprehensive history of the country of which Sir Percy Sykes writes with such erudition has long been felt, and the author of our standard work on Persia has by his industry put searchers after knowledge of Oriental countries again in his debt. And, indeed, there can scarcely have been anyone better qualified than he is to take in hand just such a work. His wide knowledge of and extensive travels in the lands bordering our Indian Empire, on what have hitherto been its most important confines, fit him peculiarly for interpreting them to us in their historical and geographical aspects. Such countries as Afghanistan are not well documented, and there are obvious limitations imposed upon the historian who seeks to explain fundamentally a people whose historical remains are few and ancient and who possess virtually no literature. Thus it is that Volume I. applies rather to the Asian world of civilization than to that portion of it which we now call Afghanistan, while Volume II. deals primarily and almost exclusively with the political relations of Afghan monarchs and pretenders with the British and British Indian Governments. The crude and unlettered tribesmen of a wild and inhospitable country afford little material for assessing cultural values, for they have no culture, and progress has never been either welcomed or possible in conditions where poverty and fanaticism go hand-in-hand. And yet there has been progress such as contact with the outside world has of recent years made possible. One King of Afghanistan has lost his throne because he did not take *festina lente* for his motto, and his failure must inevitably postpone still further the advent of a civilizing advancement such as will replace prejudice by learning.

Sir Percy Sykes describes in an interesting fashion how, over a period of centuries, Afghanistan was evolved as a country whose boundaries in general were settled only a few years ago by the help of special boundary commissions. He is not slow to criticize the mistakes of Governors-General of India in their dealings with the country, in particular Lords Auckland and Ellenborough, and adequately describes the unfortunate result of backing the wrong horse, as was the case when we supported the weakling Shah Shuja in a country where such a ruler could not last ten minutes without strong outside support. Of course, the author shows only one side of the screen, and does not enlarge upon other reasons which must have led to the decision taken. For instance, although the historian of Afghanistan could afford to give the smallest attention to matters affecting British India to the east of the Sutlej in the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Governor-General's vision had to embrace possibilities connected with the Panjab much more closely and realistically. Nevertheless, inexperience of Oriental

psychology led inevitably to wrong thinking, and both Auckland and Ellenborough were sadly deficient in this qualification, so necessary when diplomatic dealings had to be conducted on a high level of responsibility. The tragedies of the First Afghan War afforded lessons from which we have seldom since failed to profit, but we are never free, under our system of government, from the danger of entrusting the conduct of big matters to the wrong men. On the whole—and since 1857—we have chosen our men satisfactorily, though we still continue to make the great error, to which we are too prone, of “rewarding” our enemies and ignoring our friends. We do not always yet make a proper recognition of motives and values in spite of our long connection with the subtleties of Oriental diplomacy and administration. As Sir Percy Sykes fully shows in his valuable work, concession is a dangerous card to play in most circumstances in the East. It is generally taken as weakness—and the importunate widow of Scripture was a very Oriental character. Notwithstanding our mistakes, it is at least pleasing to see that in the long run our relations with Afghanistan have been more successful than those of other countries, and this must be credited largely to the account of our men on the spot, of whom this history gives many instances, notably Macnaghten, Durand, McMahon and Humphrys.

Volume I. is particularly helpful from the point of view of archæology as distinct from history, and the varied matter which the author has woven into a pattern, in which the country of the Afghans takes its due place, has been very skilfully treated. The range of reading is most wide, and the arrangement of the resulting pattern most pleasing. The system adopted of dividing the story into sections, each with its heading, well repays the author's care and industry. Volume II., though no less interesting, is less explicit, and it would seem that the author handicapped himself in treating recent and more documented material in a manner similar to that given to the earlier periods. The result is that his *obiter dicta* appear at times to be the result of intuition rather than of reasoning and evidence. But this is perhaps inevitable in the case of one whose information is to a great extent the result of personal contact. There is, however, little of the detail which is open to adverse criticism. For instance, at page 298 of Volume I., reference is made to the port of Diu. Surely “fort” must be intended, for Diu comprises an island fortress separated by a narrow creek from the mainland. Similarly, on page 319, we are told in a footnote that the “Taj” of Taj Mahal is a corruption of “Mumtaz,” the name of the lady commemorated by this architectural gem. I am not sure that either historian or philologist would entirely accept this explanation, for the Persian word “Taj” itself signifies a crown. “Mumtaz,” incidentally, means eminent or distinguished. Shah Jehan contemplated the construction of a complementary Taj in black marble on the opposite, or left, bank of the Jumna at Agra, the building of which was in fact begun. At various places in both volumes, notably on pages 14, 46, 108 and 112 in Volume II., reference is made to Ak Masjid. This must surely be a misprint in each case for Ali Musjid, as also must be the case on page 85 where quite another place is intended. There is an excellent general map which accompanies the work, but it offers

no certainty as to the places meant, since it indicates neither of them. A more detailed map of the Khyber Pass and of Eastern Afghanistan would have been a valuable and helpful addition. Aornos, stormed by Alexander the Great about the year 327 B.C., finds no place on the general map, and Maiwand is a similarly important omission.

Members of the Royal Central Asian Society will owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Percy Sykes for his valuable contribution to the general knowledge of a country which is destined to become an important and virile component of political Asia, and Afghans themselves will no doubt also recognize readily his industry and fairness in his treatment of their ancient and interesting land.

H. W-B.

**Old Routes of Western Iran.** By Sir Aurel Stein. Pp. xxviii + 432. Figs. 112. Pls. XXXI. Maps 8. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price 42s.

This latest book by Sir Aurel Stein consists of his travel notes on a protracted journey from Shiraz to the shores of Lake Urumia, interlarded with descriptions of the tumuli, rock carvings, ruined buildings and broken bridges he encountered on the way. Most of the mounds in which he made excavations yielded plain or painted pottery, and sometimes graves were disturbed where skeletons lay amongst the pots and ornaments buried with them. Urn burials were also unearthed. Those rock sculptures which had not already been minutely described by former visitors such as Rawlinson, Layard, de Bode or Herzfeld are fully dealt with, but most of them are poor affairs compared with the well-known panels at Shapur or Persepolis. At several points the author studied ruins, of which he made plans. Some are well known, such as Tashan, where incidentally the "Elephant House" of the tribal people is figured as a mansion (Fig. 25), and Deh Dasht, concerning the age and decay of which Stein adds his speculations to those of other writers. Shami is new, and the bronze statue taken from there provides a striking illustration. Dar i Shahr in Luristan and other smaller groups of buildings are carefully noted. Persian rulers from the earliest times up to the present day delighted in commemorating their fame by building bridges. Between Ardakan and Kermanshah the remains of many are situated, and those lying near the author's route have been described and measured up. The architectural and building features have enabled him to date most of them approximately. Another item surveyed in great detail is the system of caves at Karafto. The inscriptions are discussed, which show that the caves are associated with Heracles and that this may be Mount Sanbulos referred to by Tacitus.

The travel narrative is commonplace, as there is little incident to record, always a testimonial to a well-run expedition. The party avoided the rather steep tracks which abound in the heart of Kuhgalu, save on one occasion. Elsewhere it passed through country presenting little difficulty to mule travel. Due obeisance is made to the throne in the oft-repeated comment



upon the tribal quiet, though the severity of the measures taken to achieve this is not ignored. The notorious obstructiveness of the Commandant of the Senna Brigade caused Stein the worst delay he experienced, and he was fortunate in the sympathetic Civil Governor, who pleaded his cause and enabled his itinerary to be most usefully directed.

Some points are raised which invite criticism, especially the pedantic spelling of topographical names, of which Saimarreh for Saidmarreh, and Koh for the well-established Kuh are the most glaring. It appears unlikely that the author's suggestion is sound that Deh Dasht served as a point where loads, carried thus far on donkeys, were changed to camels, for the road from Deh Dasht to Behbahan would scarcely serve for them if laden. The reference to gypsum as making a slippery track is unusual, as this rock is so soft that even abnormally steep slopes supply a foothold to the cloth of *giwas*, the leather of shoes, the tackets of boots, or the naked skin. The old paved roads have suffered more from weather than from traffic. The best examples known to the reviewer lie a little north-east of Stein's route, where an old road descends into Kuhgalu proper beyond Deh Dasht plain and over the first range to the bridge at Qaleh Kalat. Trees in Persia always attract the traveller's attention, and their restriction is largely due, as is noted, to the operations of the charcoal burners, aided, of course, by the subsequent attack upon any young growth made by the grazing flocks. The "more arid climatic zone" imputed to the Alishtar plain is probably a myth. At all events trees thrive in the hills between this place and Burujird, where the going is bad enough to deter the entry of the charcoal burners. The tufts of trees here and there around shrines, in a land otherwise devoid of timber, show that there is no climatic inhibition to trees obtaining in the districts.

The beautifully reproduced map of Muhammad Ayub Khan warrants warm praise. It is curious that Stein should have omitted marking upon this basis his views about the *Old Routes of Western Iran* when this is the title given to his book. Moreover, the oft-repeated statement that the region had remained unsurveyed is incorrect, as the whole of the region traversed by Stein during this journey from Shiraz to Kamyaran beyond Kermanshah had been plane-tabled on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch, and adjusted to a number of accurately determined fixed points. A copy of this work could have been had for the asking when the author was a guest of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., at Masjid-i-Sulaiman.

As a record of the fast-changing face of tribal Persia, the book is of some value, but with an escort enjoying the "hospitality" of the impoverished people in their new settlements, it certainly was not possible to see more than a thin veneer of what was happening. The ban on the tribal black tents is natural enough, but is harsh. The ferocity of the fleas living in the mud-floored flat-roofed houses must be experienced to be believed. The insects are more than enough to drive the people from their houses each spring into the storms, which are often heavy even in the early summer.

The publisher has done his part well and turned out a sumptuous volume. The illustrations are generally good and in a few cases excellent. The tables

of contents and the index leave nothing to be desired. The book will always be useful as a catalogue of the antiquities in this narrow strip of country.

J. V. HARRISON.

**Report on the Water Resources of Trans-Jordan and their Development.** By M. G. Ionides. Incorporating a Report on Geology, Soils and Minerals, by G. S. Blake. Pp. xxiii + 372, with numerous maps and tables. Published on behalf of the Government of Trans-Jordan by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, London, S.W. 1. Price 30s.

The Palestine Royal Commission drew attention in their Report to the lack of adequate evidence available for study of the problems of settlement, irrigation, water-storage and development projects in Trans-Jordan, the Jordan Valley and the Beersheba area. In these three regions there exist wide stretches of sparsely populated country, which might, if water were available for irrigation, be capable of supporting larger populations. The Commission recommended that the three areas should be surveyed, and an authoritative estimate made of the practicable possibilities of irrigation development. The extent to which this recommendation had been put into operation by October, 1938, is examined shortly in the Report of the Palestine Partition Commission; Mr. Ionides' and Mr. Blake's reports now provide a comprehensive and detailed examination of the question in respect of Trans-Jordan. Funds for the Hydrographic Survey were made available in October, 1937, and first work began at the end of that year. The report was finally published in the spring of 1939.

Dry farming cultivation, which has been made the subject of wide experiment by the Italians in Libya, seeks to ensure, by deep ploughing, the maximum absorption of rainfall in the earth, and to prevent, by frequent loosening of the upper soil, the evaporation of the moisture so absorbed. It is generally held that a rainfall of 200 millimetres a year should be taken as the minimum at which dry farming methods are likely to lead to profitable results. Only one-tenth of the whole extent of Trans-Jordan enjoys a rainfall of 200 millimetres or more. This area, which lies in the north-east corner of the country, consists of 9,000 square kilometres, of which only the half are cultivable, the rest being bare hillsides and rocky outcrops. The only wide expanses of deep open soil lie, unfortunately, in the rainless area. Of these 4,500 square kilometres of cultivable land 260 square kilometres are at present under irrigation and the rest dry farmed. Comparative figures with Palestine are interesting. West of the Jordan exactly twice the area of land is cultivable. While in the cultivable area of Trans-Jordan the average yearly rainfall is 360 millimetres, in Palestine it is 520 millimetres.

Trans-Jordan is making rapid strides along the road of political, economic and social development; the population is growing and already the average

holding per agricultural family is less than 22 dunums (5 acres). Most of the land is hilly, the effects of soil erosion have been disastrous, and irrigation and soil conservation are the first essentials in the country's agricultural development. Over the greater part of Trans-Jordan the depth to the water-table is considerable.

Chapter I, which is an abridged general summary of the report, contains most of the information that is likely to be of interest to the general reader, and discusses the relative possibilities of development in the hill regions and in the Ghor. The development of existing spring flow supplies in the uplands offers little promise, nor do more likely chances of successful and profitable enterprise appear to exist in the conservation of water from direct run-off. In the Jordan Valley areas the development of irrigation offers greater possibilities both in the taking under control of perennial streams and in the construction of a high-level canal from the Yarmuk. The possibilities of pumping to low level from the Jordan are limited by the area of suitable land available, and pumping to high level would not seem to promise great profit. In general, progress in the hills in the adoption of both dry farming methods and of irrigation are essential for the agricultural development of the country, but the initial effort here in water conservation works must come from the individual farmers, and land settlement, general education, and agricultural services are the paths best calculated to lead to this aim. In the Jordan Valley the effort will have to be initiated by Government enterprise and capital.

Little co-ordinated information existed before the beginning of Mr. Ionides' and Mr. Blake's work. The scope of the hydrological side of the report includes water survey and rainfall statistics, stream and spring measurement, sub-surface water investigations, a contour survey of irrigable lands and the application of all these to the general problem of the possibilities of the development of water supplies.

Chapters IV. to VIII, which include the report on geology, soils, and minerals by the late Mr. G. S. Blake, are likely to be of interest chiefly to those who wish to study the technicalities of the subject. The geological section of the work has its origin in the researches of Mr. Blake during his tenure of the post of Geological Adviser to the Palestine Government. The application of the statistics in the form of general discussions of the practical problem of the country occupies Chapters VIII to X.

Mr. G. S. Blake was murdered by brigands in the vicinity of Jebel Usdum in June, 1940, while employed on survey work for the Palestine Mining Syndicate.

G. W. B.

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**The Anthropology of Iraq.** Part I., No. I.—The Upper Euphrates. By Henry Field. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 30, Part I., No. 1. Pp. 224 + 48 plates. 1940.

It is probable that for several decades to come the most important source of anthropological records relating to the physical characters of the peoples

of a large part of Western Asia will be the publications of Dr. Henry Field. The most important of these previously issued deal with Arabs of Central Iraq and peoples of Iran, the two volumes on the latter having been reviewed in a recent part of this Journal. The volume here noticed is the first of four promised presenting measurements and observations on nearly 4,000 inhabitants of Iraq, and a further report will give data collected in the Caucasus. Nearly 1,500 individuals (chiefly men) belonging to several communities are described here, and comparisons and general conclusions relating to them will be provided later. The figures now available suggest, however, that there are no marked differences between the types of the populations of the Upper Euphrates. The volume also gives a general description of Iraq and its peoples (by way of introduction), a list of tribes with the estimated numbers of families in each, statistics relating to land tenure, particulars of the health of the people, and lists of mammals and plants collected by the 1934 expedition. Good photographs of men measured and maps are given.

G. M. MORANT.

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**The Arab War.** Confidential information for General Headquarters from Gertrude Bell, being despatches reprinted from the secret Arab Bulletin. With an introduction by Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., Director of the Arab Bureau, 1916-1920.  $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$ . Pp. 51. London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1940. £2 2s. (Edition limited to 500.)

These seven despatches, nobly printed by the Golden Cockerel Press, form a valuable addition to the large library devoted to Turkey in its decline and Arabia in its renaissance. Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, in his pithy introduction, regrets that more of Gertrude Bell's reports have not been published. Perhaps in happier days than the present other reports written by men on the spot may see the light, for Captain R. Marrs' contribution, unwitting though it may have been, to this collection gives ample proof of the interest that would attach to many of the pages written for the annual and other reports from the Divisions and the *Liwas*. Sir Henry Dobbs, Sir Reader Bullard, and many other officials in their various degrees spared neither time nor trouble, wit nor erudition in their compilations; and, remembering what close personal touch there was between the population in early days after the war in Iraq and the official, both in the capital and districts, there must exist in their reports an unrivalled record, detailed and precise, of a civilization very real in its achievements.

Pride of place is rightly given to Miss Bell's note on "The Basis of Government in Turkish Arabia." Straight to the point she goes, after paying its exact due to the façade by emphasizing the authority of village headman, tribal sheikh, and local *sayid*, who are still the foundation on which administration rests, as Sir Kinahan says. In spite of the fulminations of the professional law-monger, tribal law, whether codified and

recognized or not, must for many years play the basic part in the nation's judicial system.

The significance of Ibn Sa'ud's visit to Basrah in November, 1916, is well appreciated in the fourth despatch. Fourteen years had passed since the successful raid on Riyadh, and only three since the seizure of Hasa, but it is shrewdly noted that Ibn Sa'ud, shown aircraft and anti-aircraft guns, motors, railway, and Rontgen ray, "looked at these things with wonder, but the interest which he displayed was that of a man who seeks to learn, not of one who stands confused." Time has shown the truth of this estimate.

It is perhaps only a limited circle to whom these despatches will appeal, but to that circle their publication will give no ordinary pleasure and interest.

H. G.

#### NOTE

Since the publication of this book the Golden Cockerel Press has learned with regret that the article entitled "Tribal Fights in the Shamiyah, compiled from Arab Reports, recorded by A. P. O. Zubeir (Arab Bulletin, February 28, 1917)," and signed G. B., was in fact written by Captain R. Marrs when Assistant Political Officer, Zubeir, in 1916. Captain Marrs explains that the article was sent to Sir Percy Cox, Chief Political Officer, who usually forwarded such information to Gertrude Bell for comment, and when she passed it on to the Arab Bureau the editor of the Bulletin was presumably under the impression that it was her work, since it appeared above her initials. The Press expresses its regret to Captain Marrs for having published his work under this misapprehension and trusts that purchasers of *The Arab War* will accept this explanation.

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**The Silappadikaram, or the Lay of the Anklet.** By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Oxford. 1939.

This translation of an early Tamil poem should attract different classes of readers. Many will appreciate the pleasure and pathos of a dramatic narrative and its description of the scenery of Southern India and life there early in the Christian era. Though the tale includes supernatural incidents, it is generally more human than the dramas of Sanskrit literature and the language is simpler.

Kovalan, the son of a wealthy merchant, wastes his property on a woman of the town, and then, suspecting her constancy to him, returns to his faithful wife Kannaki. They leave their home for Madura, where he hopes to get work, having nothing left but the gold anklets of Kannaki. As they wander through the jungles they meet a female ascetic, who shows them the right path, and together they arrive near Madura and stay at the house of Madari, a keeper of cows. Kovalan takes an anklet to sell in the city and tries to sell it to the king's goldsmith whom he meets by chance. The goldsmith, who is dishonest, admires the anklet and says it is fit only for the queen to whom he will offer it. Going to the palace he tells the king that the anklet

belonging to the queen has been stolen by a man staying at the goldsmith's house, though, in fact, the goldsmith himself had purloined a similar anklet from the palace. Without reflection, the king sent men with orders to kill the thief, and Kovalan is murdered by an ignorant guard. Madari hears the news and carries it to Kannaki, who goes to the palace and shows the king her other anklet. Overcome by horror at the result of his hasty order, the king falls dead. Kannaki tears off her breast and curses the city, which is consumed by a divine fire. "The flames did not go near the residence of the righteous, though they blazed among the dwellings of the unrighteous," and they spared cows and calves. As Kannaki mourns, the presiding goddess of Madura appears to her and explains that in a previous existence her husband had beheaded a man, mistaking him for a spy. The widow of the man had committed suicide to join her husband, and as she fell from a cliff cursed the murderer: "He who has inflicted this injury upon us shall be overtaken by the same fate," and the goddess adds: "That unerring curse has now descended upon thee."

The goddess then stayed the conflagration, and Kannaki broke her anklets at a temple and wandered away disconsolate. After two weeks the god Indra himself praised her, and she went to heaven in a divine chariot with her murdered husband.

A sequel is introduced by songs of the hill maidens, who dance to their music. The Chera king visits the hill where Kannaki has mourned, and hearing the story decides to erect a memorial. To obtain a suitable stone he leads an expedition to the Himalayas. Crossing the Ganges he meets a confederacy of northern kings, and having defeated them obtains a slab of stone from the mountains. A temple was erected, and a carved image of Pattini, the name by which Kannaki is still revered, was placed in it. The frontispiece in the book shows a fine image of Pattini Devi, now in the British Museum.

In his introduction the translator brings together the references made in the poem to historical personages, and gives a map showing the conjectural divisions of Southern India in the second century A.D. Some of his speculations seem rather wild—e.g., his equation of Ptolemy's Baleokouros to Balakumara. Przyluski's suggestion that it is connected with the Sanskrit *vadava*, a horse or mare, is more probable. Northern records have no trace of the expedition which Senguttavan is reported in the poem to have led to the Himalayas, and his date is a matter for conjecture.

Scattered throughout the narrative are references of great interest regarding the worship of local deities and incarnations and the ceremonies of different sects. Kovalan and Kannaki visit both Hindu and Jain temples, and it is clear that at this early date the cruel persecution of Jains by Hindus, which later disfigured the south of India, had not begun. Students of Indian music will find much to interest them, though better references for the history of the subject should have been given in the introduction. The suggestion (p. 298) that the marking of bales of merchandise with pictographs is evidence of the use of the Indus Valley script will not find ready assent.

R. BURN.

**Rupa's Flute: The Field of the Embroidered Quilt.** By Jasmiddin. Translated by E. M. Milford. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

The last clouds of the monsoon clinging to the Western Ghats broke into a sudden downpour as the Bengal Mail reached the summit of the pass. The huge fantastic castle-like rocks streamed with water and vivid patches of emerald growth showed on their flanks. Everywhere the countryside was clothed in the lush, short-lived verdure of the Indian rains. But the following day the storm clouds were gone, left far behind in the south-west mountains. The train was running through a peaceful and familiar scene, through that marvellous background for all brilliant hues, the dust-covered plains of Central India.

Great fortress palaces standing aloof on isolated ridges, as they flashed past told of old wars and empires, of marchings and counter-marchings; but the country as a whole breathed the spirit of an earlier, happier day when the Gopis, the Fairy Milkmaids, bathed in its streams and danced under the dark mango trees, and at "cow-dust time," headed by Krishna playing his magic flute, they brought the cattle home up the narrow village street, while the women on the housetops left their spinning at the sound and hurried to peep over the low mud parapets and share in the gaiety below—the joyous climax to the day's work, always a favourite theme of the Rajputana painters.

As the train pulled up at a wayside station, breaking its long journey for no apparent cause, the plaintive wail of a reed flute floated in on the still air. It was evening time, the sun was setting on just such a scene. Its last rays shone on the curvilinear spire of a little Vishnu temple, showing where a mud village lay half-hidden in its trees, and away across the cotton-fields it caught and gilded the soft dust clouds that marked the homecoming herds. The cranes, too, watching by the fast-shrinking pools along the railway line, felt the call of the night, and, rising awkwardly on their big wings, sailed away, making a long dark line against the evening haze of golden dust and violet smoke.

The lovely pageant of the Indian countryside faded into night. But what of the actors, the country-folk themselves, the spare brown figures working in the fields until the last ray of light, the red-draped women, their saris fluttering in the evening breeze, making their stately way along the winding paths to the villages balancing those huge bundles, what were they thinking and feeling? Again I wondered, arriving for the second time in India after a long absence.

"Dumb are the griefs of the shepherd boy,  
Which only the flute can show."

*The Field of the Embroidered Quilt*, Jasmiddin's Bengali folk-poem, finely translated by Mrs. Milford, supplies the answer, revealing the heart of India beating in its million villages.

Two of these villages share between them the story of Shaju and Rupa. They are divided by a lake, lotus-covered in the rains, and the story is told with the simplicity and flowing, limpid style of Rajput painting. The

idyllic love-scenes of the first part, sung to Rupa's flute, resolve after his marriage to Shaju into the exquisite harvest music when "the ripening rice sows grain on grain" and all night long "the farmers sing with a new throat." Shaju also finds means to express her happiness and starts embroidering a lovely quilt.

"Many a joy and many a sorrow  
Is written on its breast.

She is the daughter beloved at home  
When the embroidery begins;  
Later a husband sits at her side,  
Her red lips hum as she sings."

But, alas, who can out-run fate? "Their foreheads were marked and branded for suffering."

Marauders come by night and steal the precious grain. Rupa is furious. Leading the band of enraged villagers he rushes in and breaks the robbers' heads with his iron-tipped lathi. Then, the anger of a gentle soul quickly appeased, he returns home and bursts into tears.

"Dear wife, everything is done for,  
No longer will you hear the sound of Rupa's flute in the night.  
When I was breaking heads in the fight today  
I did not realize that I was destroying the wifely mark on your forehead.

Painful is my wound, my sweet, but not in my body,  
I have torn your sarī, broken your bangles."

The happy bridegroom has to take refuge in flight from his home and his beloved.

Stricken to the heart, Shuja watches him go.

"Now spreading the embroidered quilt,  
Shaju works the live-long night,  
As if the quilt her poet were  
Of her bereaved plight."

In the classical Moslem love-story of Majnum and Laila (Romeo and Juliet), Laila, when Majnum leaves her, takes the lamp of love in her steady hand and follows him bravely through their nomad desert wanderings. Shaju is different. She comes of the settled folk; her quilt with its tracery of joy and pain finished, she sits down in the flickering circle of a little candle, resigned to the outer darkness—where Rupa has gone; anything may happen in the wild jungle beyond the village boundary, the boundary of the known world. So she sits very still, hoping against hope that some day, somehow, Rupa will reappear; her love, her constancy, her resignation all part of the Indian peasant's deep attachment to the soil itself, the profound sense of being one with it and all created things.



This inward vision, beautifully brought out in the poem and its translation, will delight every one who reads it. *The Field of the Embroidered Quilt* will particularly appeal to those who have seen and loved the Indian countryside, where echoing through the still, warm evenings runs the faint, restless wail of Rupa's flute.

CONSTANCE VILLIERS-STUART.

**Wayfarer's Notes.** By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Vol. I. Pp. 147. 8" x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". London: Luzac and Co 1940. 4s.

When Britain went to India, and when more settled times came to that divided land, the scholars, archæologists and philologists who followed the merchants and soldiers found a vast literary treasure there which has gradually been opened up to the world. To put the matter in Buddhist parlance, Britain became the "karmac agent" for the dissemination of an age-old wealth of literature dealing with spiritual values till then unsuspected or ignored except by the very erudite. To-day, when *The Light of Asia* and *The Song Celestial* are found even in the smallest libraries, and are treasured by even unlettered seekers after Truth, it is difficult to believe that less than a hundred years ago that great Indian classic, the Bhagavad Gita, was practically unknown to the West.

As time went on and fresh discoveries and translations were made, there emerged from under the crude "idolatrous" conception of the early pioneers vast metaphysical systems whose intricacies to this day defy the tyro in the study of religions to unravel. Hinduism, Buddhism, Lamaism remain but misty outlines of Eastern faiths.

When in the preface to her latest book that learned lady Mrs. Rhys Davids says that "the religion we now call Buddhism was different at first from what it is now," she has in mind no doubt the corrupt forms and practices prevalent in Mongolian and other monasteries. Even at KumBum English friends who were recently there found the great spiritual truths of the early days swamped under endless elaborate ritual and ceremony. But has not this been the fate of every forthgoing religious effort, as even the history of Christianity illustrates? It does not surprise the students of comparative religions. But we dare say that the truly discerning find a common matrix from which Gautama the Buddha, the Moslem Sufis, and such Western mystics as Jakob Böhme drew forth each the aspect of the Ineffable suitable to his hearers. To get back to the purity of the first forthgoing of Gautama's teaching it is necessary to examine origins, and Mrs. Rhys Davids has done magnificent service here. To those unacquainted hitherto with her work and her intensive studies, this first collection of her many sporadic writings buried in periodicals and other volumes will give an idea of the scope of that work and "help to carry on," she claims, "the mission that is in the essays and manuals." What that mission is is not quite clear, nor does it concern us. The inquirer after the meaning of Buddhism, led on by the attractive title, taking this as his first textbook would, we think, find he had plunged *in medias res*, and we are bound to admit would find

the diction somehow baffling and distracting. This apart from the difficulty, of which the author is fully aware, of translating the exact significance of Sanscrit and Pali words into English idiom. For while "precision in terms of mind as part of mental equipment" for translation is conceded, we deprecate the idea of "standardizing" too much, and "bridging of gaps" as tending to a materialization of the spiritual outlook of true Buddhism.

We are no scholars of Pali or any dead or alive Indian language. But many translations have passed through our hands and we have found considerable diversity in the English expressions used for what, after all, there may be no words in European languages to convey. In some cases we prefer other renderings than those chosen by the author. For instance, in the quotation of page 32 from the *Shvetâshvataopanishad*, we find: "When with the Selfhood as with a lamp one beholds Godhead." We prefer that found in the Mead-Chattopadyaya version of the Upanishads, of which she later says, "they breathe more of the Indian spirit than any others." Here it is: "When by Self's truth indeed (which serves him) as a lamp, a man here (on earth) at-oned, beholds the truth of Brahm; knowing the God unborn. . . ." Indeed, the use of our English word "God" is somewhat misleading when dealing with Upanishadic ideas, because of the anthropomorphic connotation so inevitably associated with it in the West. We also, therefore, regret that the author has recorded (p. 94) "We are God, *Tat tvam asi*," instead of the more familiar and impersonal "That thou art." For, though afterwards she gives us the latter, "We are God" looks like a concession to that very anthropomorphism which is contrary to the teaching of Buddhism. Even the word "Deity" is still too personal a translation of "Tat," betraying the Western mentality.

The word difficulty is obvious in Mrs. Rhys Davids' use of "more" and "most," the recurrence of which becomes somewhat irritating. But our author is good at word-twisting, as is seen particularly in the last essay of this mixed grill of thinking, when she says, "We have to learn to conceive not so much, not so wholly, an otherwhereness. One day this will be our most practical problem in relativity. It may be that the otherwhereness is more of a super-within-ness than a hyper-expansion of the external." Or perhaps a mystical blending of the two? But is it good English to make nouns out of adverbs and adjectives, as so frequently occurs?

We will only add that we sense a Western bias that tends to make full comprehension difficult, with a risk, to use her own phrase, of losing the wood in the trees, with these minute and erudite examination of words in different languages which make up the trees of the wood. Maybe it is this that causes a lack of lucidity in diction in these essays, that lucidity so essential to the enquiring student, and the want of which makes reading more than a brain-task.

To the enquirer on this recondite subject we suggest that just as one would not go to a convinced Moslem for a true picture of Christianity, so one cannot expect a convinced Christian to penetrate to the arcana of Buddhist belief, though in face of the colossal task Mrs. Rhys Davids undertakes we feel it presumptuous to venture thus far in criticism. The book

is not intended, nor must it be read, as a guide to Buddhism. It is more a matter of intellectual research and, as such, is of great value to the student, but is not to be taken as a final purview over the field covered. Her discrimination between the conceptions *asi* and *bhuva*, for instance, is a great stimulant to study, but is so meticulously erudite that it leaves little scope for intuitive illumination. Classing herself as not a Buddhist, Mrs. Rhys Davids gives us here a skeleton framework only of this mighty religion; true, a marvellous reconstruction of that framework from the philologist's point of view, but it is left to the student, if he can, to clothe the dry bones, and this can be done without, indeed may only be hindered by, references such as the author frequently brings in to later forms of religious thought.

Since there is no sequence of thought in the essays, would it not have been better to arrange them chronologically? Between the last two there has been a period of sixteen years. We are grateful for an index, but the book is worthy of a fuller one.

As Mrs. Rhys Davids' writings have as their chief aim the familiarizing of the English-speaking public with the literature of ancient Buddhism, we wonder if in her next volume she will have something to say of the greatest and earliest European pioneer in the interpretative field, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, who, as a Buddhist herself, both studied and explained the foundations of Buddhism and its connection with the Vedas and Upanishads and Indian tradition in her great work *The Secret Doctrine*. When her first book, *Isis Unveiled*, was published, it dropped like a bomb into circles beginning to be dissatisfied with the barren forms of religion then prevailing, and both distinguished and humble members from all sections of society flocked to her *salons* in London and Paris. But because of the immense difficulties confronting would-be students of such higher science and metaphysics, difficulties she never disguised or minimized, her following gradually fell away, like the young man in the New Testament, and the society she formed, which rapidly spread over the world, fell on schismatic times soon after her death, following the fate of every recorded forthgoing religious reform. The society's first aim was to "form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, colour or creed," and, secondary to that great aim, was "to vindicate the importance of old Asiatic literature, namely, of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Zoroastrian philosophies." The first aim having failed, we have as a consequence the world war which she foretold.

V. B. AND A. A. M.

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**Ancient India from 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.** By Tribhuvan Das L. Shah, L.M. and S. Baroda : Vol. I., 1938; Vol. II., 1939. (London agent and stockholder, Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C. 1)  
Dr. Shah entered on the compilation of this work because he felt that previous writers on the ancient history of India had neglected the traditions of the Jains. For many years he has laboured at the production of a Jain

encyclopædia, and now he puts forward some of the conclusions at which he has arrived.

In the first volume, after brief descriptions of social conditions and the geography of ancient India, he traces the history of fifteen kingdoms of Northern India and of the Andhras. Then follows an account of the Sisunaga and Nanda dynasties of Magadha. The second volume opens with a description of the two great religious teachers of the sixth century B.C., then expounds the religious symbolism on coins, and is completed by the history of the Maurya dynasty with a digression on foreign invaders, and finally the reasons for the downfall of the Mauryas. Each volume has chronological and dynastic lists and there are many illustrations, both photographic and imaginative, besides sketch maps and plates of coins.

Dr. Shah sets out with the assumption that the period for which accurate chronology can be assigned to events begins in India about 900 B.C., Parsvanath having been born in 877. At that time the two religions prevalent in India were Hinduism and Jainism. The existence of the latter may also be traced in the Mohenjo Daro civilization 1,500 years earlier. From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D. most rulers in India were Jains. Other writers on Indian history have been mistaken in supposing that many of them were Buddhists, because the symbols on coins have wrongly been interpreted as Buddhist, while they were really Jain. Dr. Shah thus differs vitally from conclusions ordinarily accepted. In his view the Sandrocottus of Megasthenes was not Chandragupta Maurya, but was Asoka, Chandragupta's grandson. The principal argument for this conclusion is that Megasthenes' description of India differs so much from that in the Arthashastra by Chanakya (Chandragupta's minister) that they cannot have been writing about the same period. This conclusion puts back the dates of Chandragupta to 381-358 B.C. and makes Asoka Emperor of Magadha at the time of Alexander's invasion.

It has been generally accepted that Asoka was the ruler who erected inscribed pillars and caused other edicts to be incised on rocks in various parts of India, though these inscriptions describe their author only as Piyadassa (beloved of the gods). Dr. Shah, however, holds that Priyadarsin (Piyadassa) was another name of Samprati, grandson of Asoka. His attempt to explain away the Maski edict, in which Asoka's name actually occurs, will not convince many people. It is thus not surprising to read that the stupas at Sanchi are Jain and were built by Priyadarsin over the ashes of Jain monks brought here from other places. Priyadarsin, we are told, was a great conqueror who occupied Tibet, Nepal, Khotan, Turkestan, Syria, Anatolia and perhaps even Egypt! In spite of this, though his name appears in his edicts, he was too modest to attach it to the countless other works for which he was responsible.

For the traditions Dr. Shah seems to have relied chiefly on the works of Hemachandra, who was born in 1089 A.D. He believes that Parsvanath was 13½ feet high, and that Mahavira, 300 years later, was 10½ feet. There is proof that Priyadarsin exceeded 9 feet 7½ inches, because that is the height of the gateway at Sanchi, and gateways at holy places are made

lower than the normal height of people so that worshippers approaching shall be compelled to bow their heads.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who has written a preface, gives the warning that the book "is not sufficiently critical of the sources used in the light of collateral sources of information." Some people will take a less kindly view of it.

R. BURN.

## K'ANG HSI AND THE JESUITS

**K'ang Hsi, the Emperor of China.** By Eloise Jalcott Hibbert. Pp. x+298. 6 full-page illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, 1940. 16s.

The Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi, who for sixty years (1662-1722) presided over the destinies of China with wisdom and great ability, is to many people little more than a name. For K'ang Hsi has been given little publicity in English literature; and though there are not wanting foreign books and documents in which fuller information is to be found, there are for the most part scarce and difficult of access. Mrs. Hibbert's choice of a subject was, therefore, a happy one; and her excellently written biographical sketch should meet with a wide welcome. For, besides being the first full-length portrait of one of the most notable figures in Oriental history, it presents an authentic picture of China and Chinese life during the early years of Manchu rule.

Great administrator as K'ang Hsi undoubtedly was, it is as a man rather than as a statesman that he interests us most. Of this aspect of his career our knowledge is derived mainly from Jesuit sources. For, like the great Emperor Akbar, whom in many respects he closely resembled, K'ang Hsi welcomed the missionary Fathers to his Court, and for many years they were his constant and intimate companions. The early Jesuit Fathers were shrewd and accurate observers, though their field of vision was limited and seldom extended to matters unconnected with their own lives or the work of their calling. But despite its restricted range, their testimony is, so far as it goes, good testimony, though it is well to bear in mind in reading their writings that we are seeing the world through Jesuit eyes.

The motives that led Akbar and afterwards K'ang Hsi to cultivate the friendship of the Catholic missionaries were not in all respects similar. Akbar, an earnest seeker after the truth, was moved, apart from political considerations, by his desire for intercourse with men of learning, who could expound to him the doctrines and principles of the Christian religion, of which he had already heard much that appealed to him. K'ang Hsi was troubled by no religious questionings, but he had a craving for knowledge of the Western world and its sciences, and he saw in the Fathers the only persons in his kingdom capable of being his instructors. Under their guidance he spent many hours daily in the pursuit of learning, which was his favourite occupation, and of which he never seemed to weary. For his tutors he entertained a high regard, and they became the chief companions

of his leisure hours. The influence they exercised over their royal pupil, and through him over the mandarins of his Court, the high offices to which they were appointed, and the conspicuous parts they played in shaping and conducting the foreign policy of the State, constitute the main theme of Mrs. Hibbert's book.

The Fathers appointed to the China mission were selected as much for their intellectual attainments as for their evangelical zeal. Of them all, none combined these qualities in a higher degree than Father Matteo Ricci, who nursed the mission in its infancy, and for nearly thirty years laboured devotedly to establish it on a permanent basis. Ricci was not only a learned theologian, but a scientist of the first rank; and his profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy contributed in no small measure to his success in the mission field. But though Ricci was the principal organizer of the China mission, Mrs. Hibbert is hardly correct in describing him as its founder. The first to be chosen for the Chinese enterprise was Father Michele Rugerio, who entered China a year before Ricci. By the time the latter joined him Rugerio had already made contact with the Chinese authorities and had succeeded in obtaining from the Viceroy of the province of Canton permission to build a house at Sciaochino, the administrative headquarters of the province. The two Fathers worked together until Rugerio returned to Europe five years later. Mrs. Hibbert states (but does not mention her authority) that Ricci assumed the name "Dr. Li," and that he had a house in Canton. In his history of the China mission (*I Commentarj della Cina*) Ricci tells us that the name he adopted, in order to conform with Chinese custom, was *Sithai*, signifying something like "a gentleman from the West." As to his house in Canton, there seems to be no evidence that he ever possessed one, or ever resided in that city. Mrs. Hibbert's picturesque account of Ricci's journey and arrival at Peking also differs widely from the Father's own account of this episode in his career.\*

The Jesuit Fathers who resided at Peking in the reign of K'ang Hsi were not greatly inferior in learning to Matteo Ricci. But their political activities, and still more the unprofitable and unseemly disputes on questions of dogma in which they were constantly engaged with other Christian sects, absorbed their time and their energies, and served to diminish their religious influence and to discredit the Christian faith in the eyes of the Chinese people. The ground thus lost was never regained. As Mrs. Hibbert says: "The Jesuit dream of a Catholic world empire failed in the end, not because of the hostility of Orientals to an alien religion, but because of the differences of opinion between the various missionary orders." "Had their dreams," she adds later, "become reality, who can say what changes might not have taken place during the past two hundred years? One fact is certain: European civilization would have been firmly established in China." Mrs. Hibbert is very likely right; but when the Chinese people survey the state of Europe to-day, one is inclined to wonder just how they feel about it.

\* *Commentarj della Cina*, Bk. IV.

*K'ang Hsi, Emperor of China* is an instructive and eminently readable book and should do much to stimulate interest in the country it so vividly pictures. Its value as a contribution to Chinese history would be enhanced by more frequent and precise citation of authorities. The absence of a map in a book of this nature is a legitimate cause for complaint. Mrs. Hibbert would be well advised to repair the omission in a later edition.

C. H. P.

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### BOOKS RECEIVED

The following books have been received and will be reviewed in the next part of the Journal :

*Sons of Sindbad*, by Alan Villiers. A beautifully illustrated account of life on Arab dhows. The author, who has a liking for sailing-boats, sailed round the coasts of Arabia, on the Red Sea, down the coast of Africa to Zanzibar and lived with the shipbuilders and mariners of Kuwait. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

*The Voyage of the Kaimiloa*. Eric de Bisshop, in spite of his name a French sailor, built a double canoe on the model of the old double canoe of the Polynesians and sailed in it from Honolulu through the islands and across the Indian Ocean to France. An interesting and quite unusual account of the islanders and of a remarkable voyage. (Bell.)

*Viceroy and Governor of India*, by A. B. Rudra, Ph.D. Explaining the functions of the Viceroy and of the Governor-General, the two aspects of British rule in India. (Milford : Oxford University Press.)

*Co-operative Movement in Bengal*, by J. P. Niyogi. (Macmillan.)

*Working Constitution in India: A Commentary on the India Act of 1935*, by S. M. Bhowse, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.). (Oxford University Press.)

*Things Mortal*, by Sir Frederick O'Connor. His life and work in Tibet, Iran, in the War, and observations at Hollywood. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

*Twilight in Delhi*, by Ahmed Ali. (The Hogarth Press.)

Second edition of that classic, *Hitti's History of the Arabs*. (Macmillan.)

*Drinkers of the Wind*, by Carl Raswan. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

The second volume of Kuno's exhaustive *History of Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*. (University of California Press.)

*Reginald Lane Poole*. From Proceedings of the British Academy. (Milford.)

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## IN MEMORIAM

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

BY BOSWORTH MONCK

I REMEMBER a dinner with Sir Denison and Lady Ross shortly after this war had started, during the time when Sir Denison was eagerly offering his experience and powers to Government departments. He said that this war differed from the last not least in the approach of the individual British participants in it. In this war there seemed to him to be determination but no spirit, no sense of adventure. Sir Denison found this a fault, and he with his own keen sense of adventure felt then what probably we have all now learnt—that without that approach, the initiative, collective and individual, might well remain with our enemies.

It was, I think, that matchless enthusiasm of his for all things about him in the world—his friends, books, music, travel, a witty remark, good food and drink—which we shall miss most. This enthusiasm derived, I think, from the fact that all contacts—human, literary, or any other—were to him an adventure that led on endlessly. This prevented him from growing old, and kept him in real touch with those much younger than himself. It was, of course, the key to his success. Certain of his obituary notices I read seemed to me almost to sneer at his scholarship. These missed the vital point in his character: his faculty for making others aspire to scholarship by infecting them with that same sense of adventure. What fine use could have been made of this quality after his retirement from the School of Oriental Studies: his immense range of experience and interests might well have been used as one of the B.B.C. Governors. There he might have imparted some of his own vitality to that amorphous efficiency our wireless programmes reflect.

Occasionally, after his retirement and before he went to Turkey, both Sir Denison and Lady Ross complained that they were only observers of life and not part of it. The change in them after that adroit appointment was remarkable, and showed that both were willing to





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## NOTICES

THE Society has received a very welcome legacy of £100 from the late Mrs. Alec Tweedie.

The Council is most grateful to Captain Gracey for a large number of books dealing with the Near and Middle East, and to Mrs. Upton Prior and others for gifts. \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. W. E. Jardine, C.I.E., has presented a terra-cotta statue of His Highness Saramad-i-Rajaha-i-Bundelkhand, Maharajah Mahindra Sawai, Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur of Orcha, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. The statue is unique, admirably executed, and with colouring and costume exact. It is given in memory of Alfred Cotterell Tupp, LL.D., I.C.S., who, with Sir Francis Younghusband and the late Colonel Algernon Durand, founded the Society. \_\_\_\_\_

Members who are not receiving their Journals and lecture cards are asked to let the Secretary know as soon as possible. As far as possible, the Staff endeavour to keep pace with changes of addresses, but are grateful to those who will send a postcard rather than to those who trust to their thought-reading ability. \_\_\_\_\_

Members and contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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## NOMINATION FORM.

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*Her* connection with Asia is :



## IN MEMORIAM

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LLOYD OF DOLOBRAN,  
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

GENERAL SIR JOHN SHEA : Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is indeed a unique occasion in the annals of this Society. I think perhaps you might like to know the form of procedure we propose to take. You would expect me, I am sure, to say just a few words about Lord Lloyd, but we are fortunate indeed to-day to have as our Chairman Sir Cosmo Parkinson, who at great personal inconvenience to himself has left his high office to come and honour us with his presence and observations. I feel it is so fitting that he should speak about his late chief that I will leave it in the main to him. After he has spoken I would ask you to stand for one minute in silence for our late President.

I am sure I fulfilled your wishes when I wrote to Lady Lloyd and expressed our deep grief and sorrow at the irreparable loss which has befallen her.

It is difficult to speak of Lord Lloyd as President, because in that capacity he seemed to have all the attributes that one could possibly wish. I find that any words I can speak are entirely inadequate to the occasion, but I would testify to his lightning instinct, his sure and rapid decision, his unfailing interest, and his help at all times so readily given. It is indeed a tragedy to think that one whom very tardy recognition had at last placed in his rightful position should be so suddenly taken from us. If when he was young, with the natural ambition of youth, he mapped out a career for himself which he strove to attain, there is no question that, as his years grew, his whole heart, his whole devotion, and his whole service was given to Empire. (Applause.)

SIR COSMO PARKINSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E. : Sir John Shea has spoken in moving terms of the loss which your Society

has suffered by the death of Lord Lloyd. It is a great loss, for men of Lord Lloyd's stamp are very rare. He had such extraordinary vision and immense enthusiasm, coupled with deep convictions, and, what impressed itself on everyone who met him, a vital energy. As Sir John Shea has suggested, there is hardly any sphere in which Lord Lloyd did not play some part; for he was a soldier, a traveller, a writer, a man of culture, an administrator, and a man of deep religious persuasion, and, above all, he was a real patriot, to whom the British Empire was, if I may use the phrase, an article of faith.

It is not for me to attempt, nor is there time, to go through Lord Lloyd's career, but Sir John Shea has asked me to say something from the Colonial Office point of view. Lord Lloyd came as Secretary of State in May last. I think I may say we have not had in my lifetime any Secretary of State of the same type. I worked with him from that time on, and it was a very stimulating experience; perhaps I may say that at times it was even a little bit disconcerting from the point of view of one trained in more orthodox methods. But his object always was to get something done, and he did get things done. That has been one of his characteristics throughout his life.

When he came to the Colonial Office, I know that he had one aim, and that was to advance the welfare of the Colonies. Anything that conduced to that end, whether it was big or whether it was small, was worth time and trouble, and there was nothing to which he would not give his personal attention if he felt it helped in that direction. So it was that in the Colonial Office he was interested not merely in the work produced and in what the Colonial Office was doing; he was interested in the machine. He had been an administrator for many years in his life, and he was all the time anxious to ensure that if there could be any adjustment or improvement in the machine it should be made. I do not think I have known any Secretary of State who had had such close personal touch with the office and its staff as Lord Lloyd, and that, I need hardly say, was greatly appreciated by the staff. He told me once that he had never belonged to any organization or been in any office without making himself as far as possible an integral part of it. There was no question of Lord



Lloyd, as Secretary of State, sitting aloof on Olympian heights. He was right in it all, and I know he enjoyed his time at the Colonial Office.

The thing which, perhaps, he enjoyed most was collecting together two or three times during those few months new cadets appointed to the Colonial Service. He would get them into his room quite informally; no one else would be there, and he would talk to them. That had a tremendous effect, because I have heard time and again that there was none of those cadets who left that room without being fired by his own deep belief in what I may call the mission of the British administrator overseas.

As I said, his aim was the welfare of the Colonies, but, to use his own words which I have heard him use more than once, what he was always seeking was "good government," and that applied at the Colonial end and at this end. His abiding love was the British Empire, and I know that he felt a great inspiration in the fact that in the Colonial Office he occupied the seat which a great Imperialist like Joseph Chamberlain had occupied. His mind often went back to that. Another of his predecessors, of whom he often spoke, was Lord Milner. I am quite sure that, except for his untimely death, he would have done an enormous amount to help the Colonies, and would have taken his place in the history of the Colonial Empire as a great Secretary of State.

The audience stood in silence for a few moments.

THE RT. HON. LORD LLOYD  
OF DOLOBRAN,

P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.

THIS Society has to record, with deep sorrow, the death of its President, Lord Lloyd. He first joined the Society in 1908, and from the following brief picture of his career, illustrating some of his characteristics and activities, it may be seen how well equipped he was eventually to fulfil the post of President. His great services to the Society showed how well fitted he was to hold this office. What is, perhaps, even more interesting is the fact that when he was chosen at a very early age to succeed such eminent Chairmen as Sir Alfred Lyall and Lord Ronaldshay, his personality and character marked him down as an obvious President.

After leaving Eton he went up to Cambridge, where he twice, in 1899 and 1900, coxed the Cambridge eight to victory. He omitted to take a degree and spent several of the following years in business and travelled in Burma, India, Little Thibet, Himalaya, Egypt, Morocco, and Asia Minor.

In 1905 he became Honorary Attaché to Sir Nicholas O'Connor at Constantinople. During his travels he had gathered special knowledge of the many less-known places and peoples of Mesopotamia and Eastern Turkey, and it was in 1908 that he was appointed to be special Commissioner to report on British trade in those countries.

From January, 1910, to 1918 he was Member for West Staffordshire, adopting the principles of Joseph Chamberlain.

By 1914 he had become a recognized and growing force in the House of Commons, and with his experience of the Balkans he foresaw the implication of the Sarajevo murders. It was to him, a young politician of thirty-five, that M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, appealed in August, 1914, when the Asquith Government appeared to be faltering, and he played a conspicuous part with Mr. Amery, Leo Maxse, and Bonar Law in inducing Lord Lansdowne to draft the letter urging on the Government our obligations to France and Russia.

When war broke out in August, 1914, he was a Captain in the Warwickshire Yeomanry, and as such joined the Intelligence Staff of General Sir John Maxwell in Cairo on December 17 of that year.

With him were Aubrey Herbert and E. L. Woolley; Lieut.-Colonel Gilbert Clayton was G.S.O., 2nd Lieutenant T. E. Lawrence had arrived three days earlier.

Lloyd took over the Iraq and Indian Section, and discussed at length such subjects as Arab Federation. He threw himself into the task with all his accustomed ardour, but he had scarcely enough scope to keep him happy or to use his previous experience. His work was endless but circumscribed, and he felt like a "suppressed volcano." The office in which he worked was small, noisy, and busy; the three telephones were rarely at rest; interviews were ceaseless. He has described it himself as being like Charing Cross Station—engines whistling, people rushing hurriedly here and there, and everyone hustling. Of him at this time Lawrence writes in *The Seven Pillars*:

"George Lloyd was among our number. He gave us confidence, and with his knowledge of money proved a sure guide through the subways of trade and politics and a prophet upon the future arteries of the Middle East. We would not have done so much so soon without his partnership, but he was a restless soul, avid rather to taste than to exhaust. To him many things were needful: so he would not stay very long with us. He did not see how much we liked him."

Lloyd left Intelligence, Egypt, for General Birdwood's Staff on the Dardanelles, then went via Archangel on a mission to the Czar of Russia, returning to Imbros to work with Wyndham Deedes and Intelligence.

In March, 1916, he went to Iraq on another mission and returned to Allenby's Intelligence Staff on the Palestine frontier. In May, 1917, he came with Sykes and Picot to Jidda to start the discussion of their unfortunate proposals with King Hussein.

"In October, 1917," Lawrence writes, "G. L. was spending a last few days in Akaba before going to Versailles on a regretted Inter-Allied Commission. He said he would ride up with us to Jerer: as he was one of the best fellows and least obtrusive of travellers alive, his coming added greatly to our forlorn anticipation. . . . Lloyd was to go back from here to Versailles, and we asked Auda for a guide.

"It was a sorry thing to see Lloyd go. He was understanding, helped wisely, and wished our cause well. Also he was the one fully taught man with us in Arabia, and in those few days together our minds had ranged abroad, discussing any book or thing in heaven or earth which crossed our fancy. When he left we were given over to war and tribes and camels without end."

During these years Lloyd did become "fully taught" on Arab questions, and met Emir Feisal, Jaafar Pasha, Nuri Said; and so he learnt not only of their politics, but of their people, their ambitions, and their feelings. His was the knowledge absorbed more surely from personal contact with the Arab leaders than from studying books and "Papers."

In mid-1918 he succeeded Lord Willingdon as Governor of Bombay. Here for five difficult years his vision and determination were marked on many occasions. In the face of bitter opposition and criticism he sponsored and achieved two vast enterprises. These were the Sukkur Barrage Scheme, or Lloyd Barrage, across the River Indus and the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. The Sukkur Barrage, whereby a vast area of desert Sindh was irrigated, was unquestionably his most notable achievement as Governor of Bombay. The conception of the Back Bay Scheme, which was purposed to clear the worst slums of Bombay and give decent housing to a congested area, was magnificent in its conception. But it cost more than the original estimate and, owing to financial shortsightedness, did not fully materialize. But it certainly did provide the soldier with a very welcome breathing-space and permitted scattered and ill-housed troops to be suitably concentrated in reasonable comfort. During his tenure of office he suppressed, without bitterness, but by undeviating patience and firmness, the outbreaks of mob violence in Ahmedabad and other towns. He upheld the law by practically forcing the Viceroy to imprison Gandhi, who had challenged Government to enforce the penalty.

He left Bombay in December, 1923, and was adopted in the following October as Unionist Member for Eastbourne. During his short time in Parliament he upheld the Moslem claim to the maintenance of the principle of separate representation and advocated preference for Indian exports. He had already made his mark in the House, but a more onerous task awaited him as High Commissioner of Egypt. He accepted this office in the summer of 1925 only on condition that he should be given a free hand. His book *Egypt Since Cromer* most admirably describes his actions and policy during his four years of office there, and in the following quotation from the concluding chapter he unconsciously provided a most fitting epigram for himself. "Foresight and courage," he writes, "were qualities which issued in action rather than in procrastination and despair. They are more than ever needed to-day."

The basis of Lloyd's policy during his time in Egypt was the

reclamation of the Egyptian Independence of February, 1922, and, whilst determined that Egypt should have what that declaration gave her, he watched most carefully to see that the four reserved points were strictly honoured. He tackled and overcame the redoubtable Zaghoul, who feared no one in the world but Lloyd. An interesting pen picture is given to us in the following quotation of part of a letter written to Lloyd from Lawrence on September 30, 1934, after the latter had reviewed *Egypt Since Cromer*. He writes:

“You can write pages of moving, sonorous, and yet heavy prose. It is a very good book. Egypt has been fortunate in her historians.

“The concluding chapter slowly rises in tone to a really touching height. Nobody can finish it without rather liking you, for the truth is that you are a fundamentally likeable person, quite human, quite modest, and disarmingly unsure of yourself. You only pontificate and snarl and thump the table to convince your own mind. By nature G. L. is a little bit of a poet and a liberal. He has made himself, is quick-minded, eager in well-doing, and not patient. He suffers stupid people too long and is anxious to do the right thing, to the sacrificing of his own wishes. If he were slightly more selfish and had fewer loyalties, he would be a great individual success in politics. As it is he will always be the despair of his friends and the chief target of his enemies. One of his queer traits is to like his enemies and to be liked by them—more than his friends. ‘Friends’ and ‘enemies’ used only in respect of politics. No parallel is to be drawn as concerns such private people as his T. E. L., who very much enjoyed the book and is very proud to be on (occasional) writing terms with him.”

Lloyd resigned from Egypt in June, 1929, the real reason being that his views and those of Mr. Henderson, the Labour Foreign Secretary, were too opposed for smooth running, and the details of his resignation are explained in *Egypt Since Cromer*. In spite of his resignation, his reputation in Egypt stands very high to-day as one who foresaw the best for Egypt as well as for the British Empire.

Lloyd was said to be ambitious, and he was ambitious. But the desire for personal glory so often criticized by his enemies and those who failed to understand him matured into a very real and deep ambition for the true betterment of the British Empire. In his latter years this became the burning desire, the focal point of his life.

After his resignation from the High Commissioner's office his views differed too strongly from those of the Labour Government, then in power, to permit of his being given an administrative post. Later he

disagreed again with the outlook of Baldwin. He could have taken high office; he could have accepted offers in business, for which he was highly qualified, but a stubborn inability to agree with views which he did not hold prevented his doing so.

He kept out of office and fulfilled his ambition to do his utmost for the Empire in a variety of non-spectacular duties. Amongst many other activities, he took up the Navy League and the Seamen's Hospital, and maintained a keen interest in the work of our own Society.

On July 27, 1937, he was appointed Honorary Air Commodore to Auxiliary Air Force. He took his pilot's certificate, flew his own plane, and learnt to fly a Blenheim. His interest in his squadron was always enthusiastic and active—never merely honorary—and so remained until the end of his life.

In 1937, too, he was appointed to be Chairman of the British Council. With a well-chosen staff and stable finance he was able to widen his activities for providing education in the Near East and elsewhere, and in spreading the higher ideals of the British race. Here he carried out many of the suggestions inspired by various members of our Society in countries within our sphere of interest. The Maltese in Egypt are deeply grateful to him, and rightly so, for providing their children with British Schools and for raising their status of citizenship. Whilst High Commissioner in Egypt he had started British schools for the less fortunate British subjects of the community to ensure that they had a first-class education. With his usual vigour and enthusiasm he had collected the funds for these schools—mainly from his friends, partly from the Treasury. It may have been that Lloyd himself started the idea of the British Council then, or possibly that the Civil Service thought out the idea in order to protect the Treasury and legalize his raids for funds.

The work of the British Council in Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, Greece, Malta, and elsewhere is like tree-planting: sturdy saplings are planted in selected soils; growth is slow but very steady and sure. The results of many of Lloyd's ideas, his energy and forethought, will be seen and appreciated in years to come.

To have breakfast with Lloyd was to be provided with ample food for thought for several days. One felt the better for hearing that action was being taken in all sorts of countries for their better understanding of the British Empire and the British people. His extraordinary knowledge collected from letters from friends all over the world amazed one; his quick action in handling his varied information was electrify-

ing, his inexhaustible energy inspiring. He was ever ready to criticize the Government, whether Labour or Tory, if they failed to maintain his standards of security and of policy in the Near East or India. Yet his advice was constantly sought—and taken—by the Government on an amazing variety of subjects upon which he was so well informed and recognized to be a specialist.

He was an expert in the Balkans and Turkey, where he kept constant and close contact with the leading people. The work he did, unseen, unrecognized, and unknown to the public, was immense, his affectionate memories of Turkey and knowledge of the people enabling him to achieve very fruitful results.

He it was who obtained from the Turkish Government special concessions for the poorest Maltese in Istanbul, finding means to relieve their unemployment. In Cyprus, too, he had done much to change the old outlook of the people and to make them feel that they belonged to the British Empire.

He always had some pointed, practical, constructive ideas to put forward, and usually succeeded in taking steps to see that they were put into effect.

Some of us will remember his gathering together the leading Moslems in this country with the Egyptian Ambassador. A few months later the Government announced a grant of £100,000 towards the building of a mosque in London as a token of goodwill—a silent, single-handed achievement. Lloyd had, by the way, persuaded the Egyptian Government in 1928 to grant land in Cairo on very generous terms for the building of an English Cathedral.

His reception of a former Turkish Ambassador at our dinners was most happy, and in the spring of 1938 he frankly voiced the opinion that we were already at war in all but arms. He pressed his point to such effect that a loan was granted to Turkey, which was the first big step towards restarting Turkish trade.

At the time of the Turkish earthquake, when Professor Garstang wished to start an Anglo-Turkish Relief Committee, he naturally went to Lloyd. Within a few hours a committee had been formed, and by 'phoning to Paris a free truck was obtained from the Wagon Lit Company, and in it a large consignment of stores from Lord Trent were despatched by the Orient Express.

At long last Lloyd became Secretary of State for the Colonies in May, 1940—an office which he accepted with enthusiasm and with no sacrifice of principle. He took a new line in knowing everyone of the

Colonial Office staff and dealing with their administration personally, and his short talks to Colonial Office cadets were some of the best of advice and sympathy ever written. In spite of his enormous new responsibilities, he still continued his work in the British Council and for the Navy League and his visits to his R.A.F. squadron.

With his untimely death our Society has lost an outstanding President. The British Empire has lost an outstanding personality, whose brilliance, enthusiasm, and knowledge can ill be spared. Not everyone saw, or was permitted to see, his humanity. Yet here was a man who fought for his principles and against his feelings.

His life was in spirit and in deed one of "foresight and courage."

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THE Council very greatly regret the death on active service of Major R. L. O'Connor and that the Earl of Aylesford and Major N. R. Streatfeild are still posted as missing.



LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR ARNOLD WILSON,  
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.

THE obituary notice of Sir Arnold T. Wilson, M.P., in *The Times* gave the bare outline of his career from the time when he won the Sword of Honour at Sandhurst to the last phase when he died in the service of his country as Pilot Officer (Air Gunner) in the R.A.F. Those who, like myself, served with him during the Great War in Mesopotamia and knew his soldierly qualities and his passionate loyalty to the interests of his own country, while they marvel that a man of his age should have been found fit for such a form of active service, will surely agree that it was in character that he should leap to the struggle and make the supreme sacrifice on her behalf.

In one notice it was suggested that he joined the armed forces of the Crown in a spirit of atonement for an error of judgment about Hitler. Those who knew him intimately prefer to believe that Wilson spoke with absolute sincerity when he told his constituents in October, 1939, that the issues between Great Britain and Germany must be fought to a finish and that, as a fit man physically capable of fighting, he would not shelter behind his age.

But I think their chief feeling will be one of bewilderment that a man of his outstanding abilities, abilities particularly suited for a time of desperate emergency when all the brains and initiative and powers of courageous improvisation we possess are vitally needed, should not, on the outbreak of war, have been immediately assigned some important post in the Government machine which would have given scope to his wide experience and proved capacities. There was no need, for those who knew him, to put his courage and loyalty to the test. "A. T.," as he was known to us in Mesopotamia, was a man of quite superlative courage and powers of endurance. Officers who fought in the famous divisions which operated on the Karun and on the marches from Ahwaz to Amarah and from Qurnah to Nasiriyeh in 1914-15 spoke of him as one who deserved the highest honour available to a soldier. As for his loyalty, his belief in the mission of the British was in one sense

his undoing when the Great War ended. He had no craven fears of our being great, and frankly opposed the immediate abdication of a position of trust before we knew the capacity of the Arabs to undertake the difficult and complex task of national government. Perhaps he had at that stage failed to move with the times, had failed to realize that what seemed ordinary good sense in the face of the obvious facts of the situation was not consonant with the ambitions of the politically articulate sections of the population, and that the opinions of the rest of the people, particularly of the tribes, were a matter of indifference for a politically accurate judgment of the situation. At least he was loyal to what he deemed was both his country's and Iraq's good, and all his experiences, then and later, testify to his passionate belief in his country's mission. Wilson was first and last a soldier, ready to lay down his life for King and country. There was no need to suppose vain reasons for his readiness to fight and die for his country. It was for those in authority to decide what form of service he should undertake, and it is certain that he would have rendered in any position as gallant and devoted service as he gave as a junior officer in that glorious branch of the forces, the Royal Air Force.

Looking back on his varied career and writing as one of a band of soldiers and political officers who served with him throughout the Mesopotamian campaign and in the first years of the post-war period, I would mark down his work as Deputy Chief Political Officer and later Civil Commissioner of Iraq as most worthy of respect, though we should not forget his hazardous journey through Luristan before the war, which led to the award of the C.M.G. at the early age of 27, and the distinction of his service as Deputy British Commissioner, and in the latter stages British Commissioner of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission. We who served under him in Mesopotamia know how much Sir Percy Cox owed to the untiring industry, initiative and administrative ability of his Deputy in meeting the multifarious demands made by the Army on the resources of the country, in building up a civil administration while still under fire, and, not least, in protecting the legitimate interests and rights of the indigenous population under conditions of over-riding military exigencies. When in 1918 Wilson officiated as Civil Commissioner, later to be appointed to the post, he was faced with one of the most difficult tasks that could fall to the lot of a British official at the end of the war. Like a bolt from the blue came the famous Anglo-French declaration. I was with Wilson when the cable came. No warning of its terms had preceded its coming, no

inkling of its background of doubts and compromises. It was difficult to translate into Arabic since inevitably the Arab turned "self-determination" into "istiqlal" (independence), and in any case the philosophical origin and implications of this idea were totally unfamiliar to the local populace. On the basis of this document, while still the country remained in occupation of our armed forces and under the supreme authority of the Army Commander, we were to develop the civil and political life of a country which had for centuries been under Turkish rule, as from an advanced beginning, with no idea as yet of the form of government that should be adopted.

Wilson has, I believe, been blamed for failing to take into his confidence and counsels in the years 1918-20 the body of Iraqi ex-officers of the Turkish Army who had joined the Revolt of King Husain and served with Faisal's forces. The facts were that policy was being worked out under influences partly unknown to us in Mesopotamia and with a scheme for a federation of Arab States under Husain's family which took little account of the actual situation in Mesopotamia. There is much to be said in this connection which would not be appropriate in this notice. All that need be said here is that at the time of the Arab rebellion when Achilles Lawrence was sulking in the tent of non-cooperation and bringing all his notable powers of invective to bear on the administration of Mesopotamia, Wilson ignored taunts and abuse and got on with the job. Whatever General Haldane's views may have been on the right policy to adopt towards Iraqi politics after the war and the causes of the rebellion, the figure of A. T. standing bloody but unbowed, a figure of tireless industry and initiative and indomitable courage amid a ring of enemies and detractors both Arab and British, had something of sublimity for those who knew how much depended on the steadfastness of the Civil Commissioner and his staff of political officers scattered through towns and deserts for the maintenance of our position and prestige among the Arabs. It was Wilson's personal influence with his political colleagues, their trust in the power of the man in an emergency and their feeling that he would never ask an officer to do what he would not himself have willingly done in a similar situation, that helped them to stick loyally to their posts when all military forces had been withdrawn and they were faced with the very real possibility of brutal assassination. I recall the case of one young political officer stationed in a particularly dangerous area on the borders of Kurdistan who received a telegram from Wilson to the following effect: "All military forces have been withdrawn from your area and I can

offer you no help. But I know you will stick to your post." In that position of complete uncertainty and danger he kept his show going, his only contact with the outside world being a personal visit by aeroplane from Wilson himself. Wilson was, of course, a man entirely without fear, and had determined that if the Army could in the circumstances offer no help he would himself visit him and confer with the local chiefs. He was such a prize to potential enemies that I doubt whether he was wise to risk his life in an enterprise of this nature. But his life meant really nothing to him if the cause were to be advanced, and he was not the one to lose any opportunity of sharing a risk with a devoted colleague. His officers knew that they would never be asked to do what he would not have done with greater courage and initiative than themselves. They at least have not forgotten what they owed to him in the shape of inspiring leadership. And they will not forget a characteristic of outstanding charm, his way of never overlooking the individual's personal interests however remotely he might be situated, and his readiness to assume personal responsibility for the mistakes of their inexperience. You might be posted to a remote area and completely isolated from contact with colleagues or troops. However varied and pressing the thousand and one important tasks facing him at the moment, he would see to it personally that A at Mosul and B at Mendali and C at Suq esh Shuyukh should receive regularly the essentials of his work and subsistence. This was a big part of his conception of a man's loyalties and it extended to the post-war period when he was always ready to befriend his former colleagues. It was characteristic of him, too, that he would act to help them in their emergencies immediately and personally under the impulse of his outstanding combination of benevolence and efficiency. I think it must have been much in the same spirit that he did not wait for younger men to man our bombers while he stood by for a call to more important work but went forth without hesitation to lend the weight of his splendid strength and courage to the immediate emergency. Wilson was the sort of man who must be in it if there was danger ahead and urgent work to be done, and his old colleagues and friends of the Great War cannot let their former Chief pass from the stage of an ungrateful world without paying their tribute of the highest admiration to the achievements of his life and the nobility of his death. England can ill-afford to lose men of such pre-eminent qualities of body, brain, and spirit, and we who knew him mourn the loss of one of the finest men and most loyal friends it has been our fortune to know. His loss to his

family will be beyond reckoning. May we hope that it will be a little consolation to them to know that the memory of his distinction of personality and achievement and of his constancy as a friend will always be cherished by a very large circle of friends and admirers.

R. M.

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### COMMANDANT J. HACKIN

THE death of Commandant Joseph Hackin and his most accomplished wife by enemy action has just been reported. M. Hackin, who won abiding fame by his excavations in Bamyán and Begram (the ancient Kapisi) in Afghanistan, was the Director of the Guimet Museum in Paris, where his priceless finds were displayed. During his expeditions Madame Hackin took charge of the photography and was, in many other ways, a most valuable assistant, reminding me of Madame Dieulafoy at Persepolis.

Quitting France to serve under General de Gaulle, M. Hackin was appointed Foreign Minister and was travelling eastwards when his brilliant career was cut short. He was a distinguished Frenchman, alike in character and appearance, and his death must be a great loss to his country.

P. M. SYKES.

# THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY,  
K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

**T**HE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

terraced by the industrious inhabitants to grow crops and, in the higher altitudes, the excellent Mocha coffee for which Southern Arabia is famous. Villages appear in unexpected places, built of mud brick in the low country and of stone on the mountain-sides and hill-tops. Among these habitations are seen always the square towers, or *dars*, and the little mosques or whitewashed shrines that are characteristic of the Arab villages.

The aspect of the country varies in its different parts. Immediately to the north of Aden is the large and fertile oasis in which stands the capital of the Sultan of Lahej. It is irrigated from the bifurcation of the Wadi Tiban that brings water from the mountains and then disappears in the sands near Aden. To the east and west of Lahej are desert strips, but beyond are the Subeihi hills and valleys to the north-west, the rugged Haushabi country, and the pleasant district of Dhala in the Amiri highlands to the north, and the lofty mountains of Yafa to the north-east. Thence to the eastward a steep escarpment spans the country like a rampart, and is crowned by the fertile Audhali plateau 7,000 feet above sea-level. Farther east, beyond another stretch of rough, mountainous country, is the fantastic and barren *jol*, reminiscent of pictures of the surface of the moon. To the north of this strange and desolate area, and in striking contrast to it, is the wide valley of the Hadhramaut, with its chain of towns and villages, its skyscrapers, country houses, palace and gardens. Beyond again, away to the north, lies the edge of the Rub' al Khali, the Empty Quarter, with its sea of tumbled terra-cotta coloured sand dunes stretching into the distant interior.

On the sea coast of the Protectorate there are at intervals fishing villages and little ports, and about 300 miles to the east of Aden stands the picturesque town and port of Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti Sultan. Protected by a steep background of rock, its white houses cling to the shore, and its appearance from the sea is singularly attractive. The town of Shehr lies on the coast beyond it, and eastward again there are more coastal villages, of which Qishn, the capital of the mainland territory of the Sultan of Socotra, is the most important.

The large island of Socotra, situated about 500 miles to the east of Aden, forms part of the Protectorate. It, too, is a mountainous country, but, owing to its greater rainfall, it is much less bleak than the neighbouring mainland. It has a good deal of varied vegetation, and is noted for its so-called dragon's-blood tree, the sap of which is exported to India and elsewhere to make a rich purple dye. Socotra has also a

good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to



earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

century and the early years of the twentieth the potential enemy on the South Arabian mainland was Turkey, whose occupation of the province of Yemen brought its territory to within a short distance of Aden. The Turks, indeed, maintained a theoretical claim to the whole of Southern Arabia, including Aden itself. In practice, however, they accepted the existence of British protection over nine tribes adjacent to Aden, and these became known in diplomatic dealings between the British and Turkish Governments as the Nine Cantons, a term that still lingers, although the number of tribes in treaty relations with the British Government now far exceeds the original nine.

The Protectorate treaties are all cast in much the same form. It is a very simple one, for the provisions are limited to a few short clauses stating that the gracious favour and protection of the British Sovereign shall be extended to the tribal chief, who, in return for a stipend, undertakes to have no relations with any other foreign Power. In some cases the treaties were supplemented by agreements about the security of roads or other matters of common interest, but generally speaking there was no attempt to introduce any direct British influence or even supervision in the internal affairs of the tribes. Aden was regarded as being primarily a fortress, and the purpose of the Protectorate was the creation and maintenance of a vacuum behind the fortress, into which no foreign intruders would be admitted. Provided that this object was secured, the Protecting Power at that time showed no interest in the welfare or development of the people of the country, who were left to their own devices and to their traditional vendettas and anarchy.

This indifference to the domestic concerns of the protected tribes was even more marked in the eastern part of the Protectorate than in the country nearer to Aden. Treaties of the same type as those already mentioned were made with the local chiefs on the sea coast to the east of Aden up to the borders of Muscat. The reason for this extension of the protected sphere was similar to that which led to the establishment of the Nine Cantons. Its object was the exclusion of foreign influence from Southern Arabia owing to the proximity of this territory to our vital sea communications with the East. The most important treaties with tribes to the east of Aden are those with the Quaiti Sultan of Shehr and Mukalla and with the Sultan of Qishn and Socotra, whose territory includes a mainland portion as well as the island of Socotra. No effort was made at that time to extend British influence inland from Mukalla or the neighbouring coast. The Government of India, by whom the Protectorate treaties were concluded, was content to have

a British protected belt along the coast and to leave the interior of the country alone. This policy was no doubt due in part to the difficulties of communication overland and to the attitude of the Arab chiefs concerned, who welcomed protection against foreign enemies, but disliked any interference with their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, British protection was not always effective. No troops were maintained in the Protectorate, and when the test of war came in 1915 the Turks in the Yemen found no difficulty in marching down through the Protectorate to Lahej and the gates of Aden. After the war the rule of the Turks in the Yemen was succeeded by that of the Zeidi Imam of Sana. This energetic ruler has always regarded both Turks and British as usurpers in Southern Arabia, the whole of which he looks upon as his rightful inheritance, and he lost no time in seizing as much of the Aden Protectorate as he could take with impunity. The British at Aden, with a much reduced garrison and a minute air force, were unable to give effective protection to their tribes until 1928, when air reinforcements enabled them to recover the Dhala district. The Imam's Zeidi troops retained possession of some parts of the Protectorate until 1934, when they were withdrawn as a corollary to the signature of the Treaty of Sana. This treaty effected a temporary settlement of the vexed question of the Protectorate frontier. The Imam did not formally renounce his historic claims, for he declares that he will never do that, but he agreed that they should remain in abeyance for the period of the treaty—that is, for forty years from its signature, or until a more permanent solution could be found. On the other hand, the British Government recognized the Imam's title as King of the Yemen and his complete independence within his own territory.

It was hoped that the Treaty of Sana would prove to be a turning-point in the history of the Aden Protectorate, and this hope has to some extent been justified. Before the conclusion of the treaty the Protecting Power was mainly concerned with the problem of defence against external aggression, and there were even advocates of the abandonment of all but a fragment of the Protectorate in the immediate vicinity of Aden. The settlement with the Yemen enabled the authorities at Aden to turn their attention to setting the Protectorate house in order. There was a growing feeling that the old policy of indifference to its internal needs was unworthy of the best British traditions, and that an effort should be made to improve the lot of the people in the protected area. It was no longer considered to be good enough to put a ring

fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut, and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had

long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel TOD: I do not know whether you would like to hear anything of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they reconquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

is a case of the neglect, to which you referred, of the Government towards our so-called protected sheikhs.

There are one or two rather curious facts in connection with that Commission. The head of the Commission was a Colonel Wahab, a very talented officer. His assistant was a Major Abud. Anyone who understands Arabic will understand the strange coincidence of those two names. When I first made contact with the Turks, they asked me in a puzzled way: "Who are these two men, Wahab and Abud?" They thought that, whereas they had sent some of their most important men, we had sent some local Arabs to deal with them.

You mentioned the frequency of the travel of the tribes of the Protectorate to foreign lands. That was a very striking feature even in those days. It was quite a common thing to meet a half-naked Arab leading a string of camels, who would say: "Bon jour, monsieur."

We had great difficulty in getting a cook there. Our Indian cook went sick, and to our surprise a local Arab turned up from a village in the mountains. We found he talked English with a very Australian accent, and had been an assistant cook in a temperance hotel in Queensland.

Captain ACWORTH: Sir Bernard spoke of the very great religious enthusiasm of the tribes, but he also mentioned a sort of friction between the various tribes, and some of them did not think very highly of the others. I was wondering whether in the very keen Moslem faith in the south of Arabia they have among them the same sort of divergencies and different views that we have in our churches here, like High Church, Modernist, and so on—whether there are really a considerable number of sects among the Moslems.

Then, are the various tribes something like the counties in England—say, Lancashire and Cornwall? Can they all understand each other? Those two points I have always wondered about.

Sir BERNARD REILLY: The division I spoke of was between the Shafeis and the Zeidis. The Shafeis belong to the great Sunni Division of the Moslem faith. The Zeidis are more akin to the Shiahs, though they are not precisely Shiahs. They take their name from the founder of their sect, named Zeid, but they have more in common with the Shiahs than the Shafeis have.

I do not think it would be right to say there are many subdivisions in the Aden Protectorate. The people of the Protectorate are all Shafeis, and there are no serious divisions among them from a religious point of view at all.



As regards dialects, Captain Acworth asked whether the tribesmen of one tribe understand the tribesmen of another. Undoubtedly yes. There is no great divergence of language. There are slight differences of pronunciation and accent. I have heard the men of one tribe mimicking the speech of those of another tribe, but fundamentally their language is the same. I should imagine that the differences in matters of speech are rather less than those between different parts of England.

Of course, there is a great difference between the Arabic spoken in the south of Arabia and Arabic spoken in Palestine or Egypt, but there are no great distinctions inside the country itself.

Dr. HUGH SCOTT acknowledged his indebtedness to Sir Bernard Reilly and the officers of the Aden Protectorate during the British Museum Expedition to South-West Arabia in 1937. Dr. Scott added some interesting remarks on the peoples of the country, which are amplified in his article (see p. 146).

The CHAIRMAN: When Sir John Shea wrote and asked whether I would take the chair at this meeting, I said I should be very pleased to do that because I knew that Sir Bernard Reilly would give us an interesting talk. I think you will bear me out that I was right in that prophecy.

Naturally, I have been listening to his talk from the Colonial Office angle. The Colonial Office was associated with Aden even before the colony was established in April, 1937, because by a division of work the Government of India had continued to deal with the settlement of Aden, but the Colonial Office had been made responsible, as part of H.M. Government here, for the Aden Protectorate. For instance, when Sir Bernard went to Sana to negotiate that treaty, in which he was so successful, the Colonial Office was in charge at this end.

When the colony was formed, as I dare say you know, there was quite a lot of fear in Aden on the part of the Indian community. They thought that Customs would be imposed to raise revenue to spend on the Protectorate. Well, Aden is still a free port. They were afraid their Indian law was going to be put aside by a Colonial Office which had no interest in Indian law. The Indian code still remains. They were afraid their Indian currency would go. The rupee is still there. They were afraid we should waste money. But a Budget deficit has become a Budget surplus. They were afraid that they would lose their salt trade. There the Colonial Office is not actually in control. It depends upon the Government of India whether or not Aden's salt

continues to receive the same favourable treatment as before. But at least the Colonial Office and Sir Bernard have done their level best to ensure that that favourable treatment continues. So those fears have gone.

When we set up the colony we had no intention of introducing drastic reforms, but in the Protectorate we did introduce a new policy quite deliberately. Sir Bernard has talked of that Protectorate as having been a vacuum. Nature abhors a vacuum, we are told. I do not know if the many critics of the Colonial Office would ever expect to find the Colonial Office doing anything which they would regard as natural. But at any rate we did follow Nature in abhorring this vacuum, and we set about quite deliberately, with Sir Bernard's help, to get a change, but our first rule was that there must be no hustle. It is not the slightest good, in dealing with Eastern peoples, to try to hurry, and if at any time we were wanting to go too fast, Sir Bernard was far too prudent to let us. I have sometimes thought the right motto for the Aden Protectorate comes from the prophet Isaiah: "Precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little and there a little."

The first thing was obviously security. Sir Bernard has spoken of the tremendous work of the R.A.F. in the background. The whole principle was to try to introduce a reasonable amount of peace and order in a very disturbed country and keep the trade routes open, but not to administer anything. We have no intention of administering the Protectorate. What we want to do is to build there on Arab institutions and to keep it an Arab country. That will be done through the work of advisers like Mr. Ingrams, who has made for himself a great name in the Hadhramaut, and political officers, whose numbers have grown from two to ten in Sir Bernard's time. With their help we must seek to improve the standard of life and conditions in the Protectorate.

Of course, there are certain things you must try to remove, such as an obvious abuse like slave-trading, not that it exists now; but in general you must carry on and develop existing institutions. We are giving help in the Protectorate with agriculture and with dispensaries, and we are beginning on education.

There have been setbacks at times—in security, for example—and there will be setbacks. It is a very primitive country, but the great thing is perseverance. As a matter of fact, we are already getting our reward through the work of these political officers, which is probably

some of the most selfless work in the world. Let me mention a recent incident. When Buckingham Palace was bombed, a man in Aden named Ali Ahmed Ruban came to the Governor and brought £7 10s., half a month's salary. He was an engineer foreman. He said: "This money is to help with cement for repairing the King's house now that the Nazis have bombed it." It is a touching story, and it illustrates the general feeling in Aden Colony and Protectorate.

Just one thing I would like to make quite clear about the Protectorate. Great Britain is there to give, not to take. There is no question of revenue coming from the Protectorate. The British Government puts up the money for anything that the Government spends in the Protectorate.

For my part, I am proud of the share which the Colonial Office has had in this new policy for the Protectorate, and I would like to take this opportunity of saying, in Sir Bernard Reilly's presence, how very fortunate we feel we have been to have had in him so wise and so understanding an administrator to initiate it. (Applause.)

# THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH-WEST ARABIA

By HUGH SCOTT, Sc.D.

THE following article arose out of a few remarks made at the meeting of the Society on February 12, 1941, after Sir Bernard Reilly's most interesting lecture on the Aden Protectorate. He has devoted many years of his life to the political development and welfare of the peoples of that vast territory, and to the promotion of good relations with neighbouring parts of Arabia. I, who spent a brief seven months in the Western Division of the Protectorate and in the Yemen in 1937-8, tried to put before the meeting a summary of recent anthropological views on the population of this corner of Arabia.

The purpose of the British Museum Expedition, which I conducted in company with Mr. E. B. Britton, was to investigate the natural history (principally entomology) of the country. But it aroused in me so deep an interest that I have read all I can of the recent views of anthropologists on the people. I am not concerned here so much with the cultural side as with their physical characteristics.

It is difficult to consider South-West Arabia apart from the whole of South Arabia, while some references to the central and northern parts are also necessary. But it can be said at the outset that the peoples of South-West Arabia are very different from the conventional view of an Arab. The rather short, slightly built tribesmen of the broken mountains and the high plateaux, dark-complexioned, nearly or quite beardless, and straight-nosed, seem to have little in common with the tall, bearded, aquiline-featured Arabs of the north. Such of the latter type as are seen probably owe their presence to immigration and conquest from the north. Many travellers, however, have noted the resemblance of certain southern tribes to some of the peoples of the Ethiopian highlands and adjacent parts of Africa, on the far side of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden.

We must leave for a moment the south-western corner and look south-east and east, especially to the peoples of the Sultanate of Oman, in the part of the Arabian peninsula projecting farthest east. It is also necessary to introduce the accepted technical terms *dolichocephalic* (long-headed) to denote people in whom the width of the head is under 80 per cent. of the length, and *brachycephalic* (short-headed; also

termed "round-headed"), in whom the width is above 80 per cent. of the length. Some of the earlier investigators were greatly impressed by the high degree of round-headedness of certain of the Southern Arabs. This was surprising, since the North Arabians, and also the peoples of Africa, are in the main long-headed. Sir Arthur Keith and Dr. Krogman,\* analyzing this round-headedness among the Southern Arabs, found that it has come about in two quite different ways. First, in the Oman Peninsula itself, there are people with high-crowned heads, much flattened at the back, so that the distance from the ear to the back of the head is much lessened; these "Armenoids" possibly owe their origin to very ancient trade migrations from Armenia along the Persian Gulf to countries farther east. Secondly, farther to the west, in the western part of the Sultanate of Oman and the extreme south-eastern corner of the Aden Protectorate, there are tribes in whom round-headedness is due simply to a lessening of the head-length, not to any disproportionate shortening of the head behind the ear; in these tribes the back of the head is not flattened, but protrudes as much in proportion as in long-headed people. Some of these tribes have a marked affinity with certain African peoples, and also with some Indian peoples who speak languages of the Dravidian group.

Sir Arthur Keith and Dr. Krogman concluded that the Southern Arabs represent the residue of a Hamitic population once widely spread over Arabia. To account for the round-headed tribes of the second type (without flattening of the back of the head), they postulated that round-headed peoples from the north had broken through the Hamitic belt to South Arabia and interbred with the earlier inhabitants. Such an event is supposed to have occurred in Pleistocene times, hundreds of thousands, or perhaps up to a million, years ago. Fertile and pleasant climatic conditions then extended over all Arabia, instead of being confined to restricted areas such as the south-western highlands and the coastal fringe of Dhofar, as they now are.

Meanwhile the tribesmen of the high Yemen plateau, with many who live in the Aden Protectorate to the south, were known to be, in head-measurements, intermediate between the two extremes, or *mesocephalic*. But head-measurements constitute only one character, and many other physical features have to be (and had already been) taken into account.

We are thus brought to the most detailed examination of a large number of living men (as opposed to remains from ancient burial sites)

\* Appendix to Bertram Thomas's *Arabia Felix*, 1932, pp. 301-333.

yet carried out in Arabia. This task was undertaken in 1933-4 by the American anthropologist Professor Carleton Coon, who spent some time in San'a and made precise records of about 1,500 men of the Imam's army. Coon's preliminary conclusions are embodied in his book *The Races of Europe*.\* (Though this title seems to exclude South Arabian peoples, yet the author was obliged to include countries as far south as South Arabia, as far east as Persia and Afghanistan, in order fully to consider the European family of races.) It is unnecessary here to add to those mentioned above a catalogue of the physical features of the Yemeni highlanders. It is enough to say that the intermediate character of the form of the head is borne out; its shape is very like that of Nordic races, though the actual measurements are smaller; there is no excessive development of features such as the eyebrow ridges; and in quite a high proportion of the men examined there is a tendency to blondness (for instance, in the colour of the beard, when present, and of the eyes).

Coon's discussion of the south-western tribes is not limited to these men from the San'a plateau. His suggested explanation of the whole racial composition of the South-Western Arabians is rather disconcerting at first to those accustomed to the older views and terminology. But on examination his ideas do not seem to contradict the opinions of earlier students. He regards what constitutes a "race" of men from a somewhat different angle. A "race" is simply "a group of people who possess the majority of their physical characteristics in common"; a pure race (if the term be used at all) is one in which the contributing elements have become so completely blended that it is difficult or impossible to trace their origins. Little is to be said of sharply defined races within the "white" family, and, in discussing the South Arabians, the terms "Semitic" and "Hamitic" are little used. He is more concerned, in the European family, with broad zones or groupings. One such group, comprising certain North-West and Central European races, is believed, though descended predominantly from ancestors of the species *Homo sapiens*, to have its ancestry complicated by elements derived from the palæolithic inhabitants of Europe, who belonged to other species of men now extinct—possibly Neanderthal man or species akin to him. This view is not necessarily held by all anthropologists, and in any case we are not concerned with the group

\* New York, 1939. For the discussion of South Arabian peoples, see pages 401-431. I am indebted to Dr. G. M. Morant, of the Royal Anthropological Institute, for referring me to the literature and for other kind help.

of races in question. In discussing South Arabia we have to consider the "Mediterranean" group, believed to be solely of *Homo sapiens* descent. This is distinguished from the group of races with Neanderthaloid elements in their ancestry, by (*inter alia*) moderate size of body and the lack of excessive development of particular parts, precisely those characteristics noticeable in the general run of South-West Arabian mountain tribesmen.

This Mediterranean race, regarded as comprising the entire family of dolichocephalic or mesocephalic (long-headed or intermediate) whites, and including both blond and brunette varieties, extends in a broad zone from Spain to India. One branch of it stretches far southward along both sides of the Red Sea, to Southern Arabia, the highlands of Ethiopia, and even to the eastern horn of Africa. While the pre-dynastic Egyptians are held to have represented the most highly evolved of its several subdivisions, to-day the largest single area in which the Mediterranean race remains in a condition approaching purity is the Arabian peninsula. The highlanders of Central Yemen form the purest nucleus of the brunette form of this race. Many tribesmen in the Aden Protectorate can be assigned to the same category, though other elements are intermingled with the population south and south-east of the Central Yemen.

Such are the conclusions recently reached regarding the highlanders of the south-west. Arabs they certainly are, in a geographical sense, in language and customs, but not in the sense of the tall, bearded, aquiline "Semites" frequently pictured when the word "Arab" is used. Men of the Semitic type are largely descendants of immigrants from the north, perhaps of conquerors of the vanished pre-Islamic South-West Arabian states. A traveller in the Central Yemen can see for himself that such people frequently belong to the official classes and occupy a more or less high social position. The southward expansion of Semitic conquerors is not precluded by regarding the racial make-up of the bulk of the population as "Mediterranean."

The tribesmen of Mahra, in the extreme south-eastern corner of the Aden Protectorate, with those of Qara and Shahara, in the adjoining western parts of the Sultanate of Oman, comprise a racial element termed "Veddoid." These tribes all have "fuzzy" hair and dark brown skin, while round-headedness reaches its highest degree among them. They speak non-Arabic languages. The Veddoid race, believed to be one of the major divisions of mankind (and including both long-headed and round-headed varieties), includes the Vedda of Ceylon and

the Shom Pen of the Nicobar Islands. It has many other extensions south-eastward, existing, largely as a substratum, through the East Indian Islands, and it has affinities even with the aboriginal Australians. Coon believes it to be present, as a submerged element, along the shores of the Indian Ocean from Bab el Mandeb eastward. But in South Arabia people with Veddoid affinities are few in the western part of the Aden Protectorate, more numerous in the Hadhramaut, and reach their maximum in the Mahra, Qara, and Shahara tribes mentioned above. In the Oman Peninsula proper they appear to decline again in numerical importance, but the Veddoid element reappears in the Persian Makran and Southern Baluchistan.

In the present state of knowledge it cannot be said whether the Veddoid is as old an element in South Arabia as the Mediterranean race. The time of their arrival in the country, possibly from South-East Asia in prehistoric times, may be connected with the vexed question of the introduction of the little humped cattle. Sir Bernard Reilly reminded us that humped cattle, though found on the mainland of South Arabia and Eastern Africa, are absent from the island of Socotra, which has a straight-backed breed. In any case, the fact of having become a cattle-raising community would have profoundly affected the social organization of the South Arabian people. The idea has, moreover, been put forward by anthropologists that the camel-herding and horse-breeding culture of the Badawin in the central and northern parts of Arabia may be an offshoot from the cattle culture of the south.

Members of many races—Somalis, negroes, various Indian peoples, Malays, etc.—throng some of the larger ports and live as isolated units or small settlements elsewhere, all going to form currents in the human stream in the South-West Arabia of the future. But leaving these on one side, there are two other old-established racial elements besides the Mediterranean and Veddoid components. In the western coastal lowlands (Tihama) of the Yemen, and in parts of the foothill regions of Southern Yemen, there are old communities of people of negroid affinities. Some of these are descendants of Africans brought in originally as serfs; some may date from the period of Abyssinian dominion in the sixth century. There is little intermixture between these people of the hot and often unhealthy lowlands and the people of the keen-aired highlands.

Lastly, the Jews form numerous ancient, though isolated, communities in the towns and villages of the Central Yemen, extending into the Amiri highlands of the Western Aden Protectorate. They are



Jews of an Oriental type, closely resembling the Palestinian Jews in many respects. Here again their appearance is often very unlike that of Jews as popularly imagined. None knows exactly when or whence they came to South Arabia. It is certain, however, that Jews were numerous there in the centuries before Islam. Their expulsion from the Hejaz shortly after the rise of Muhammad doubtless drove them to concentrate still more in the Yemen. The suggestion, put forward by more writers than one, that these Jewish colonies came into being as a result of the southward-bound commercial and naval enterprises of King Solomon and his ally Hiram, King of Tyre, is at least worthy of consideration.\*

Here the subject must be left, though I hope before long to deal with it more fully elsewhere. It is scarcely necessary to add a warning that none of these conclusions must be accepted as final. They will be liable to modification when other evidence becomes available. Some fresh evidence, the result of inquiry along several lines—archæological, anthropological, linguistic—is indeed on the way. Meanwhile I may close with an expression of good wishes to the administrative and technical officers in the Aden Protectorate and to the medical missionaries. All are working for the betterment of a people whose essentially lovable qualities, whatever their faults, Sir Bernard Reilly set clearly before the meeting.

\* These voyages are mentioned in the First Book of Kings, chap. ix, verses 26-28. According to the accepted chronology, they took place in the early part of the tenth century B.C.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN SOVIET ASIA

By MISS VIOLET CONOLLY

Luncheon lecture given on January 22, 1941, Brig.-General Sir Osborne Mance, K.B.E., in the chair.

**M**R. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject on which I have the honour to address you to-day would make a fascinating film. It would show the great goldfields of Siberia, the Lena River and the Altai Mountains, the enormous cotton plantations of Central Asia, the building of the Turksib Railway through the sand deserts of Turkistan; it would show stretches of road construction in remote places such as the road which now links Stalinabad with Khorog in the Pamirs, the drab, grey wastes of the Kara Bougaz Gulf, where the largest mirabilite deposits in the world are now being transformed into a dozen chemical compounds; the many new towns of the Soviet Arctic, which, like the timber port of Igarka, have sprung up like mushrooms during the last ten years. It would show cargo ships penetrating the dangerous passage of the North Sea Route from Murmansk to the Far East—a route which is now regarded by the Soviet Government as a commercial highway from east to west and *vice versa*—thus after centuries actually realizing an Elizabethan dream. In fact, this imaginary film would present all the varied scenes of a colossal industrial development in climates ranging from the Polar Circle to the semi-tropical regions of Turkistan. Such a film would undoubtedly be spectacular and full of local colour, but a talk about the facts of expanding iron-mines, metallurgical plants, cotton mills, and suchlike things with even a minimum of statistical paraphernalia is a very different and drier task. However, I will try to sketch out in this talk what is now being done under Soviet auspices in Central Asia and Siberia with the minimum of statistics. And, indeed, frankly I would rather be your Aunt Sally for questions, which I hope will be provoked by this talk, than your lecturer to-day.

Well, to get back to the Soviets and Central Asia, I suppose it is necessary, in the first place, to define the scope of the subject. Soviet Asia geographically falls into three separate sections, each with its own

resources and special problems. These three sections are: Siberia, from the Urals to Lake Baikal and including the long Arctic coastline and hinterland in the same latitude; secondly, the Soviet Far East and the very important Soviet Pacific coast with the islands running from Vladivostock along the coast of Kamchatka up to the Big Diomedes Island in Bering Strait; lastly, and perhaps most important of all, Soviet Central Asia, that mysterious country extending from the shores of the Caspian Sea through Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia and the great central land mass of Kazakhstan; right to the frontiers of Western China; closed for years to foreign travellers save a very privileged few by the Soviets, Central Asia was more accessible to Europeans in the days of Marco Polo.

In this huge area the Soviets, since the inauguration of the first Five-Year Plan in 1928, have been busily engaged in the biggest programme of industrial development now taking place anywhere in the world. It has been well said by one of the most impartial and expert observers of Soviet Asia that no group of men tried to do so many things at once in any period of history, except, perhaps, in war-time. The crudity and, indeed, often cruelty of the machinery employed to put through these Soviet plans for the development of Soviet Asia, the brutal disregard for human life and local custom (like the wholesale disruption of nomad life) and the record of blundering in the execution of projects little and big, which can be easily discovered if sought for, with all those slips between the cup and the lip which are inevitable in Russia, must in no wise blind us to the magnitude of the tasks which the Soviet Government has undertaken, and the vision behind many of these great schemes. To accomplish Soviet industrialization in record time, simple peasants, callow engineers, and Central Asian nomads and natives, who have never before handled any machinery, have, willy-nilly, been pitchforked into highly complicated industrial processes. But on that side of the Soviet system I will not dwell now, save to say that it has necessarily been very expensive in men and materials and caused many major hold-ups and hitches.

To deal with the Siberian area in particular. It should be remembered, in the first place, that Siberia is the great centre of Soviet non-ferrous metallurgy, containing vast reserves of copper, bauxite, lead, zinc, and, most important of all, gold. During the Five-Year Plan, period since 1928, many new plants have been built to develop these resources, and vast quantities of expensive modern machinery imported from the United States, in particular, to develop them. Soviet propa-

ganda has a great deal to say about its geological discoveries since the Revolution, but in point of fact the non-ferrous resources of Siberia were virtually as well known to the old régime as they are to-day. The great difference lies in the tempo of their exploitation and the progressive manner in which they are now being developed. From the output of the giant plants of Kirovgrad, Krasnouralsk, and Karabasch in the Urals the annual Soviet production of copper has risen enormously; it might be still higher if the Communists had not frequently rejected expert advice for their own ideological notions. Copper imports continue from America, but there is no reason why Soviet Russia should not ultimately be independent of them when all the giant plants of Siberia and Central Asia, whose total capacity is planned to aggregate 500,000 tons annually, are working to full capacity. The iron and steel production of the Urals and Siberia still lags behind that of the Ukraine, but there is a huge concentration of giant non-ferrous combines—producing copper, nickel, aluminium, molybdenum—east of the Urals, while neither *non-ferrous deposits nor non-ferrous industries* exist to any extent in the Ukrainian or Central Russian provinces. This is a most important point in any consideration of Soviet Russia's vulnerability to invasion from the West, involving the geographical location of her basic industries. During the second and third Five-Year Plans the intensive development of Siberian machine building, coal and iron, and non-ferrous industries was strongly emphasized in Soviet policy. This drive was reflected in a sharp increase in the production of Eastern pig-iron, steel, and non-ferrous metals.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, in spite of the expansion in Siberian industry, the increase in Ukrainian heavy metallurgical production has been both absolutely and relatively far greater than in the Eastern provinces of Russia during the same period.

As far as fuel is concerned, neither the Far East nor Siberia has any appreciable oil resources (apart from the minor wells of Sakhalin), but there are great coalfields at Karaganda in North-Western Kazakhstan and in Kuznetsk, midway across Siberia, where the population has been pushed up in recent years. The important metallurgical plants at Magnitogorsk in the Urals, which formerly had to rely on Kuznetsk, over 2,000 km. away, for fuel supplies of coal and coke, will be supplied by the end of 1942, according to the Plan, equally by the Karaganda and Kuznetsk mines; this means a reduction of well over 1,000 km. in the transport haul involved. There has been a good deal of talk in Soviet economic circles about a new metallurgical centre in Eastern

Siberia, where there are rich deposits of iron ore north of Irkutsk. But as the mines lie 500 km. from the nearest station on the Trans-Siberian railway, little has yet been done to develop them. Tungsten and tin are among the deficient metals in the U.S.S.R., but in the remote area of Trans-Baikalia, on the borders of Buriat-Mongolia and Outer Mongolia, the largest tin and tungsten deposits in the U.S.S.R. are now being actively exploited by a "giant" combine at Djhida.

Until a few years ago, nickel has always been regarded as a deficient metal in the great mineral resources of Russia. Now in the frozen tundra of the Arctic Circle, at Norilsk on the Yenisei, the Soviets have discovered and opened up very large nickel deposits. Smolka, the Austrian journalist, who has written such an interesting book about the Soviets in the Arctic, tells how this inaccessible nickel-mining camp is supplied by air with food and many other lightweight commodities. When the other nickel mines at Norilik and Monchegorsk in the Arctic Circle are being worked to capacity, it is estimated that the Soviet Union will rank second after Canada as a world producer of nickel, though ten years ago its production amounted to nothing.

Siberia has long been romantically famous for its goldfields, which are scattered between the Southern Urals, the Altai Mountains, the lower reaches of the Lena River, and the remote Kolyma mines on the Pacific coast. We are luckier in regard to this Soviet industry, as far as accurate information is concerned, than in the case of most others, for John D. Littlepage's vivid and expert chronicle of his ten years' work reorganizing the Soviet gold industry for Stalin has no parallel in the contemporary history of the Soviet Union. In his admirable book, *In Search of Soviet Gold*, this American mining engineer has given us first-hand testimony of the great possibilities of the Soviet gold industry in Siberia and Central Asia, and of the "wrecking" activities he personally witnessed in the lead- and copper-mines of the Urals and the Altai. Though honourably withholding the closely guarded secret of the actual figure of gold production in the Soviet Union, there can be no doubt, from his account of the industry, that production has increased enormously in recent years and now stands second in the world after that of the South African goldfields. Many of the more cramping Soviet restrictions on initiative and enterprise have been deliberately set aside in the case of gold prospectors in the wilds of Siberia and the Far East, who enjoy very much the same kind of freedom they would have in a "gold rush" in Alaska, so long as their finds are reported to the Soviet Government and the gold handed in. These *starateli*, as they

are called, have been encouraged to prospect new areas and push up the gold output by the bait of far better stocks of food and other commodities than are available for Soviet workers in the ordinary workshops and mines.

Passing from Siberia to the immense Soviet Far East with its virgin forests, and undeveloped, only partially prospected natural resources of many kinds, we reach a much less progressive and still very under-populated area. But here also the Soviet Government has many ambitious schemes of development, not the least interesting of which was, perhaps, the establishment in 1928 of a Soviet home for the Jews of the world in Birobidjan. Under the three Five-Year Plans many light industries such as cement, food, and fish preserving, glass- and brick-making, and so on for local needs have been started. And the entirely new town of Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, with nearly eighty thousand inhabitants in 1939, has sprung up in a few years. One of the high spots of the second and third Five-Year Plans was the establishment of a Far Eastern metallurgical industry for a "giant" plant called *Amurstroi* in Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur. The Moscow planners have set this plant the task of supplying all Far Eastern requirements in iron and steel by 1940-1941, though up to the present these heavy metals had always to be imported from hundreds of miles away. In fact, however, things are very much behindhand in the construction of this plant, and after four years' dawdling it has now scarcely got a roof over its head. Originally it seems to have been planned by people in Moscow with very rudimentary information about the local fuel and ore resources on which it was eventually to work. Now that the Bureya coalfields which were to supply the coking coal have been more exactly surveyed, it has been discovered that, though enormous in extent, they consist very largely of brown coal, which will require expensive treatment before it can be used for coking purposes in the new plant, if at all. In spite of a lot of inflated rapportage about the geological iron reserves of the Far East, it is now known that they are extremely small, and the ore contains a low percentage of iron. So *Amurstroi* is also in difficulties about its future ore supplies. It is typical of Soviet planning that, even after the foundation-stones have been laid and the plant is scheduled to start production, there is still considerable obscurity regarding such essential raw materials as coal and iron.

The position with regard to non-ferrous minerals in the Far East is more promising than with regard to ferrous. Lead-zinc mines have long been worked at Tetiuke, north of Vladivostok, and the Soviets

have now established a polymetallic combine to work the local lead, zinc, and silver resources. The lead is smelted locally, but the zinc still travels (or did in pre-war days) for several months overseas to the Ukrainian zinc plant at Konstantinovka, the only non-ferrous plant in Central Russia.

The present state of tension in the Far East brings the island of Sakhalin, the only oilfield now being exploited in the Soviet East, with its Soviet and Japanese oilfields, prominently into the international picture. It was recently rumoured that the Soviets may demand the return of Southern Sakhalin, ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, as the price of a non-aggression pact with Japan. Further north there have been many reported discoveries of oil on the North Siberia coast and in Kamchatka, but no commercial results are yet being yielded by these wells. Sakhalin is now connected with the mainland by a pipeline from Okha, and in these island fields Japanese and Russians work side by side in a checker-board arrangement in the concession area. In 1938 it yielded 1·2 per cent. of the total Soviet oil production, or almost 400,000 tons. Formerly all this oil had to be used in a crude state because there was no oil refinery in the Far East; now a new cracking plant has been erected at Khabarovsk, and another with a capacity reported large enough to supply all the requirements of this region is being constructed at Nikolaevsk-on-the-Amur. A third refinery is planned for Komsomolsk. Nevertheless, Soviet plans have not advanced so far as to make this area independent of imported oil. Both the growing industrialization of the country and the state of tension surrounding the Soviet armed forces on the Soviet-Manchurian frontier demand large supplies and reserves of oil. Apart from oil and industry, Soviet achievements in the Far Eastern region include the double tracking of the Trans-Siberian trunk line throughout its entire length; the value of this work cannot be overestimated, for, in spite of Soviet planning, this region is still largely dependent for many supplies on Siberia and Central Russia, and places a heavy strain on East-bound transport.

The economic development of Central Asia is even more striking than what the Soviets have achieved in Siberia, where Russia has a long record of economic activity. In many fields a start was only made after the Soviet revolution in Central Asia. There the native Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Turkmens, and other indigenous peoples carried on their local handicrafts and tilled their crops of cotton in the same way for centuries, without the intervention of modern methods of machinery.

All this was abruptly changed by the advent of the Soviets. Significant of the changes to come in the lives of these peoples was the new division of this vast Central Asian territory into five Soviet republics: Kazakhstan, the largest of the five, with an area approximating to Europe; Uzbekistan, great cotton reservoir of Russia, and the most thickly populated of the republics; Turkmenistan, incorporating the former Emirats of Bukhara and Khiva, where in the sandy wastes of the Caspian shores a great new chemical industry has been constructed, and in the sand deserts the Soviets have discovered important rubber-bearing plants which have been made the basis of the Soviet natural rubber industry; Tadjikstan, a relatively small republic about the size of Great Britain, containing the highest mountains in the Soviet Union, the roof of the world, bordering on Afghanistan and China and narrowly separated from India; Kirghizia, somewhat bigger than the combined area of Belgium, Holland, Austria, and Switzerland, bordering on Sin Kiang and famous for its herds of sheep and cattle.

The cotton-fields of Central Asia have been enormously expanded under Soviet auspices, with the result that, whereas more than 50 per cent. of Russia's cotton supplies were formerly imported, virtually no cotton now comes from abroad. Owing to this expansion, Russia is now the third greatest cotton-growing country in the world, ranking after United States and India, both in area and production. Irrigation has largely contributed to the extension of the cotton-fields, and, if Soviet plans for the next ten years materialize, millions of acres of arid desert land will be irrigated for cotton growing. The opening of the great Fergana Canal last year in Uzbekistan, hailed as a national festival all over Russia, was one of the most practical efforts to realize these large-scale irrigation plans. It should be pointed out, however, that the greatest expansion in the area under cotton took place during the first Five-Year Plan, when the cotton area rose abruptly—and extremely arbitrarily as far as the wishes of the local population were concerned—from about two and a half million acres to nearly five million acres. There has been little increase since this time, though the yield per acre has risen enormously. The little republic of Tadjikstan is the centre of the Soviet Egyptian cotton growing. Not only have the Soviets expanded cotton growing in Central Asia, where it has been grown from time immemorial, but they also have inaugurated a cotton textile industry there which was formerly heavily concentrated in the Central Russian areas of Moscow and Ivanovo, the Russian Manchester. In recent years new spinning and weaving mills have



been established at Fergana in Eastern Uzbekistan, Ashkabad in Turkmenistan, and in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.

The expansion of the cotton industry in Central Asia has called for large supplies of nitrogenous fertilizers. In order to manufacture these fertilizers locally, the Chirchik chemical combine on the Chirchik River, 40 km. from Tashkent, with an annual capacity of 160,000 tons, was planned. This plant is regarded as one of the biggest constructional schemes in the U.S.S.R.; it was specially noted by President Kalinin in his commemoration panegyric of the Revolution, last November, as one of the major achievements of the Soviet Union of 1939-1940; and later *Pravda* proudly announced that the first deliveries of nitrogenous fertilizers had been despatched to the Fergana cotton-fields.

The list of minerals and precious stones found in Soviet Central Asia, according to rather vague information in Soviet publications, seems endless—gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, diamonds, even radium, as well as coal and oil. But there is no doubt about the richness and future possibilities of at least the copper, zinc, and lead resources of this area. Both in Kazakhstan at Balkhash and Djheskasgan, and in Uzbekistan at Almalyk (some 75 km. south of Tashkent), great mines of first-class copper ore are now being exploited. The Djheskasgan (150,00 tons annually) and Balkhash copper combines are planned on a large scale, the latter to produce 175,000 tons of raw copper annually. These resources were well known in pre-Soviet Russia, but the unfavourable climatic conditions, the uninhabited nature of the country in which they were situated, and the general difficulties of development in these circumstances delayed their exploitation until the Soviet régime, with a characteristic disregard of such human problems, whipped them into life. The largest mines of zinc and lead in the Soviet Union are in Central Asia—one valuable mining property at Ridder in Eastern Kazakstan, and another polymetallic combine at Chimkent, north of Tashkent in Uzbekistan.

It is rather typical of the slipshod methods in Soviet planning that this large combine at Chimkent should have been constructed on a scale far beyond the productive capacity of the lead-zinc mines at Achi-sai, which should supply it and are now in danger of being exhausted in a couple of years. They were only later properly surveyed and discovered to be much smaller than was originally believed.

I am afraid time is running out, and so many other Soviet plans and schemes for Central Asia must pass unnoticed in this brief survey. A full record would require a book for adequate treatment, and not a

lecture such as this. I can only hope to have indicated the signposts of this vast subject, but before concluding there is just one point I should like to note.

I have deliberately omitted any reference to the political side of Soviet activities in Asia or elsewhere, because it would carry me out of my depths to a very obscure if undoubtedly important hinterland to this subject. We who do not live in Russia know very little about the byways of political intrigue in that country or how it affects economic plant or development. But there is one indirect political aspect of the Soviet development of Central Asia which should be mentioned. To the south of the Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tadjikstan lie the semi-feudal countries of Iran, Afghanistan, and India, where wages are low, social conditions not ideal, and workers have little say in their industrial lives. What will be the effect on the millions of "toiling natives," in these countries over the frontier, of the new ideas and progressive measures in Soviet Asia, is a question asked by many. It has been assumed by many protagonists of the Soviet Union that the ideas and ideology which have literally transformed the face of the earth in Soviet Asia would spread like wildfire in the still "unemancipated" countries to the south; that the peoples of these countries would be stimulated to revolt and discontent when the record of Soviet achievement reached their homes and fields. Logically, this would seem to be a very likely result, but there is one factor which is likely to be overlooked by the merely logical—and logical to the wearing of blinkers, I submit, are the dyed-in-the-wool supporters of the Soviet Union abroad. Soviet achievement, so manifold and undoubted in many ways, and including the Soviet work for education, hygiene, emancipation of women, might, in fact, have attracted millions of poverty-stricken Iranians *inter alia* to the Soviet fold if it were not for the constant stream of tell-tale refugees slipping across the frontier from the Soviet Union and all telling the same tale of ruthless oppression, semi-starvation, and Olympian disregard for the wishes and ways of the Central Asian native, and in particular for his deeply rooted Moslem faith. In the words of the poet, "the best is yet to be" in the U.S.S.R. But up to the present time there is this other tragic side to Soviet achievement, which the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries are never allowed to forget, in the physical presence of the runaways from Stalin's paradise.

**The CHAIRMAN:** One rather feels that one would like a large-scale

map in front of one with the paper we have just heard written, so that we could follow it line by line on the map and gradually digest the geography of it.

But I think that the main feature that has been put before us is the fact of this enormous development with its ultimate success in spite of the delays inherent to the initial difficulties of labour and materials and possibly also to the Russian character and ignorance. So that I think that, even on general grounds, we have ample scope for discussion, and the meeting is now open for discussion.

The following question was put: What are the possibilities of supplying Germany over the Siberian Railway with raw materials for her war industries, both from internal sources and imported sources?

Miss CONOLLY: I would rather limit the question to the possibilities of supplying Germany than deal specifically with the state of transport over the Siberian railways. I should have thought, if the Russians were supplying Germany, the last thing they would want to do would be to haul goods from Vladivostok all the way across Siberia, except in cases where it was absolutely necessary to supplement local resources for this purpose.

Take the question of cotton. Russia does not need to import via Vladivostok or elsewhere. If you estimate the capacity of the Soviet mills in terms of the cotton crop, there seems to be a surplus of cotton which might be sent to Germany without complicating the domestic position. But I do not think it is proposed to supply the whole of Germany's needs. In any case, judging by Soviet Russia's own needs, I would be very much surprised if the original terms of the Soviet-Berlin Pact were kept on the economic side. Certain commodities like metals may be imported from America for the Far Eastern development and the Siberian supplies sent to Germany, but I doubt if supplies imported from Vladivostok wholesale could be sent to Germany. I do not think the Amur railway would stand the strain. I believe it would be impossible to send very large supplies by that route, from what we know of the state of the rolling stock, though I admit our information on this point is very inadequate. I think some of the copper imported from America possibly did go to Germany. It was in excess of Russia's normal requirements, but then Russia's defence needs have also increased latterly.

Imports have been increasing during the last few years.

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: When I was in Central Asia many years ago the Tsar's estates were very large, and they started this

cotton industry. Then when the Soviet came in they increased it enormously, as our very able lecturer has pointed out. The result was that the people there were starving. I remember a very hardy traveller had to take all her food from Moscow and could not buy anything because all the people in Tashkent were only allowed to feed the workers.

That has a most important result, for if Russia wished to invade Afghanistan they have no wheatfields anywhere near; the farms have all become cotton-growing plantations.

There is one other little point I would mention, which is not generally known—namely, that all the gold of India came from Siberia. India itself in the early days produced no gold at all. All the gold they got came from the north and was paid for by the spices and products of India.

A Member said: With regard to the first question, during the last war we did import into Russia via Vladivostok very considerable quantities, and we used the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was more or less a single line. For a long time it was the only means of getting goods into Russia during the winter-time.

With regard to the import of particular commodities at the present time, without any question Russia is importing tungsten by that route. She is also importing copper by that route.

As to old Russia having thought of most of these plans for development, that is perfectly true. The Soviet have only put these into operation, as the lecturer said, but the thing which held back development in the old days in Russia was the difficulty of the falling capital. If you have unlimited capital and if you have the power of forcing labour, you can do many things which you cannot do if you have to make a scheme efficient. For instance, take the development of the Arctic. Russia has done an enormous amount in this way, but as a commercial proposition I am quite sure the development of the Arctic does not pay and that the money would have been very much better spent in Russia in the development of what she lacks so much—transport. The most inefficient service is transport, but instead of developing that she has developed the Arctic. From a political point of view the development of the Arctic is most useful. It provides Russia with a means of getting from the West to the East via the North Sea Passage, and for that reason alone it pays Russia to run industries up there on a non-commercial basis.

I would like to thank the lecturer very much indeed for the infor-

mation she has given. She has had to cover an enormous field, and I am sure that she has interested us all very much. (Applause.)

MEMBER: May I ask a question which arises out of a book I have lately read, which dealt with the splendour of the Soviet's achievement for the underdog in Russia, by which they hope to go beyond Soviet boundaries and to lead to similar changes in Iran, Iraq, and other countries, including India. The book I read was *Stalin's Russia*, and its author was a friend of Trotzky.

The picture he drew was somewhat like this. That Lenin started in Russia a certain dictatorship by the proletariat, and the organization of industry began on that basis. Stalin came along in due course and found that industry on those lines was running very badly, that it wanted a good deal of tuning up. The result was that he elaborated a stiffening up by official or bureaucratic control of all these activities, and, according to the author, we have now arrived at this stage, that Socialism as generally understood, or proletarianism as was generally understood to have been introduced in Russia, has practically vanished; that in the place of the old capitalist employer you now have a State employer, and that the State is a far harder taskmaster for the worker than the private capitalist ever can be or is ever likely to be, partly because the State has no control from above over itself, whereas every private capitalist has some sort of control over him.

According to this picture, the lower classes are in a far worse condition in Russia than they have ever been before. I do not know whether the lecturer can perhaps throw any light on this control of the worker.

MISS CONOLLY: I think the book you refer to, *The Crisis of Stalin's Socialism*, by Max Eastman, is a very excellent one, even though its immediate object was anti-Stalin propaganda. Max Eastman's point is definitely confirmed by the trend of recent Soviet labour legislation. There has been a constant effort to get more out of the worker and to restrict his freedom in every way. Chapter and verse to prove that point can be produced from labour decrees in Russia during the last year.

MEMBER: Did you say they are producing synthetic rubber in Russia?

MISS CONOLLY: I did not refer to synthetic rubber, as it is not made in Central Asia. What I referred to was the natural rubber the Soviets are now extracting from the small rubber-bearing plants in Russian Asia. The synthetic rubber is made from limestone, coke, and potato

alcohol, and in all there are three processes being used. I believe the U.S.S.R. does import rubber, but about 70 per cent. of Russia's requirements before the present war were supplied by domestic synthetic rubber plants—an entirely new industry.

Sir HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: I cannot speak with the authority and knowledge with which the others have spoken, as I have not visited Russia, but there is one aspect to which I may invite the attention of the house and the lecturer—namely, this impact of the influence of Soviet Russia on my own country, India, and the adjoining country of Afghanistan. For many years we had the Russian bogey. We were brought up to think that Russia was a great menace to our safety, and all the trouble of invasion that we ever envisaged was to come through the Khyber Pass, as had happened for centuries past.

Then came the Russian Revolution, and the Soviets said: "The underdog in Russia has been given a very much better chance and a better life. We will give the same to the workers and the poor everywhere." These statements had an influence in the North-West Frontier Provinces, and even as far east as in Bengal we found repercussions of those ideas. Actually Soviet agents have been found by Government, working amongst the mill hands and workers round about the riparian mill areas in and around Calcutta. This has strengthened the Congress organization, and, under Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the North-West Frontier Province became a Congress-governed province. But through the efforts of the Muslim League and some other leaders who have travelled widely and have had their vision widened by experience, the Indian Muslims understand the true position. They also realize one great factor—the geographical factor of Japan being so near and so powerful, and a very important naval Power, and anxious to expand. The appreciation of these facts has led to the recognition of the importance of Singapore, which has now become our most important Eastern frontier naval base.

India, as we can see from the map before us, has a very big exposed sea line, and all the sea coast there is vulnerable to the attack of any Power like Japan who would like to attack. Japan is now an Axis Power, and we do not know what Russia is going to do. She calls herself a great Eastern Power, and she is sitting on the fence. We say she is our friend. The British Commonwealth of Nations does not want to come into conflict with Russia, but at the same time we must realise that, whereas Japan is a great menace to us, in the same way Russia can be a great menace also.

Therefore the Indian politician realizes that the best interest of India will be served by being so united economically and politically with Great Britain that we can get the naval, the air, and the mechanized army support of this great Commonwealth of Nations, which among all the nations of the world to-day is offering the right to live one's own life and is fighting the fight of freedom so heroically and single-handed against all odds.

That is one thing which I would like to point out, that the Indian and the Afghan politicians realize the great gain that can come to them from British friendship, because, after all, unless politics are based on a recognized principle of friendship and interdependence they are no good to anybody. That was one point which the lecturer, perhaps wisely, did not speak about. (Applause.)

Miss CONOLLY: I am glad you do not seem to believe in the old bogey of the Soviet invasion of India. Of course, India being further from the Soviet frontier, propaganda among workers is more effective.

The CHAIRMAN: It remains for me to express what I am sure you would all like me to do, our very hearty thanks to the lecturer for the most interesting lecture we have heard and for provoking so interesting a discussion.

The Russian problem is so stupendous that it is extraordinarily hard to get on to any aspect of it without getting bogged in the main considerations of what Russia really does mean and will mean for the world's history.

We have heard some remarks about the alteration of the original Communist principle as regards the employment of labour. What one feels one would like to be able to size up, if it is possible, is the relative importance of the three ingredients in incentives to action, which I should summarize very briefly as gain, fear, and service. Originally, undoubtedly, fear predominated, and I suppose it does at the present time; that is to say that there is compulsion, and if you do not do your job, or do it badly, you get shot up. That must be in the background, I suppose, a great deal. Now one hears that they are giving incentives: people get extra pay for harder work and more successful work; and there is the hope of earning increased pay, far greater in proportion to the normal minimum pay than in any other country in the world.

Finally, you have the ideal, which is brought out again and again in Miss Conolly's book,\* by instances of the enthusiasm of the people

\* *Soviet Tempo*, by Violet Conolly. London, 1937.

of the country for their new régime. She makes the remark, which is very significant, that one of her fellow-travellers said that the true Communist is the one who thinks only for future generations. This is a very tolerable definition of service, and it would be very interesting as regards our own future economic and international development, after this war, to have a study of how far these three motives are operating in Russia, with an analysis of any special conditions which would effect the application of the lessons learnt that way to other countries.

I hope you will express in the usual way your thanks to Miss Conolly for her most interesting paper.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.



# TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN BURMA : ROAD AND AIR

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

Luncheon lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 26, 1941, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

**F**OR the last year or two any mention of Burma has brought to the mind of the average person the Burma Road. This indicates a great change in the position of Burma. Burma used to be a very isolated country indeed, surrounded by mountains on practically all its land frontiers. There are two things which have made a great change in its political and strategical position in the world: one is the Burma Road, and the other is the development of aviation.

Less than twenty years ago I held for some time the post of Commissioner of the North-East Frontier Division—a post since abolished—which included the Shan States and the frontier districts of Bhamo and Myitkyina. The area was something like 100,000 square miles. It was an enormous area, but very thinly populated. I am glad to say that the work was not in proportion to the size. The Division had a land frontier of about 1,000 miles dividing it from China to the north-east, from French Indo-China for about 100 miles along the Mekong River in the centre, and from Thailand in the south-east.

The whole garrison of this area consisted of five battalions of Military Police, a force of frontier constabulary under the civil Government, not part of the army, commanded by about twenty-five to thirty British officers, about the same number as a single battalion of British infantry. There was discussion at the time about reducing the five battalions to four. Of the actual frontier outposts, only one contained more than 100 men, and several of them were being abolished or reduced in strength. There was no artillery and hardly any machine-guns. I need not say more to show how little fear was felt of any attack on Burma over her land frontier.

I said there were two things which have changed the position. One is the Burma Road, and the other is aviation. I had a little experience of the early days of aviation out in Burma. I remember, at the end of the last war, meeting a man with a very well-known name connected

with civil aviation, who came out to the East to discuss the question of air transport and its development after the war. I do not think any of us took him very seriously. We knew you could fly quite a long way—that you could fly considerably farther than just across the English Channel. But we still thought that to fly from Calcutta to Akyab across the Bay of Bengal, a distance of some 250 miles, was hardly a business proposition as a regular service, particularly in the monsoon.

A few years later I was in Rangoon, and a good many pioneers in long-distance flying were coming there and trying to land on the old racecourse, which was about 500 yards long. After one of them pulled up within about a yard and a half of a fence separating him from the railway cutting at the bottom, they began to think this was not quite big enough, and I accompanied an R.A.F. officer and an engineer from the Air Ministry to look for a site for an aerodrome in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. We selected the site now in use, which these experts considered would be amply big enough for the needs of Rangoon for many years to come. Before I left Burma, in less than ten years, the K.L.M., the Dutch company which was running regularly via Rangoon to the Netherlands Indies, complained that unless Burma could provide a bigger aerodrome they would have to think seriously of cutting out Rangoon altogether and of flying straight from Calcutta to Bangkok, about 900 miles.

That shows how things had developed in about fifteen years. When I left Rangoon one could have *chota hazri* in Rangoon, breakfast in Bangkok, lunch in Penang, and dinner in Singapore. Bangkok, which had been three to four days distant from Rangoon by a circuitous steamer and rail journey via Penang, was only two or three hours' journey by air. Calcutta, which had been reached in two days by the fastest mail steamers, was three to four hours distant by air. That shows what a tremendous difference has been made to Burma recently by the development of aviation.

I do not think that we realized, even when these changes came in, what the strategical implications of them all were. The first thing that opened our eyes to that was the Sino-Japanese War. I left Burma in 1938, and it was not then being very seriously felt. It was only later on, when all the ports were closed by the Japanese, that Burma began to realize. Even then there was still the railway from Hanoi and Haiphong up to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, where there was a road to Chungking. It was only when France collapsed last year that the full effect of the Chinese war on Burma was felt, because with the

collapse of France this outlet from China down to French Indo-China was closed, and the only outlet left from China at all was the Burma Road down to Lashio and Rangoon. Rangoon has now become not only a port of China—which had been for years regarded as rather a wild dream—it has now become the only port of China, the only communication of China with the free world, except the road from China to Russia, which is hardly a practicable route. All these events have brought Burma very much more into the centre of things than it has ever been before, and have made a great deal of difference to strategical and political questions.

It is interesting to consider the effect that this has had on Burma itself. There was a great deal of discussion last year over the vexed question of closing for three months the Burma Road. I do not propose to discuss that, but there was a general feeling of relief when the road was reopened in October. It was a question which involved very wide issues, and its effect on Burma naturally did not attract much attention outside Burma itself. But, after all, Burma, next to China, was the country most directly affected, and the opinions of the Burmese on the question are of some interest. There is no doubt that Burmese sympathies are, generally speaking, with China in the Sino-Japanese War. The Burmese have had contacts with China for centuries. At one time the Chinese had a sort of suzerainty over Burma for several centuries, but it is many centuries now since that came to an end, and there has since been no sort of aggression by China against Burma, and no unfriendly feeling is left in Burma against the Chinese.

There is a considerable minority population of Chinese in Burma, but their presence there is not resented. It is true that they are not altogether popular. For one thing, the Chinese have got almost a monopoly of the opium and liquor trades in the country, and for that reason they are rather looked askance at by the strict Burman Buddhists. On the whole, however, they are popular. Many of them are merchants and traders of good position, and intermarriage with Burmese is common. The Chinese treat their wives well and give them as much freedom as the Burmese. Not many Chinese women come to Burma, and there are a lot of Burmese women married to Chinese, and the two races get on well together as a general rule.

Also the Chinese are not unpopular in Burma in the way that the Indians are. They do not, as the Indians do, lend money on the security of land and become landlords. And they do not compete in the lowest grades of the labour market, as the Indians do. The Indians

are disliked for that reason. The Chinese are mainly either merchants and traders or they are good-class artisans—carpenters a very large number of them.

The Japanese until quite recent years were very little known in Burma. There are still a very small number actually resident in the country. There are a few business houses in Rangoon, banks and so on, and there are a certain number of Japanese living in other parts.

I was rather amused to see the other day a mention of a report which had been made by a Japanese photographer in Burma about things that had been going on there. I had been struck for a good many years by the surprisingly large number of Japanese photographers to be found in Burma. There was hardly a small town or even a large village where you would not find a Japanese photographer. It had always struck me as being difficult to believe that these men made a living out of taking photographs and selling them. I had strong suspicions that they were there for other reasons and were getting money from Japan. I do not think they were doing any serious harm, but I think they may have been sending in useful reports.

However, there are comparatively few Japanese living in the country, and they play such a small part in the social life of the country that the Burmese have not formed an opinion about them to the same extent as they have about the Chinese and the Indians. Naturally, like all other Asiatics, the Burmans admire the immense political, commercial, and industrial advance made by Japan in the last generation.

The Japanese are not unlike the Burmese in many ways. Physically they are like them, and their outlook on life is more like that of the Burmese than the outlook of Europeans or of Indians. It was quite natural, when politics became a subject of interest in Burma, that a great many Burmese should look up to the Japanese example. So opinions on the Sino-Japanese War were naturally a little divided, and some politicians made out that there was great danger in the Burma Road, that it would open the country to a flood of cheap Chinese labour.

I do not myself think that there was any serious danger of that. If cheap Chinese labour had wanted to come into Burma, it could have come for generations by the existing paths. Cheap Chinese labour does not travel in motor-cars. It travels on its feet, and if they wanted to come they could have come before. I think that danger was a political cry, and I believe now that the great majority of the Burmans realize that Japan is more of a potential danger than China is ever likely to be,

and their sympathies are with the Chinese. Anyhow, I was interested in a recent mail to see a summary of an article in a Burmese newspaper, written in December, discussing Mr. Matsuoka's recent speeches, which said :

“Mr. Matsuoka reaffirmed that Japan was helping her neighbours in Greater Asia so that all peoples in this part of the world shall be free to determine their own destinies. All countries that have seen how Japan has helped China will pray that they may not be given similar assistance.”

I think that shows clearly what Burmese opinion is about the present political situation.

Recent developments have made the frontier of Burma a matter of very great, possibly of immediate, interest, and I will give a brief description of the frontiers as shown on the map. The top is the frontier with Tibet, which is a range of mountains almost impossible for any communication at all. Of the frontier with China, the northern half borders on Burma proper, the lower half on the Shan States. Most of this frontier is very rough, mountainous country. There was the old road from Yunnan, which came out on the Irrawady River at Bhamo. The new road takes off it about 200 miles inside China and runs down to Lashio. That remains the only thing that you can call a road crossing the frontier; the whole of the rest of the country is very broken and mountainous with nothing but mule-tracks. The next bit is about a hundred miles of the Mekong River separating the Shan States from French Indo-China. Then you get the frontier between Burma and Siam. The southern half of this is a very good natural geographical frontier consisting of a high range of mountains, the watershed between the Bay of Bengal on this side and the Gulf of Siam on the other. The rest is all rough, mountainous country, and there is only one road worth calling such crossing it anywhere, the road from Kengtung to Chiengmai.

To return to the Burma Road, which is one of the main subjects of interest. The Burma Road has been constructed by the Chinese during the last few years, the frontier part of it since the war with China began, and it was opened for through traffic about one and a half years ago. It is a motor road. It is completely bridged throughout, but it is not all thoroughly metalled, and parts of it are extremely difficult in the monsoon. The Chinese claim that it is motorable the whole year round, and that may be so. People in that part of the world will con-

trive to push a motor-car or even a motor-lorry through places which most of us would consider absolutely impossible.

I doubt, therefore, whether the Burma-China Road has made a great deal of difference strategically to the position of Burma, or whether it has added very much to the dangers of an attack by land. It is 700 miles from the capital of Yunnan by the road to Lashio, and there is only this one possible road. It is very mountainous country. There are two of the biggest rivers in the world to be crossed, the Mekong and the Salween, and for many miles there is no possibility whatever of diversions. If a bridge is blown up, or if there is a landslide on the road, until you can get the bridge repaired or the landslide cleared there is little possibility of diverting traffic.

I read a very interesting account recently of the state of the road at present and the amount of traffic it can carry. The writer estimated that there were about 1,500 lorries using the road, of which 25 per cent. are generally out of action for repairs at any given time. Naturally, the proportion out of action is bound to be high on a road of this nature. The other 75 per cent. make the return journey about twice a month, seven days each way, and the average load is about 3 tons. This makes a monthly transport load of about 7,000 tons, or 250 tons a day, which is not a large amount.

The writer estimated that the road could accommodate about 5,000 lorries as a maximum. With 5,000 lorries the transport capacity might rise to 20,000 tons monthly, and even 30,000 tons if the road were used by night, which at present it is not. I think it is very doubtful if the road could stand up to this amount of traffic, and I think that 500 or 600 tons a day is probably as much as the road would bear. That is still a small amount—less than one trainload a day.

The country through which it passes produces practically nothing, and it would not be possible to move along it a larger body of troops than could be kept supplied by transport along the road. So that very much limits the possibilities of the road for military purposes.

Another point, which is of interest to people who consider the possibilities of development later for trade, is the cost of transport along it. That cost is estimated now at about £12 to £13 per ton from Rangoon to Chungking, of which about 40 per cent. goes on rail freight from Rangoon to Lashio and 60 per cent. (say, £7 to £8) on road transportation for the 1,500 miles from Lashio to Chungking. This works out at about 3½d. a mile for a 3-ton lorry. The people who run a good many of these lorries do not work on strict business

principles. They allow very little for overheads, and as long as they get enough to pay for their petrol and running repairs they think they are doing all right. But it is quite clear that, whatever happens after the war, there are not many goods which it will pay to transport by motor over 1,500 miles of extremely difficult hilly road.

As I have said, on the rest of the frontier there are no good roads leading into Burma, so that anybody proposing to attack Burma by land is going to have a very difficult task.

Burma is also extremely well protected by sea. A good deal of the coast is mangrove swamps, and there are very few harbours. One thing she has to fear is attack by air, and that is a grave new possibility. Rangoon is only 150 miles from the Siamese frontier. It is only 400 miles from the frontier of Indo-China, and in a straight line it is only about 700 miles from Kunming. So it is quite obvious that anybody who holds this frontier is within easy striking distance of Rangoon or any part of Burma that matters. It is a much shorter flight than from England to the Ruhr, for instance. This possibility of air attack has entirely changed the strategical position of Burma.

What is happening on the other side of the Burma frontier is very obscure indeed at the moment. In Yunnan the Japanese have recently withdrawn, but whether they have withdrawn temporarily or permanently nobody knows. The centre of interest, anyhow, has recently shifted to Indo-China and Thailand. The Thais have always been on friendly terms with us, and we have always regarded them as very peaceable neighbours; but they have recently been showing a rather aggressive mood towards the French Government of Indo-China. They have an old quarrel with the French. The Thais have at least an arguable claim to the Lao State of Luang Prabang, which lies on both sides of the Mekong River, and which was annexed by France nearly fifty years ago. The collapse of France has now led them to reopen this quarrel, and it is possible that, if they succeed in this case, they may be tempted to further expansion which might lead to frontier incidents on the Burma border.

The Japanese have offered to mediate and are mediating. There have been a good many rumours in the last few days about the findings they have given or are giving. They are said to have ordered the French to cede a large area.

It is quite obvious that the Japanese have every reason to come to a decision in favour of Thailand in this dispute. They can probably do what they like with French Indo-China as it is, and it would be of

great advantage to them to put Thailand under a heavy obligation to them. They might thus be able to secure the right to station troops, or at any rate to use landing-grounds, in Siam. Aerodromes in the interior of Siam would be within easy striking distance of Burma, and it would not be at all pleasant for Burma to have Japanese-occupied aerodromes there.

What the attitude of the Thais is to the pressure which is undoubtedly being put on them by Japan I do not know. If you have read the papers during the last few weeks, you will find every possible view expressed. One correspondent has said that "Thailand is being dragged unwillingly, but inexorably, into the Japanese orbit. During a fortnight's visit to Bangkok I saw the familiar totalitarian technique in full operation. Japanese goodwill emissaries are roaming the country, dinning the gospel of the new order into Thai heads and, incidentally, getting the lay of the land."

On the other hand, another correspondent telegraphed last week to say: "There is evidence that the Thais, far from being 'alarmed,' as Japanese reports suggested, about the military developments in Malaya, are pleased to see Great Britain's steadily growing strength, which, from their point of view, cannot fail to be a stabilizing factor in this region. As a Thai newspaper observed last week in this connection: 'England is a great Power and has always sympathized with Thailand, and we must be confident that England will never violate Thai territory.'"

It is clear, therefore, that the Thais are not yet entirely under Japanese domination, and it is to be hoped that they will not be led into any rash action by the militarist party of Japan. They have no grounds whatever for picking a quarrel with us about our frontier. There is nothing on it corresponding to the disputed area on the French frontier.

It is true that the Shans are the same race as the Siamese and, like them, call themselves Thai, but only about half the inhabitants of the Shan States are "Shans," and none of the present Shan States appear ever to have been part of Siam.

At one time Mergui was under Siamese domination, and the usual port of arrival for Siam from the west was Mergui, but it became permanently Burmese nearly 200 years ago. There are no Siamese left there now, and there is no reason whatever why there should be any frontier trouble.

On the rest of the frontier, the Sino-Burma frontier, it would not



be at all difficult for anybody who wanted to pick a quarrel to do so. The frontier is inhabited by hill tribes, of much the same kind on both sides, and there are always little frontier incidents. We have managed to settle them without great difficulty with the easy-going Chinese Government, but another Government who wanted to make trouble could easily find an excuse for doing so.

There is also another reason why the Japanese should be interested in Siam, Indo-China, and Burma. All those three countries would be invaluable to Japan as granaries. Rice is her staple cereal food, and she has a population to feed of 70,000,000, with an area of only  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million acres of riceland in Japan itself and another 5,000,000 acres in Korea and Formosa, which have their own population of 28,000,000, making a total of nearly 100,000,000.

Burma, with a population of about 15,000,000, has 12,000,000 acres of land under rice. Indo-China, with a population of 23,000,000, has 15,000,000 acres, and Thailand, with a population of 14,500,000, has  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million acres.

These three countries taken together have nearly three times as large an area of riceland as Japan and her dependencies, Korea and Formosa, and little more than half the population to support.

Japan only exists by the most intensive system of cultivation known in the world. She spends an enormous amount of money on artificial fertilizers, and crops most of her land twice a year to keep the people fed at all. Anybody who has been to Japan must have been immensely impressed by the Japanese system of agriculture. There does not seem to be a square yard which is not cultivated with magnificent crops, whereas Burma can carry along in a very easy-going fashion, producing less than half the outturn to the acre, can feed the whole of its population and export 3,000,000 tons of rice a year. It is obvious that the Japanese have every reason to cast covetous eyes on these three countries.

There is one point in which Burma differs from the other two countries, and that is that she lies on the other side of Singapore from Japan. Therefore the main defence of Burma is our command of the sea and our fortress at Singapore. Trincomalee and Singapore are the eastern and western gates of the Bay of Bengal. Any Power which wants to attack Burma has to get past one of those two.

I do not think, therefore, that there is any immediate alarm to be felt about recent developments on the land frontier of Burma, but the fact must be faced that the position of Burma is very different now

from what it was twenty years ago, more, in my opinion, on account of the development of aviation than on account of any development of roads across the frontier. It looks as if we shall know within the next week or two how things are going to develop in this part of the world. It also looks as if Burma may find that the existence of the British Navy and our command of the sea is the greatest protection which she could have in a new world, where she is not so isolated as she fortunately has been through most of her history.

Dr. STAMP: May I say how extremely interested I have been in this review of a vast subject, and how intensively interesting every word that the lecturer has spoken has been. Perhaps my own experience of the country in some ways has been a little like his. I first went out as a technical adviser to a Chinese millionaire of that time, so I saw something of the Chinese life from the inside and its influence on Burma. Then, after a period with one of the big companies, I had some three years in Government service. Resignation brought me back to England in 1926. A couple of years ago I went out again and went over practically the whole of the road system of Burma. I can confirm everything the lecturer has said of the amazing progress in that short space of time.

One of my last jobs in 1926 was to survey an area on the Irrawaddy which has since become an oilfield. It took many days of travel and the pleasure of getting the mail once a week if I was lucky, when I was there the first time. Twelve years later friends in Rangoon said: "We are on the telephone to Lanywa, and there is a 'plane going there this afternoon if you want to go direct."

It is quite clear from what the lecturer has said that the keynote behind the political situation of Burma at the present time is that, despite this progress, it is still an undeveloped country with tremendous potentialities in respect of foodstuffs, and still undeveloped resources in minerals. Of the latter, in addition to known resources, there are doubtless other deposits of silver, lead and copper, iron-ores hardly touched, and tin and tungsten as well as oil supplies.

Then I wonder if the lecturer would agree that another very important factor of the position at the present time is the character of the Burmans themselves. They are a most delightful people, easy-going, pleasure-loving, with a sense of the values of life which is, perhaps, very much better than the sense of values we have. They love sport and pleasure, but the all-important aspect of money, which means so

much to us, means less to the Burman, except in so far as it is a means of purchasing the immediate pleasures of life. Where one has an easy-going race of that sort there is always the danger that they will in the long run be subjected to peaceful or warlike penetration by any one of their neighbours. One feels, if Britain withdrew from Burma, there would be the very real danger of the Burmese coming under the Indians later on. The peaceful penetration of the Chinese is particularly by the pawnbroker in the villages. He has a Burmese wife, and so has a double control over the people of the village. That they would be an easy prey to Indians, to Chinese, or to the Japanese seems to be a particularly real danger.

Finally, may I ask the lecturer, is he satisfied in the progress which has been made in the last ten or fifteen years in internal communications? One must bear in mind that Burma has had a very expensive Public Works Department responsible for the development of roads, and I must confess to a certain sympathy with a not infrequently expressed Burmese point of view that the visible results in the form of a road network or the actual development of railways and air lines are not commensurate with the expenditure of the Public Works Department. The road network very soon fizzles out.

I noticed the lecturer referred to the road through the Shan States to Kengtung as if it were a really good motor road. I had the rather doubtful pleasure of going practically the whole length of that road in Burma. But we had some unexpected showers of rain, and that meant our departure one morning and our hopeless return a couple of hours later, to wait till things dried up. Such road network as exists does leave a great deal to be desired. That was two years ago. If one contrasts the state of things in Malaya, where it has been possible to build and maintain excellent macadam roads, one feels that much more might have been done in regard to the internal development of the roads in Burma.

Mr. MYAT TUN: I have listened to Mr. Burton Leach's lecture with great interest, and it has been very illuminating. Mr. Burton Leach is responsible for making Burma more well known in this country than any other person recently, because he has given more lectures, which I have attended, on Burma than any other person I could name. Apart from Mr. Burton Leach, two roads have made Burma well known in this country, one

"The road to Mandalay,  
Where the flying fishes play,"

and the other the road which we call the Burma Road, but which rightly should be called the China Road, because mainly it was built by thousands of Chinese, and a great part of the road is in Chinese territory.

Colonel J. K. TOD: This lecture has been of particular interest to me, carrying my mind back to my own earliest experiences in Burma. These were in the Burma War of 1886 to 1888. I am thus able to contrast the communications of to-day with those of fifty-five years ago, as well as with those of twenty years ago as given by the lecturer.

It seems strange that there has been no mention to-day of the magnificent Irrawaddy River as the main artery of internal communication, with the fine fleet of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company. In the days that I recall the only railway, so far as I remember, was a metre-gauge line from Rangoon to Prome on the bank of the river. Hence, on the arrival of my regiment by sea from India the voyage was continued up the Irrawaddy from Rangoon, a squadron at a time, on an Irrawaddy Flotilla steamer, with the horses on flats attached to either side. Starting up the narrow Bassein Creek to the main river, then in heavy flood, it took nearly a fortnight to reach Mandalay, tying up to the bank each night. On arrival we found that the dam north of Mandalay had been breached, and a great part of the city was flooded. Most of the day was spent ferrying men and horses up one of the main streets on rafts.

The lecturer said that there had been no aggression by the Chinese for centuries past. That brings to memory my second visit to Burma twelve years later. That there has been no aggression on a big scale may be true, but it was petty interference by the Chinese for many years that led up to the demarcation of the Burma-China boundary. I was fortunate enough to take part in that in 1898-1899. The Rangoon-Mandalay railway had by then been opened, and it was, I think, one easy night's journey to Mandalay. From Mandalay we marched due east through the Shan States, across the Salween up to the Chinese border, where we met the Chinese Commission just south of the Wa country. I should like to ask the lecturer whether these wild people, the Was, in their inaccessible hills are still a thorn in the side of the British administration. Omitting the hornet's nest of the Was, the frontier was delimited south-eastwards to the Mekong River. From there we marched back through the Southern Shan States via Kentung and Taung Gyi. I count myself fortunate to have made these journeys through the beautiful Shan country by the leisurely method

of daily marches before the improvement of communications by motor roads.

In more recent years I revisited Burma and travelled by rail to Maymyo, for long the summer capital of the Government, and developed into a charming, homelike country place, very different from the Shan village of Pyin-u-hlwin, as it was at the time of the Burma War. Then in 1887, with a detachment of my regiment, I joined the outpost established in a stockaded fort on a bluff near the place where the railway station now stands. I doubt if it is generally known that the name Maymyo was given to the place in memory of Colonel May, who was in command of the first garrison, and that this name was bestowed on it by General Sir George White. Also during this last visit to Burma I had the opportunity of travelling by the extension of the Maymyo railway over the famous Gokteik Viaduct, through the Northern Shan States to Lashio, the railhead for the Burma-China road. This railway also serves the Bawdwin silver and lead mines, which I visited in the course of the journey.

Mr. BURTON LEACH: Dr. Stamp raised the question of the value of the minerals of Burma as well as her agricultural products. That is perfectly true. I did not say anything about it because I had not time to discuss everything for which the Japanese might like to have Burma. There are minerals, but Japan can get oil from the Dutch East Indies and tin and other minerals from Malaya without going to Burma.

He asked about internal communications in Burma. I am afraid the title that was given to this lecture was, perhaps, a little misleading. I had only intended to talk about the trans-frontier communications. It would be impossible in the course of a single lecture to deal with both. Internal communications are quite a different question, and a very interesting one, and I agree with Dr. Stamp that they are not as good as they ought to be.

He made the very obvious comparison, that everyone is bound to make who has been to the two countries, of the Burma road and rail system and the Malaya system. I went down to Malaya myself a few years ago, and I was struck with it, as everyone is bound to be. But one has to remember that circumstances are rather different. Malaya had a tremendous boom during and after the last war, and they had so much money there that they hardly knew what to do with it. I talked, when I was in Malaya, with a high official of the railways, who told me of the amount of construction done in these years. One railway was described to me as a succession of viaducts connected by tunnels,

or the other way round. It is problematical whether it will ever pay.

Burma has never had so much money to spend on communications, and Burma is a very difficult country in which to make roads owing to lack of good stone. At the same time I think a great deal more might have been done. One of the reasons commonly alleged for the lack of development of Burma was that India took an undue share of the revenues. Now that Burma has got separation from India it is to be hoped that her development will be more rapid. Unfortunately, just as separation came, there came, first, the world slump ten years ago and now the war, and it looks as if her development would again be postponed for some time.

Mr. Myat Tun made a very good point when he said the Burma Road ought to be called the China Road. I entirely agree. It has blinded a good many people's eyes to the fact that only about 150 miles of the road are in Burma and the remaining 1,350 in China, and that it was entirely made by the Chinese.

Whose was the directive mind behind it I do not know, but I should imagine that that extremely great man, General Chiang Kai-shek, was the main one.

I was most interested in Colonel Tod's remarks about what Burma used to be. I went to Burma twenty years later, but even when I first went out it was in about the same condition as twenty years before. I went back a few years ago to the oilfields, and I got out at the railway station at a village in what had been my first subdivision thirty years before. The railway station had not existed then. I got into a motor-car and in three-quarters of an hour covered a piece of country that I used to take two days over, thirty years earlier, with bullock-carts.

Then about the Burma-China frontier, which Colonel Tod mentioned, I am afraid his old friends the wild Was are still a little wild. The main reason for the trouble up there has been that the country was entirely unadministered, and in unadministered country there are bound to be disputes. These disputes have been accentuated by somebody having discovered, or claiming to have discovered, minerals there, which made the frontier more important. The League of Nations sent out a Commission three or four years ago to make a further attempt to demarcate this frontier. As far as I know, their finding has not yet been formally accepted. Personally I should want to be fully satisfied that there is a very large quantity of very valuable minerals indeed before I went prospecting in a country inhabited by the wild Was!

The CHAIRMAN: When I went to India fifty years ago I was told that there was a completely impenetrable wall of mountains between Burma and China. That wall has been pierced by the Burma Road. If we throw our minds fifteen years ahead, it is quite conceivable that those of us who come after will see a volume of trade and intercourse flowing from Burma into China through a new open door. The more it flows, and the more communication we have with that ancient and wonderful country, the better for us.

We have been very lucky to-day to have had the opportunity not only of the presence, but also of the very interesting words, of Mr. Myat Tun, who can claim that fascinating country as his own.

Mr. Burton Leach, you delighted me by saying that you had wandered through the subject. No wanderer ever stops, and the more you come and wander in the same way here, the more delighted we shall be, because I am certain I am voicing the opinion of everyone present when I say that we have rarely heard a more fascinating and instructive lecture. (Applause.)

See also p. 204.

# THE WAR : EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

By H. D. LIEM

Paper given at a luncheon lecture on March 5, 1941, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We are fortunate to-day in having a very well-informed speaker on the Far East to come and talk to us on the Sino-Japanese War and the European War. Mr. Liem is the London Correspondent of the Central News Agency, which has its headquarters in Chungking, and he himself has an office in Reuters, which is in some respects the opposite number of that agency in this country, so he is very well placed to know the latest developments of the situation, and by his long experience of the Far East he has a very considerable background from which to speak.

The title of his lecture is one that pleased me very much, because it does link together the two centres of war. It is a thing that people in this country are very apt to forget—that the whole world is one, and that what is happening in the Far East has a very direct relation to what is happening in the West and a very direct effect on our fortunes in the West.

**M**R. H. D. LIEM: I deem it an honour and a rare privilege to be here this afternoon to speak to such a distinguished audience. When I was told that Sir John Pratt would take the Chair at this meeting, I must admit that I felt some trepidation, and I marvelled at my audacity to have dared to accept the invitation to speak. He should be here as a matter of fact in my place to tell you all about the Far East, and I should be among you to listen, for Sir John is a distinguished expert in Far Eastern affairs. He has spent many, many years in China, where he gathered first-hand knowledge of how things were running in that part of the world. When he returned to this country his position and his work enabled him to keep track of events and developments in that part of the world, although distance separated him from the actual places where these developments took place.

As it is, however, I shall try to piece together as best I can the jigsaw puzzle of Far Eastern affairs, which have been very much complicated by the European War, but which the war in turn has clarified and crystallized as regards the main issues at stake.

A month ago, one snowy night, I was asked by an L.C.C. lecturer to speak to people in air-raid shelters after his film show. It took place in a church. As I was being led down the stairs into the crypt a



breath of musty air struck my nostrils. I saw when I came into the crypt, people sleeping and lying on the very places where the dead usually sleep. Suddenly the thought occurred to me, "Is it not a bitter irony that here we are, boasting of civilization and progress of our twentieth-century creation, but running away from the Frankenstein monster which we have created? We have to rob even the places and the sleep of the dead in order to escape death and to snatch a few hours' rest."

Next came into my mind the question, "Why this war at all? Why cannot people in the world live in peace?" Even in the era before the Chinese Revolution we have that philosopher who preached the doctrine of world brotherhood. He traced war from the Roman period until the Franco-Prussian War, that is the war immediately in his time, and he discovered that as civilization progresses the capacity to kill also progresses. Consequently he evolved a theory of world brotherhood, something like the League of Nations, in order to establish permanent peace in the world.

But I do not wish to go into the causes of war at all. I merely want to touch on a certain psychological make-up as a starting-point of my talk. To begin with, I think I shall refer to that much vaunted theory advocated *ad nauseam* by the Axis and Japan, the theory of the super race, which leads to the theory of *Lebensraum* or living space.

They say that they, being the super race, have a heaven-sent mission to govern and dominate the world, and the others would have to be enslaved to serve their purposes. Because they must grow in numbers, they need a greater living space, and so they evolved again the technique of modern aggression, of annexation by coercion or by blandishment. When the victims rebelled or resisted, they would say that it was a provocation, and they would put the blame of war on the shoulders of the victims. Further, to whitewash the whole affair, they put up a big signboard called the New Order in this world. I think the best definition which has ever been given of this so-called New Order was given in Shanghai by a Chinese who speaks pidgin English. He could not speak the words New Order, but said the "new odour." We all understand, of course, that this new odour is not of the variety of such delightful perfumes as those made by Coty, Houbigant or Chanel.

From this then we come to Japan's aims and ambitions. I think you all remember that, after Japan had annexed Korea, she decided to make it a stepping stone for penetration further inland to the main-

lands of Asia. There are several reasons why Japan did not attack the Soviet Union a long time ago.

First of all, climatic conditions in Siberia do not suit Japanese aims to make the conquest pay in the shortest time possible. Siberia is sparsely populated, and, besides, a war with the Soviet Union means that Japan will have more to lose than to gain strategically. We all know that Vladivostock is only a stone's throw from Japan's industrial nerve centre, so that an air attack on Japan's nerve centre would, if successful, paralyse the whole mechanism of war of Japan; and in retaliation Japan would be bombing the forest lands and plains of Siberia. She could not attack as far as the Ukraine or the industrial regions of the Soviet Union. China being weak at that time—that was before the Sino-Japanese War—was considered to be the link of lesser resistance in this policy of expansion.

But to-day, as we may see after three and a half years of war, victory recedes further away from the grasp of the Japanese. On the other hand, conditions at home show that even match-sticks in Japan have been rationed, and flowers to be sent to funerals are not given away as wreaths but in pots, to be rented out and to be taken back to the dealers.

The aim of Japan in China is brief. It is the conquest of the whole of China. When China has been conquered Japan will find herself economically and militarily so strong that she will be able to withstand the combined might of many Powers.

During the world depression Japan, in spite of having nearly seventy million population and relying on world sources for raw materials, has been able to flood the world markets with cheap Japanese goods, against which not even the century-old Lancashire industries can compete. Then what will be the position of Japan when she has by the conquest of China the millions of square miles of rich Chinese soil, the inexhaustible mineral resources of China and the teeming millions of cheap Chinese labour to be harnessed to Japanese industries?

According to the Tanaka Plan—which is the notorious memorandum drafted by Baron Tanaka, the Japanese Prime Minister, in 1927, after consultation with the military and naval high commands, which document is considered to be the blue-print of Japanese expansion in the Far East—according to that plan after the conquest of China, Japan will push southwards to conquer the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Australia and New Zealand, and as far as the Suez Canal.

Why is it then, before the conquest of China has been completed, Japan should to-day create the crisis in the Far East by threatening to drive southwards? With regard to this I shall discuss later on, after having covered the position of the Powers in the Pacific.

Briefly speaking, Japanese policy in the Far East, in the execution of this plan of expansion, follows along three lines: (1) The Continental policy sponsored by the Japanese militarists and financial interests; (2) the South Sea or Nanyo policy, sponsored by the Navy and the shipping and banking interests; (3) Pan-Asianism, "Asia for the Asiatics" is the slogan; but as a matter of fact it is really, "Drive out the West from Asia in order that Japan can step into the boots the West have left."

Admiral Suetsugu, the filibustering naval leader of Japan, when Shanghai was attacked in 1937, said to the Press, "The white yolk of the egg in the Far East should be removed." That indicates very clearly what is meant by Pan-Asianism.

However, there is constant jealousy between the army and the navy in Japan. The army got so much money in the Budget to run the war, and the navy too, but whereas the army can show the conquests on the mainlands of China, the navy so far has only been flying the flag. However, the army has been bogged in China and is considerably damaged by Chinese resistance, and there is difficulty in getting new recruits; whereas the navy is still intact. It is a source of danger and worry to the Powers, because to-day the Far Eastern crisis in the Pacific, *i.e.* the southward drive, is more the work of the navy than the army.

With regard to Pan-Asianism, a few words more will be necessary. Recently the Japanese League for Emancipation of South-Eastern Asiatic Countries—which is supported by 9 peers, 7 M.P.s, 9 Admirals, 3 Generals, including General Hayashi, the ex-Premier, and Press Lords, and also the notorious Black Dragon Society—held a meeting called the "Emancipation Meeting" on January 24 this year, which was chaired by Mr. Adachi. In its manifesto it said that 500,000,000 people in Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma, India and the Philippines were groaning under injustice; that South-Eastern Asia had been invaded and conquered by the West for the past seven centuries, and that the people were oppressed by their conquerors, thwarted in their national development, deprived of their birthright, and that their plight was indeed deplorable. Such is the cry. You will notice that throughout the whole manifesto there is not one word said

about Korea and Formosa which have been subjugated. If Pan-Asianism should be taken under Japan's sponsorship, charity should begin at home. Therefore, the test of Japanese sincerity of purpose should be applied to Korea and Formosa first.

The purpose of this League is to maintain contact with the Asiatic people, to study their history, culture, politics, economics, administration, education, religion, transport facilities, and also to carry on a huge propaganda campaign, consisting of meetings, books, lectures, literature, and even giving scholarships to these Asiatic students to come to Japan to study.

With regard to the Continental policy, you have noticed how Japan has been frustrated. First of all, ever since Hankow fell into Japanese hands, the military stage has been concluded. In other words, it no longer becomes a war of military movements, but it has become a war of waiting and attrition. We reckon that Japan has been spending a million pounds a day, that now in Manchuria 300,000 troops are tied up, and Japan has brought into China about 1,000,000 troops, and yet Japan has failed to control the so-called "occupied areas." Japanese forces are controlling only points and lines of communications, which can be performed by their mechanized forces.

Therefore, Japan has evolved another policy by setting up the puppet government in Nanking. What is the aim behind this? Firstly, the aim is to make Chinese fight Chinese under the slogan of the Anti-Communist crusade. It is strange logic which says that most of the Chinese who are anti-Japanese are Communists, and because Chiang Kai-shek, China's great leader, is anti-Japanese, therefore he is Communist. It is just the same as the false logic that a woman is somebody who puts on a frock; if I put on a frock I am also a woman.

The second purpose in Japan's campaign in setting up the puppet regime is to make China pay for the war against themselves. The Chinese people have refused to collaborate with the Japanese in the so-called "occupied territory." Therefore, by making Mr. Wang Ching-Wei shop steward, Japan hopes to make the Chinese people work for them, so that dividends will go to Tokyo, which will be used to buy more bombs and planes to attack China.

The third purpose is to make Mr. Wang Ching-Wei's administration the Register Office for the protests of the Powers. If the Powers protest to Tokyo, because Japan had closed the doors of China to foreign trade, they will be directed to the doors of Mr. Wang, who

will say, "Have you recognized my Government? If not, I will have nothing to do with you."

You will have noticed that recently Mr. Matsuoka, after Mr. Churchill had very neatly disposed of his offer of peace mediation, said, "The white races must cede Oceania to the Asiatics," and to-day there is a report in which it is said that his statement has been seriously misunderstood, and he put in another statement, the context of which has been so watered down that it deserves no mention here.

Again, a Japanese newspaper, *Kokumin*, assumed that by agreeing to the Japanese mediation in the Indo-China and Thailand dispute, both have accepted Japan's position as a mediator and "Japan's mission as guarantor of the New Order in East Asia. . . . A severe blow to those countries which are still insisting on preserving the *status quo* in the Far East."

Now, to show how the urge for southward expansion in Japan is predominant, I will just quote the statement of Mr. Machida, the former President of the Minseito Party, now disbanded. He said, "The traditional spirit of our glorious Empire compels us to frustrate all attempts at thwarting the just course of our Empire and at menacing the living space of our Empire." Those are, in a nutshell, statements which show what Japan is aiming at in the present southward drive, an attempt which created recently the Far Eastern crisis in the Pacific.

Let me then survey briefly how the position of the Powers stands in the Pacific. The islands of Japan are like a long chain enveloping the mainlands of Asia. By the Treaty of Versailles Japan has islands mandated to and fortified by her in violation of the Mandate Treaty. Incidentally, these islands will serve as the first line of defence against any possible attack or attempt by America to intervene in her drive towards the south. Observe also the fact that the American mandated islands in the Pacific, like Guam and Midway islands, form a direct naval trajectory from the Pacific Coast of the United States as far as the Philippines, to connect with Singapore and Port Darwin.

You will notice again that ever since the China War developed, Japan has made recent acquisitions. First of all, that very strategic island of Hainan, and later the Spratley islands, and recently the right to use Indo-China's naval and air bases. To-day, by intervening in the Indo-China-Thailand dispute Japan aims at dominating both countries to serve her purposes, so that she can use them as a springboard to attack Singapore and to cut off the Burma Road.

A few words in this connection are necessary about the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch East Indies is a rich and highly developed possession of the Dutch Empire. It is rich in material supplies of oil, rubber, tin, quinine, and to my mind the Dutch East Indies is a first line of defence of Australia. The conquest of the Dutch East Indies by Japan would therefore mean the isolation of Australia from the protective arm of Singapore. Consequently you will understand why Britain and America to-day feel it impossible to allow Japan to hold any part of the Dutch East Indies. Since 1798—that is, when the Dutch East India Company was dissolved—the Dutch East Indies have been governed by Holland continuously. It was only during a very brief interval during and after the Napoleonic Wars that the Dutch East Indies came temporarily under British rule. However, by the Treaty of 1824 the Dutch East Indies were ceded back to Holland with certain stipulations to the effect that if the Dutch East Indies were given up by Holland they should revert to Britain. I think this fact is not known to everybody. Consequently, if, from the present trade negotiations going on in Batavia, Japan finds no satisfaction and threatens, if Holland should resist, to move to attack the Dutch East Indies, how will this treaty be interpreted? Would Britain go to war against Japan?

At the present moment the head of the Dutch trade delegation in Batavia is Mr. van Mook. At first, the Japanese General Koizo was about to be sent there, but before he set out he said, "We must liberate the sixty million oppressed Indonesians." In the course of the trade negotiations it is extraordinary to find that Tokyo should be making certain remarks which deeply offended and perturbed the Dutch people and Government. Mr. Matsuoka recently said, "The Netherlands should be in intimate and inseparable relationship with Japan." This was at once rejected by Mr. Pabst, the Dutch Minister in Tokyo, by Mr. van Mook, the Chief of the Dutch Delegation in Batavia, and by Dr. van Kleffens, the Dutch Foreign Minister in London.

It was followed by another statement, "Japan means to establish common prosperity, which includes the Dutch East Indies." This was again rejected by Dr. van Kleffens, who said, "The Dutch Government seat is in London and determines its foreign policy. The Governor-General in Batavia is merely the representative of the Dutch Government in London."

Latterly, the Japanese spokesman said again, "Legally Japan recognizes the Dutch Government in London; in practice it is different.

In negotiating matters relating to the Dutch East Indies, Japan has to deal with the Dutch East Indies Government."

Recently it was reported that Japan has served on the Dutch Government certain demands. Those demands are: (1) To explore the islands on the fringes of the Archipelago; (2) concessions for mining; (3) the exploitation of regions hitherto undeveloped; (4) the entry of Japanese labour, doctors and dentists—meant to be the fifth columnists; (5) to maintain direct air and cable service with Japan; and (6) economic concessions for trade and exploitation. Recently, too, a trial flight was accomplished by a 4-engined Japanese 17-seater flying boat between Palao and Timor, 1,600 miles, which was accomplished in 8 hours 55 minutes. You can therefore imagine how dangerous it is to give Japan concessions for establishing air services between the Dutch East Indies and Japan.

Now it is my turn to discuss how the Pacific is affected by the European war. Britain to-day has her hands full in Europe and the Mediterranean. Consequently British Far Eastern policy will need every support from the United States, and hence the joint Pacific Defence Talk in Washington between the U.S.A., Britain and Australia, later joined by Holland and China, should be welcomed.

But in this connection evidently we have to examine certain policy of the U.S.A. apart from the Isolationist policy, which, like the Bourbons, "never forget, never learn, never forgive." As far as I can gather, there are two major tendencies in American policy to-day. The first is the general positive policy; the second is the so-called "Concentrate on Europe only" policy.

Let me deal with the first. I read certain statements by Mr. Thomas Lamont, member of J. P. Morgan and Co., also by Mr. Willkie. From statements by members of the American Administration, the first American policy, as far as the Far East and Europe are concerned, I think could be summed up under four headings:

(1) All aid to Britain by passing the Lease-and-Lend Bill in order that Britain will be able to resist successfully Nazi aggression and to retain the control of the Atlantic, which has become a "pivot of American security."

(2) Continued additional help to China, more credits in arms and planes for China to hold up Japan and bog her army on the Asiatic mainland, because "China is the first line of defence of America's Pacific frontier."

(3) To tighten the embargo on Japan. To deprive Japan of markets and foreign currency.

(4) To send naval units in the Far East to Manila, Singapore and Hawaii, and strengthen the defence of Hawaii, Alaska and Guam.

The second American policy is the "Concentrate on Europe" policy, which has been expounded by, among others, Mr. Nathaniel Pfeffer. He said, "The crux of this issue is Britain's survival in Europe. The Far East is merely a side show, and therefore should be subordinated to the issue in Europe." Japan's conquest of the South Pacific will consequently be an unfinished business, which will have to be concluded. The essence of that policy is: Firstly, America must concentrate on Europe only, give all aid to Britain against Germany to help pull Britain through, and the Far East will take care of itself later on. Secondly, meanwhile, China is the crux of the Far Eastern conflict, so help China, not by involving America in war, but by further credits to make the war as costly to Japan as possible, to starve Japan of the much-needed foreign currency, as well as to open the Burma Road for traffic. It will be seen that they are almost similar; the difference lies in the emphasis.

Mr. Matsuoka gave a reply to Mr. Cordell Hull's statement, when the latter made some sharp remarks on Japanese policy. Mr. Matsuoka outlined three points:

(1) So long as America regards China as her first line of defence, friendly relations between the United States and Japan will remain a dream. (2) America now appears to include Australia and New Zealand in her new defensive system, thus vitiating the Monroe Doctrine. (3) Japan must dominate the West of the Pacific, and America must accept this (thus indeed throwing the glove in America's face).

It is not incidental that in this connection the Japanese Government should nominate Admiral Nomura to be their Ambassador in Washington.

He lost an eye in a bombing incident in Shanghai in 1932, and is accustomed to procure a new eye every time he gets a new post. When he was starting for America, he said, "I am taking half a dozen spare eyes along with me to Washington." I think he may need more than that!

Let me conclude by showing how China is to come into the picture in the southward drive. I think, firstly, we must realize the fact that China has shown by her three and a half years' resistance that she is



a Power capable of taking her rightful place; in other words, that she is a positive factor in the Far East. Japan has failed to "beat China down to her knees," in the words of Prince Konoye, by force of arms or diplomacy, or by setting up a puppet government in Nanking.

It is evident that China can pull through, not by a stalemate but by a victory.

Another point which I would like to mention is this. China's victory means the elimination of the Axis partner in the Far East, which is very important. I think you will agree with me that if ever the world is to return to peaceful sanity all the factors which have caused this turbulence should be uprooted. That can only come about by the emergence of a victorious and a peaceful China.

It is said that Japan would move southwards, because her navy is still intact. What we want to question is simply this. Will Japan at this juncture, while her army is bogged in China, dare take up another major war against America's and Britain's combined forces? Let us not forget that she will be extending her lines, military and naval, for three or four thousand miles.

If Japan should move south, where will China stand? Will China take this opportunity to make peace with Japan? The answer is emphatically no. Why? Because if and when Japan has finished her job of taking all the territories in the south-east Asias, she would return to reattack China. For that reason we will seize that opportunity not to make peace, but on the contrary to launch our counter-offensive. This counter-offensive will give the pricking effect on the Japanese balloon which has been blown to such enormous dimensions.

There is, in particular, the important factor of our man-power. I do not want to speak of it now, but I think you can imagine for yourself this position. If the Japanese got hold of Thailand and Indo-China and made them the basis for attacking Burma in order to close the Burma Road while they are also attacking Singapore and Malaya, China certainly would not like to see her life veins being cut off, because the road to Russia, which is a very long one, is most difficult for transport on a huge scale. It is said that goods are transported on camels' backs; if you drive a truck containing three tons of oil, one and a half tons will be consumed from one point in Russia to the destination point in China, and the other one and a half tons will be consumed on the way back, whereas camels do not eat oil, and oil costs a lot of money. We therefore believe that we have man-power sufficient for the defence of the Road in Burma, and also any part closely knit

with that region where Japan will and is to become a direct menace. We also believe that Japan will ultimately crack up internally. The military phase in China has long passed; Japan to-day is suffering from the most acute privations with regard to materials and other supplies. That can be seen from the very pessimistic statements given out from time to time by their Cabinet Ministers.

Therefore, let us remember this point: let us not act as the Bourbons, who never forgot and never learnt. We must fight together till victory is won, in order that we can restore peace and sanity in this world.

A MEMBER: Mr. Liem has given a very good fighting speech. It was the spirit which we thought, in our ignorance of China, did not exist in China, but I realized myself eighteen months or two years ago that there was a very live fighting spirit in China, and I congratulate Mr. Liem on being such an excellent exponent of the real spirit of China.

I would merely make this point, that in my experience of Japan I discovered that there is a definite military class. I found the military organization of Japan barbarous and brutal.

Is not one of the most vulnerable points of the Japanese economic defence their position in regard to that trade which they stole from China so effectively, the silk trade? Am I not right in suggesting that some forty to fifty million pounds' worth of silk goods are exported yearly from Japan to the United States for making silk shirts and sometimes silk stockings? I realize the difficulty in the economic situation in America, but if that trade were to be stopped, would it not send Japanese exchange down the slippery slope?

MR. LIEM: It is true that Japan's main item of export into the United States is silk, and if the United States should bar silk from coming into the country by substituting lisle or nylon stockings for women and so on, Japan would be deprived of one of the main sources of her foreign currency, and Japanese finances would be pushed further towards the point of collapse. But at the moment Japan has established the Federal Reserve Bank system; in other words, a puppet bank.

At this moment we are fighting against the evil manœuvres of the Japanese in their attempt to undermine the position of our currency, and that is, by getting hold of our Government notes and converting them into foreign currency, which will be made as a boomerang to

hit our own head. It is one of the things now being successfully fought against by the Anglo-Chinese Equalization Fund Committee, whose function is to preserve the stability of the Chinese dollar.

A MEMBER: May I ask whether the reopening of the Burma Road last autumn has had any consequent improvement on the economic position in territory governed by Chungking?

Mr. LIEM: The reopening of the Road has meant a great deal to us, not only in the flow of material supplies but also in medical supplies, which during and after the spring season will affect about fifty million of our population. When the Road was closed medical supplies could not be distributed. In Free China communication is mainly by motor road; consequently, the banning of oil from the Burma Road means that the medical supplies accumulating in the various centres cannot be distributed to all the regions surrounding in which they are badly needed. Now that the Road has been opened goods are flowing regularly and increasingly into Free China. The Japanese claimed that they had destroyed certain bridges along the Road, and that had held up traffic. We have made provisions to meet such eventuality. You know that in building the Burma Road we did not have such huge and elaborate machines as you have here; yet we have, so to speak, removed a hill, basket by basket. We have also built certain devices which will prevent the interruptions of regular traffic along the Burma Road if one or more of the bridges should be bombed and destroyed. That device is to make a float to ferry the lorries across the river. It is very ingeniously done. It is made up of empty oil drums tied together; but in order to evade the Japanese planes, during the daytime, these drums are all dismantled and dispersed. The crossings are always made at night.

A MEMBER: I spent twenty odd years in China as a missionary and have been most interested. One's heart is with the people in their tremendous struggle. We get news from time to time from our missionaries, who tell us of the tremendous spirit of resistance amongst the Chinese people under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek, that great man. Our hearts and our minds are with the Chinese people in their struggle.

I was very interested in Mr. Liem's survey of the whole field, but I was wondering whether or not the fact that there has been a stalemate now in regard to the military situation means there is any chance of the Japanese beginning again to start military operations, or is it a fact that they are really bogged now in China?

Mr. LIEM: Judging from the military situation, I do not think it is possible for Japan to make any large scale offensive in China again towards a particular object or for a particular purpose. Peace feelers are being put out to ask if General Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese people would make peace. These have been and will be definitely rejected. Therefore my view is that the Japanese military offensive, if it should be carried out at all, will not be on such a major scale as before.

A MEMBER: Has there been a split between the Government and the Communist army?

Mr. LIEM: There was a clash between the Government forces and the New Fourth Army, which is composed of Chinese Communists. Up to this moment the situation is still obscure. On the one hand, the Communists declared that they would obey the order of the High Command in evacuating the territory they occupy, but they were not given sufficient time to do so. On the other hand, the Government said that they refused to carry out the order, and so it is a breach of military discipline.

Whatever be the case, I think it is only too true to say that the split which will lead to a civil war in China has not occurred; nor do I believe it ever will. In other words, it is a purely domestic issue, and at the moment negotiations are going on in Chungking between the Government and the Chinese Communists to settle this dispute amicably.

I hope our friends in this country will not misinterpret this conflict as something that will end in the break-up of Chinese national unity, which is the basis of China's resistance against Japanese aggression. Among the Chinese Communists there is as strong a determination as that which prevails in the Government, to fight Japan to the end. There is, therefore, a unity of purpose. When unity of purpose exists, national unity, irrespective of differences over minor issues, will also be preserved. The Chinese Communists have solemnly pledged themselves to support the Government and General Chiang Kai-shek in carrying out the following policy which they have accepted:

(1) Unity and resistance, which is being carried out;

(2) Reconstruction of Free China, which is being carried out on a gigantic scale;

(3) Putting into practice Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's principles: nationalism, democracy and a certain form of socialism, which are being worked out.

So long as the Government are carrying out these lines faithfully

the Communists will be discrediting themselves in the eyes of the nation if they break away before victory is won.

The CHAIRMAN: It only remains for me to wind up with a few very short observations. I think the interest with which we have followed this remarkable address of Mr. Liem's, and the enthusiasm with which parts of it were greeted, adequately and correctly reflect the interest that is taken in the Chinese problem in the country as a whole and the sympathy which is felt for China in her fight for freedom, and the admiration with which we have watched over her dour struggle against the cruel aggression that has been launched against her for the last three and a half years. (Applause.)

We are all apt to magnify our own troubles—they loom larger because they are closer to us; but I do think the attack by Japan upon China is not only the most wicked and the most uncalled for, but is also the most cruel aggression the world has ever seen if judged by the disastrous results it has brought upon a very large population.

The Chinese are a very remarkable people. They have on their political side certain weaknesses, but they also have certain very remarkable qualities. A friend of mine who is out in China now recently wrote me a very interesting letter. The things that the Chinese can do, he said, are as remarkable, or, even more remarkable, than the things that they cannot do. One of the instances he adduced was this Burma Road, which I always regard as something rather symbolical. It is a symbol in the minds of the Chinese of their resistance against Japan. The building of the Burma Road was a wonderful achievement. Few people in this country have grasped how remarkable a feat it was. There are very few nations in the world who would have thought it possible to build a road across that country with its terrific mountains. The road cannot follow the valleys, it has to cross the ranges at right angles. My friend said in all seriousness that it is the greatest achievement since the building of the Great Wall. Foreign engineers came and looked at that country, shook their heads and gave estimates that it could be built in ten or fifteen years and would cost so much. The Chinese built it in something under eighteen months. It was one of the most remarkable feats of organization ever seen. There were 20,000 labourers building that road and advancing along the country as the road was built, and when they came to a certain distance from their homes they went back and other labourers came. All those people had to be fed, and were fed. It was one of the most remarkable feats of organization that any country has ever put through.

With a country that shows such determination we can fully trust Mr. Liem when he says they are not going to give up the fight but are going to keep on until somehow or other they have driven back this aggression. But in order to do that they will want a great deal more assistance from the outside world than they have been able to receive up till now. I believe they can continue in the present state of deadlock for a very considerable time, but I cannot see the Chinese without more active assistance actually driving the Japanese soldiers off their territory.

It just remains for me to offer Mr. Liem hearty thanks for the extremely interesting lecture that he has been kind enough to give here to-day.

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, the meeting terminated.

## ALBANIA

ON December 4, Mr. Harold Goad gave a lecture on the Greco-Albanian Frontier, with special reference to that part of the country in which the Greeks were then advancing. He said that, although Albania lay technically in Europe, it was not really a European country. Manners and customs were those which one was wont to associate with the old conditions in Asia, Afghanistan and the Caucasus. Albanian people came of a very old stock and their language was the sole survivor of the ancient Illyrian tongue which belonged to older generations of Indo-European speech, and was the mother of all the languages spoken in the Balkans in pre-Roman days.

The country is very mountainous, and the feudal system has persisted in the hills to the constant obstruction of all reforms attempted by the central Government. The great landowners are still perhaps the greatest hindrance to progress. It is the only country in Europe in which blood-feuds are still carried on, and although King Zog ordered the disarmament of the tribes it is very doubtful how far his measures were effective. A year or two ago, at any rate, every man in the country carried his gun, and knew how to use it with such marksmanship that he could shoot his name or initials into the trunk of a tree. Even to-day there are very few good roads in Albania, apart from the strategic roads made by the Italians, and peasants have to carry their surplus produce over the steep hilly paths on mule back. As there are no regulated prices in the markets, the peasants are at the mercy of the traders and must accept what is offered to them. There are no agricultural banks to help them through a bad season, no co-operative society to supply good seed and advice, so as large sums of money are spent on such festivities as weddings, the peasant is chronically in debt to the money-lender. Ploughs are primitive and usually made of wood and merely scratch the earth. The land was at one time covered with forest, but wherever the trees are cut or burnt, sheep and goats eat away the young shoots and the land is thus denuded. In winter, torrents race down these barren hillsides, carrying away the soil with them and leaving the barren rock, the rainfall in Albania being greater in the rainy season than that in any other European country.

The Albanians are a proud and intensely nationalist people, claim-

ing many soldier heroes as springing from Albanian stock. Alexander the Great's mother was an Albanian; Pyrrhus, Constantine and Diocletian were Illyrians; while the national hero is still Skanderbeg, who withstood the Turkish conquest for a generation in the sixteenth century. The Albanians are at loggerheads with all their Balkan neighbours, laying claim to lands as large again as their own country in foreign provinces in which many of their own tribes settled in the past; but most of all they hate the Italian invaders, whom they accuse of exploiting the country for their own purposes and with intending to settle Italian peasants on land already fully populated. But, although they will rejoice in Italian defeat, it is doubtful if they can be made to co-operate with the Greeks. At the same time it must be remembered that most of the roads and bridges in the country, which make winter communications possible, have been built by men of the west, Romans, Venetians, as well as the more recent Italian conquerors. For the inhabitants are neither builders nor engineers and show little enterprise in their own country, although when they emigrate they are prosperous and successful, being clever, adaptable and quick to assimilate foreign civilization. But in their own country they seem quite unable to co-operate with their fellows, and so they invite a foreign master.

Returning to the question of the Greek advance, the lecturer said that it must be remembered that the higher country will soon be covered deep with snow, and later with the rivers swollen to ten times their summer breadth and bridges few and far between and exposed to air attack, both Greeks and Italian troops will have to struggle over deep ravines and extensive marshes, crossing wide water-courses on pontoons or fording them.

The lecturer suggested that the plan of the Italian attack was to cut Greece in two by advancing through the Pindus mountains, as well as by the northern road through Koritza, before the winter made the higher paths impassable. He drew the historic parallel with the Civil Wars between Pompey and Cæsar, explaining that, whereas the former took the northern road to Thessaly, Cæsar advanced across the Pindus and emerged from the mountains at Kalambaka. The conquest of Greece by Italy would have denied her many harbours to the British Fleet. Slides were shown of all the Albanian ports and many cities, as well as of the local agriculture, roads, villages and peasants, to illustrate the local customs and the strange un-European life of this interesting people.

The lecturer was thanked for his admirable account of Albania by



General Sir John Shea, who said that the customs and conditions of life might well be paralleled with those prevailing on the North-West Frontier of India. He drew up three possible routes for Hitler's advance into Greece if he came to the help of his ally, and said that we must not forget that considerable reinforcements might be sent to the Italians, which would make the task before the Greeks by no means easy.

## THE NAME "GURKHA"

By CAPTAIN W. J. M. SPAIGHT

THE name "Gurkha" is definitely connected with the town and province of that name, which lies in the hills to the west of Kathmandu. Nepal, in its original meaning, only referred to the Nepal Valley, which includes the towns of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. The Nepal Valley is extremely fertile. Its civilization stretches back to antiquity, so much so that history in the dim ages merges into legend.

When the ruler of the small highland kingdom of Gurkha conquered the Nepal Valley, while his followers were called Gurkhalis, subsequent conquests, by him and his family, were included in the Kingdom of Nepal, the reason for this being that Nepal was far more important than Gurkha.

It would appear that the town of Gurkha was so called in honour of the famous Hindu saint Gorakh Nath. This town gave its name to the kingdom. The name of Gorakh is also responsible for that of Gorakhpur, the town in the U.P. The Jogi Gorakh, who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century, made Yog popular, especially in the Punjab. Cunningham, in his *History of the Sikhs*, says of him :

"Gorakh taught that intense mental abstraction would etherealize the body of the most lowly, and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. He chose Shiva as the deity who would thus bless the austere perseverance of his votaries of whatever caste; and not content with the ordinary frontal caste marks of sects and persuasions, he distinguished his disciples by boring their ears, whence they are familiarly known as the ' Kan-phata ', or ear-torn Jogis."

Gorakh is occasionally quoted or referred to in the *Adi-Granth*, the religious book of the Sikhs. Keene, in his *History of India*, states that the names Gurkha and Gorakhpur are, in both cases, connected with Gorakh Nath, but then goes on to say that Gorakh Nath means the "Lord of Cowherds," a title of the Lord Shiva. Nath means Lord, and is a title frequently used by Jogis, but it is considered by the writer that Gorakh, in both these names, refers to the Hindu Jogi of that name.

Gorakh lived about the year 1400 A.D. and is reputed to have visited

the sites of the present towns of Gurkha and Gorakhpur. There are famous and ancient temples to Gorakh in both towns. It is considered that the towns either grew up round the shrines to Gorakh, or that the towns were renamed in his honour.

Over one hundred years after Gorakh the principality of Gurkha was conquered by Drabva Shah, a son of the King of Lamjung. Drabva Shah was descended from Fattedh Sing, the Rajput defender of Chitor. After the final sack of Chitor, Manath, younger brother of Fattedh Sing, went to Ujjain. The younger of his two sons, Bhupal Rana Rava, after many adventures, arrived in the hills of what is now Nepal, and set up a kingdom of his own, at Bhirkot, East of Ridi, in the basin of the Kali Gandak. Descendants of this prince ruled Kaski, Lamjung and Tanhu. In 1559 A.D. the younger son of the King of Lamjung, Drabva Shah, deciding to establish a kingdom for himself, attacked Gurkha, killed the Rana with his own hands and set himself on the throne. The descendants of Drabva Shah, for many generations, were content to rule Gurkha, but the tenth chief, Prithwi Narayan Shah, who came to the throne at the age of 12 in 1742, decided to enlarge his domain.

By 1768 Prithwi Narayan Shah had completed the conquest of the Nepal Valley. Prithwi Narayan and his immediate successors enlarged their possessions until the whole of the hills from Bhutan in the east to the River Sutlej in the west came under the rule of the house of Gurkha. The year 1809 A.D., when the Gurkha forces were only prevented from taking the great Fort of Kangra by Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, saw the limit of Gurkha expansion in the west.

At first the name Gurkha, or Gurkhali, was applied only to the inhabitants of the original principality of Gurkha, but later became used for all soldiers of the Gurkha King. Its present meaning includes all inhabitants of the kingdom of Nepal, whether they belong to the fighting classes or not.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Gurkha were, no doubt, as they are now of the *zillah* of Gurkha, composed mainly of the Gurung tribe. The original soldiers of the Gurkha King would be mostly Gurungs, with some Thakurs and Chettries, all high positions being held by Thakurs and Chettries. The conquest of Nepal would have made little difference to the composition of the Gurkha army, as the Newar inhabitants of the Nepal Valley are not, by nature, warlike. The absorption of the principalities of the Gandak basin, the twenty-two and the twenty-four kingdoms, will have made a large difference. The King's family was connected with this area, and it was also one of the first

territories annexed. It is most probable that from a very early date the Gandak basin provided large numbers of fighting men for the Gurkha armies. The inhabitants of this area are mainly Gurungs and Magars, with some Thakurs and Chettries. Some of the regiments still forming part of the Nepal army were raised at the time of the expansion of the kingdom of Gurkha, in the eighteenth century. Of these, it is interesting to note that the Kali Bahadur and the Kali Parshad are still composed entirely of members of the Gurung tribe, while the Purano Gorakh is composed entirely of Magars. It is generally believed that the bulk of the Gurkha armies were Gurung and Magar. In all conquered territory local levies were raised, but certainly, after the River Sardar was crossed, levies recruited in Kumaon, Garhwal and further west did not have the same standing as the regiments of Gurkha.

The name Gurkha or Gurkhali, was first used in India to describe these invading armies, which swept east and west and later south of what is now Nepal. After the Nepal War of 1814-16, when the state of Nepal was confined to its present limits, the name was used for the hill men enlisted in the Gurkha regiments of the East India Company. As soldiers of the Indian Army, Gurkhas have earned world-wide fame, and as the home of Gurkhas is in Nepal, it has become general to call all inhabitants of Nepal "Gurkhas."

After the capture of the important city of Kathmandu the King of Gurkha made his capital there—that is, in Nepal proper. Since 1768 the King of Gurkha has also been the King of Nepal. All the heads of government and the headquarters of the army have been located in Kathmandu.

On the death of Prithwi Narayan, in 1774, he was succeeded by his son, Singha Pratap, who, however, only survived his father by two years. Rana Bahadur, the grandson of Prithwi Narayan, an infant, then came to the throne, the kingdom being under the regency of his uncle. Shortly after he came of age Rana Bahadur was assassinated, in 1799, and he was succeeded by his infant son Girvan Judha. Girvan Judha died at the early age of 18, in 1816, and was succeeded by his infant son. Thus over a considerable period, when the state of Nepal required a strong ruler, the King was a minor. The result of this was that the main power in the state, of necessity, fell into the hands of the Prime Minister. Nepal has been most fortunate in its Prime Ministers, who have ruled the country wisely and well.

In 1856 the King, Surendra Bir Bikram Rana Sah, made the office of Prime Minister hereditary in the family of Jung Bahadur Rana and, at

the same time, created Jung Bahadur Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung. Since this time the state has been ruled by the senior, living member of Jung Bahadur's family, who is Maharaja, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The administration of the country is in the hands of the Maharaja, while the King, or Maharadiraj, confines himself to matters mainly of a religious nature.

Thus the Kingdom of Gurkha has become merged into the Kingdom of Nepal, ruled and administered from Kathmandu, and the word Gurkha has lost its original meaning.

Gorakh Nath is still revered in Nepal. The temple of Gorakh flourishes at Gurkha, the footprint of Sri 108 Gorakh Nath is included in the national arms. Gorakh Nath himself is reputed to have appeared to assist the Nepalese army in their war with Tibet, *circa* 1852. It is said that in the Nepal hills the traditional Hindu greeting of "Jai Ram Jee" is sometimes replaced by "Jai Gorakh." Three regiments of the Nepal regular army are named in his honour, the Purano Gorakh Regiment, the Naya Gorakh Regiment and the Gorakh Nath Regiment. Gorakh is, in reality, the patron saint of Nepal.

## JAPAN: THE RICE CROP

**I**N normal times the Japanese rice crop is between eight and nine million tons. It is inadequate for her needs and she supplements it by imports from Korea and Formosa. Only in years when her own and these two other crops fall short of average does she import from Burma, Siam or Saigon. Both this year and last year her own crops were poor. Last year she imported approximately one million five hundred thousand tons from Burma, Siam and Saigon combined, and this year her needs are not likely to be less.

The position in Japan is reported to be serious. Rice has been rationed for the first time in history and there are reports that the agriculturists are reluctant to relinquish their stocks and send them to the towns. It is said that there have been rice queues outside shops in the towns. There is some external evidence of this position, since it is known that a good deal of Chinese rice has been shipped from Chinese ports to Japan and much of the shipping which took the purchases from Burma, Saigon and Siam was discharged at Shanghai, presumably to form supplies for Japanese troops.

No statistics are now published regarding exports to Japan—or, for that matter, to other destinations. We have no knowledge of their purchases for the current year from Saigon, but there was a report at the beginning of the year that they had negotiated for fifty thousand tons a month. We have no knowledge of their purchases from Siam, but we know that they have kept fairly steadily in the market there. Japanese demand has had some power in reshaping the trend of the rice trade in Siam. Previously this had been conducted almost exclusively from Chinese mills in Siam, and these millers boycotted the Japs. For the past two years the Siam Rice Company, under Siam Government control, has assumed increasing importance, and in fact dominance, in the Siam market, and it is through this company alone that trade with Japan is conducted. From Burma our own guess is that Japan has taken this year rather more than two hundred thousand tons.

From the point of view of the importance of rice to Japan, it is obvious that her present domestic shortage becomes a factor in her overhead policy and it may be that her needs will keep her out of the

war for the current year. A glance at the map, however, shows that with her increasing control in Saigon and Siam—which are on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula—she might still hope to maintain export from these sources even if she did come into the war. From Burma she could not hope to do so. She is continuing to buy from Burma, but this can hardly be regarded as more than a straw in the wind as showing her intentions regarding entering the war. She does not put up credits when rice is purchased but only pays “ex mill”. Consequently she could at any moment abandon her purchases there without loss.

G. B. M.

## REVIEWS

**Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent.** Vol. II. By Yoshi S. Kuno. University of California Press and Cambridge University Press. 24s.

This volume deals with the seclusion of Japan during the greater part of the Tokugawa Shogunate from 1603 to 1867. It covers most of that long interlude of peace between Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea at the end of the sixteenth century and the Japan-China War of 1894. The first period of expansion was ended, the second was to come.

We hear a great deal of dictators nowadays, but there has never been before in any country, and there will surely never be again, a dynasty of dictators like the Tokugawas, lasting for 264 years, each one of them formally endowed with authority by the Emperor. The only dictatorship in Europe which could conceivably bear comparison is that in Italy of the last twenty years, but if Mussolini is the first of a dynasty of Italian Shoguns, he is likely to be the last.

The early years of the Shogunate were notable for two things—the failure to establish foreign trade and the crushing out of Christianity. It was the ambition of Iyeyasu, first of the dynasty, to promote direct trade with China and with Spanish America—*Nueva España*. He failed in both, and the trading outposts already established in Bangkok and in and around the Malayan peninsula were withdrawn at the time of his grandson. At the beginning of the seventeenth century China was the trade centre in Asia for Spain and Portugal, for India and the Pacific islands, and Iyeyasu hoped through the intermediary of Korea to establish trade relations with China, but, says Professor Kuno: “The King of Korea and his Government refused to comply with the request of Japan because they doubted the good faith and sincerity of Japan . . . the long-standing enemy of both Korea and China.”

With Spain he was no more successful, because Spain equally doubted the good faith and sincerity of Japan. In spite of the promulgation of an anti-Christian law in 1613, the Shogun's envoy, hoping to negotiate a commercial agreement, presented to the Governor of *Nueva España* in the following year a document which reads as follows: “Our Government, realizing how earnestly our people desire to embrace Christianity, is planning to do all in its power to make this possible.



Therefore, in order to welcome Catholic priests in Nueva España and to facilitate their coming to our State, we are now building a number of ships. Upon their (the priests') arrival here we shall build Christian churches and residences for them. We are taking this course in order to prove that we have no intention of interfering with Christian work in our State."

The Spanish Government, to whom the anti-Christian law of 1613 had become known, were not to be taken in, and responded to these overtures by declining to permit Japanese trade with Nueva España or with Spain, though they allowed the continuance for the time being of the existing trade with the Philippines.

Japanese suspicions of Christianity were first aroused in 1597, when the captain of a Spanish vessel stranded in Japan, in reply to a question how Spain came to rule over such an extensive empire, blurted out the following reply: "Our king has one set rule for conquering a foreign country. If he wishes to reduce a nation to the condition of a vassal State, he first sends Catholic priests to convert the natives. When a great many natives have been converted, the king's army follows."

It appears that when the Catholic missionaries (the first were Portuguese) arrived in Japan about 1550 from Goa, Christianity was thought to be a new form of Buddhism from India, and as such was welcomed, more especially as trade followed the Cross. No less than a million Japanese are said to have been converted before various factors combined to arouse suspicion in their rulers. The outspokenness of the Spanish captain, the refusal by the Spaniards of any commercial agreement, the repeated warnings of the Dutch traders not to trust the Spaniards, led to increasing and ever more barbarous persecution of the Christians, the promulgation of new anti-Christian laws, and finally, in the interests of what was believed to be the safety of the State, to the complete seclusion of Japan in 1639 and to the expulsion of all foreigners excepting for the curious little Dutch settlement in the island of Deshima in Nagasahi Bay; but the Dutch were only allowed to land at Nagasahi after first trampling on the image of Christ and of the Virgin to prove that they were not Christians.

Now how was it that the Tokugawa Shoguns succeeded in retaining power for so long? Professor Kuno ascribes this to the thoroughness with which they enforced the policy of seclusion by first secluding the Emperor so that he was barely even a figurehead, then secluding the feudal lords from one another, and finally secluding Japan from the world.

Naturally, in a dynasty of fifteen Shoguns there were good and bad ones, but it is a tribute to the thoroughness with which his predecessors had done their work that Tsunayoshi, the fifth of the dynasty, that incredible character who was known as the "Dog Shogun", was allowed to complete his rule of twenty-nine years. Born in the cycle year of the dog, and still hoping after many years of childless marriage to become the father of an heir, he issued fantastic decrees pronouncing the direst penalties against all who killed or injured any living creature, and especially dogs. Thousands of people were imprisoned or exiled, and some even executed for failure to observe these decrees. Professor Kuno remarks that "the fact that the Japanese of the early eighteenth century endured such Government proves that the Tokugawa rule of 250 years helped to create certain Japanese traits. It is by reason of this heritage that present-day Japanese often act in a manner baffling to Occidentals, who as a consequence consider that the Japanese cannot be judged by Western ideas of thought and action". The history of the national life of Japan during the seclusion period supplies, as he truly says, a key to many of the puzzles presented by Japan to-day. Secretiveness, suspicion of one another, universal respect for higher authority grew and developed during this period. While a feudal lord had to render unquestioning obedience to the will and desires of the Shogun, whether right or wrong, just or unjust, he equally would demand the same obedience from his dependents. Children, unless they rendered unreserved obedience to their parents, had no claim later to obedience from their own children. Thus throughout the Tokugawa period absolute obedience was readily and cheerfully rendered by people of every class. The life and thought of modern Japan cannot be understood without a knowledge of conditions during the Tokugawa Shogunate. In this way Professor Kuno explains the phenomena of the "human bullets" of the Russo-Japanese War and of the "human dynamite" during the fighting in Shanghai in 1932 as symptoms of the loyalty and patriotism of the Japanese incomprehensible from a Western point of view.

It is a remarkable fact that during the seclusion period the population of Japan remained stationary at about 26,000,000. This was made possible, says the Professor, by the practice of birth control. It would have been extremely interesting to have been told more about this, as during the forty-five years of the Meiji era, which followed the Shogunate, the population doubled and to-day it is over 70,000,000.

In the last chapter of this volume Professor Kuno describes early

contacts with Russia, the country which looms largest in Japanese foreign policy. He outlines the various attempts of Russian navigators and explorers between 1739 and 1835 to enter into relations with the Japanese before a treaty was eventually signed in 1855, a year after the conclusion of treaties with the United States and Great Britain. "The nation," he says, "that surprised and awakened Japan from her long sleep was neither England nor the United States, but Russia. Japan gradually came to realize the seriousness of the situation and the impossibility of longer maintaining seclusion. For nearly 150 years, from 1781 to 1912, Russia was regarded as a menace to Japan. Russia was always regarded as a nation that threatened the very existence of Japan. To-day the fear of Communism is acting both directly and indirectly in the minds of leading Japanese, creating for them a Russian menace in a new form."

I can wholeheartedly recommend the second volume of Professor Kuno's trilogy, not only to those especially interested in the Far East, but to all who wish to understand the development of a very vital country destined to play a great rôle in the world. The book is objectively written by a distinguished scholar with a profound knowledge of his subject, and is eminently readable.

There are appendixes with translations of many pertinent documents, and I would invite special attention to Appendix 12, in which Shoin Yoshida, who was beheaded in 1859, outlined his prophetic scheme for a greater Japan, including the "slicing off of Manchuria".

R. H. C.

**A Key to Victory.** By Lieut.-Colonel C. Garsia, D.S.O., M.C., with a foreword by Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xvii + 328. Maps and illustrations. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 12s. 6d.

Lieut.-Colonel Garsia's *Key to Victory* is an argument as to the merits of two types of planning, one based on past experience, which he labels "static" and condemns, the other based on the "potentialities of the situation", which he calls "dynamic" and advocates. He elaborates his theory to show that the dynamic system of planning requires a permanent body in constant session, to which he gives the title of "Central Planning Organization". This organization will be responsible through its council, committee, and sub-committees for the long-range planning based on a detailed and full knowledge of all

factors which, besides military, must include industrial and financial. He discusses in some detail the composition of these committees, and very wisely excludes the commanders-in-chief in the various theatres, who have their hands far too full of local matters to be able to give the time, or have the detailed knowledge, for the work. He illustrates his theory by reference in great detail to the three battles of Gaza, but, rather unfortunately for the success of the theory, he has obtained from Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode a foreword to his book. In this foreword the Field-Marshal expresses disagreement with the theory of planning as applied to the first and third battles, and considers that the second should never have been fought at all. Not having myself been in the Palestine campaign, I propose to leave it to the reader to decide between the author and the Field-Marshal.

I recommend it, therefore, specially to any soldiers who fought in Palestine during the last war or who happen to be there now. The book is a model of reasoned argument, although it is on the long side, but to my mind it has one great virtue, too often absent from controversial literature. Colonel Garsia does not confine himself to destructive criticism. He puts forward very definite suggestions to take the place of everything he condemns. For that reason alone the book should be widely read.

DOUGLAS BROWNRIGG.

**South-west Persia.** By Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P. Pp. 305. Oxford University Press. 1941. 15s.

With the death of Arnold Wilson in action against the enemy as a Pilot-Officer (Air-Gunner) in the Royal Air Force there passed a man among men and one who had lived a full life, yet ever yearned to live it more fully. He was in his fifty-sixth year when he died, and this book—fittingly completed by him on St. George's Day, 1940—records some of his doings in those early years when he was finding his *métier* and was on the threshold of the distinguished career in the service of England for which he was destined. The work is, in substance, an account, taken from letters written by him at the time, to his parents and sister, of his travels and other doings in Persia between the years 1907 and 1914, and those letters, written generally in the manner of a diary, describe vividly, though somewhat egotistically, the record of his activities in the region north and north-west of the Persian Gulf at an interesting period in Persian and Turkish affairs and in the establish-

ment of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at Abadan. The author's contacts were to have an important bearing upon matters connected with the Great War in that part of the world, and he has made skilful use of them to supplement his letters. His acute memory must have been sharpened by the important rôle he played in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf between 1915 and 1920.

In reviewing a work of this nature it is almost impossible to avoid criticizing the writer of it, for the author and his work are one. The detail presents to us a self-portrait of one whose courage, industry, and determination were of the highest order. His persistent ambition is not concealed, nor are his regrets at virtually severing social contacts with his own kind, while his physical powers of endurance, his frugality, and the good health that he enjoyed show him to have been eminently fitted for the part which he marked out for himself. Few men, for instance, could have submitted themselves as he did to the severe test, which he describes, of working his way home from India as a stoker in a tramp steamer during the monsoon, from which ordeal he emerged without dangerously impairing his constitution. He sought adventure in the years of which he writes, and he certainly found it, and his end was in keeping with his spirit. When as a young officer in the Indian Army he decided to make with a friend, Captain Crookshank, a private travelling survey in a virtually unmapped territory, he did something which was unusual and which at the same time was bound, if successful, to give him a special claim to selection for the Indian Political Service, should he decide so to change his career from that of soldiering. It is remembered that his journeys and his subsequent reports were subjects of discussion in many quarters in India in the years preceding the Great War, and it was, perhaps, inevitable that a future career was predicted for him which was afterwards more than justified by his energetic discharge of the responsibilities of his office of Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia and Political Resident in the Persian Gulf in the difficult years following the cessation of hostilities. He left the Political Service in 1921, when he joined the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, with which important concern he was connected until elected Member of Parliament for Hitchin in 1933. Throughout his career he showed himself meticulously concerned with the details of his duties, and this meticulousness was at once a virtue and a defect. He was too apt to burden himself with what should have been the concern of his subordinates, and in this book we have, at page 279, an early example of this characteristic, where the author writes: "I am now a cross

between a commissary and a transport sergeant." At this time Wilson was deputy to the British Commissioner (Mr. Wratislaw) on the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission, to which post he had been appointed when this important International Commission was formed to delimit the much-disputed frontier in 1913. On Wratislaw's illness supervening in April of the following year, Wilson took his place as British Commissioner. His masterful—and, it must be added, masterly—conduct of his office produced opposition on the part of certain of his colleagues, but it hastened the delimitation and made it possible for frontier difficulties as between Persia and Turkey to be largely overcome when Turkey entered the war and the Shatt-al-Arab became a theatre of warlike operations. Wilson's knowledge of Persia and the Persians was of the greatest value to the Commission, and his dynamic energy compelled an agreed decision upon the greater part of the frontier at a time when this was a matter of urgent concern for us. The author's description of the Commission's labours provides interesting reading. It may not be out of place to mention that Major Cowie, who was one of the Royal Engineer officers in charge of survey with the Commission, gave to the writer of this review early in 1916 the first map printed of those which were to illustrate and accompany the Commission's Report.

Altogether this is a most readable book by an interesting and challenging personality, and it provides many sidelights upon affairs in Iran thirty years ago.

H. W-B.

**Things Mortal.** By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O. Dedicated to H.H. Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana. Preface and illustrations. 9" x 6". Pp. 256. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1940. 10s. 6d.

Sir Frederick O'Connor was born "in that wild and remote corner of the county Meath, bordering on Cavan." He won a scholarship at Charterhouse, where he represented the school at Wimbledon, and, passing through Woolwich, he was gazetted to a field battery of the Royal Artillery.

Feeling the urge for a more active life, in 1915 he landed in India to join a mountain battery at Darjeeling. Deeply interested in this fascinating country, he set to work to explore, and slipped across the frontier of Sikkim into Tibet, using an unexplored pass. He was pursued by Tibetan horsemen, who, however, failed to capture him. He

also studied the Tibetan language, and, attracting the notice of the Intelligence Department, was summoned to Simla, where he worked for a short period.

After taking part in the Swat Valley and other frontier operations, he was appointed Inspecting Officer of the Kashmir Imperial Service Artillery at Gilgit, from which centre he made a close examination of this little-known frontier.

During his annual visits to Simla he urged the importance of the creation of a Tibetan Frontier Commission, and was seconded under the Indian Foreign Department.

A mission to Lhasa, which was under anxious consideration, was caused by the Dalai Lama, who, alarmed by Lord Curzon's repeated efforts to open up relations with him, turned to Russia. Dorjief, a Mongol Buriat and a Russian subject, who had been his tutor, was selected as his envoy and visited Russia in 1901. There he was received by the Tsar, and returned with valuable gifts, including munitions, to Lhasa. The position was grave since the rebuff to Lord Curzon, whose letters to the Dalai Lama were returned unopened, could not be passed by, while the Dalai Lama's mission to Russia naturally unsettled the border states of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan.

Immediate action was imperative, and in 1903 Lord Curzon instructed Major (later Sir Francis) Younghusband to cross the frontier into Tibet with an armed escort accompanied by O'Connor, who served as secretary and interpreter to the Mission. Obstruction and resistance by ill-armed troops were alike successfully dealt with, and the Mission finally marched into Lhasa. The Dalai Lama, upon its approach, had fled into Mongolia, but finally a treaty was signed which created friendly relations with the Tibetans and the British Army marched back to India. O'Connor was appointed to serve in the newly created post at Gyantee, where a Trade Mart was created. Here he soon made friends with the rival Tashi Lama, whom he escorted to Calcutta to meet H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

From Tibet to Eastern Persia is a far cry, and O'Connor's next post was that of Consul for Scistan, where he served for three years without special incidents occurring. After a spell of leave he was appointed Consul at Shiraz, where he found the province of Fars in a disturbed condition. To remedy the insecurity of the trade routes a Persian gendarmerie, officered by Swedish officers, was being organized. Great Britain financed the force, but the Swedes, as should surely have been realized, were strongly pro-German. Of this fact the

German Consul Wassmuss took the fullest advantage, living with them when he visited Shiraz.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, Wassmuss reappeared on the scene and with the connivance of the disloyal Swedes, who should have felt bound in honour to be neutral, the gendarmerie arrested O'Connor and the British colony. Among its members was a little eight-years-old girl, Margaret Ferguson, daughter of the bank manager, who has recently published her adventures in an interesting, if not wholly accurate work, termed *Bid Time Return*. After a hostile reception at Kazerun the ladies were taken to Bushire, but O'Connor, with the British male prisoners, was imprisoned in a fort situated some thirty miles behind Bushire, where he was finally exchanged for some prisoners taken by the British. Throughout Wassmuss remained close by to prevent, as far as possible, any attempts at escape.

To conclude, the author, who has already described his life when holding the post of Minister to Nepal, can certainly look back with satisfaction on a life of adventure, coupled with valuable service to the State.

P. M. SYKES.

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**Bid Time Return.** By Margaret Ferguson. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times$  5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 256. Illustrations. Hale. 1941. 12s. 6d.

This delightful autobiography of Margaret Ferguson claims our interest for two reasons. For readers of the Royal Central Asian Society the vivid account she gives of dramatic events in Shiraz both during the unsettled period preceding the last World War and during the actual hostilities might, perhaps, be held to take the chief place. But yet the youthful, brilliant reactions to the impulses that were to bring her fame as a novelist, and which led to her indelible impressions of Persia and the Persians, are still more important.

Margaret's father was bank manager at Shiraz, a man of marked capacity and courage, while Mrs. Ferguson, an equally brave woman, devoted herself to showing hospitality to British officers, especially to the sick, as I can testify from personal knowledge.

The descriptions Margaret, who first appears on the stage as a child of eight, gives alike of the Arabs and Persians on the deck of the steamer in the Persian Gulf, of the Persian muleteers, and of many other inhabitants of Iran are admirable. She certainly penetrates below the surface, as when she remarks: "To the average Persian running water is as vitally part of their lives as the blood running in their veins."



To turn to the first drama in which she was involved, she introduces Wassmuss, destined later to be the most capable enemy of the British, as "a fair, pleasant-faced German, the new German Consul." Later, with good cause, she hated him.\*

The situation at Shiraz was firstly disagreeable and then dangerous. A Persian gendarmerie commanded by Swedish officers had been organized at the expense of Great Britain. These officers were strongly pro-German, and finally, at the instigation of Wassmuss, and with their own connivance, the British Consul and the entire colony were made prisoners and taken down to the coast. Near Bushire the men were taken to a fort in the foothills behind Bushire—Wasmuss also took up his residence close by—while the ladies were escorted to Bushire. On the way, at Kazerun, a hostile demonstration had been organized, and had not the Persian officer in charge displayed great courage, the prisoners might well have been massacred. To quote: "The little officer shouted and yelled, rifle butts came thwacking suddenly on to shoulders and rumps, a massive gate in a high garden wall opened suddenly in front of us . . . and we were whipped inside the gate." The coolness and courage of the women and children were similar to that now being displayed in Great Britain.

In due course the prisoners were exchanged, and the Fergusons, after a rest at Murree, pluckily returned to Shiraz in 1916 via Bandar Abbas, under escort of the South Persia Rifles, which force was being raised at the time. There once again they were in the centre of dramatic events. "The round-faced flapper with a brown pigtail sticking straight out behind her," as she describes herself, had a thrilling time with the officers of the British force now stationed at Shiraz, one of whom married her elder sister. "Peggy" also, as she was known, had her admirers, and yet wrote a verse beginning with:

"I have drunk of the golden cup of life filled to the very brim

With the wine of youth, but the cup is drained, the flame of life burns dim."

Her account of the military operations is interesting but not wholly accurate. For example, on page 155 she mentions that the investment of Shiraz was ended by a peace treaty. Actually it was ended by the complete defeat of the Kashgais, whose chief became a refugee.

Occasional periods of school, which followed the final departure of the Fergusons from Shiraz, were not a success, as might well have been

\* For a full account of this enemy agent I would refer to *Wassmuss, the German Laurence*, by Christopher Sykes.

imagined. To quote: "If I had had a normal childhood, if boarding school had been an opening up and developing for me instead of a shutting in, I should have been far happier than I was."

To conclude, her first love was Shiraz, where her garden in the illustration facing page 177 looked down on the domes of that famous city, and to its charm and to the unique experiences of her early youth, which permeated her being, we owe this book, which, in my humble opinion, approaches a masterpiece.

P. M. SYKES.

**Sons of Sindbad.** By Alan Villiers. Pp. xiv + 346. Illustrated. Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 20s.

Let us thank heaven that there are among us men who are not wholly enamoured of the so mean and tinny house of this tintinabulating tin-can age, and who are sufficiently imaginative and energetic to grope through the unclean folds of its trashy hangings to find some hidden window, and fling it open, that we may look forth for a moment into a space of free air, where a man may breathe, may move freely, may speak his mind without cant and without fear. If I am not mistaken, the author of this book is one of these. And although the life which he discloses to our view is one of poverty, of hardship, of crushing toil and of early death, it is one of acceptance, of manly serenity, of brotherhood. These Arabian sailors may not be conscious subscribers to a creed of self-abnegation, voluntary poverty, and a losing consideration for others; but living their lives in the beautiful simplicity of a natural and unresented indigence, they do place some very tender touches upon the lurid canvas of contemporary life.

Once aboard the dhow *Triumph of Righteousness* we forget the murky ideals and the foul air-conditioned atmosphere of Europe; for here we are in the open air. The dhow stinks? Then move to the windward side! If you go into some of the London air-raid shelters you will encounter a worse stink, all shut up and imprisoned with you. And you cannot move to windward there. Only to bombward.

No, it is the sweet air of mental serenity with which I am concerned. And the pages of this book will give you a heartening breath of it.

She sailed from Aden, this dhow with the grandiose name: down to Zanzibar, and up again, coasting all the way, to Kuwait. Conceivably, there may have been dull moments for those on board her; but it is certain there are none for us who read. And, like most sea voyages, this is a tonic for jaded nerves. It is full of interesting out-of-the-way

revelation about nearly every kind of ship that sails, not churns, the Arabian Sea, and about the simple seamen who man them. Yes, there are terrible things here too—the pearl-fishers of the Persian Gulf, galley-slaving in hereditary debt-bondage to embellish women whose smiles they will never see. It is at least consoling to think that Japanese pearl-culture and European tinsel-manufacture will probably send the descendants of these wretches back to the desert from which they sprang. It is true the desert is not what it once was, but even the Standard Oil fields are better than the Gulf oyster-banks. Alas, if Arabia is to continue to find wealth in her bowels, even the Arabian shipping is doomed to the abomination of power-drive. So let us thankfully read this absorbing book: the best things in it are too long to quote, but here is a picture of the light-hearted start from Zanzibar of an ocean-going ship, already overloaded with thousands of mangrove poles:

“ . . . we took on board a cargo of coconuts and stowed it among the mangrove poles. We loaded also some bags of cloves, a few boxes of soap, several drums of coconut oil, and a hundred cases of vermicelli. With all this on board, and the long-boat stowed on top, we sailed from Zanzibar in the early evening, bound, as far as I could gather, towards Muscat.”

I like the “as far as I could gather”. This often occurred, and as far as I can gather it had nothing to do with the author’s Arabic limitations.

After running through stormy weather they were talking together one evening on the poop, the author and Captain Nejdi:

“Lightning, I said in response to Nejdi’s question, was nothing but stored-up electricity, freed from clouds in the sky. At this he laughed uproariously. ‘Electricity!’ he laughed. (He called it ‘trick,’ as did the sailors.) ‘That comes in torches, made in Germany and Japan: the lightning is God’s. Ha ha ha!’ Such a good joke as that he could not keep to himself, and my remarks on the mysteries of trick were bawled across the Indian Ocean to every Arab ship we spoke.”

The illustrations are superb, especially those of ships at sea; and, best of all, the book is rich with enthralling description:

“ . . . the anchorage was full of Persians. Five of their booms arrived, having come up from Africa in company. The bay resounded with their haunting boat songs as their longboats pulled for the beach, the *nakhodas* standing and waving as they passed their countrymen’s ships. After sunset, the creak of their great halliards getting the sails aloft, ready for sea again, came very

clearly in the intervals of dancing and the tramp of hard bare feet. There was no moon, but the stars gave light as the Persians made ready for sea. One of them was an enormous *baggala* with a capacity of 5,000 packages of dates, a lovely thing with a coppered underbody. She was the last *baggala* of Quishm, they said, and seventy years old. She had come in from the Malabar coast, laden with teak logs and a cargo of roping stuffs and coils of coir, with thirty dugout canoes stowed on deck, and Indian furniture hanging round the poop rail. The wind came from the north-west before midnight, gusty, burning with the heat of all the surrounding stone and the desert beyond. . . ."

Shades of Ibn Battuta!!

ELDON RUTTER.

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**Drinkers of the Wind.** By Carl R. Raswan. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 288. Illustrated. Hutchison. 18s.

This book, which the publishers describe as "amazing", is the writer's autobiography woven into the biography of his favourite horse, Ghazal, which was given to Mr. Raswan in 1913 and remained his property until its death in 1931. During much of that time Carl Raswan was absent from the East, for during the last war he fought with the German army, but when he returned to Egypt in 1927 he got in touch with his old friends among the Ruwalla Arabs and found again his old horse and its favourite mare.

The story starts with the author's arrival in Egypt in 1911 and his experiences in a German business house under a most unlikeable German bully. Then apparently he was appointed as manager of a small stud farm in Alexandria, where he made friends with the horse-dealing Arabs that came into Egypt from Northern Arabia and also with that queer brotherhood of camel-men, the Ageyla.

The next part of the book deals with an extraordinary trip to Derna, where the Italians were fighting against the Senussi Arabs. The reason of his quest was to find a Briton named Smallwood, late of the Egyptian Police, who was fighting on the Arab side, but the writer does not make it clear why he wished to find Smallwood. It was during this journey he was given Ghazal, and, according to the author, it was by the ownership of this horse, which was recognized by the Arabs all over Libya, that he obtained his social standing among the Beduin.

I am always puzzled by Mr. Carl Raswan's books when I have to review them, as one chapter will convey the impression that he does really know the desert and its Beduin folk, and in the next one feels he has obtained his information of the Middle East from the pages of *The*

*Arabian Nights* or from an American film. Also he has such amazing adventures in areas where other Europeans may pass and re-pass for ten years with nothing untoward happening.

His description of Amria—a desert village outside Alexandria in what one might call the slum area of Mariut—reminds me of a seaside landlady's advertisement of her lodgings: "Amria with its view of the sea was a beautiful oasis at the foot of desert hills." It was my fate to spend two years of my life in Amria, so I should know it, and I take my reviewer's oath it is impossible to see the sea from any part of the town. Moreover, I should not call it a beautiful oasis, but a very unsightly half-Arab, half-*fellah* suburban village desecrating the long-suffering face of the desert.

The latter part of the book treats with the author's experiences among the Ruwalla and Ageyla of the Syrian desert, where he was for some time engaged in buying horses for the European market. This part of the volume is more convincing than the first, but one has the feeling that the book was written for the American public.

C. S. J.

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**The Fire-Ox and Other Years.** By Suydam Cutting. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This book by the well-known American sportsman-traveller-naturalist, Mr. Cutting, will be welcomed by all those to whom these subjects appeal.

The 376 pages give accounts of various expeditions which the author undertook, sometimes with the Roosevelt brothers or Mr. Arthur Vernay, sometimes with his wife, and at times alone.

The journeys, with the exception of one to Abyssinia and one to the Galapagos Islands, are concerned with Asia, and it is in these that readers of the journal will be most interested.

The expeditions extend from the Tian-Shan Mountains to the Celebes, and include the Assam trans-frontier Nagas, out-of-the-way parts of Yunnan and Burma, Nepal (where he witnessed the Jubilee of His Majesty the King), Lhasa, the Andamans, besides a cheetah hunt in India.

The above will give an idea of the large area visited during the last fifteen years. Countries of special interest, usually from a naturalist's point of view, have been selected from a large fund of such experiences.

Perhaps the most interesting to members of our Society is the very excellent description of the author's two visits to Lhasa and Central

Tibet, first with Mr. Vernay in 1935 and again with Mrs. Cutting in 1937—the Fire-Ox year of the Tibetan calendar. It is charming to hear nothing but good of the Tibetans from the highest to the lowest with whom Mr. and Mrs. Cutting came in contact. They seem to have been ideal travellers and to have made all those happy with whom they had dealings.

A small criticism is the adoption of Indian words when speaking of Tibetan things. This always indicates the presence of an interpreter. For instance, such words as *maidan*, *chela*, *mundle* all have equivalents in English, and we think that these or Tibetan words should have been used.

The descriptions of the machinery for scaring away birds used by the Toradjas of Celebes is so like the machinery made by Mishmis of the Assam border for scaring birds as well as monkeys and other wild animals from the crops, that one is tempted to wonder whether there can be any connection or whether both peoples have evolved this independently for the same purpose.

The photos could not be surpassed; both the careful photography and the excellence and suitability of the subject give the best possible impression of the countries visited.

For a book of this importance the maps, though eminently artistic, are inadequate, and it is awkward to meet some of the spellings of the Hungarian artist—*e.g.*, “Butham” for the country of Bhutan.

In the country south of Tatsienlu, which, it is explained, is unmapped, several high passes between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are crossed, but are not named and do not appear on the maps. We think this is a pity, having regard to the importance of this exploration and the carefulness given to every detail of the expedition.

There is a useful general index, but the special index of mammals and birds and plants would have been many times more useful if the scientific names had been given.

It is possible to agree with people who object to Latin names scattered *ad lib.* throughout the text; there may also be some ground for objections to such things as footnotes. The author has avoided these defects, but these special indexes would have been ideal places for the scientific naturalist to find out exactly to what bird, mammal, or plant reference has been made.

When all this is said we have read a charmingly written book full of interesting details of most interesting and little-known lands.

F. M. B.

**Helvellyn to Himalaya.** Including an Account of the First Ascent of Chomolhari. By E. Spencer Chapman. Pp. xv + 285. With 44 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Chatto and Windus. 1940. 18s.

This is a racy, virile book, with the best of it, like the fat-tailed sheep, at its end: the tale of the first conquest of Chomolhari (23,997 feet) on the Sikkim-Bhutan boundary.

Mr. Chapman begins with an amusing outline of his youth—long walks, Welsh rock-climbs, poaching and outwitting gamekeepers. At Cambridge he met Gino Watkins (with whom he went to Greenland); and Longland, Wager and Warren (famous later for their Everest exploits); he climbed in the Dauphiné, skied, went to Iceland and Lapland and then became a schoolmaster at Aysgarth.

Next came a call from Marco Pallis to go to Sikkim to tackle Simvu (22,360 feet) or Siniolchu (22,620 feet). While the others climbed various peaks Chapman and Pallis ascended the Zemu glacier and made a determined effort on Simvu. Like their predecessors (Dr. Bauer and others) they were defeated by the arête to the east of the Gap, but, having got on the Upper Saddle, they found a possible route towards the summit. All seemed set for victory when they were suddenly held up by a huge, impassable bergshroud. Simvu remained inviolable.

A tentative invitation to Tibet now took Chapman down to Gangtok, but he was soon back in the mountains and, with a young subaltern from the Punjab, by superb climbing and endurance not only came within 300 feet of the summit of Jonsong Peak (24,340 feet), but climbed the Sphinx (23,500 feet) and conquered the Fluted Peak (19,877), which had defeated Stobart and Lattimer in 1933. After this he went with Gould's mission to Lhasa, his glorious photographs being published in his book, *Lhasa: the Holy City*.

Then, at long last, he obtained the various permits to enter Bhutan and Tibet, for an attempt on unconquered Chomolhari, the home of "The Goddess of the Holy Mountain," more sacred even than Everest to Tibetans.

With him went Charles Crawford, from Calcutta, who, "apart from some scrambling in Skye and in the Pyrenees, had done no climbing whatsoever." With the minimum of porters and kit they set off via the Chumbi Valley (the India-Lhasa highway).

After several days of dangerous climbing, with Crawford's leave nearly up and with food stores rapidly dwindling, they at last negotiated the Great Fang and reached 20,500 feet. By now one of the three

porters and the gallant Crawford himself were so exhausted and ill that the little party divided, Chapman with one porter, Pasang, to make a dash for the summit, the others to get back to Yatung as best they could.

In spite of blizzards and terrible winds a camp of sorts was made at 21,500 feet. All then hung on the possibility of climbing the remaining 2,500 feet and of getting back alive to the camp before nightfall.

Perched on an appallingly steep ice-slope, cutting and kicking steps, the two climbers, with occasional belays, worked their way, taking the lead in turns. As they mounted higher and higher "all the mountains of the Eastern Himalaya, Pauhunri, Kangchenjunga, Siniolchu, and, 150 miles to the west, yellowed by vast distance, unconquered Everest and Malaku swung into view."

At the top of the ice-slope, on a sharp curved ridge, Pasang faltered, but, though his own body "certainly had no desire to go on," Chapman's spirit prevailed; the last 300 feet were unexpectedly "the easiest part of the climb"; and the summit of Chomolhari—a three-pointed snow-dome—was reached. The inviolable goddess was conquered.

The descent—the safe negotiating of which the late General Bruce called "the eighth wonder of the world"—was a nightmare. Accidents, blizzards, exhaustion, miserable nights culminated in Pasang (by now worn out and bemused) checking on the rope when Chapman, on a thin snow-edge, was in mid air over a crevasse.

Precipitated into the abyss, it was only after a terrible struggle that Chapman, more dead than alive, managed to achieve the impossible—the cutting of steps up one vertical ice-wall—and reached the top. Half-delirious during the next night they dragged themselves down to Phari.

So ended a superb feat, vividly and most modestly described.

The book contains excellent maps of the Kangchenjunga glaciers and the Sikkim Peaks; the photographs are lovely. Neither flowers nor birds nor the beauties of the mountains are neglected. There are valuable hints on equipment and "bandobust." Like that other but even more "lone" climber and explorer, Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg, who has made the Karakoram his special stamping-ground, Mr. Chapman has shown that with careful preparation and good selection of porters a one-man expedition can accomplish great and notable climbs.

W. H. LW.

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**Assam Adventure.** By F. Kingdon Ward. Pp. 304; 16 illustrations, 2 appendixes. Jonathan Cape. 1941. 12s. 6d.

I am unfortunately not a botanist, but this book of Mr. Kingdon Ward's makes me wish that I knew at least the rudiments of that science. I understand that when authors and publishers name a book a title that is easily remembered is what they seek at the christening. "Assam Adventure" may be a title that is easy to remember, but the book is not about Assam. Thousands of Englishmen have been in Assam, but only hundreds in Tibet, and some of the places that Mr. Kingdon Ward describes in this book have been visited by only these and few other explorers. I started out with the intention of giving a critical review of this book, but I soon forgot all about my good intentions in the interest of the travel story.

I wish, however, that the author had told us more about the food he ate, the clothes he wore, and what the people of Tibet eat and wear.

I have to confess that this is the first book of Mr. Kingdon Ward's that I have read, and it is likely that he has already described the customs of the Tibetans in some of the books he has already published. I intend to have the pleasure, now that my appetite has been whetted, of improving my mind by reading his other productions. My local chemist has told me that the drug I use in the month of June, *ephedrine*, to alleviate hay fever, is produced only in China and Tibet. Mr. Kingdon Ward only mentions these *Ephedra* trees and their use as fuel, and as one who has often been grateful to this drug I would like to know more about how it is gathered and manufactured. I wish also Mr. Kingdon Ward had enlarged a little upon the resources of Tibet. He writes that it is desperately poor, and has no raw materials except wool and borax from the salt lakes and a little gold dust. In the spring of 1941 I reflect that poverty and inaccessibility may, at any rate, protect Tibet from aggression. I was certainly interested to read that there are several fruits and crops cultivated in the deep valleys of Tibet which it would be hopeless to try to grow in the much milder climate of Britain, for, although the milder winters of England would not harm the plants, our summers are not hot enough to ripen them. The climate of North America with its hot summer and cold winter is far more suited to such plants. The author points out that there is a close relation between the climate of many parts of Eastern Tibet and of Eastern North America. Most plants from this region would grow more successfully round New York than round London.

Mr. Kingdon Ward is modest. I know a little about the discom-

forts of leeches, mosquitoes, cold winds and bad food. He takes it all in his stride, and I think he must have the constitution of a horse (a bad simile, as no horse could stand such hardships) to have come through what he has without doing his health a permanent injury.

The chapter "Mountains Unknown" is of particular interest, for the explorer travels through glorious country never before seen by a European. The tea planters of Assam see the Brahmaputra and its tributaries in flood though the season has been a dry one. Some of the geographical explanations can be found in *Assam Adventure*.

I read most of the book, not in "One Night of Love," but in "One Night of Hate, or Blitz"; and if any book can make a timorous fellow like myself forget the perpendicular danger for a while, I think it must be worth reading.

W. D. S.

**A Long Look at Life.** By two Victorians, Lady King-Stewart, O.B.E., and Miss Ella Christie, F.R.G.S.  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ . Pp. 256. Illustrations. Seeley Service. 1941. 21s.

Readers of this book must not expect to find any detailed accounts of Miss Ella Christie's journeys. In fact, one would hardly realize that she is a distinguished traveller from the passing references to her many and interesting travels.

As the jacket of the book announces, "they are random recollections of two Victorian ladies," and random indeed they are. Much stress is laid upon dinner menus, and the lengthy dinners of Victorian days seem to have made an indelible impression on the authors' minds. A great contrast to the oatmeal, potato, and carrot menu of the present day!

So quickly do the ladies skip from one recollection to the other that it requires much agility of mind to follow them. Though certainly not a book for serious study, one may pass a pleasant hour with it reflecting on the many changes that have taken place.

F. E. S.

**The Viceroy and Governor-General of India.** By A. B. Rudra, Ph.D. Pp. xv + 362.  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ . Milford. Oxford University Press. 1940. Rs. 10.

This book, which is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, is a monument of industry and contains a mass of information about the working of the Constitu-

tion of India from early days and under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and regarding the provisions made in the Act of 1935 for a Federal Constitution. The facts and references which Dr. Rudra has collected will be of great value to future students, even if Professor Laski's suggestion that the later part of the book will be rendered to some extent obsolete by the course of events may prove correct. Only a professed student of constitutional law could criticize the book in detail, and probably only one who has been a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council—how easily one slips into inaccuracy! let us say the Executive Council of the Governor-General—could check much of what is said about the working of that body. One who has neither of these qualifications can only temper his congratulations to the author with a regret that the impartiality which he aimed at and usually attained in the earlier chapters should not be equally apparent in the discussion of recent history or in the appreciation of the motives which gave the 1935 Act its present form. Instead, we find a determination not to let the British have the better of any argument. At one point the use of the Governor-General's power to legislate by certification is represented as a mere desire to give some appearance of democratic procedure to an act of autocracy; at another point it is argued that legislation by ordinance deprives the representatives of the people of any opportunity of expressing their views. Lord Willingdon is accused of having been "too much unnerved by the declarations of the Congress leaders." There are sloppy phrases, such as "hardly any adequate justification for the exercise" of autocratic power. An ordinance which was necessarily widely drawn to meet extraordinary circumstances, but actually affected only a few persons in every million of the population, is said to have "left little scope for the operation of the rule of law." We are told that the ecclesiastical expenditure of the Government of India is, in fact, a subsidy to Christian proselytizing activities, a misrepresentation which cannot stand examination for a moment.

The existence of the Indian States and of relations defined by treaty between the Indian Princes and His Majesty is a red rag to the author, who seems to regard the interests of the Princes and of British India as invariably and diametrically opposed to each other. On the other hand, the existence of deep-seated differences on religious and social grounds within British India is systematically minimized. The days when the authorities in this country could proclaim that the 1935 Constitution for the Federation of India would be put into force with-

out any substantial alteration have fortunately passed, but the amendments which must before long be made in it by agreement are not facilitated by the demand for an immediate and complete *gleichschaltung* of all interests in India, those of the Princes and minorities alike, with those of one party. Dr. Rudra is already an expert, but his services to his country and to knowledge, already considerable, will be greater when he has advanced further towards the conception of historical truth and even-handed justice. E. H.

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**The Co-operative Movement in Bengal.** By Professor J. P. Niyogi, M.A.(Cal.), Ph.D.(London). 9" × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. ix + 267. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.) 10s. 6d.

It is to be regretted that, before embarking on a painstaking and carefully written survey of the progress of co-operative credit and marketing in Bengal, Professor Niyogi did not describe the economic conditions of the province which the movement was intended to improve. It seems necessary to indicate a few salient points before proceeding to deal with the book under review.

It is a striking commentary on the economic position in India that the first "Royal Commission on Agriculture" was not constituted until 1926; all previous inquiries into rural economic conditions had been made by Famine Commissions. That of 1880 recommended that the State should adopt measures to afford credit to the cultivator and, in consequence, there was inaugurated a dual system of loans for land improvement and for agriculture which achieved great success, especially in times of stress, but which proved limited in scope. The Commission of 1900-01, therefore, recommended that a trial should be given to co-operative credit societies on the Raiffeisen model, concerning which a monumental report had recently been published by Sir F. Nicholson, himself a member of this Commission. Legislative effect was promptly given to this proposal, and Registrars were appointed to organize societies and guide the infant movement through its early years. At that time, however, there was nowhere in India any widespread knowledge of the Raiffeisen system; at the most there were one or two keen experimenters; the Registrars had first to educate themselves before they could attempt to approach a vast population, and even this necessary preliminary was at the time difficult owing to the lack of literature in English on the subject. Since 1904, a large volume of information has been amassed on rural debt, the position and

influence of moneylenders, village economics and the principles and practice of co-operative credit in various countries, but there was no authoritative treatise available until the Maclagan Report of 1912.

In Bengal there were difficulties peculiar to the presidency; the rural population was spread thickly over the double delta with poor communications, little literacy, and most primitive marketing conditions. The soil was a rich alluvium, which yielded readily a succession of crops with the minimum of effort; the needs of a simple life were few and were easily satisfied; the chief money crop, jute, had such a limited market that no ready road to wealth lay in growing more of it. There was little of the nature of subsidiary home industries to occupy the idle months, and, in the absence of a village life, such as exists in other parts of India, the people paid visits to each other for lack of anything better to do. There was one other factor which has proved almost fatal to the devoted efforts of officials and non-officials to make co-operative credit a success: ancestral debt.

Matters of general custom are apt to pass unnoticed. In England every death of a property owner, however small, is followed by a summary procedure akin to insolvency; assets are collected, debts paid, and the balance, if any, is handed over to the heir. If debts exceed assets, there is a proportionate payment and the balance is struck off as bad. It is difficult for a people accustomed to such a common usage to visualize the conditions in India where debts and assets pass alike to the heirs without any attempt at calculation as to whether the estate is solvent or not. Both are inherited and a debt as well as an asset may be in the family for generations. When it was first recommended that co-operative village banks should be introduced, the intention was to limit loans to productive objects and to leave to the moneylender the business of financing customary extravagances. But, it must be always remembered, the enthusiasts who saw in co-operative credit a great panacea for rural ills had not at hand the accumulated knowledge and experience of thirty and forty years later; at least, it seemed to them, the co-operators could be relieved of usurious interest if the society advanced enough to pay off the capital debt. They did not then realize that amongst the great majority of newly enrolled members there was nothing from which the ancestral debt could be repaid except the petty holding of an acre or two which was the sole source of livelihood.

It has been mentioned that the introduction of co-operative credit into India was a result of recurring famines, or, as some would prefer, of recurring periods of severe rural distress. When such periods are

apt to recur, credit is restricted and debts cannot, without usurious interest, be great; it is possible that if the introduction of co-operation had been preceded or even accompanied by a determined attack on usury and the evils of the very conception of the idea of ancestral debt, the new experiment might have achieved much, at least, of what its sponsors hoped for. But the occasion was unfavourable. Ever since the closing of the Mint to the free coinage of rupees, prices in India had persistently tended to rise and, small though the individual cultivator's contribution might be to the volume of trade, it raised his credit. The series of economic disasters, known as famines, in the nineteenth century had impelled the Government of India to immense efforts to improve the economic conditions of the country and especially to create facilities for trade and commerce; the tiny holding of the ryot was linked up with the markets of the world. Enormous wealth poured into India; there was money to spare; worse, there was money for which no opening could be found except the petty allotment holder in his hundred millions, who, accustomed to extreme penury and the simplest of standards of living, was in no manner fortified to resist the temptation placed in his way by traders only too anxious to offer him further loans.

So much for preliminary: the progress achieved is described in considerable detail and perhaps calls for more praise than Professor Niyogi feels inclined to bestow upon it. The purpose of the book, says the author, is "to throw light on the working of the co-operative credit and marketing societies in Bengal, so as to prepare the way for more enlightened plans for improving credit facilities." A number of misunderstandings both of banking and of co-operative principles are disclosed, but the major responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of the movement must be laid upon the organizers and the people they recruited. In the early stages the Registrar withdrew from the work of organizing new societies and left this to a body of non-officials endowed with public spirit and enthusiasm, but with little knowledge and less experience. The training of the staff and of members was neglected; even the office-bearers were given little insight into the correct methods of village banking and the pitfalls to be avoided. The author is probably right to ascribe to this neglect of education and training the main blame for the shortcomings he describes, but there was yet another and deeper cause clearly disclosed in this book. The Maclagan Committee stated that the first essential to success is honest members, and, further, that there must be the observance of elementary

business principles of honesty, punctuality, proper accounts, diligence and payment when due. Professor Niyogi finds all these lacking.

The attempt to introduce land mortgage banking has not progressed far enough to justify much comment. It is the most difficult form of banking, even more difficult than industrial banking, and it is doubtful whether Bengal offers a suitable field. Similarly, co-operative marketing presents problems, which Professor Niyogi well describes, and which may prove beyond local capacity to deal with. No one in England is in a position to throw stones when large-scale compulsion has been found necessary to overcome widespread distrust.

On the whole, Professor Niyogi leaves an impression of failure but not of despair; he would energetically remove defects and embark on an intensive campaign of education and training of office-bearers and of the people. Both measures may safely be commended as essentials to success in the future. A more detailed knowledge of the principles of co-operation and banking should serve to rid the movement of numerous unnecessary defects, not always recognized as such in these pages, and if some method can be evolved for dealing with the mire of ancestral debt, the future should be full of promise. On the subject of ancestral debt, two remarks may be volunteered; if it becomes a question of the insolvency of the moneylenders or that of the cultivators, surely there should be no hesitation in sacrificing the parasite for the producer; further, whatever policies may seem open, the worst of all is to refrain from effective action.

There is really no room for despair; of all the joint stock banks started in the last hundred years throughout the world the vast majority have ended in failure; the great slump brought innumerable institutions to the verge of bankruptcy. Yet, no one despairs of joint stock banking. Professor Niyogi throughout his interesting survey says too little of the successes attained, of the good done, of the fresh start in life afforded to many families by the assistance of their village society and of the revival of a community feeling almost stifled under the very difficult conditions of delta life.

H. CALVERT.

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**Twilight in Delhi.** By Ahmud Ali. Hogarth Press.

The number of authors who can produce sound work written in a language which is not their own has never been very large: Mr. Ahmud Ali is one of them. Indian authors such as he are gradually building up a body of literature which can be appreciated by the

English-speaking population of the Empire. It is all to the good that we should be able to realize the way of life and thought of other races and civilizations through the words of those who know a world which is alien to our own thoughts and traditions.

*Twilight in Delhi* draws a picture of the life of a Mohammedan family in the years before the war of 1914-18. Memories of the old order and of the cruelties of war still linger on with the older generation, the younger are more occupied with their own affairs and with their own economic security. But for all of them as for all of us their own private affairs and their own lives are their only real interests. Yet the book is a sad one: for it is a story of the shifting of values and of the inability of either the old or the young to make a satisfactory compromise with the changes of the world they live in.

But apart from the story which Mr. Ahmud Ali has to tell, he leaves us with the feeling that there is a lesson to be learned by both our peoples. Mir Nipal was incapable of understanding the English: Ashgar might have understood a little of their culture, had he known it other than superficially. Their counterparts in England understand Indian culture even less. Mr. Ahmud Ali and those like him who are bilingual may in time help to display Indian life to us in a form which we can understand.

If this comes to pass the debt which England owes to India will continue to increase. As yet there are few signs that the English-speaking world is trying to repay that debt. There are no English writers who can portray the life of England to India in her own tongue. The majority of the English who go to India are from one class, and live a life which bears little or no likeness to that of the average Englishman at home. How, then, can Indians have anything but a false picture of English culture, for their knowledge is drawn either from the English whom they see or from the literature used as a basis for their education in that tongue.

Perhaps our debt would best be repaid if some of us with a knowledge of both languages would translate into the vernacular some of those lighter modern works which give a truer picture of contemporary English life and customs of every class than do the classic works of past centuries.

EDWARD AINGER.

---

**The Red Tortoise and Other Tales of Rural India.** Told by N. Gangulee. Pp. 90. The India Society. 1940. 3s. 6d.

Experts in tale collection report that many tales untold to people of



the West still live in India, and every fresh appearance is worthy of note, especially when presented as told in rural India by an author of Indian birth. The eight tales now published are set in a framework of children listening eagerly to a familiar tale-teller and are what in the West would be called nursery stories, suited to youthful ears. Some of them, probably all, had a different origin, that of religious instruction with a moral attached. For fables and märchen from the East reflect the different creeds and cults through which they passed, in many cases firstly Buddhist or Brahminical, carried by preachers of those faiths to other lands by Mongols, Arabs and others, retold and changed in colour by Hebrews, the faithful of Islam, and lastly by Christians. In Greece the germs of some Indian tales are recognized; they may even have been Greek in origin. But the core remains apart from the teaching, and a good motive survives many transformations; at the last it appears in the tale told for amusement and delight to children in India, to fireside gatherings in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, to village audiences in many European countries and to settlers in Canada. One of Mr. Gangulee's tales, the fourth, well illustrates this persistence, and his Strong Man, Butto, retains an extraordinary faithfulness to type.

He is always of partly supernatural origin, one parent a mortal the other a "wild woman" of the mountains, a she-bear, a dwarf, a satyr, a mare, a troll-woman, or, more rarely, a mermaid; in one case a mermaid's suckling secures him the strength of twelve men. He is everywhere abnormally strong in childhood, of an outrageous appetite; clumsy in his strength and occasionally mischievous, he is disliked by his kinsfolk and neighbours who try means to get rid of him. He breaks weapons, like a more famous German hero, and here easily destroys the "umbrella," carried in the East for shade, which does not occur in the West as part of a hero's equipment. He spoils the plough with which he attempts field work; in the Canadian version the flail he makes is so large that it brings down the barn about his ears; Butto makes use of the barn roof itself as a flail. Methods of killing him are discussed and death in a draw-well is chosen, stones thrown on him there are taken as sand, and he reappears triumphantly from the well with his head emerging from a millstone hanging like a collar round his neck. These two last details were very popular and accompany most of the stories of the Strong Man; they appeal to rural folk all over the world. Baba brings the tale to a pleasing end; Butto leaves an unappreciative world to return to his first home, but is kindly and

generous in his leave-taking—he bestows sacks of treasure on his friends. The story is not selected for comment for any charm it might have, but as an illustration of the worldwide popularity of some of its incidents. In this version it has been denuded of its less attractive particulars.

Other tales have motives also widely known, such as the girl of noble birth won by a lowly suitor with his dancing goats. The resistance to his claim often found in Highland tales is absent; the tale moves on happily to the music of the magic flute. Resistance finally overcome no doubt owes something to the craving for dramatic action and a slower development by an audience held in the hard durance of a northern winter. In the Highlands a tale wanted more than one night in the telling.

In Tale Seven the horse which carries a hero over a river to the castle of a princess or over other obstacles is a well-known motive East and West, but the character of the donkey in Tale Five is strange in Western countries; he is not often chosen to outwit a monster, but the effects of his braying are commonly illustrated; the donkey was not notorious for stupidity in the East.

In the last tale the jackal is interesting. He escape dyed blue from a vat of indigo in other Indian tales and his unusual colour keeps creatures of the forest at a distance, but he displays the cunning of the fox and wins a kingship for himself by his strangeness. The jackal takes the place of the fox in Indian fable, not, it has been pointed out, because he is noted for his cunning, but more probably because the fox fables of imported Æsopic origin were transferred to an animal better known in India and not unlike the fox in appearance. This difference between the animal lore of East and West reveals itself elsewhere. Western fancy has not dealt kindly with the goat, and makes him a son of evil, destructive and demoniacal. In Rumanian lore the goat discovers the joy of the grape and reveals it to man by dancing and frolicking under its influence, but the dance to the music of a magic flute is of another character. Those who have watched kids leaping among rocks under the sun of the south will understand the charm of the dancing in the second tale.

The Red Tortoise is puzzling. Red is a colour of magic, but the tale does not stress this, nor is there anything remarkable in the manner of the crocodile's death. We may compare the tale in the fifth book of the *Pantchatrantra*, where a crab swallowed by a serpent causes its death by sticking his claws in its throat. Episodes in Eastern tales would fill many pages of many volumes if traced through parallels and trans-

formations in the history of folk-tale. It will be a pleasure to many to start on the undertaking from models so charming as those now published by the India Society.

MARY MACLEOD BANKS.

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**When Peacocks Called.** By Hilda Seligman. John Lane: Bodley Head.

This work is a historical novel, dealing with Chandragupta, the founder of the mighty Maurya dynasty of India. He met Alexander the Great in the Punjab and, after a successful reign, decided to become a monk. He was succeeded by his grandson Asoka, whose edicts, graven on rocks and pillars, constitute a moral code which was unsurpassed down the ages until Christ preached the Sermon on the Mount.

The tale starts in disaster, the Peacock King being defeated and slain by his enemy the Nanda Chief. Overwhelmed by the tragedy and deserted by her guards, Mura, the widowed Queen, fled with his unborn child into the woods, where Chandragupta, destined to found the first historical empire in India, was born. Moved by a religious impulse, Mura decided to take the young Prince to the mountains and to offer him to the gods of his father. Travelling far, she left the infant in a disused trough near a stream and, then informing an aged servitor, disappeared off the scene. Fearing to keep the infant Prince himself, the watchman, as he is termed, gave him into the charge of a herdsman who took him to his home. Noting that a richly jewelled royal dagger had been thrust into the ground near the trough, he was afraid to keep it and buried it after marking the spot with a stone.

Like Cyrus the Great, whose early experiences were somewhat similar, Chandra grew up a noted hunter and tamer of wild beasts and, before long, his fame reached the Court of the usurping Nanda King.

It happened that the Raja of Ceylon had sent him a caged lion, and defied him to release it without opening the cage. Chandra, who had recovered the royal dagger and had learned that he was the rightful heir to the throne of Himalaya, attended a summons to the Court of the Nanda King, who wished him to solve the problem that had been set him. Upon the cage being brought in and the coverings of the beast withdrawn, Chandra quickly realized the cheat and exposed it by thrusting a red-hot poker into the "lion," which, being moulded in wax, soon melted away. Chandra had incautiously displayed the royal dagger, upon seeing which the Nanda King ordered him to be chained, but he managed to escape by hiding in the cage, which was carried away.

Chandra now fled to the Himalayas, where he lived among the friendly hillmen, whose trade of borax, jade and yaks' tails was loaded on to sheep, whose descendants I saw on the pass at the head of the beautiful Kulu Valley. During this period he met Kautilya, the hunchback "magician," who became his minister and served him loyally and ably throughout.

Describing a hill village, our author writes: "Spirals of smoke rose peacefully from the cluster of small homes, and wives knelt at their millstones, grinding the millet seed and adding wise remarks to the tales brought to the evening fires. The gates were safely closed and barred for the night. Groups of inquisitive children playing with the mastiffs gather round ready for their share of the *Chapati* pancakes." The author also mentions the various birds and, among them, the moonal pheasant, whose blue and old gold plumage, as it flew down the mountain sides, is a sight which I have never forgotten.

Chandra, as mentioned above, met Alexandra the Great and talked with him. After the departure of the Macedonian conqueror down the Jhelum on his long and exhausting march to distant Babylon, the Maurya Prince decided to overthrow the Nanda usurper. Followed by thousands of warlike and devoted hillmen, Chandragupta, as he was now called, marched to assault Pataliputra. Arranging for birds caught in the city to be brought to his camp and set on fire, they flew back and started a conflagration. Thus fell Pataliputra and the Nanda dynasty.

After firmly establishing his power over a vast area of India, Chandragupta had to meet Seleukos Nikator, or "The Conquerer," who finally defeated all his rivals, alike in Europe and Western Asia, and became the true successor of Alexander the Great. At first it seemed likely that a battle would be fought, but finally, in return for 500 war elephants, Seleukos ceded to the Indian Monarch the provinces now known as Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Chandragupta was now at the pinnacle of his power and fame. He, however, decided to abdicate before old age laid its palsying grip upon him and, to quote our author, "this 'Unconquerable One' donned the robe of a monk, and with a trusted *guru* and his shepherd pipes, started off to conquer 'the five rivers of the soul.'"

Bindusara, the son of the monarch who had abdicated, now ascended his throne. Perhaps his chief claim to fame was that of being father of great Asoka. For some years the young King led the life that was usual at the period. Hunting was a favourite pastime, but to

quote once again: "Music sweet as humming bees stayed his steps before a pavilion that rose out of an artificial lake. A dancer spread a sun-bleached cloth over the jasper floor. Placing upon it bowls of coloured powders, she began to sway to and fro, waving her arms like a fountain blown by the breeze. Her hands resembled birds settling on swinging branches. Every few steps she stooped to sprinkle one or other of the coloured powders; each movement, from the tips of her petal fingers to the jingle-jangle of her anklet bells, a symbol."

Asoka fought but one campaign against the State of Kalinga. With his overwhelming forces the enemy was defeated with terrible losses, but the effect of the misery that had been inflicted on tens of thousands of human beings, who were slain or carried away captive, caused Asoka deep remorse, and he repeated aloud, "Better to carry a beggar's bowl than quaff human blood." As our author puts it, "For the first time in history the idea of disarmament was forming in the mind of a conqueror. He gave orders to pile up bows and arrows . . . make them funeral pyres for our dead." And, again, "Rid yourselves of the age-old idea that conquest by arms is the duty of kings, and let war-drums henceforth be the drums announcing peace and freedom for all men."

The tale has now been told, and it only remains to congratulate the talented author, who treats her theme with deep understanding and all-pervading charm.

P. M. SYKES.

**The Voyage of the "Kaimiloa."** By Eric de Bisschop. Translated from the French by Marc Ceppi. Pp. 310, with illustrations (11 photographs and 1 sketch-map). London: G. Bell and Sons. 1940. 12s. 6d.

This book did not attract me, but my fifteen-year-old son enjoyed it. Here are some extracts from a review he wrote: "This book is about a Frenchman who with a comrade, Tati, travels in a Polynesian double canoe from Honolulu to Cannes. . . . He is the kind of man who would travel in any unique kind of craft to anywhere on the globe if he felt like it. Bisschop, if he saw a storm on the horizon, would not believe it a storm until it was right on top of his craft. He would then say to Tati, 'Quick, let's lie to.' From the way he writes I should think he is very self-possessed, and would imagine the impossible possible. . . . And I finish by wishing Bisschop good luck on his next voyage."

Eric de Bisschop's trip in the seemingly crazy craft he constructed

was certainly a remarkable feat. The *Kaimiloa* was built on the lines of the ancient Polynesian double canoes with a modernized coupling fitted with springs unearthed in an old tramcar dump. He appears to have an instinct for boat-building. He knows how to sail and loves to live at sea. But to write a travel book is not his line. He has lived his adventure and feels, perhaps, no need to make it live for his readers. *The Voyage of the "Kaimiloa"* will not take its place among classics of travel, memorable though the trip itself may be.

There is, one might say, an extravert type of traveller—one interested in what he sees around him—and an intravert type whose thoughts dwell mainly on his own particular form of travel. De Bisschop, an ex-Captain in the French Navy, is obviously more thrilled by his own exploit and his craft than by the places he visits or the people he meets; the tendency to exhibitionism in his writing is evident.

Those who propose to undertake a journey of the same kind may profit by reading de Bisschop's account of his travels. Much disjointed information will be found there, and some amusing anecdotes related in dry staccato style. But the writing is devoid of charm. The lover of travel books will prefer something more intimate—or even a more impersonal account. *The Voyage of the "Kaimiloa"* falls between the two.

E. R. G.

---

### Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China. By Arthur Waley.

George Allen and Unwin. 1939.

In Mr. Waley's translations from the Chinese we have learned to expect a combination of delicate scholarship and, in the best sense of that overworked expression, "popular appeal." No one has done more than he to make known to English readers the writings of the early Chinese "sages."

The present work belongs to the same group as *The Way and its Power* and *The Analects of Confucius*. But this is not a translation from the work of a single philosopher. It contains extracts from *Chuang Tzŭ*, *Mencius*, and the school which Mr. Waley calls the "Realists," known to the Chinese as the *Fa Chia*, or School of Law.

Translations of these works have long been available, but full-length translations of *Mencius* and *Chuang Tzŭ* demand more time than the general reader can devote to the study of Chinese philosophy, and, if he attempts to read without finger-posts to guide him he is likely to find difficulty in keeping to the road. It is these guides which Mr. Waley provides, as he explains in his preface (p. 12).

“The methods of Chuang Tzŭ,” he says, “are those of the poet, and in the case of poetry analysis is useless. . . .”

“In *Chuang Tzŭ* the contrast between Taoist views and those of other schools is dramatized in imaginary dialogues. I have picked out the dialogues between Hui Tzŭ, the logician, and Chuang Tzŭ, as also between Lao Tzŭ, the Taoist, and Confucius, which in the original are widely scattered, and put them together. This makes it easier to see what the various disputants stand for. If we do not clearly grasp, for example, that Hui Tzŭ stands for intellectuality as opposed to imagination, we shall miss the point of many of Chuang Tzŭ’s anecdotes.

“The appeal of Mencius, on the other hand, is partly intellectual, and in his case I have combined the methods of analysis and long quotation. Finally, Realism is embodied in short essays which continually overlay one another, and I have found it more convenient to make extracts and arrange them according to subject.”

The limits of this review do not permit a discussion of the scholarship of the book. Not every Chinese scholar agrees with all Mr. Waley’s translations or approves his method of textual emendation, but no one will deny the high literary quality of the former, or the additional meaning which the latter often give to an obscure or meaningless passage. The one will enhance, and the other in no way detract from, the enjoyment of the book by those readers for whom it is primarily intended.

E. D. EDWARDS.

**The Tower of Five Glories.** A Study of the Min Chia of Tali, Yunnan. By C. P. Fitzgerald. 8½" × 5¾". Preface and 280 pp. 3 maps. 31 illustrations. Cresset Press. 16s.

To write this book Mr. Fitzgerald abandoned his rôle of historian of the earlier Chinese dynasties and, after some preliminary studies in the technique of anthropology, took up his residence for two years in the enchanting and peculiarly remote little South Chinese city of Tali, known in our old school atlases as Talifu. There I met him in the winter of 1937, laboriously collecting what was left of the old Min Chia language and recording with clinical precision the habits of the townsmen to the length of establishing statistically the proportion of saddlers, funeral paper-image makers or marble cutters who were Min Chia of the soil, immigrant Chinese from the East or Moslems from the West.

Mr. Fitzgerald has done a thorough job. He has not merely given a complete account of the social manners and day-to-day economics of

the Min Chia people, but he has recreated with very simple brush-strokes the quaintness and beauty of the surroundings and so approached a wider public than anthropology normally attracts. The Min Chia of Tali city are a civilized people hardly to be distinguished from the urban Chinese among whom they are mingled. They are not picturesque save on their occasional feast days, and therefore foreign observers have neglected them in favour of the more primitive mountain tribes of Yunnan. By applying the technique of anthropology to town dwellers, Mr. Fitzgerald produces a result like that of mass observation as used on Western cities.

Of religious practices and folklore traditions he has unearthed a number of precious details, but for the most part they are such as might be found with local modifications in any part of the Chinese Empire. The original religion of the Min Chia, prior to contact with Indian Buddhism and Chinese ancestor worship, has left no distinct clue, yet the language shows evidence of a culture separate from China. In the vocabularies at the end of the book the old polysyllabic Min Chia words can be distinguished from what are obviously corrupt Chinese words, though these seem to be rapidly swamping the language.

What were the Min Chia before the present process of assimilation with the conquering race had begun? From the evidence of agriculture on the lakeside plain of Tali, Mr. Fitzgerald makes an important deduction. They are essentially a rice-growing people, incapable of cultivating the poorer soils and the lower fertile slopes of the mountain, neither of which are suited to the rice-crop. They must always have been accustomed to an alluvial system of agriculture. In this respect, says Mr. Fitzgerald, they are to be compared with the Shans of Western Yunnan, who cling to the beds of river valleys. Both Shans and Min Chias differ from the majority of tribes in Yunnan who, like the Tibetans to the north, inhabit the mountain-tops and forest slopes. They differ also from the Chinese invaders, who are not deterred from mountain agriculture and who terrace the slopes for other crops. Hence there is reason to believe that both Shan and Min Chia, though now separated by several mountain ranges, once shared a common home in the rice plains of Indo-China and Siam.

Mr. Fitzgerald does not pursue this question very far. Though he admits, on a number of circumstantial grounds, the probability of kinship between Min Chia and Shan, he does not attempt to trace any resemblance with Shan speech or with other languages of the Tai



group in the Min Chia vocabulary. He thus avoids the inaccuracies of General Davies, who, forty years ago, in his standard work on Yunnan, somewhat rashly attempted a comparative language table. Yet it is a little disappointing that the whole fascinating question of this ancient migration should be dismissed in the one paragraph on page 22.

An admirable chapter deals with the trails and paths and the only road of Yunnan. Their evolution is traced from chair and porter traffic, perhaps the only traffic shortly before living memory, to pack-horse and mule and from these to the motor-lorry. With all the author's comments on those uneasy modes of transportation I am in entire agreement. The statement that there are chain-suspension bridges across the Mekong and Salween rivers which date from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) leaves me sceptical. That the principle of chain suspension was known in mediæval China is likely enough, and that it was conveyed to Europe with other Chinese novelties in the seventeenth century is probable. But the Mekong and Salween in Yunnan are big rivers, and the links of the chains which support the planks of the two well-known bridges on the old Burma road are tremendous and must have been forged by nineteenth-century methods if not in a nineteenth-century country.

The illustrations are good, though not photographed from any spectacular angle. They deal strictly and adequately with the subjects of the text as befits so serious a work. It is a pity that the publishers have elected to "bleed" them and to display them in eccentric positions. These rather Germanic aberrations belong to the day before yesterday.

GERALD REITLINGER.

---

**The Current War.** By Captain Liddell Hart. Hutchison.

This remarkable volume is called "Psychoblitz" in *The News Review*, which also describes the author as "a free-lance strategist".

Possibly this is a very suitable criticism of the book; but at this crisis of events one is tempted to ask *cui bono?*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Books received to be reviewed in the next number of the Journal:

*The Ukraine*, by W. E. D. Allen. Mr. Allen has done us a great service at this time in bringing out this scholarly history of the Ukraine, so long looked on as an integral province of Russia; rich in minerals and a magnificent soil, so rich as to be a source of wealth and openly coveted by Germany. (Cambridge University Press.)

*The Rugged Flanks of the Caucasus*, by John Baddeley. Magnificently illustrated. (Oxford University Press.)

*Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, by E. W. Hutchinson. (Royal Asiatic Society.)

*The Choice Before India*, by J. Chinna Durai. (Cape.)

*The Tower of Five Glories: Being a Study of the Min Chia of Tali, Yunnan*, by C. P. FitzGerald. (Cresset Press.)

*The Sassoon Dynasty*, by Cecil Roth.

*The Life of Sir Percy Cox*, by Philip Graves. (Hutchinson.)

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## NOTICES

THE warm thanks of the Council are due to Miss E. L. Brown and her sister for a gift of books taken from their own library and presented to the Society. These include three books, long out of print and of special value to historians, as they are first-hand accounts by British travellers in the interior of Asiatic Turkey, of the interior of China and of Southern Russia, including the Caucasus and the Ukraine, all written in the middle of the last century, when it was possible to go through without passport or hindrance, provided one was willing to put up with discomforts and hard riding. These accounts are of real value. The Council also wish to thank the Misses Brown for a copy of Gibbon's immortal history.

If to some members immersed in urgent war work, the lectures on the North-West Frontier, on Education Problems in the East and on Hongkong seem of rather hypothetical interest at the moment, to others they will raise many points which are of importance. Correspondence is invited—all letters to be sent to the Secretary by the end of August and those for publication to be marked.

It is hoped that the new map inside the cover of the Journal will be used. Thanks to the energetic recommendation of a member this has now been brought up to date.

Members who do not receive their Journals and cards are asked to write at once, sending their new addresses.

Members and contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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# THE MONGOLS UNDER NEW ORDERS

By PETER HUME

Report of a Luncheon Meeting, held at the Royal Empire Society, on Wednesday, March 12, 1941, Dr. E. J. Lindgren in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I think the Royal Central Asian Society can be congratulated on having persuaded Mr. Peter Hume to give us an account of his impressions of Inner Mongolia and a general view of the position out there. Mr. Hume went from Queens' College, Cambridge, direct to Peking, where he took an important part in publishing a paper, which is sometimes said to be under the influence of the Japanese, but he tells me it is the other way round. He went from there to Inner Mongolia under its auspices, and was with one of the two Söderbom brothers, of whom many stories are told throughout Mongolia and whose knowledge of the country is undisputed. Mr. Hume's knowledge comes from a good source.

I WANT you to regard me, not as a lecturer, but as the backward boy of the class, set up to give a summary of what little knowledge he has. My only hope that there will be some profit from this meeting is that my ill-informed suggestions will inspire indignant rebuttals from the very well-informed people in front of me, and from that we shall all learn quite a lot.

First of all, I would like to give a rapid survey of what actually my qualifications are, or are not, to speak about this subject. Four years ago, when probably you were all *au fait* with all aspects of the Mongol situation, I doubt if I even knew where Mongolia was. I certainly knew nothing about the people who lived there or their history. Then, purely by chance, I went out to China, and in Peking I gradually got in touch with people like the Söderbom brothers and others, people who really did know and love Mongolia and the Mongols, among whom they had grown up and worked. Such people inevitably inspired in me interest and curiosity about the North-West, and with them I met Mongols who came down to Peking and learnt a little about them. Eventually, in March, 1938, I went up to Chahar and stayed at the palace of the *Teh Wang*, ruler under Japan of Inner Mongolia. This, by the way, is the nearest I have been to Outer Mongolia. All my evidence, I confess, is second hand about Outer Mongolia and Hsingan Mongolia.

After that brief taste I was eager for more, but, owing to military

and political difficulties, was only able to make one or two short trips to Kalgan and the neighbourhood until in July I met Henning Haslund, whose lecture to this Society on his previous expedition to Hsingan Mongolia many of you will remember. He was trying to get up on to the plateau as leader of an ethnographical expedition, and I had the good fortune to go with him to Kukukhoto, better known as Kweihua, or Suiyuan, capital of the Japanese-created State of Menkukuo, or Inner Mongolia. There for a few months I had the opportunity of seeing something of the working of the Mongol Government, of talking to some of its leaders, and of listening to the caravan gossip which is such an inevitable and attractive feature of such places.

That, I'm afraid, apart from desultory reading and a great deal of interest, is the extent of my qualifications to speak to you.

It is, I know, not necessary to speak to you of the history of the Mongols, of their emergence under Genghis Khan from a collection of squabbling tribes on the fringe of the desert to a Power controlling the most extensive empire the world had ever seen, of the Golden Horde, of Kublai Khan, of the conquests of Tamerlane, of their gradual absorption by the Chinese. So let me jump straight into the present century.

The first important development in modern times was the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which opened up the Russian Far East. Originally, of course, the principal imperial goal was in Manchuria and the Pacific, though from earliest times the Russians have been in more or less close contact with the Mongols. So you come to 1905 when the Russians were pushed back from the Pacific in the Russo-Japanese War. One of the results of that was an agreement between the Russians and the Japanese to divide their interests at the meridian of Peking, giving Russia Outer Mongolia for her sphere of interest.

Mongolia was then, of course, under the suzerainty of China, but in rather special circumstances. The Mongols are racially cousins of the Manchus, and had been their allies in the seventeenth-century invasion which put the Manchu dynasty on the throne of China. They therefore regarded themselves as personal vassals of the Manchu emperors and in no way as subordinates of the Chinese themselves.

But in the course of the centuries two things happened. First, the conquering Manchus became absorbed into the Chinese social and political system, and Chinese influence on government became stronger. Secondly, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the increasing development of sea power and of the sea as a channel of inter-continental communication and trade. The great caravan routes across



Mongolia lost their significance in the network of advancing civilization, and the plateau became a stagnant pool, a backwater. With the invasion of China by the West, progress spread slowly westward from the coast, and the commercial invaders and eventually the Chinese themselves came to regard the Mongols as a backward colonial tribe on the fringes of the empire.

Since the Mongols, as I have said, in no way regarded themselves in this light, and since the Manchu dynasty was weakening very considerably towards the end of the last century, gradually the Mongols broke away and came more closely in touch with Russia than with China. There were among them many who had the idea that they could again become a great and independent race, and they saw, as their best way to doing that, first of all the throwing off of China. But China was trying to tighten her hold. As a last gesture, in 1910 she introduced a project for colonization in Outer Mongolia, which meant Chinese peasants coming to till the ground and the Mongols losing their pasture and eventually being reduced to utter poverty.

In 1911 the Chinese Revolution weakened China finally and shifted the focus of power to the revolutionary south, taking away any real authority in the north, and the Outer Mongols, in collaboration with the Russians, declared their independence and became gradually more or less a Russian protectorate.

In 1912 a trade treaty was signed with Russia, providing that Outer Mongolia should become economically dependent on Russia.

Meanwhile the Inner Mongols did not do the same. They were a much weaker lot than the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia, who are the strongest and most homogeneous body of Mongols. The Inner Mongols, split among themselves, and obviously attached by commercial interest more to the southern passes than to the Trans-Siberian Railway, did not join with the Outer Mongols. The Russians were also probably not very keen to come so far down towards China as that. The Chinese in 1911 strengthened their hold and tied the interests of the Inner Mongol princes even closer to them by building the Peking-Suiyuan railway from the coast to Kalgan, whose Mongol name, Khalagan, shows its function as a gateway to the plateau and to Kweihua, the point at which the great caravan route from Central Asia debouches into China proper.

Interest for the next ten or fifteen years is focused on Outer Mongolia, the vicissitudes of its movements for independence, and its liaison with Russia.

At first Russia was very helpful in that she looked after the Mongols to the extent of signing treaties with them and forced China to recognize their right of self-government. It must be remembered that Russian ambitions there did not come so sharply into conflict with the Mongols' way of life as the Chinese did. The Russians wanted to exploit the very considerable economic resources of Mongolia, resources which are almost entirely lacking in the south. The Government which was set up, composed of independent and far-seeing Mongols, might be said to be the first of Asia's puppet governments, which has seen all too many successors, not only in Asia, but now, alas! in Europe. It did not last very long, because one revolution had created it, and another revolution in 1917 more or less dissolved it. One of the first things the Soviet Government did was to disclaim all the imperialistic ambitions of the Tsars and to say that they wanted to leave alone all those places which were being exploited by the capitalists of the old régime. This, of course, gave China the opportunity of re-asserting her authority. So the Republican Government sent up a force under General Hsü to reoccupy Outer Mongolia, and in 1919 Urga fell to the Chinese.

Hsü was probably not unwelcome to the faction of the Outer Mongols whose interests had always been with the Chinese, a party consisting largely of members of priestly sects and wealthy persons, who for reasons commercial, racial, or historical felt themselves linked with China rather than with a very remote Russia. But Hsü in Urga did not increase the popularity of the Chinese; in fact, he was not one of the best people they could have sent. He terrorized the place to a large extent and gave the Mongols a very unfortunate idea of the Chinese Republic.

Now, as you know, at that time a very confused and lawless state of affairs existed in Siberia. The Bolsheviki had not yet subdued the resistance of the Whites, which was, nevertheless, not the organized and co-ordinated resistance of one disciplined army, but a wild and ruthless warfare waged by a collection of military adventurers more or less (but mostly less) under the control of Admiral Koltchak.

Among these freebooters was the Baron von Ungern-Sternberg. Descendant of a line of Baltic pirates, von Ungern-Sternberg had been in Mongolia before 1914 and had become a Buddhist. He was a man of immense personal courage, and was believed by some Mongols to be a reincarnation of Tsagan Burkhan, their god of war. He dreamed of a great Central Asian Buddhist empire which would revive the glories

of Genghis Khan's day, and in this found many Mongols to support him when he advanced on Urga and drove out Hsü and the Chinese.

An independent State was once more set up, and the Bogdo Gegen, the Living Buddha, who is the supreme priestly authority, ranking next to the Dalai and Panchen Lamas of Tibet, was proclaimed emperor. But this change brought no relief to the inhabitants, Mongol, Russian, and Chinese. A reign of terror was instituted by the fanatical von Ungern-Sternberg, "the mad Baron of Urga," as he came to be called, beside which the atrocities of General Hsü were as nothing.

The Bogdo Gegen, or influential and intelligent Mongols acting under him or for him, appealed to the Soviets, who were by then driving the Whites very far back into Asia. They entered in 1921 and occupied the place militarily, and have stayed in occupation ever since. The Mongols set up, again under Russian protection, the People's Revolutionary Government, which retained the Bogdo Gegen as its head until his death three years later.

Then, in 1924, a republic was set up which is—nominally, at any rate—a Mongol Republic, and is, I think, to a certain extent administratively run by Mongols. The Russians have, in any case, behaved intelligently about it, have sent intelligent people there to act as advisers, and have given the Mongols the feeling that they are partly looking after themselves. But strategically, of course, the picture is different. The Russians wanted to keep their Far Eastern frontiers, especially the Trans-Siberian Railway, secure, and ever since they moved in Outer Mongolia has been a military zone cut off from the outside world.

I turn now to the East, where Japan, forced to abandon Siberia's Maritime Provinces after the Koltchak *débâcle*, was working all the time. In 1931 the bomb went off in Mukden, and the Japanese swept into Manchuria and took control of the Mongols in the north. They also appear to have behaved quite intelligently in their administration, and the Hsingan Mongols are not wholly discontented, although they still have the idea of uniting themselves and becoming once more a great nation. You will see an enormous number of Mongols wearing buttons with Genghis Khan's head on them, which is a symbol of their fond belief that one day they will attain to those thirteenth-century heights again.

Two years after Japan had gone into Manchuria she pushed along the Great Wall and took Jehol. All this time the phobia of Bolshevism was growing in Japan, and ever since she has been steadily pushing

her tentacles farther across Asia. In 1935 the demilitarized zone was forced down to Kalgan; that was one step further forward. In 1936 the Japanese went over farther into Suiyuan, and were for the first time repelled. The Chinese had then a very able Governor, who succeeded in beating off Mongol, mixed Mongol- and Japanese-officered troops and knocked them back into Chahar.

In 1937 the present Sino-Japanese War broke out. Down came the Japanese and Mongols across the plateau from Manchuria, and were in possession of the principal centres of Inner Mongolia by November, 1937.

Looking at the other side of the picture, from the Chinese end you find a Chinese Government which tries to split these Mongol territories up into provinces and to regard the Mongols as a collection of tribes living on the fringe of empire rather than as a homogeneous people. This was not to the liking of the Mongols, except for a few princes, who leased land to the Chinese to be developed agriculturally, thus forcing their own people back towards the barren Gobi and impoverishing the Mongols to a deplorable extent.

The Chinese Government did show some change of heart after the loss of Jehol, and in 1934 allowed the *Teh Wang* to set up an autonomous Mongol Council at the temple of Peilingmiao in Suiyuan Province, with Nanking's authority. But the local Chinese bosses did not think that good enough. They were losing some of their opium taxes, and they obstructed the development of that Council in every way they could; so much so that the *Teh Wang*, who is a very honest and sincere man and, as far as I can see, truly seeks the Mongols' best interests, was driven across into Chahar, by then under Japanese protection.

The *Teh Wang* has been in the Japanese flock ever since. When in 1937, after the fall of Kweihua, the Mongol Council of 300 representatives was set up, claiming to represent 3,000,000 people, he became Vice-President. The President, the *Yünwang*, was a very old and respected but not very bright man, who died almost immediately afterwards, and the *Teh Wang* became President. That more or less defines the situation as it is to-day.

In 1931, General Koiso pointed to the Peking-Suiyuan Railway and said: "The safety of our empire demands that we obtain complete control of this railway from end to end." The Japanese have done this by gradual stages, and it has been a keystone of their policy throughout to do so. An official is quoted as saying, during their present war, that

even if the Japanese lose they will never give up their control of Inner Mongolia. They see the menace of the Chinese Communists and of Outer Mongolia, and incidentally they face a pretty large hostile army sitting in the Ordos country, which is still Chinese.

From Shansi, in the south, the Communists, of all the Chinese the most implacable enemies of Japan, harass them with guerilla warfare; to the north is Russian Outer Mongolia, always a doubtful quantity, pacts notwithstanding. Should the Russians wish to trouble the Japanese, one of their most obvious lines of advance is across the plateau to P'ing Te Ch'uan on the Peking-Suiyuan Railway, the place at which the Japanese themselves successfully attacked during their 1937 campaign. The Japanese went westwards from Kweihua; but the Russians would go east down the historic conqueror's route, through the Nankow Pass to the Gulf of Chihli. It is a strategic possibility Japan can never forget, and she knows that Russia is pushing forward, too, from the West, from Sinkiang. When I was there rumour even had it that the Russians had built an aerodrome at Ersin, an important step in her penetration of the Chinese north-west and in her preparation for an eventual attack on Japan's continental holdings.

So to-day the Mongols enjoy, or suffer under, two rival totalitarian imperialisms. Both pose as friends of the Mongols, and in their strategic manœuvrings strive to win the affections of this once-great people. Perhaps the whole question is a side issue, not worthy of attention at a moment when our destiny is at stake far nearer home. Yet land empires and land routes are once more becoming things of moment, and it was land routes that made the Mongols great. From the sea-empire point of view they are backwoodsmen, tribes of the remote and unfruitful hinterland; but for those who see a recrudescence of land communications (and overland air communications), they still exist astride the greatest highway in the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we may be very grateful to Mr. Hume for this able outline of recent events in Mongolia, and no doubt there are many who may wish to ask him further questions about the implications of some of the tendencies he has been describing to us.

A MEMBER: When you were in Peking, did you ever hear a legend amongst the Mongols that, when their ponies grow long tails of a particular kind, it will be a sign that they are going to be a great nation?

The LECTURER: No, I have not heard that, but one does hear all sorts of things like that.

One thing I did not mention was the Jerjami's revolution, which was based on a similar legend. He was said to be the reincarnation of one of the Mongol emperors, and there was a prophecy that when this emperor was reincarnated the Mongols would again conquer the world. It is really just an expression of this basic idea that they will again do it.

A MEMBER: May I say how very much I enjoyed the lecture. It was thirty years ago since, with two other Englishmen, I crossed the Outer Mongolian plateau and took a journey of about nine months and saw what the lecturer described so well—the gradual rise of Russian influence and the decline of Chinese influence in Outer Mongolia.

I remember passing the last Cossack station, where we stayed for nearly a month. After a journey of a month through the forests, we got out into the district where the Yenisei rises, and came across some very interesting people called Urianhai.

We did not come across Chinese influence, or any sign of China, until we got across the mountains to the open country. There we found the Chinese as traders and officials, receiving tribute on behalf of the Manchus and hated by the Mongols, whereas the Russians were still there and were trading in skins and furs, and were generally popular because they brought a certain amount of trade and wealth. That was in 1910, the very last year of the Manchu Empire.

We found, when we got farther into the real Mongol territory, semi-feudal conditions existing there. The Mongol families gave so many sons or relations to the monastery and so many as personal servants to the Khutuktu. I presume that that is all finished now; with the revolution following the Russian revolution, the whole of those feudal agrarian conditions must have ended.

The LECTURER: Unfortunately, I can tell you very much less than you have told me. Of Outer Mongolia I cannot speak at first hand. I understand that an effort a little too drastic was made at first to wipe away all this feudal influence, which drove a great number of the princes and the lamas out of the country, and you will now find them hopping around in Inner Mongolia, not knowing what to do, but talking more than anyone about Mongol unity.

In Inner Mongolia you still have the tradition, but I have only stayed in one palace where there was a monastery. I found no trace there of the actual giving up of sons in the feudal sense, though certainly one at least of every family is dedicated to the priesthood. Those things will lessen with contact with the outside world.

A MEMBER: Mr. Hume referred several times to the inherent belief

of the Mongols in the restoration of their empire. First, is that belief vested in the monasteries? Second, although the Inner and Outer Mongols are more or less at enmity, the leaders for the time being anticipate reuniting the two races. I think they are all under the suzerainty of the Russians or Japan?

The LECTURER: I can speak from one side chiefly—*i.e.*, that of the *Teh Wang*, who very definitely has that idea. He is not fanatical about it, but he definitely does see Outer Mongolia won over.

As far as the Outer Mongols are concerned, I should think it is unlikely. There have been no signs of any effort to draw the Inner Mongols into the Outer Mongolian net. On the whole they seem to be content to keep behind their sort of no-man's-land of Gobi and to leave the Inner Mongols as a rather hopeless and degenerate lot. The Russians' idea probably will be to envelop Inner Mongolia from the west. That is simply the Russians getting a bit more for themselves. I doubt whether there is anything in Outer Mongolia in the way of imperial unity. The idea has been knocked out of them by the Russians, who are concentrating on the good old adage "Socialism in our time."

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to make a very few comments myself, and to introduce them by saying what a well-planned picture Mr. Hume has given us on the whole, in spite of his modest insistence that he does not know Outer Mongolia and Manchuria personally. It happens that I know Outer Mongolia and Manchuria fairly well myself, and Inner Mongolia less, and I shall venture to make a very few comments and ask him to comment in turn, if he has further information. Of course, he has more recent information from those areas.

One remark Mr. Hume made was that General Hsü was welcomed by the priestly sects and by the rich when he came in 1919. I do not know the details of that. I believe that it may have been the case, but we must remember that at the time of the Chinese revolution the men who made the independent Mongolia were also from priestly and rich circles, and they remained the leaders until a very recent period.

With regard to Baron von Ungern-Sternberg, Mr. Hume said that his atrocities exceeded those of little Hsü. As far as my information goes, von Ungern-Sternberg was extremely severe with his own troops, often beating them; he was a well-known sadist. He also massacred many Jews, and was fanatically anti-Semitic. But I had the impression that he was very benevolent, on the whole, towards the Mongols. That

may be wrong, and Mr. Hume may have other information; but, if true, that may explain a great deal of his success.

Moreover, when it comes to the next step, by which the Soviet Russians entered, it is, perhaps, an over-simplification to say that there was an appeal to the Soviet Russians by intelligent Mongols to take over. Obviously, since Baron von Ungern-Sternberg was a White Russian General engaged in the Civil War, and it was part of the Russian tactics, both in Siberia and Asia generally, to defeat all the White troops, the Soviet entry was a routine matter from their point of view. There were, of course, some Mongols who hoped they would come in and displace Baron von Ungern-Sternberg.

There are striking parallels between Inner and Outer Mongolia, but there is one difference—namely, that Mr. Hume would not have been able to go and talk with the leaders of Outer Mongolia as he has done with the *Teh Wang* in Inner Mongolia. No one can get into Outer Mongolia, and, moreover, Outer Mongolians cannot get out to talk to other people.

With regard to the Japanese rule in Hsingan Province, I would agree with the main lines of our lecturer's outline, although in 1936 some of the chief leaders were executed by the Japanese for intriguing with the Russians, and it was probably correct that they were doing so. Some of their leaders would therefore prefer to be under someone else. That is a great Mongolian characteristic.

I believe Mr. Hume has heard something of at least one widespread revolution in Outer Mongolia since the Soviet influence started. It is quite true that some of the refugees have been people of the privileged classes, and so are some of our refugees now in England from different parts of Europe. I think perhaps there has been too much tendency not to believe what any of the refugees say, simply because they are refugees. They are, unfortunately, our only direct source of information about Outer Mongolia.

The LECTURER: If I had any armour, I should say, there were the chinks.

With regard to the first point raised by Dr. Lindgren, about little Hsü being welcomed by the priestly and wealthy classes, there, I am afraid, I must plead very guilty. It is hearsay evidence. One reads in books that there were what are vaguely described as Chinese-loving circles, people who look to the Chinese for help. I have seen them described as being of those classes. I do not say it was chiefly the lamas and the princes who wanted Chinese intervention, any more than



it was entirely the other people who wanted Russian intervention. Quite frankly, I just do not know enough to know where the division occurs.

In the second place, as regards von Ungern-Sternberg, I have accepted it, probably wrongly, as I can assure you Dr. Lindgren's information is much better than mine, that the Mongols themselves did get pretty sick of him. His persecution was primarily directed against the Jews and against foreigners in Mongolia, but his benevolence, I think, was very limited and very whimsical. I believe an appeal was made to the Soviets, who, of course, were engaged in mopping up White remnants on their own frontiers and protecting those frontiers.

Thirdly, about the Japanese executing Mongol leaders in 1936. Well, they wanted to be under Russian rule. I did not know about it at all, but it seems to me that there is the feeling of wanting to be somewhere else. Obviously it is not the Mongols' ideal to be run by the Japanese. In spite of a fairly benevolent government on the part of the Japanese, they wanted their own government ultimately, like all the rest of them, and saw their best way to it via Outer Mongolia.

Revolution I have heard of, but I have heard it from people whom I do not know well enough to know to what extent they are trustworthy—that about 1930 there was trouble. The impression I gathered was that the break-up between the Mongols and their Russian protectors or advisers was because so much of a break had been made emotionally in the Mongols' way of life—just as Chinese penetration made a break in their economic way of life—that trouble arose. But whether it was that the things the Russians were doing were in themselves bad, or because they were such a shock, it is very difficult to gather.

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: Sir John Shea asked me in his absence to thank the lecturer for his address, and Dr. Lindgren for presiding. I must say that I think we have all learned a great deal.

May I make one remark as a soldier? That is that the horse period has given way to the mechanical period. Therefore the possibility of a horse-riding people coming to the fore again has disappeared. When the last great war broke out, De Wet started a revolution, but in twenty-four hours he was rounded up by motor-cars. Nowadays horse-fighting people are things of the past. They can do nothing against mechanized troops.

# HONGKONG'S PLACE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By W. J. HINTON

Notes on a Luncheon Lecture held on April 2, 1941, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., in the Chair.

THE present Governor of Hongkong in an article in the *Crown Colonist*, says: "The fog of war makes any forecast of the future more difficult than ever, but there is every reason to believe that, when peace has been restored, this little British colony will find better scope than ever for the performance of its threefold function: (1) Hongkong will continue to do its loyal duty as a member of the British Empire; (2) it will still provide an open port; and (3) in particular it will continue to play the part of the good neighbour to the great nation of China, of whose vast territories this little colony is a geographical part. That is the text upon which I am to speak to you, the threefold functions of Hongkong.

Of course, it is quite impossible to say in any exact sense what will happen in the future to Hongkong. But if we cannot see a hard high road, we can at least see one of those old North China ways, a skein of alternative paths, meeting and parting but proceeding in the same general direction.

First, then, for the place of Hongkong in the Empire. It is a fortress, but one of diminishing strength and importance in view of the conditions for the exercise of air power, and the extension of Japanese sea, land and air power to the south, between Hongkong and Singapore. While Hongkong is needed, it will always do its loyal duty in military matters.

But it will be admitted that Hongkong could not now hold out long against Japan, or in the future against a strong China. The colony's present size is a mathematical function of the range of guns in 1898. If Hongkong were besieged its present population of nearly two million could not be fed, and evacuation would be difficult. Securing more territory to overcome this is out of the question, and in any case there is no end to such a process once begun. Hongkong is an

exposed outpost in advance of a much stronger defensive crescent to the south; just an outwork of Singapore.

What its strategic function will be after the war depends on Sino-Japanese relations then. With a strong and friendly China it could be of use against an unfriendly Japan. But in any likely circumstances it would appear that the strategic importance of Hongkong will be far less in the future than it has been in the past.

What of the second of His Excellency's points, the part of Hongkong as a great free port on the edge of China? We cannot assume that Hongkong would long remain outside the body politic of China unless Britain were powerful, influential, and friendly with China. But we are assuming victory, and those conditions will hold. As long as Hongkong offers no threat to China her continued separate existence as a free port has great economic advantages for all. It could also have great cultural advantages.

As most members of this audience are not familiar with the colony, perhaps a short description may be interesting, and help to set out the main conditions of the problem of its future. Though a dependent colony, Hongkong is best thought of as a City-State, one of the few in the world. On an area half that of Greater London lives a population of about 2 million, and most of it in a few square miles around a great natural harbour. Ten years ago it had about 850,000. The explanation of its rapid growth is that it is a city of refuge. But that is nothing new for Hongkong, which has grown in great pulsations of immigration at all times of China's political and economic distress.

Racially, Hongkong is overwhelmingly a Chinese city. There are not more than some 24,000 non-Chinese residents. But some of these occupy a dominant position of power and—though not by any means so generally—of wealth. The society which has grown up in this little City-State is hierarchical, complex, and in many ways anomalous. Its economic and social institutions are "archaic" in many ways by British standards—though not necessarily unsuitable on that account alone. It is much to be desired that a complete social survey of Hongkong should be made by competent specialists. The results would be interesting; in some respects gratifying—and in many horrifying. But at least we should know the full dimensions of our social problem there.

The racial composition of Hongkong is the result of its having been from the first a field of free immigration for the Chinese, and the gateway of overseas migrations—particularly southwards to Malaya. There

is a daily ebb and flow of Chinese into and through the Colony, amounting to millions a year. Of those who arrive, some stay. All who can do so return at fairly frequent intervals to their home district in China—but some take deeper root and become Hongkong citizens in feeling—though there is little enough field for the exercise of civic activities. Their children become “Hongkong Chinese,” British subjects in Hongkong, Chinese subjects in China, but on the whole still Chinese—or else people without any real national feeling.

For nearly all its inhabitants, the native born or the immigrant, European, Indian or Chinese, Hongkong is just a place to work in, to make money in, even to enjoy oneself in. But a place to retire from: to leave as one leaves the oilfields or the copper mines in the desert—and “go home” to Heungshan or Horsham, as the case may be. There is a small community, mainly of Portuguese, and mixed blood, for whom Hongkong *is* home. They are the nearest approach to true citizens that Hongkong can show, and a most valuable part of the population, too. But even among these it would probably seem fantastic to talk of dying for Hongkong. For Britain, yes, for they are loyal British subjects. For their religion, yes—for many of them are devout Catholics. But for Hongkong?—No. Hongkong is not a “patria”—even to her own children. And yet Hongkong might well make lovers of her heedless children. This is a lovely little land, like a piece of the Western Isles set on the verge of the tropics. Narrow glens steeply terraced with rice fields or full of dark stunted pines; broader straths, also terraced, bold hills covered with flowering shrubs, crowned with fantastic granite; jade-green inlets, blue sea, clear winter sky. But the Europeans and the Chinese leave when they can, and live meantime in a curiously non-committal and almost apocalyptic frame of mind. It is not conducive to great creative achievements of the spirit.

There is much in the political situation to engender the same attitude in the thoughtful, who might otherwise have settled down to found a family there. The status of Hongkong is fundamentally impermanent, except in some forty square miles actually ceded to Great Britain. Just the island and the small peninsula of Kowloon opposite are British. In fifty-seven years all the rest, dominating and coming down to the water's edge in places, will become full Chinese territory again if we keep the terms of our lease with China—as she will assuredly expect us to do. The Colony will then be like a Settlement is to-day.

Meantime there is the city of Victoria and the town of Kowloon, making together the sixth largest port of the world. On one side of

seventeen square miles of harbour, the Kowloon side, rather low hills come down, almost to the sea. These have been cut down for spoil to make fresh land. On the other side the steep slopes of the island rose originally from the beach, and at the foot of the hill a fringe of land almost five miles long and of varying breadth has been reclaimed from the sea. On this flat land are the go-downs, the buildings, the main banks and shops. At one end of the city the University stands between four and five hundred feet above the gay quarter—a curious place for a University. At the other end are the Taikoo shipbuilding yards and sugar refinery, and the residences of some of the people who work there. Other shipyards are on the Kowloon side—across the water, where there are also small industries.

In Victoria, on the slope above the shops, houses, and go-downs built on reclaimed land, up to the 500 foot level, climb rows and terraces of overcrowded houses, reeking with smoke, noisy, unhealthy, in which population swarms. Here the death-rate and birth-rate are both very high. Little is known about this quarter by the Europeans, always excepting the police. In the slums, which are scattered thickly through this belt, the workers of Hongkong live and die in conditions which are none the less appalling because they may be inevitable in the circumstances.

Above 500 feet come the middle levels. On that level you have a mixture of well-to-do Chinese, Eurasians and Europeans of smaller incomes, sometimes living in the old spacious houses of the Europeans of two generations ago, but more often in modern and hideous blocks of flats. The University people live at the western end.

Then comes a green gulf of forested hillside, with sparse buildings in odd crannies, merging into the beautiful gardens and hillsides of the Peak. The latter is well cared for, laid out with roads and paths and expensive houses, and reserved for Europeans. There live the great of the city, the commercial and political leaders of this community. Above the reeking town, and above the middle levels now abandoned largely to the Chinese, twinkling like a constellation in the blue-black night sky, hangs this Elysium: Swift's island of Laputa. Life there is very pleasant, but it has no essential contact with the people upon whose labour, under our direction and guidance, it was founded. There was no connection between those of us who lived there so happily and well, and our Chinese fellow-citizens, except such as were necessary to conduct the business of commerce and government. One almost expected to see this island of Laputa detach itself at the 700 foot level and

float off, the cable of the Peak Tram dangling as the only link, now broken, with the city below. Dives would have been at home with us there.

Hongkong has in that dense Chinese population a constant, difficult and apparently almost insoluble social problem, and it cannot be ignored. It is bound up with the low standards which have existed in China proper, and with the recurrent influx of refugees, of whom there were thought to be 750,000 in the Colony in 1940. In these circumstances such social safeguards as there are—for example, factory inspection—simply break down. The public's health is always on the verge of breaking down, too, under the shock of these recurrent influxes, and there are epidemics of dangerous diseases, besides the endemic diseases which flare up from time to time.

In 1939 300,000 to 500,000 Chinese refugees fled from the Japanese into Hongkong. In 1940 the refugees in Hongkong were estimated at 750,000. That would create dreadful difficulties anywhere. But as Hongkong has always been a city of refuge it would seem necessary to make some permanent provision to cope with these peaceful invasions.

Before we come to consider the third and future function of Hongkong, that of the good neighbour to China, it may not be amiss to speculate on the economic foundations for any political, social and cultural activities which we may consider to be involved in being a good neighbour. In the conditions we have assumed, Hongkong would be likely to settle down into a more healthy economic life. A stable China with stable exchanges and no recurrent miseries to drive refugees into Hongkong would give the Government of Hongkong time to improve conditions in the Colony, and would lead to more steady growth. The connection between Hongkong and Canton, and their joint hinterland, would become more intricately interdependent, and the rate of social advance could not be very much greater in Hongkong than in Canton. But it seems likely that some at least of the industries brought to Hongkong by the war in China will remain. In short, Hongkong will have the economic means to play its part in the new China—though it is more than doubtful whether it will ever offer again the financial and social advantages to Europeans which it has offered in the past.

Now what is to be the future in which Hongkong plays the good neighbour to Canton in particular and China in general? We must make some assumptions. Let us assume the victory of Britain and the United States. Japan not belligerent on the Axis side, or, if belligerent, defeated.

Let us also assume that the occupied parts of China are restored in some way to Chinese control, perhaps by a new Washington Conference. After such a struggle we may expect an exaltation of Chinese national feeling, which would make it impossible to maintain the international servitudes of the past, even if Britain or America desired to do so. In point of fact they are committed to relinquishing such privileges.

We have already seen that Hongkong's future as a fortress is worse than doubtful, because the leased territory is not big enough to give us a security zone. What are we going to do about it? Are we going to ask China to lease land up to the East River, and, even so, where can we stop if we seek "security"? Obviously we are not going to launch out on something rather like the early stages of our conquest of India. We are no longer that kind of people, and this is not that century: China is not as India was then. Nothing of the kind is conceivable. If a forward base against Japan is needed by Britain and America, it had better be in the Philippines.

I suggest again that as a fortress Hongkong will be finished after this war, and that no attempt should be made to lease fresh territories or to extend the time of the existing lease. On the contrary, all our dispositions should be openly taken to prepare for the transition to the necessary organization of a City State, which in our lifetime will be part Chinese city part British Colony.

The frank acceptance of this future for Hongkong is a condition precedent for a happy future relationship with China. That in turn is essential for the continued prosperity of Hongkong. We should make up our minds that at the end of the lease, fifty-seven years, the New Territory is going back to China. We are pledged to it. We should determine our policy accordingly.

If I am right, in fifty years or so from now, Hongkong will be rather like Shanghai, the Colony corresponding to the Settlement, a little bit of British territory, adjoining a wealthy, prosperous and happy Chinese city. That presents us *now* with a problem which we should begin to solve. If in those fifty years we do the work of cultural and political co-operation that is crying out to be done in Hongkong there will be no problem to solve in fifty years' time.

May I repeat that Hongkong cannot be secure against China, any more than you can be certain that your wife will not cut your throat in the night, and for similar reasons.

Against Japan? Well, after the war, I hope that the British Com-

monwealth with the United States and associated nations will keep such a navy as, with a friendly China, will remove that danger. Of course, the question of relations with Japan takes us into another field, just as important but more obscure, but clearly the absence of a fortress at Hongkong should not make relations with Japan more difficult. Quite the reverse.

If all this is true, it would appear that the future of Hongkong as a University town is more important than its future as a naval base. Hongkong should be a practical school of municipal government, a training ground for British subjects of Chinese race—who are also Chinese subjects. It should be a great University town, where Chinese and British may together foster and develop wisdom, knowledge, science, beauty and art—those things which make a State a State and not an ant-heap. If that seems like a professor's dream, may I point out that the Chinese do not regard their teachers as we do, nor make a sharp division between education and politics.

No doubt my friend Professor Middleton Smith will remember 1923, when Sun Yat Sen came to us at the University. He was looking for help from the British, but did not get it and went to the Russians. In his speech he asked Hongkong to teach his young men to govern their cities as our city was governed, to build their roads like ours, and to develop similar health services. Such things are not learnt only in classrooms or only in practice—but in both.

It would seem then that the municipal government of Hongkong, as distinct from the government of the Colony, should be so conducted as to give a training to British subjects of Chinese race and to others who make Hongkong their home. With great diffidence I suggest the time has almost come to make a separate municipal government for the urban areas, in any case, on purely technical grounds. If this is agreed and done the opportunity should be taken to develop the municipal constitution and the municipal technical service, which would be not only a model but a training ground.

Turning to education in its more narrow sense, may I be allowed to neglect the ordinary education of the primary and vernacular schools and the secondary schools and speak briefly of the future of the University? The vernacular side is not honoured enough; perhaps the technical side not sufficiently developed, but all these things are well recognized and the Colony is moving in the required direction. As for the University, it cannot be regarded as purely a matter for Hongkong. At present it seems to fall between two stools, being rather more than



is desired by the Colony as the apex to its educational pyramid, but far less than can properly be offered to the Chinese as a specimen of first-class British University education. Obviously, for propaganda purposes, anything less than first-class is worse than useless.

The University was started with funds that would have supplied a moderate technical college. It struggled on, helped, when that became absolutely necessary, by the Colonial Government and getting benefactions from the Chinese, until after thirty years the University now finds itself with barely enough money to carry on its four existing faculties in a small way. With the exception of a portion of the Boxer Indemnity it has received very little from the Imperial Government to help it in a task that is essentially one of Imperial propaganda.

During its short life a magnificent job of honest teaching was done by an inadequate staff, but the University has never attracted a large number of students. It will not do so until it is able to provide a complete and very distinguished staff, with all the necessary library and laboratory facilities. This need not consist entirely of distinguished scholars spending their lives in Hongkong, but could be recruited for short periods by exchange professorships and travelling fellowships, allowing always for a nucleus of more permanent teachers. There must be arrangements for support and intercourse between Hongkong and the sister Universities of the Empire, the U.S.A. and of China. The aim should be to graft the Hongkong University into the social and cultural life both of China and of the English-speaking world. The new Rhodes Scholarships for Hongkong graduates are a step in this direction.

What can be claimed with justice for the University is that in the past thirty years it has become an integral part of the life of the Colony. This is no mean accomplishment, for it may fairly be said that the Colony had no great desire for the University and has only come to realize slowly how important it is. The first graduates are now coming to the fore in local affairs.

The Colony benefits from the University's engineering and medical studies and the training of teachers so directly that it may fairly be expected to contribute heavily to these sections. The agricultural studies which should certainly be established might very well be carried on in Canton just as the engineering and medicine could be carried on in the city of Victoria.

But since it seems likely that Hongkong will have to spend a great deal more on social services—on which it already spends 20 per cent. of

its revenue—we must look to the Imperial Government to promote the arts, pure science, philosophy, foreign languages, the Chinese studies and the libraries—the trunk from which more specialized branches grow. These purely literary, philosophical and scientific studies could be carried on in a “New College” outside the town, and preferably in the New Territory which is to go back to China so soon.

These proposals require a great deal of careful study and elaboration in detail, and those responsible for the policy of the University are thoroughly aware of the problems involved. The details do not matter for our present purpose; the principle should be that we use the University to provide a strong link between the Chinese and English-speaking worlds. The Chinese could hardly fail to take an interest in a first-class University, the fundamental part of which would come into their own hands less than sixty years from now, leaving the professional schools in the Colony.

In this way a very important section out of two generations of our University teachers would have had longer or shorter opportunities of contact with China and the Chinese. The New College in the New Territories could do for English-speaking Sinologues what the *École Française* at Hanoi did for the French. The possibilities of fruitful development are enormous.

If we give the Chinese the best that we have to give, graduates of the University will provide a living link between the English and Chinese people. Culturally, we may get more than we shall give. There must be no patronage of the Chinese. The staff of that New College in the New Territories should be international, concerned only to put forward the civilized ideals which are common to the Empire, the United States and China; ideals for which we are now fighting in the western fringe of Europe; ideals which are, of course, the only hope of a better world.

Sir WILLIAM HORNELL: I do not propose to say very much, except that I was asked to deliver this lecture myself. I refused to do so, and insisted that Mr. Hinton—who was at one time a professor on my staff—should do it. He was reluctant, but I know how to handle him.

Mr. Hinton has given us a lecture which really ought to have been delivered, because Hongkong is a very, very difficult problem. Partly a fortress, partly a great trading centre, it is also the key to the Pacific. All these interests meet there, and they have not been, I think, properly

co-ordinated. The University was started under the impulse of a great man, Lord Lugard. Mr. Hinton has told you that the University started with an income which might have started a technical school, but it would have been a jolly poor one. We set out to educate people who were to do things in China, especially in connection with the administration. As I pointed out to one of the Governors who was Chancellor of the University, it was not much use our going to the Chinese and saying, "Why don't you take some of our graduates in China?" He would say, "Yes, but how many of them are you employing in your administration in Hongkong?"

Hongkong is a Crown Colony. China is a foreign country. As a Crown Colony Hongkong is administered ultimately by the Colonial Office. China is a matter for the Foreign Office. We cannot possibly go into all the points, but the great point about Professor Hinton's speech is that he had the courage to dream a dream. The future is going to be something very different from the past, and somehow or other, if we do not keep closer to China than we have been—we were not always very close, there were troubles, strikes and boycotts—foreigners in China would say, "The trouble is caused by Hongkong"; Hongkong would say it was caused by Shanghai; if we appealed for support, we were told, "The Government of Hongkong started the University; let them finance it." The Government would reply, "Why should we finance an institution really meant for China?" These difficulties are only going to be got over by using your imagination.

Mr. Hinton left Hongkong ten years ago. Since then he has been doing educational work in London for the Bankers' Institute. He has been to many Pacific Conferences. He has really had time and opportunity to think of these problems. Therefore, though I may not agree with everything he said—I am not quite sure about this new territory problem—Mr. Hinton has given us great food for thought. He has dared to paint a picture which, if he were on the University staff at the moment, might get him into trouble with the Government of the Colony.

Dr. MIDDLETON SMITH: Twenty-seven years ago I myself went out to Hongkong. I stayed twenty-seven years. I have only just returned. The Lecturer and I met in the University of Hongkong. We were great antagonists. I think both of us have mellowed since those days. I was the only full-time professor. Hinton was the registrar, but later he became the next senior professor. We had entirely different outlooks on life. To me, an engineer, Hinton is a dreamer, and I find

that as I get older I appreciate dreamers much more than I did twenty-nine years ago.

I have learnt not only to appreciate Hinton. I have learnt to respect him, and I have indeed an affection for him. He has taught me a great deal. I do not think I have taught him anything except to hate machinery more than ever he did, because I installed engines just near his lecture room, and he frequently came to me to complain. So perhaps you will excuse me if for a minute or two I deal with rather another aspect of this very engrossing situation.

It is my point of view that we must do our utmost to fight the dreadful poverty that is in China. I went out to Hongkong. I left a life appointment in the University of London as Assistant Professor. I went out because I met two men, one called Sir James Cantlie and the other J. H. Scott. Sir Alfred Ewing, who had been the first professor of engineering in Japan, also persuaded me to go. I went because I was thrilled with this idea of teaching applied science to the Chinese, not with any idea that I or other people should make money, but that this appalling poverty should be conquered.

It was there that we came into conflict with Hinton, who wanted to teach them poetry. Then I learnt, to my great surprise, that we had already obtained from China ideas; for instance, the whole of our Civil Service came from a memo by Meadows, a British Consul in China, to the British Government.

Then, again, the fundamental Confucian ideas, I find, were first of all that the people must be governed by moral and intellectual agencies rather than by physical force. We have come round to that, at least.

However, what I am trying to emphasize now is that in the Government of Hongkong in the past they were extremely slack in appreciating the value of applied science, and the result was that it has always been in the minds of the Government, and the more or less intellectual people in Hongkong, that the people connected with applied science did it only to make money. I want to get that idea out of their heads. That is not the fundamental idea; and I therefore want to point out the tremendous possibilities of Hongkong. I think Hinton perhaps has not stressed enough the great growth in this Colony.

Fifty years ago the total revenue was only £2,000,000, and they spent out of that £140,000 on public works. When I came away they were spending £12,500,000 on public works alone. That was in fifty years.

Curiously enough, I gave a lecture to the Royal Empire Society twenty-one years ago on Hongkong, and I tried to stress this point. It

was in the Westminster Hall. I have always felt that this Society does not take enough interest in the mission of the British people to educate these backward races by showing them how to handle the resources of nature for the use and benefit of their own people. I was greatly delighted, therefore, in reading recently a Life of Lord Tweedsmuir, to find this extract of a speech he made as Governor-General of Canada. He said: "The future of the British Commonwealth, as I am never tired of declaring, depends largely upon applied science, and now, when the old days of territorial expansion are over, it is the engineer who is the principal Empire builder."

I want to point out that I agree entirely with Professor Hinton, when he says that they made a great mistake in the University of Hongkong; the mistake was that they did not concentrate in the early years on this applied science work.

I entirely appreciate his scheme of the new territory. But the British mission is, I am sure, to teach the Chinese how to deal, first and foremost, with this terrible struggle against floods, famine and awful diseases, which are simply eating into the life of the people.

One last word, and it is this. As I said farewell to Hongkong in a farewell broadcast, I then pointed out that Sir William Brunyate remarked on his retirement that he had felt that contact with the local government had made him realize the futility of human endeavour. I can say most sincerely that, after twenty-seven years, I look back on my life with no regrets. I am only too glad to feel that I have been privileged to take any part in the education of these young Chinese in this work. The whole of that great area from the Yangtze down to Burma I have travelled recently. It is very productive, and I am sure, therefore, that there is a tremendous future for this University in Hongkong, if it is only developed with sufficient money.

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: May I on behalf of this Society thank the lecturer for a fundamental lecture. I have listened to it. I have learned a great deal. I have not agreed with him on every single point. For instance, I do not think the Philippines, if they had no fears, would be very keen on getting the Americans there.

However, I entirely agree that the future lies in close co-operation with China, and I am quite sure our people see that.

A MEMBER: Could I ask the lecturer whether he thinks that, if we give up Hongkong, we can curb the ambitions of Japan in the Far East, or in China that America can?

Secondly, he spoke about dual nationality. If I understood him

rightly, a Chinaman born in Hongkong remains a Chinaman. Can he not elect what nation he wants to belong to?

Professor HINTON: The first question I will try to answer. The second question Sir John Pratt will take for me.

The question whether we can curb Japan without the use of Hongkong, whether it is necessary to keep Hongkong for that purpose? Well, of course, nobody can say how complete our victory is going to be: nobody can say how far Japan will come in. It is a technical strategical question on which I should be glad to receive instruction. But if we cannot curb Japan without maintaining a very large base in Hongkong, with the necessary expansion of the territory in the next fifty or sixty years, then I despair of any real understanding with the Chinese. I cannot say whether we can curb Japan, because I do not know how strong Japan is going to be at the end of the time.

With regard to the Philippines, I know that the Philippinos desire their independence so long as they are sure they are going to be safe. But if they were sure they were going to be safe, there would be no need for bases in that particular part of the world.

If you must have, with the increasing range that we may expect for the plane and the ship in the future, a base at Hongkong and nowhere else, and if you must enlarge it for that purpose, then you must pay for that, I think, in great friction with the Chinese. That is all I would say.

The CHAIRMAN: I will begin by answering the particular question about dual nationality.

If a Chinese is born in Hongkong he is a British subject by birth; but according to the Nationality Law of China, he is a Chinese citizen. This crops up in South America and all over the place. The rule of international law is, if a person has dual nationality, the master nationality is the place where he is. So long as he is in Hongkong he is British; when he goes to China, his master nationality is Chinese. I may say that one of the high-handed things we did in China was that we ignored that rule and insisted upon treating these dual nationality Chinese, when they were in China, as British subjects. However, that has all been settled now, and we do not do it any more.

It only rests for me to thank Professor Hinton on your behalf for his very interesting lecture. The main thesis of his lecture is that the security of Hongkong rests much more on maintaining friendly relations with the Chinese than on putting that security upon a military basis.

This post-war problem that we have to consider will be very vital; if we are going to succeed our national policy must be dictated by political considerations. In deciding our policy we have to take the advice of the soldiers, sailors and airmen as to what will happen if certain arrangements are made or are not made; but we must not allow them on those considerations to dictate our policy, because if we do, we shall run into the same kind of catastrophe that Germany has run into and that Japan has run into. It is a thing we have always been able to avoid, and we shall have to be careful to avoid it in the future.

I am very grateful indeed for Professor Hinton's lecture.

# THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER UNDER MODERN POLITICAL CONDITIONS

By A. H. BYRT, C.B.E.

Paper read before the Royal Central Asian Society on May 14, 1941. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

**M**R. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—To be called upon to address the Royal Central Asian Society upon Indian North-West Frontier Policy is to me a great privilege and honour. But when I received the invitation to speak I felt some trepidation as I remembered the distinguished experts upon different aspects of the problem before whom I might have to stand. I cannot claim to be equally well versed in the subject.

However, these experts are not always unanimous in their opinions. So I felt there might be a point or two upon which I could say something that would prove acceptable as an addition to the sum total of experience and thought already recorded.

As a boy I was thrilled by Fennimore Cooper's famous novels about the Red Indians. His accounts of their bravery, of their respect for high courage, of their love for their dusky maidens and of the skill with which they scalped their enemies made me deplore the necessity of steam-rolling them with the grey monotony of civilization.

I have often felt much the same about the tribesmen of the Indian North-West Borderland. For thousands of years they have by their fierce valour and tenacity defended their independence in their wild mountain homes. I was born and nurtured in the hills of England and know what a spell such country winds about the heart. I have motored over the Khyber, along the Mohmand country, and through the Kurram and North and South Waziristan. I have flown over the hills between Wana and Peshawar and peeped from the skies into the glens and hamlets nestling among them.

I can therefore sympathize with the passionate hatred with which the tribesmen resist invasions of their purdah.

The tributes which those who well know the Tribes pay to their rugged virtues are many and warm. Yet if you read the books written about the Frontier and its people by Englishmen long years ago and



the corresponding literature of to-day, you find between them, I think, a difference which is significant and carries a warning. The older writers describe a friendlier feeling between the tribal people and our people than now prevails. Contact seems to have hardened our mutual relations rather than mellowed them. The notorious fluctuations and lack of continuity in our Frontier policy have apparently carried the tribal mind through uncertainty and confusion about it into a new state of suspicion about us.

We are forced to interfere with tribal independence by the peremptory requirements of defence. The tribal habit of raiding the Settled Districts of the Plains as a means of securing a livelihood which their barren hills do not provide, the perennial and increasing readiness of the Tribes to go filibustering across the international frontier between India and Afghanistan and the threat to the safety of India which their increasing numbers, their extensive possession of modern rifles, and their traditional warlike propensities constitute, makes our control of them a plain necessity.

My first tour of the tribal country I made shortly before Christmas, 1923. That was a few months after we had established our existing cantonment at Razmak, in the heart of Waziristan. We went there at the invitation of the Wazirs, who wanted us as a buffer between them and the Mahsuds. It was a pleasure to find, on my approach, testimony supporting the reasonableness of treating the tribesmen consistently with my Fennimore Cooper predilections.

Hardly had I crossed the Indus to Dera Ismael Khan than a distinguished general officer, well versed in Frontier conditions, said to me: "The tribesman is, above all, a very human creature. He is a troublesome raider. So were my own countrymen, the Scottish Highlanders, not so very long ago. There is no reason why the Mahsud should not in time become a valuable member of civilized society like his Scottish prototype did."

The remark reminded me of a book about the tribesmen that I had just been reading in the train. Writing of their raids and robberies, its author remarked: "The merry Switzer, wiser in his generation than the Mahsud, contents himself by taking it out of the traveller in the form of hotel bills."

The same evening a lady told me how a Ford car in which she and others were driving outside D.I.K. broke down and was being attended to when a group of Mahsuds passed. One paused to look and offered humorous comments in broad Americanese. The tribesmen travel

widely about the world. This one had lived in Bermuda. He returned to Waziristan because he was brought up there and felt the hills to be his and loved them.

Another story, of like character, was told me of a Mahsud malik, or chieftain, who was summoned by the Political Agent for trying to wreck a train on the little Decauville railway that runs across the Derajat plain from the Indus at D.I.K. to Khirgi, at the foot of the Tak-i-Zam gateway into the hills. Writing to acknowledge receipt of the summons, the malik said he would certainly come in, but would like the appointed date postponed a little, as that would enable him to arrive in his newly bought motor-car, of which he was expecting early delivery. How long would pass before that wrecker of communications was ready to shoot anybody destroying a road culvert?

One more tale was of a Mahsud petition for hospitals. They would, they said, erect the necessary buildings and would, further, contribute two sets of beautiful surgical instruments which had been left in their possession when our forces withdrew from their midst in 1919!

A sense of humour is one of the tribesmen's recognized qualities.

Several hospitals have now been built. One at Miranshah, in North Waziristan, has established a high reputation for itself throughout the country, and especially for vaccination, of which it does a lot. The Wazir, it seems, knows that a good-looking face attracts a fair lady, and gets himself vaccinated to prevent his face being marred by small-pox and his chances in love thereby spoiled.

The tribesman revels quite attractively in the tender passion. Listen to this Raverty translation from the Mohmand mullah-poet Abdur Rahman :

From thy curls, thy ruby lips and thy face  
 Proceed the night, the sunset's glow, the dawn of day.  
 Is it the teeth in thy sweet mouth that shine so lustrously?  
 Or are those glittering dewdrops in the rosebud?

Or to this from another tribal bard :

A single moment lip to lip with the belov'd  
 And honey, milk, conserves are alike forgot.

To those who retort that the tribesman is a brute towards women, openly trades in them for money, and normally buys a wife according to her capacity for work, words like these are a reminder that to every cloud there is a silver lining.

Every tribesman is not a poet. But poetry like I have quoted is widely sung in the tribal villages.

A Political Officer who knew the Frontier well was showing me round points of interest about the head of the Kurram Valley. He told me of the fine qualities of the people there. Suddenly he turned to his orderly, a local man, and asked: "What shall I tell my guest are the chief things to know about this part?" Instantly, his face aglow, the man replied: "The clear water, the good rice, and the pretty women."

The starting-point of the agitation with which the Faqir of Ipi fomented the grievous trouble that has stricken Waziristan from 1936 onwards was a magisterial order depriving a tribesman of his young Hindu glamour girl whom, in a fit of romantic ardour, he carried off and made his wife.

It is not only over love and beauty that the tribal poets wax eloquent. They are equally lyrical over the "spring that has made the country a garden of flowers" and over their affection for home, sweet home. The poet Khushal thanks Allah that his forbears selected for their home a spot that has about it "the dark mountain ranges and the blue waters of the Indus." "Who can tell," he asks, "how beautiful it is in the spring after the rain?" And, "Do not its hills shoot straight up to the sky and the climbing of them diminish our corpulence?"

Our immediate task concerns the defence of the villages in the Indian plains against the ruthless marauding highlander, with his cruel arson, murder, and robbery, and the protection of all India against his treachery and armed power for mischief, against his instinctive adhesion to a loyalty outside India.

In tackling it, to forget the tribesman's very human side would be folly and worse. It should provide the line of least resistance for our remedial measures.

The current proclaimed policy of Government towards the tribal territory is to preserve the peace of the Border, foster good relations with the tribes, and gradually to introduce standards of civilization and order into their country and to improve their economic conditions. It is the aim to pursue this policy by peaceful means and in agreement with the Tribes, and not to resort to military action unless to do so is necessary in order to preserve the peace or to repel attacks on the Settled Districts or Protected Tribal Areas or on the British forces or on friendly Tribes.

The question is whether this means of dealing with the problem should be continued, or whether its failure after fair trial is proved, or

whether its admittedly slow processes can be speeded up or should be supplanted by more drastic and forceful means.

I do not think I need discuss how the present war may affect the answer to these inquiries, especially as to do so would involve defence considerations which cannot in present circumstances freely be debated. So far, the Tribes are satisfied that we are fighting for the security of Islam as well as for our own, and they know that their interests and ours are the same. In Waziristan they said this when the war began. They then resolved, so they announced, not to harass Government during the war's continuance, to give full support against the external aggressor and to resist the mischief-maker and the agitator. The Mohmand tribes were reported in a Peshawar telegram dated May 8 to have telegraphed Raschid Ali Gillani, leader of the *coup d'état* in Iraq, declaring their sorrow that in these days, "when the whole Islamic world is in danger from Nazi and Fascist aggression, you, a member of the renowned Gillani house, have made common cause with the enemies of Islam and attacked the troops of our Empire." The Afridi tribesmen on May 10 similarly telegraphed him deploring his act in attacking "the forces of our Empire," and appealing to him to restore peaceful relations with Great Britain, who is "fighting the cause of Islam."

The war will some day end. When it does, the hills will presumably still be where they now are, the Tribes we may expect still to be in them, the problem of defence against Tribal lawlessness will as surely still remain, the Government of India will with equal certainty have to deal with it.

Less abiding than the problem is the character of the Government of India. In that direction the ferment of change has long been at work and it will continue to be active.

I will not again tread the battlefield of the Forward Policy and the Close Border Policy. In the old accepted sense of the terms they are both out of date. But it is useful to remember how the present declared official policy came about and how it has not only superseded the old prescriptions but is designed to combine the good points of both.

Its adoption synchronized with the initiation of democratic control in the Government of India. Its application has therefore been, and certainly must be, conditioned by the nature of Indian constitutional development.

The last Frontier upheaval involving first-class danger was in 1919, when the Afghan invasion threatened to raise the whole tribal region

and the Waziristan tribes took the field, with temporary successful results. Arduous military operations, costly in life and treasure, duly straightened out the situation. The highest Authorities then agreed that at last the time had come permanently to occupy the country of the Mahsuds, fiercest and most virile of all the Border Tribes. This was formally announced by the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, in the Imperial Legislative Council, at Delhi on 20 August, 1920.

His Excellency said :

We hoped that if they (the Mahsuds) were left alone they would leave us alone. This hope has, I regret to say, proved fallacious, and the time has come when we can no longer shut our eyes to the fact. . . . We have decided, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, that our forces shall remain in occupation of Central Waziristan, that mechanical transport roads shall be constructed throughout the country, especially roads linking the Gomal with the Tochi line, and that our present line of posts shall be extended as may seem necessary. It is not possible to set any limits to our period of occupation. . . . In order to improve our Frontier communications, we have, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, sanctioned the extension through the Khyber of the broad-gauge railway which at present terminates at Jamrud.

Then came in India the notorious post-war slump and the grave financial difficulties which followed it. Ruthless retrenchment in all branches of expenditure necessarily became the order of the day. The new plan in Waziristan had to be abandoned because, for the time being, it was beyond Government's financial resources.

Once more Government had to devise a new plan for trans-Border settlement. Before they finally crystallized their decision the first Indian Legislature constituted under the Reform Act of 1919 came into existence.

One of the early acts of the new Indian Legislative Assembly was to pass a non-official elected member's Resolution recommending changes in the Frontier Province Administration. Government responded by appointing the North-West Frontier Inquiry Committee, 1922, which, under the presidentship of Mr. (now Sir) Denys Bray, then Officiating Foreign Secretary, made a searching investigation into the conduct of affairs in the Settled Districts, and in October, 1922, presented Government with a Report remarkable for its candour and downrightness.

Thence onwards Government policy towards the tribal problem has been conducted in consultation with the Indian Legislature and with

its agreement. The Bray Committee was not specifically directed to consider the problem of the Tribes, but the keynote of its Report was its conclusion, "forced by the sheer process of reasoning on the majority of our Committee," that "in existing conditions it is not merely inexpedient, for all practical purposes it is impossible, to separate the Districts and Tracts." Its published evidence and its arguments based upon that evidence gave both the Legislature and interested members of the public throughout India a memorable insight into the tribal problem which has ever since guided public discussion.

The Committee comprised eight members. Three, including its President, were civil officials, three were non-official Muslims, two were elected Hindu members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The majority who signed the Report were the whole Committee minus the two Hindus. The crux of the disagreement between the two sections was whether the tribesman can be won for civilization and for India or whether he is essentially and irrevocably a foreigner to India, so that even if he be brought into the Indian body politic he will be a danger there.

The Committee had before it, from different viewpoints, weighty evidence of the racial and social kinship, the cultural and economic inseparability, of the people of the Settled Districts and the people of the trans-Border hills. They considered the similar and historic links between the frontiersmen on the British and Afghan sides respectively of the Durand Line, which constitutes the international frontier between India and Afghanistan.

The Majority wrote in their Report :

. . . It is not wholly visionary to hope that with the gradual march of civilization into the tribal tracts these, too, will eventually join their kindred of the districts in forming a strong and contented community at the danger-point of India's frontiers, a barrier against all possible enemies from the West. . . . The Frontier Province did India supreme service during the critical years of 1914-19. That it will continue to do India yeoman service we firmly believe. But that India will ever be able to forget its existence in an era of peace and security comparable with that of internal India we hold to be visionary. There is no room for counsels of perfection on the Frontier. There has been no Golden Age in the past; we can see none in the future. The troublous area will remain what it has been throughout the history of India, the critical section of India's land frontier. But . . . if the Pathan nationality is allowed self-determination and given scope for that

self-development within the Indian Empire under the Reforms Scheme after which it is now striving, we are assured that with a contented Frontier population India can face with calm resolution the future that the Frontier has in store for her.

To this, one of the two Hindu dissentients, Rao Bahadur T. V. Rangachariar, from Madras, replied in a Minute of Dissent: "Is it unreasonable to entertain the fear that, far from being a barrier from possible enemies, we will be opening a wide door to the foe of India and of the British under the arrangement contemplated and proposed by our colleagues? We in the rest of India cannot look with equanimity upon the formation of a strong Pathan province when he, the Pathan, considers he can never be Indianized."

His Hindu colleague, Mr. N. M. Samarth, wrote in another Minute of Dissent: "From the point of view of all-India interests, external and internal, it would be, I submit, politically unwise to perpetuate this Pathan province as a separate province—a fortiori to allow it to develop into what will ultimately be an autonomous Pathan province by itself. . . . Even writers of the school opposed to what is known as the Forward Policy have warned us against their adjoining kinsmen of Afghanistan."

But Mr. Samarth, a gallant-hearted Mahratta, wrote later in the same Minute: "I confess, however, that I have a predilection in favour of the Sandeman policy. . . . I mean by the Sandeman policy a policy which was carried out in Baluchistan to a logical conclusion with a definite purpose by Sir Robert Sandeman. He was a man of great personal character who, when he had set his hand to the plough, would not look back . . . always recognized that to maintain order you must remove the cause of lawlessness and gradually introduce the groundwork of civilization and supply the tribesmen with the means of earning an honest livelihood by developing the resources of the country to the utmost."

I have quoted these different opinions at some length because they aptly summarize fundamental differences of opinion still prevailing and have an important bearing upon the course of policy since followed. Their significance to-day, when British control in the Government of India has diminished and is diminishing and the consequential communal strife between Hindus and Muslims has increased, is apparent.

Five months after the signature of the Bray Committee Report, Mr. Bray, who by this time had become Foreign Secretary, announced in the Indian Legislative Assembly the Border policy adopted by

Government in place of that enunciated by Lord Chelmsford, but later abandoned on financial grounds. It had already been put into operation by the occupation of Razmak and by the commencement of the construction of the great circular road, and other roads, designed to give our forces at Razmak and other selected centres mobility.

Control of the tribes through a road system and mobile forces was to be the base of future policy. It was not intended to be the whole of it.

“The Government policy,” said Mr. Bray, “is a forward policy in a very real sense of the word. It is a policy of progress. It is a big step forward on the long and laborious road towards the pacification through civilization of the most backward and inaccessible, and therefore the most truculent and aggressive, tribes on our Border. Come what may, civilization *must* be made to penetrate these inaccessible mountains. . . . For from this inaccessibility arise the economic stringency, the crass ignorance and the wanton insolence and barbaric cruelty which spring from a sense of security. And these are diseases for which civilization in some shape or form is the only cure. It may be thought visionary to talk of the civilization of the Mahsud. But you must take long views on the Frontier. Civilization has, after all, succeeded often enough with material far more unpromising and intractable than the Mahsud, who, for all his barbarity and ignorance, is a man of magnificent virility and courage and with no small share of natural wit and intelligence.”

That policy was endorsed by the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Samarth in particular recognized in it the method of peaceful penetration which he recommended in his Minute to the Frontier Inquiry Committee Report. Year after year it has stood as the proclaimed rule for the guidance of Government action. Through periods of continued trouble with the tribes it has more than once been affirmed.

The wobbling character of Government policy in Frontier matters in past years is notorious. It is now sometimes said that steady pursuit of the newly announced policy for the tribes is seriously impeded by interference in the popular Chamber of the Indian Legislature. In my opinion the criticism springs from insufficient attention to the facts.

When world depression caused renewed financial stringency in 1931, the Indian Legislative Assembly appointed a Retrenchment Advisory Committee to assist the Finance Department through its special difficulties. The Committee appointed a sub-committee of nine elected Assemblymen and one official of the Finance Department to



examine expenditure on the Frontier and report what cuts could usefully be made in it.

Of the elected members five were Hindu, three Muslim, including Sir Abdur Rahim, the chairman, and one English. The sub-committee, in its report, which was written after a thorough inquiry in the Frontier Province, briefly discussed the policy concerning the tribes, and remarked: "We are not satisfied that this policy has yet been carried out to an adequate extent, but we have no doubt that it holds a greater promise of abiding results than the policy of forcible occupation of the tribal area." The sub-committee stressed the importance of the tribal problem to all India, saying: "The trans-border tribes are in some sort of communication with each other from north to south, and, in fact, racial, religious, and linguistic affinities link them up with the tribes beyond the Durand Line. The problem of defence along this frontier is thus not merely of local importance, but affects the whole of India."

The sub-committee saw that as the Tribes become more peaceable the expenditure involved in controlling them should diminish. Their report added: "We here emphasize our suggestion that steps should be taken to devote as much money as possible from the heads 'Political' and 'Frontier Watch and Ward' to activities more likely to yield permanent beneficial results—*e.g.*, agriculture, irrigation, cottage industries, education, veterinary, co-operation, communications, etc."

Whether the transfer of funds in the way proposed by the sub-committee would be possible is of small importance. The main point is that a body of nine elected Assembly members, five of whom were Hindus, strongly supported continuance of the authorized official policy and offered as its sole criticism that its application was not sufficiently vigorous. The report was later accepted by the main Retrenchment Advisory Committee and by the Assembly.

Since that time the Waziristan tribes have again broken into disorders, according to their wont. The trouble began in 1936 under incitement of a typical agitator with a semi-religious slogan. The main revolt was among the Wazirs and was serious. It spread. It was not suppressed for over a year. Its inevitable aftermath of unrest and sporadic outbreaks has not yet fully subsided.

Both Government and non-official members of their Legislature have, in the circumstances, questioned the wisdom of the authorized policy. Assembly debating speeches about it have, with perhaps occa-

sional exceptions, shown no more irresponsibility than might in like circumstances be expected of non-official members of any other legislature. Efforts now and then made to rouse the Assembly against the policy, or against its proper execution, have never succeeded. That says a great deal for the temperateness of a Chamber in which the Executive Government are in a perpetual minority and in which the elected majority can never be made to put their responsibility for their views to the test by being themselves saddled with the responsibilities of office.

Government has more than once since 1930, after serious outbreaks of tribal disorder, reviewed the policy. They have considered afresh the case for forcibly disarming the Waziristan tribes. They have published no information about these deliberations, but they have not found, in the course of events, proof of the failure of the policy, or sufficient reason for changing it.

And though the policy specially refers to Waziristan, it also concerns Tirah, where the Afridis are most jealous for the preservation of their *purdah*, the Mohmand country and beyond. In the comparatively fertile northern part of the Borderland the Princely Rulers and Chieftains who there hold sway are now of their own volition happily and successfully developing the civilizing process.

I have mentioned the shrewdness with which the tribesmen of Waziristan and the Mohmands and Afridis have, along with other peoples of the Islamic world, declared their support of the great Cause for which Britain is fighting. In passing, I think we should acknowledge that their declarations and the pride with which they refer to the forces of our Empire are not only an expression of their Islamic spirit, but evidence that they really feel some kinship with the Indian Army and are a genuine tribute to the British officers, both Political and Military, who have dealings with them. In whatever way the war otherwise affects them their interest in it and its reactions upon them and their neighbours are likely, so far as one can at present foresee, to increase the stimulus of unrest and change in their midst.

The general problem of the tribes and the execution of any policy concerning them are necessarily conditioned by certain special factors:

One is the attitude of Afghanistan;

Another, which has notably come to the fore in recent years, is the natural progress of thought and ideas among the tribes;

A third is the course of politics in India, and particularly the Hindu-Muslim strife there.

Up to a few years ago, Kabul could not persuade itself to regard with a kindly eye efforts by the Government of India to establish control over the Frontier people. The reasons for this are so well known that they need no repetition here. So recently as 1919, when the Afghans launched an invasion of India, they successfully called upon the Waziristan tribes for help—and got it. Conditions to-day are happier. Kabul's suspicion of the Government of India has gradually dissipated. The late King of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah, was a man of the world. He had good reason to know that he and his country had nothing to fear from the Government of India. His son, the present King, has shown himself like-minded. The Afghan province of Khost, which lies against Waziristan, is perennially unrestful. The Wazirs and the Mahsuds are generally ready to join in any rebellious movement which begins there. More than once in recent years Kabul has had to invite the Government of India to exercise restraining control over the tribes on their side of the Durand Line, and has given evidence of recognizing that the duty of good neighbourliness in such matters is mutual.

India cannot win the allegiance of the Tribes for herself and for civilization without the goodwill of Afghanistan. The increase of understanding and confidence between India and Afghanistan in recent years gives hope of the possibility of a permanent favourable agreement in that respect.

The progress of new ideas among the Tribes has, unfortunately, induced decay in the old disciplinary code of the tribal system. The younger generation will no longer bow to the restraints prescribed by the Elders. Cases in point frequently occur. The disturbances in Waziristan in 1936 were largely due to this cause. A similar revolt of the younger men against decisions taken by their elders broke down an agreed scheme for road and educational developments in Tirah in 1935. The change seriously impairs the maintenance of the time-honoured principle of tribal responsibility and often makes its enforcement difficult or impossible.

Other revolutionary notions are disturbing the even tenor of tribal life. So far back as the Frontier Province Inquiry Committee nearly twenty years ago, Major C. G. Crosthwaite, Deputy-Commissioner of Peshawar, pointed out: "The tribesmen now partially know their power and also have dim aspirations, as yet scarcely formulated. Revolutionary foci are situated in various places to point out their power and to crystallize their aspirations. The result is that sudden

crises are far more apt to arise now than they were twenty years ago."

Into this powder magazine in 1930, just when the policy adopted in 1922-23 was beginning to show remarkable success, the Indian National Congress Party introduced their agitation for the subversion of the Government of India. Encouraged by the supine ineptitude of Government, which at this time facilitated and even stimulated revolutionary activities in all parts of India, the party's agents spread their mischievous doctrine without scruple. I toured through Peshawar, Bannu, and the Tribal Tracts of North and South Waziristan in April, 1930, and speak from what I then saw and heard.

The Mahsuds, though sorely troubled by the grossest efforts to incite them, stood firm. The younger Afridis, inflamed by immigrant agitators, invaded Peshawar. The Mohmands have since 1930 constantly been subjected to propaganda by the Congress Party's agents, and some sections of them have proved unable to resist it. Leftist Muslim elements in the Settled Districts have lent themselves to the revolutionary movement and given it a dangerous local potentiality.

Concurrently, sundry episodes affecting Hindu-Muslim relations in British India have affected the tribesmen and hampered any process of peaceful penetration which might bring the tribes under the control of a Government reported to be coming rapidly under pressure from the Hindu majority in India.

Acute Hindu-Muslim tension was caused a few years ago by a scandalous Hindu newspaper article headed "Rangila Rasul" (the Dissolute Prophet), which scandalized the Prophet Mahomed. More recently, tension was caused by a dispute between Muslims and Sikhs over the possession and treatment of a ruined mosque at Shahidganj, Lahore. Events of this kind have inevitable repercussions along the Border.

A heavy cloud of suspicion, bitterness, and hate which after the inauguration of democratic constitutional reforms in 1921 gradually overspread inter-communal relations throughout India has recently produced the Pakistan movement, which aims at dividing India into separate Hindu and Muslim compartments.

Pakistan is an interesting word. Its first syllable is the Pushtu word *pak*, which means "pure," or "holy," or "sacred." The remainder of it is Persian and signifies "land of" or "country of," as in Afghanistan, "land of the Afghans," Hindustan, "country of the Hindus."

The whole word, therefore, means "the country of the pure" or

“of the pure religion,” or “the pure or sacred land.” But its three first letters are, incidentally, the initial letters of Punjab, Afghanistan, and Kashmir, which represent a solid nucleus for a Northern India Mahomedan State. One of the well-known whims of Urdu writers is to insinuate puns into their compositions and the word Pakistan is an excellent one. It makes, therefore, an admirable slogan, since it appeals to religious piety, it expresses a popular political idea, and it has humour.

It is useless and not very sensible to be impatient with Hindu and Muslim leaders over the communal problem. Their difficulty is not one of human disagreement, but of spiritual and cultural differences.

There is room for entertaining speculation over how the combination of disruptive political agitation and embittered religious controversy is likely eventually to affect the process of gently leading the Border tribesmen by the hand out of their profitable pastime of raiding, robbing, and kidnapping wealthy Hindus, and out of their habit of shooting up one another, and making them faithful and law-abiding citizens of an enlarged Pathan Frontier province in a united India.

Persistence of the Pakistan idea in its elemental form would obviously strongly affect the political inclination of the Tribes and turn them to that external loyalty of which the Hindus are afraid, though the Pakistan idea does not necessarily include union with Afghanistan.

Communal tension increases the difficulty of the tribal problem in other ways. Ultimate control of the tribes by Government must obviously rest upon the Army and the Air Force. While communal tension lasts how can we expect the tribes willingly to lay aside their rifles and accept a discipline upheld by ground and air forces increasingly officered by Hindus and Sikhs as well as by Muslims.

None of these considerations lessens the desirability of carrying civilization to the tribes and of winning them for decent citizenship. On the contrary, it increases the need. There are, fortunately, signs that, in spite of all, the tribesmen readily respond to the advances made to them.

When new roads are built in tribal territory the country for the width of a mile on either side of them becomes a sanctuary within which the game of shooting your neighbour may not be played. So greatly did the people appreciate this provision when the first new roads were made, in 1923, that they soon appealed for the mile-wide ribbons of safety to be widened to three miles. The women specially asked for this, so as to increase the chances of life of their menfolk.

The people took eagerly to motoring. They not only enjoyed touring about in cars, they soon discovered how to make money by running lorries. Government gave them haulage and mail transport contracts. They started using motor buses for the transport of fighting men in their battles among themselves.

As they learned more of the Political Officer through closer contact with him they appraised his magisterial value with great satisfaction. On the same day as I visited Miranshah in April, 1930, there came in a joint Mahsud and Wazir deputation. For twenty years their respective villages had been at feud over a land dispute. They now actually, and of their own volition, came to ask if they might submit it to arbitration by the Political Resident, Waziristan.

I am witness that in the six years between 1923 and 1930 the extent to which the Mahsuds and Wazirs accepted the new order was greater than anyone could reasonably have expected in view of the inducements offered to win their complaisance. When I visited their country in December, 1923, you could not motor along the roads until road protection troops were posted to guard every yard of the way. Even then, you were not allowed to go without a loaded revolver and also, if I remember rightly, a similarly armed companion. In 1930 I was able to drive along in my own car without a guard and with the roads policed by the very villagers against whom the protection of the troops was required on the earlier occasion. The khassadars, or irregular village police, served as road guards not only for the sake of the pay they got, but also because their fellow-villagers approved the system.

There are now hospitals in many centres in Waziristan. The tribesmen take full advantage of them. They are also glad to see doctors visiting their villages and welcome roadside clinics when conditions are settled enough to make these possible.

At Jandola in the year 1939-40 over 9,000 Mahsud and Bhattani tribal patients visited the local hospital. It contains two large wards for in-patients, and in these 25 per cent. of the patients were women, though there was no provision for the segregation of the sexes.

Schools—primary, middle, and high—are slowly spreading. At one the Mahsuds killed the pious old Mahomedan schoolmaster because they did not like him. But at others the tribesmen contribute to their upkeep. Scholarships are given and keenly competed for. School sports meetings are enthusiastically supported and have an excellent effect in promoting good neighbourliness and friendship.

Help is given with agriculture and irrigation. Attempts have been

made to start scientific forestry. Unfortunately, the good work is always hampered by financial stringency. Whole projects are hung up for this reason. There is large scope for additional medical and hospital services. Money shortage prevents it being exploited. The spread of education is handicapped solely by lack of funds. The demand is there, but can only be met by the provision of more money, which is not forthcoming.

In North Waziristan the tribes import a quarter of their food supply, though the soil is fertile and is not fully cultivated. Here the assistance of an agricultural expert would help if there were money to pay for one. Scientific forestry is badly needed because the tribes are cutting and selling their timber harmfully.

In short, the people quickly take advantage of guidance and practical help which they understand to be for the improvement of their economic condition. Far more could be done for them than is done. The results which the policy is intended to produce are there to be got if the policy is kept really alive and applied more actively.

The policy cannot be held to have failed unless it is first more thoroughly tried out than it has been.

A great deal more money is evidently wanted.

That finance is difficult to provide and that there is no prospect of a percentage return on the money spent is a ready argument but a poor one. The true answer is that given by the Legislative Assembly's Retrenchment Sub-Committee when it said that expenditure on civilizing the tribes would in time secure an enormous saving in defence expenditure.

The extensive military operations necessitated in 1936 and onwards by the explosions following the Faqir of Ipi's agitation involved about 50,000 troops and cost Rs. 5,00,00,000. The two recent expeditions into the Mohmand country required some 30,000 troops and cost Rs. 50,00,000. Think of the constructive work that could be achieved for a fraction of those sums.

As for the objection that certain tribes—the Afridis, for example—are unwilling to accept roads or schools or even hospitals within the purdah of their independence, the war has shown the least imaginative of us that a difficulty like that should be a small obstacle for well-planned and lively propaganda.

Twenty years ago Mr. Samarth, in a speech in the Assembly, pressed the Finance Member of the day, Sir Basil Blackett, to provide loan funds for constructive work designed to produce permanent results in

the civilizing process. The proposal was not accepted. Sir James Grigg, when he was Finance Member from 1933 to 1938, repeatedly visited the Frontier to acquaint himself with its problems, and in 1935 undertook to provide one crore for road construction in the tribal areas. The roads envisaged in that scheme have not yet all been built.

To sum up, while the general policy for the settlement of the tribal areas has been made plain and accepted by all the authorities concerned, and, while its practicability has been proved by experiment, no long-term programme of a size commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the work has been planned.

Particular measures in execution of the policy are proposed from this quarter or from that, and appear to be considered and adopted or rejected in isolation instead of as part of a widespread undertaking. The Political Department, the Army, the Air Force, the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have each their particular viewpoints towards every new proposal, and decisions are seemingly taken piecemeal according to which point of view is most effectively represented by its advocates at the time and without real unity of purpose.

To realize at a reasonably attainable speed the splendid potentialities of the position the Government need to lay down, after preliminary deliberations and in consultation with the Indian Legislature, a long-term plan, assured of adequate finance, to implement the policy which they have often enunciated and reaffirmed but have not kept sufficiently live and active.

SIR COURTENAY LATIMER : I have been—as I feel sure you have all been—very interested to hear Mr. Byrt's lecture on the North-West Frontier Province. I feel a good deal of hesitation about speaking on this subject, because, though I spent many years in the Frontier Province, I left there ten years ago, and in these days matters move very quickly. But with the general conclusions of Mr. Byrt I feel that we must in the main agree. It is, I think, impossible in these days to take any view but that which he has put forward—namely, that the influence of civilization is bound in the long run to have its effect on the Frontier tribesmen, who, though they have many qualities which prove somewhat disconcerting to the less warlike residents of the plains, have at the same time many very valuable qualities.

It is unfortunate that the lack of pence continually obstructs the carrying out of proposals which could do much to relieve the position.



But I cannot conceive any better long-run policy than that which has been adopted, and I can only hope that the necessary funds may enable it to be pursued with greater energy than has proved possible in the past.

A MEMBER: Mr. Chairman, those of us who stand here to-day and have before our eyes the devastation in this building may wonder as I have what this civilization of which Mr. Byrt has spoken has really given us. I have no doubt that many of the tribesmen think the same.

The last speaker said he had lost touch with the rapidly changing situation on the Frontier because he had been away for ten years. I cannot bring myself to believe that ten years will make any real difference. This thing that we call civilization, these ideals for which we stand at present, have surely a far longer vision. I myself feel that if we pursue the policy that we have pursued in India, which is inspired by the highest ideals, sooner or later in the fulness of time and when the Almighty considers appropriate, that policy will succeed. But it is all very well for us to say that the policy must be pursued with vigour; it cannot be pursued with vigour unless the funds are forthcoming.

We and the tribesmen, as well as the Moslems and the Hindus, all have ideals on which we base our highest political thought, and if we steer steadily towards those ideals we shall eventually meet on common ground.

General Sir JOHN SHEA: I was very interested, if the lecturer will not think me rude in using this term, in his slightly Puckish reference to Pakistan. Just at the moment India is troubled, because a settlement of the burning Indian question cannot yet be found. Subject to correction, Mr. Chairman, I understand that the situation at present is that the Secretary of State has said, "We have now made you what we may call a firm offer. The next move is up to you," and so the matter stands. Whether it will be settled or not by that means I cannot say, and it certainly is not for me to criticize the Government policy. But could you have imagined two or three years ago the tribesmen on the North-West Frontier of India sending a telegram to somebody in Iraq, requesting him in polite terms not to make trouble? I think that is an entirely new phase. What does it mean? It means something very big, something very comprehensive, something very widespread. It means that Muslim consciousness is spreading from the Atlantic to Delhi, taking in all the Mohammedan tribes in North Africa, Arabia, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, the Frontier tribes, and the Muslims of the Punjab.

If you do not get a settlement in India which gives the Moham-medans a fair deal, I respectfully submit to you that a loose, it may be a very loose, federation of Arab thought, stretching from the Atlantic to mid-India, is not by any means an impossibility.

Mr. PHILBY: I do not think I have very much qualification to talk about this subject, and I have never actually, except as a visitor, been inside the Frontier Province, although I did spend some years in a frontier district immediately south of it. I was rather surprised that the lecturer to-day did not mention for the purpose of contrast the very different policies which have been pursued by the British Government for a longish period, in relation to the Baluch tribes and the Pathan tribes of the North-West Frontier Province. In the first instance we have what is known as the Sandeman policy, which has been a perfect success. The Baluch tribes have never given the British Government in India any trouble whatsoever.

On the other hand, the position of the North-West Frontier has been a burning problem, which we have never been able to tackle successfully. Many of our wisest political officers, among them one who has just spoken, have devoted all their efforts to trying to solve this problem, and it never has been solved, and is not likely to be solved in the future so long as we go on on the present lines.

Sir John Shea has raised that problem in a very admirable manner. The whole question that ought to be exercising us now is, what we are to do with India. Once we have decided that, we can begin with great hopes of success to think of a solution of the North-West Frontier problem.

As Sir John Shea suggested, the North-West Frontier will be right in the middle of Pakistan, and that is a problem to which I think this Society should give very special attention with a view to trying to bring the Government to realize that there is something in this Pakistan idea which might provide a solution for the whole Indian problem.

I would just like to put it to you in a very few words. It is a subject that has interested me deeply. I have always been brought up to look at India as a single unit, but that belief was shattered not by the Pakistan controversy at all but by the controversy or lack of controversy that raged over the Bill of 1935. It was agreed that if India was ever to become an independent country one part of India must be severed from the main body—*i.e.*, Burma. Why? Because Burma is inhabited by people who are not of either of the great Indian religions, Hindu or Muslim. They are Buddhist. That same sort of operation

provides the only hope of the solution of the great Indian problem. Pakistan is the name. I do not like the name, but at any rate it means something quite clear; it means the severance of the Muslim parts of India from the rest of India.

My immediate solution is this, that we should declare our intention, or our desire, or readiness to confer Dominion Status to-day on India, but subject to certain limitations. We would confer Dominion Status on Muslim India of the West and of the East, and on the rest of India also we would confer Dominion Status and let it run with its Hindu majority. I think that is a solution that might be taken into consideration.

I was pleased to see a soldier in uniform raise the question of civilization. Years ago, in a country very like this North-West Frontier Province, in Arabia I remember saying to King Ibn Saud, "Look here, take the advice of a genuine friend and try to introduce a little more civilization into your country. You know what I mean: put down this inter-tribal raiding which goes on and creates a very bad impression in the civilized world."

He looked at me and said, "How can you say such a thing, when the civilized people of Europe, without exception, are all engaged in the most bloody war that has ever disgraced the annals of history? How can you tell us that we are not civilized?"

We are learning that again to-day, twenty-five years later, and I was very glad to see that point raised by one who, wearing His Majesty's uniform, has a better right to point that out than I have.

Mr. BYRT: I very greatly appreciate what was said by Sir Courtenay Latimer and other speakers about my lecture. There are one or two points to which I would like particularly to refer.

First, I do not think the war provides ground for condemning civilization, but rather the contrary. It shows how foul even nations in a high state of material and intellectual advancement may become if, or when, evilly inspired men manage to overthrow civilization in their midst. The civilization which we desire to cultivate among the North-West Frontier Tribes of India is that restraining and uplifting spiritual factor in human life which Britain is leading the world in defending against a violent resurgence of natural savagery.

About Pakistan, I showed that the word, according to its origin, includes Afghanistan. I have not been in India for three years, but to the best of my belief the establishment of a Pakistan which includes Afghanistan is not an aim widely accepted. The general body of

people in India who are strongly in favour of the Pakistan idea would shrink with horror from including Afghanistan in the practical application of their plan, and of consequently separating Pakistan from India. For instance, Sir Abdulla Haroon has, as chairman of the Muslim League Foreign Affairs Committee, declared very warmly in favour of Pakistan, but would surely not contemplate the inclusion of Afghanistan, because he is by descent and loyalty and interest thoroughly Indian and proud to be. A large proportion of Indian Muslims are racially Indian and sprung from Hindu forbears. In Bengal, for instance, a very big section of the Muslim population were, I believe, converted to Islam by a Wahabi mission generations ago.

Mr. Philby spoke of the Sandeman policy in Baluchistan and wondered why I said nothing about it. I referred to it and quoted an apt description of its main principle, but my feeling was that the policy, as applied in Baluchistan, has long proved so successful there, and is so firmly established there, that its merits are well understood and no longer matter for debate. Sir Denys Bray, under whose direction the application of the policy was extended northwards, is an apostle of the Sandeman school and well versed in its principles and methods, as a result of several years of official service in Baluchistan. As regards Waziristan and further north, what has been introduced is an adapted Sandeman policy, and the reason why the methods applied and the results achieved are somewhat different from those in Baluchistan is partly the different social and political organization of the people. The Baluchis are a well-organized folk, ruled by their own Chieftains. Waziristan and Tirah know no such Chieftain control, and you therefore cannot deal with the people through Chiefs as you do in Baluchistan. Indeed, one of the main difficulties in Waziristan and Tirah is the fundamental and increasing insubordination of the tribesmen to the Maliks, or squires, and Elders whom they have got.

Another suggestion of Mr. Philby's was that we should forthwith give Muslim India Dominion Status and promise it to the rest of India when that rest is ready for it. There is no clear-cut geographical division between Muslim India and the rest of India. Some Muslim publicists have advocated a sort of Hitler policy of transferring and segregating Muslim and Hindu sections of the population, but they have little apparent backing. While the North-West Frontier region is almost solidly Muslim, the Punjab population is only 51 per cent. Muslim and the minority includes the compact and virile Sikh community.

The most vital communal division in the Punjab is that between the Muslims and the Sikhs. Nowhere are men more forthright in expressing and backing their opinions. The reason why there has under the present Constitution been general peace in the Punjab, in spite of this division, is mainly found in the statesmanship of the late Sir Fazli Hussain. He succeeded in creating in the province a Unionist party, which expressed his ideal of inter-communal friendship and co-operation and the spirit of toleration which he constantly preached. The party is based on common practical interests. It has proved wonderfully successful and cuts across racial and religious lines. The present Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, is a steady upholder of it.

Dominion Status has already been offered to India, for India to take as soon as she can—*i.e.*, as soon as her political leaders can settle among themselves a constitutional basis upon which to work it. The question is not whether Britain is ready to give it, but of how quickly Britain and India, or Indians among themselves, can agree upon a format for its institution. His Majesty's Government have offered to facilitate and assist preparatory deliberations among Indians themselves and to pass legislation as soon as possible after the war to give effect to appropriate conclusions. India already enjoys Dominion Status in some directions—notable in fiscal matters, under the Fiscal Autonomy Convention conceded to her with the 1919 Reforms. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN SHEA: I must apologize to the lecturer for not having been clear about what I meant when I talked about Pakistan. What I meant was this: that we know the India of Pakistan exists, that it is to a certain type of Mohammedan mind a distinct reality. I also tried to show that Muslim feeling is moving throughout the Muslim world towards unity of thought as it has never moved before. I therefore meant that if the Muslim in India got a raw deal it is not an improbable thing that their inclination would be more towards the Mohammedan States of the world than towards India. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: It is my most pleasant duty to offer thanks to Mr. Byrt, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Royal Central Asian Society, for his most interesting and highly instructive address, the fine debate which it has provoked and the light the discussion has thrown on the subject.

Regarding the Muslim point of view about the Pakistan Movement, I would like to say a few words. As has already been explained by the lecturer, the term means "the land of the pure or clean people," re-

ferring, of course, to the Muslims particularly in contradistinction to Hindu India, the "unclean" and idolatrous section of the population. It is a term which I do not like, and I dare say it is distasteful to many other Muslims. The name "Pakistan" must have started as a retort to the Hindus, who had called the Muslims "Melacha" (or unclean); but such a retort is contrary to the ideals and principles of Islam, for we wish to live in peace and friendship with our neighbours, and greet them with the familiar salutation which means "Peace be unto you."

Another point of view which has been brought out by the lecturer is the apprehension which the Hindu members of the community have expressed against bringing the North-West Frontier Province as a "settled Province" into British India. They apprehend that the Pathans would be a menace because of their marauding habits. These people raid because they are poor and want money, but there is one thing which no one can deny about the Pathans and, for that matter, about Arab raiders as well, that they will never break their promise when given—it is a part of their faith. For this reason, money spent on the Pathan, Arab or Turk is never spent in vain, and I would recommend that the British Government, which has spent money on many useful purposes in India, should spend some money on the improvement of conditions for the Pathan.

As regards the North-West Frontier Province, it was here that I had the privilege of beginning my career. I shall never forget the very cold New Year's Day of 1907 I had in Landikotal when Major Roos Keppell was the Political Officer in charge of the Khyber Pass. It is a remarkable country, and I can well understand the lecturer's great interest in it, because he saw the light of day in the hills.

British Imperialism has fought many battles all over the world, but the great pride of the British people ought to be that they have also implemented peace and civilization in many people's lands, and they have gained allies by friendly feeling and not by force of arms. This would be true of the British policy of education and social service in the North-Western Frontier Provinces, an illustration of which Sir John Shea and the lecturer have given, that to-day a remarkable thing has happened—from the Indus to the Atlantic the whole Muslim world is on the side of the great struggle for freedom and justice, for which the British people are making such a heroic stand. In spite of reverses, in spite of the falling off of allies, they have carried on the fight undismayed, and the Muslim people are with them because they are

convinced that the British are fighting for a high ideal which they are sharing.

Then, in connection with the Pakistan idea, Mr. Byrt mentioned Hitler's idea of transferring populations. I am afraid that is not quite correct, it is not Hitler's idea. It was the Allies' idea when they started self-determination. It was under this principle they made Turkey exchange her Christian population with Greece and other countries. We have now grown wiser, and this is a policy which it would not benefit the Muslims of India to pursue. Islam is world-wide and should not be cramped into any particular area. Muslims are international, and therefore I submit that in their ideals and outlook they are similar to the British people. The whole ideal is expressed beautifully in the two lines of our national poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal [here the original Urdu was quoted, a free translation of which is given below] :

“From China to Arabia is mine; Hindustan is my own land :  
I am a Muslim, the whole world is my own country.”

There is a fundamental reason why our Hindu brethren do not see our point of view : the Muslim, as I have said, is international, the Hindu is not—going across the sea takes away his caste, the touch of the Muslim or Christian is defiling. Even within the same caste, the Brahmin of Northern India will not intermarry with the Brahmin of Southern India. Then there is the barrier of the caste system within the Hindu community, which everybody knows.

I have heard British people say, “You are going to get Dominion Status if you unite.” I would like to see the whole of English-speaking Ireland united first; and the Balkan Peninsula, whose peoples are all Slavonic and have the same religion, to become one, before it is expected as a practical possibility that India, with its diversity in race, religion and language can be united, although such a unity would undoubtedly be the best thing for all concerned.

The Pakistan Movement was never a practical proposition, and entirely against Indian nationalism—the most important thing is to keep Indian Muslims within India and within the orbit of the British Commonwealth, not for them to unite with any independent Muslim State outside India. Muslims do not want safeguards; they want to be left alone to live their own lives without interference. When treated properly Muslims will die for you; they have always reacted well. Throughout the subversive movements in India and during the last World War and the present one, did they ever show any kind of feel-

ing which would make you doubt that they would react like other Dominions? All that is necessary is good treatment, friendship and trust. You are a great people, but do not be misled by those who talk of democracy but, in the name of democracy, want autocracy for themselves. (Applause.)



# SOME EDUCATION PROBLEMS IN THE EAST

By DR. L. DUDLEY STAMP

Given at a luncheon meeting on May 7, 1941, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, Dr. Stamp requires no introduction whatsoever, because we already have been delighted when he has talked to this Society. But I am quite sure that you would wish me to make the very briefest reference to the tragic happenings which have occurred in his family lately in the death through enemy action of his brother, Lord Stamp, which makes us indeed all the more grateful to him for having taken the time and opportunity to come and speak to us to-day. I know that I, on your behalf, may offer him our most sincere and our most respectful sympathy.

Dr. DUDLEY STAMP replied: I should first of all like to thank you very much for that reference to the tragedy which has recently befallen my family. My brother was a good deal older than the rest of the family, and we had all been so accustomed to look to him for advice and guidance, while we followed our own paths, that it is difficult for us to realize what has happened.

PERHAPS one or two personal remarks may be forgiven me by way of introduction. I went out to Burma first of all twenty years ago. Being a young officer, demobilized from the army and not feeling very much inclined to settle to a life in this country, when I was offered the chance of exploring in Upper Burma to look for oil and minerals on behalf of a Chinese millionaire, it sounded attractive.

The fact that the millionaire went bankrupt three months after my arrival complicated matters. I then transferred to another company, till one day I received a telegram asking me to become the first Professor of Geology in the new University of Rangoon and to found a Department of Geology, which should have for its main object the teaching of the natives of the country, particularly the Burmese, to have an interest in their own mineral resources and take a part in the development of their own country. It seemed to me that there was an opportunity. I consented and so became a Government servant and the first Professor of Geology in Burma.

Doubts arose in the minds of the Government of Burma as to whether this subject would be sufficiently attractive. I happened to mention, unfortunately, that I had a degree in geography, and so the

professorship became a combined Chair of Geology and Geography. I spent three years as professor there, during which time my wife joined me, having recently graduated from London, and became a lecturer in Education in the University, so between us we saw something of another side of education. If I say at the end of three years I felt that the conditions under which I was being asked to work were such that my real aims and ambitions would be stultified, you will realize that I was not satisfied with the education system as it was developed at that time, and you will forgive me if later I am a critic of education as it is at present. I have kept in touch with the progress of my own subject, and I had the pleasure of spending six months in India, Burma and Siam again three years ago, going then as a leisured visitor and being able to examine as an outsider the progress in recent years.

You will gather that most of my examples and my approach will be coloured by experience in Burma, so may I start by just saying a few things about the organization of education in Burma. Forgive me if, in attempting to summarize, I miss out a number of salient points, but I must try and use as few words as possible.

Burma is very different from India, in that the priests in the villages acted not only as spiritual heads but as educational leaders, and they gave the boys of the village through their initiation period the grounding in the three R's, with the result that there was a very high degree of literacy, at least among the men, in Burma, through this almost age-old national system of education. It did not take the children very far, but the majority of the villagers can read and write their own language.

The organization of education—which I think we might say we, the British, have given to Burma, is, first of all, the school system in three stages—the primary schools, the middle schools and the high schools. These terms are sufficiently self-explanatory to need little comment, and I think it is true to say that the majority of the boys and girls go through the primary and a fair proportion through the middle school stage. At the end of the middle school there is an examination, of the nature of a middle school leaving certificate, which is conducted largely by local inspectors.

With regard to the high schools, there the great aim is the passing of the high school final examination, the equivalent of our school leaving certificate. It is the passport from the school educational world and it, like the school leaving certificates in this country, is for

certain purposes the equivalent of matriculation for entry to the university.

Parallel through that system are two main groups of schools. The first group, the English schools, are intended for those whose mother tongue is English. One must remember the considerable Anglo-Indian population whose mother tongue is English, as well as perhaps a few students from actual English parents who use those schools. There are thus English primary, middle and high schools, largely organized by missionary bodies but Government aided or inspected.

Far more important from the point of view of numbers is the other group, the Anglo-Vernacular. Let us remember that of the 14,700,000 people of the country about 12,000,000 are Burmans, 1,000,000 Indians, whilst the remainder includes Chinese, Anglo-Indians, various immigrants and many hill peoples. It is not a single-language country, so that the linguistic difficulty is particularly complex. With the Anglo-Vernacular schools, teaching in the primary schools is in the vernacular, in the middle schools partly in the vernacular and partly in English, and in the high schools it is generally true to say that the bulk of the instruction is in English. Just before I leave that may I say that the nationalist element amongst the Burmans, dissatisfied from certain points of view with the education given to the country, attempted to establish stages the whole way through from the old Hpoongy or monastery schools in the villages right to a university, with Burmese as the medium of instruction.

Above the high school comes higher education. Some of the high school graduates go to training colleges, training as teachers, some to institutes for engineering, forestry and so on, whilst the select few come on to the university at Rangoon.

Now a few words about the University of Rangoon. For a long time University College, Rangoon, and the American Missionary College, Jutson College, were attached to the University of Calcutta. Naturally that did not please the Burman population, to be attached to an alien country and an alien university. So, rather over twenty years ago (1920), the University of Rangoon, containing the two colleges, became entirely independent, and in many ways we started with what might be described as a clean slate and with the definite objective that it should be a national university.\*

\* In addition to the two original colleges there are now a Medical College (1929), a Teachers' Training College (1931) and the Mandalay Agricultural College.

First, because it was to serve all the people living in Burma, it was laid down that the medium of instruction must be English, and only English was allowed to be used. A very interesting position: we were members of the Indian Educational Service, and as such we were Government servants and had to pass linguistic tests in the language (Burmese) of the Province. In Rangoon, largely an Indian city, we nearly all had to acquire a little Hindustani to talk to our servants. We were never allowed to use anything but English in the University.

Secondly, the University set out to lay a considerable emphasis on the country itself and its possible development.

Thirdly, the question of standard was kept to the forefront. Unfortunately, very many of the universities in the East—I think I might be forgiven for saying many of the Indian universities—have become almost notorious because of the low standard of education and of their degrees. Perhaps it would not be unfair to say that the degrees of certain Indian universities are scarcely more than the standard of matriculation in this country. So Rangoon set out to try and maintain a standard which should be equivalent to the university standards of this country. Most of the syllabuses are based on London or other British universities. That maintenance of standards has proved extremely difficult.

I have spent a rather long time giving you the background as far as Burma is concerned; now I will suggest some of the major problems as they appear to me.

First, the language as medium of instruction. Should the instruction in Eastern countries be given in the vernacular or should it be given in English? That is a burning question at the present time, and I think one might rightly say that the present tendency in most countries of the East, at any rate in India and Burma, is for the change to be made from English to the vernacular.

Fifteen years ago I wrote a geography book for Indian schools. I wrote it, of course, in English. As it happened to be prepared for Indian schools it suited their requirements and so proved rather popular. I think it is now published, with various modifications, in about a dozen different Indian languages, and the sales, as far as the English edition is concerned, are comparatively small. That has been the general tendency. In this particular case it is a high school book, and we are immediately brought up against some of the linguistic difficulties. The majority of our technical terms and the majority of actual refinements in the English language cannot be directly translated,

because the vernacular languages are not sufficiently developed as literary languages for the purpose, so for the translation of books of a high school type, and certainly for those of a university standard, there is need for a constant invention of words. That is the case not only in the East; it is marked in such languages as Afrikaans. The translation of books into vernacular languages is, from one point of view, enriching those vernaculars.

Unfortunately, by using the vernaculars, the essential contacts, which are so important amongst educated people, tend to be lost. Those of you who know India know that, broadly speaking, amongst the educated classes English is the medium common to all through which thoughts and ideas can be transferred. There is, I know, the move to substitute one or other of the Indian languages for English, but immediately that is done there is the loss of contact between our Western civilization, so-called, and the East. I am purposely putting problems before you and I do say that this language problem is one of the greatest.

On the other hand, if English is used as the medium of instruction, there are all these millions of peoples who are attempting to learn in a foreign language, and it is very hard on them that they should have to acquire a knowledge of technical subjects through a medium not their mother tongue. I feel it very difficult to strike a balance between the two. On the whole, there seems to be a great deal to be said in favour of the system which we did introduce into Burma and the East, the little ones being taught in their own language, the middle school pupils being given the gentle transfer from one to the other, and when it comes to the high schools and the university, where, after all, the knowledge which they must acquire is to a large extent international, the medium should be one of the great languages of the world in which so much work has been done. So I am inclined to think that the present move towards the vernacular is a retrograde step.

Last time I was out in India I discussed this problem with many of the university leaders there and found a great divergence of opinion. In India it raises rather unexpected problems. The Moslems are pressing for Urdu as the medium of instruction. Urdu presents a particular difficulty in that the script is impossible to print; it has to be written. So it has been necessary to invent a new script which can be printed as opposed to being written. Urdu scholars tell me that it is rather difficult for people accustomed to the one to get used to the other. There is the same trouble in attempting to get a considerable

library of books translated into Urdu. It seemed to me a tragedy in a certain Indian university that the students were limited to half a dozen books in the sciences and that the great wealth of the European libraries was not available because in an alien tongue. I hope there will be expressions of opinion on this question, so I will repeat that my own opinion is that we did not go very far wrong in the attempt that we made.

While I am talking on this subject, there is the question of Basic English. The general idea is to simplify English into a small number of words (some 700 in all), chosen with care, eliminating any duplicated forms, and for the writing and printing of books to be in that simplified language. There is a great deal to be said for it. Unfortunately, I think it is being found that those who have learnt Basic English are able to read and write in that language but have a difficulty when it comes to conversation, in that those whose mother tongue is English may use a simplified form of the language, but not simplified along the rather stereotyped lines of this particular basic language.

My own tendency then is to say, let us be extremely careful to use good but simple English, of the type which we ought to use in conversation and in writing, to avoid the flamboyant and the technical terms, but not to attempt to limit the language along one particular direction which the adoption of Basic English would presuppose.

Problem No. 2. I am going straightway to say that I think the educational system in Burma and India is top-heavy. That was the main trouble about the University of Rangoon. I doubt very much whether, at that stage, the creation of the University of Rangoon, as it was then, was justified. May I be personal again and say why I was led to that conclusion? When I started my first-year classes in geology and geography in the University of Rangoon, with a syllabus which was tolerably satisfactory, I was rather appalled at what seemed to me the colossal ignorance of those who came to me with high school certificates. I looked into the matter. The fault obviously lay with the high schools. I numbered amongst my friends the headmasters of different types of high schools in Burma and I told them that the material coming up to the University was unsatisfactory. Their reply was: "What can we do in three or four years? You see, when they come up to us from the middle schools they just do not know anything at all."

Right. I took my problem to a very interesting Burmese Inspector

of Schools in Rangoon and said: "This seems to be the problem. The material coming to the University is not satisfactory because the product of the middle schools is not properly trained." With my friend I inspected a wide range of middle schools.

The middle school masters said: "The children know nothing when they come to us, but when we say that to the primary schools they say, 'What can we do with a teacher who gets thirty rupees a month when you pay your servants forty-five?'" The educational system ought to have been built in the East with a much greater attention to the beginnings in the primary schools.

My wife and I tried to do a little in that direction. I felt it rather extraordinary that the first job of a professor in the University should be to prepare a little book for children of seven. That is what my wife and I did. We tried to give them the rudiments of geography of their own country. Amongst my university colleagues of this country, of course, there are certain things which no professor ought really to do. No professor ought really to do the terrible work of writing a school textbook. If he does, it is only for the sake of getting money and he must not talk about it. I have written some twenty or thirty—but keep very quiet about it.

But, joking aside, after all the textbook wields more influence than anything else, except perhaps the examination syllabus. I am sorry to say that the printed word which is put into so many of the schools in the East is that which would not be tolerated in this country for five minutes. A book which established a reputation in Britain fifty years ago is still the one book used in many an Eastern school. Years ago, when I was studying this question in the West Indies, I was horrified to find that the standard textbook in one of the schools was a little book prepared in this country and published for the first time in 1864. That was in British Guiana. The children were reading about England, "The turnpike roads of England are in good condition." That was in 1923!

I think we ought to pay the strictest attention, first, to the primary schools. Give them the teachers, the materials, the books. That is your foundation, and then to build up.

In case I should be accused of being critical without recognizing what has been done, I realize that in certain parts of the British Empire we are very alive to these things, and I am inclined to think we have profited by mistakes in India in what we are doing at present in Africa. The hesitation in Nigeria and the Gold Coast to give the

people their university until the educational foundations are well and truly laid, is fully justified.

Thus it happened that the standard of education one hoped for in the University of Rangoon was extremely difficult to maintain. In view of the difficulties and the lack of early school preparation, I think the standard which is reached by these Burmese and other students is amazing. It is not equivalent to the standard in this country, but in view of the opportunities they are given in the schools it represents a greater achievement than we commonly meet with in the large proportion of students in this country. That is a considered opinion, after coming back to England and doing a lot of school examination work here.

My problem No. 3 I call the problem of curriculum: what to teach. Again I am going to be critical. I think we have certainly made great mistakes in the East in the past. What did we do when we went to India and Burma? We more or less took the education which we knew in this country and we attempted to plant it in alien soil. I am not quite sure what else could have been done, but once it was planted the tree grew and flourished, and no one has been bold enough to say, "It is a rotten tree. Let's cut it down."

I will give you a few examples. What do we find in the high schools of Burma? If you cast your minds back to your own school days I expect you all suffered, as I did, from "doing" one or two of the plays of Shakespeare. Believe it or not, exactly the same thing was done in Burma. I remember the shock of a boy coming to me, who wanted to enter my intermediate class, and saying very deferentially, "Sire, methinks I should study with thee the subject geography." It was quite good Shakespearian English, but you see the result. I ventured to suggest to some of my English colleagues that we should put them on to some *modern* novels. I think they did conceive that they might in the future think of letting them read Thackeray!

English history, believe it or not, when I was in Burma was a major part of the curriculum. For a period I was Chairman of the High Schools Board of Examiners in history and geography. We had great difficulty on one occasion with a history examiner who failed 80 per cent. of the candidates. I had to review the marking. I was horrified to find that these poor little devils were expected to know all about the Wars of the Roses and why, where and what Perkin Warbeck did.

It is all wrong. What are you going to put in its place? You say,



obviously, Burmese history, Indian history, world history. I think that is the answer, that it is the relationship of their own particular country and its history to the background of world history that one would like to see.

It is not as easy as it sounds. Who is going to do it? Is the graduate, first-class, second-class or otherwise, of history or geography from one of our universities in this country able to go to India and Burma and to start by giving lectures or taking a class in a school in the local history or geography? No. That is the trouble. The man has got to be there perhaps for a matter of years to do what is really the research necessary before he is able to do that. I quite honestly do not as yet see the way out of that specific difficulty. It sounds extraordinarily good when one can say: "So-and-so, who got a first-class at Oxford or Cambridge or London, is going out to the East. He is going out as a headmaster or second master of an important school, and we are giving the best that education has produced in this country to the East." So, from a certain point of view, you are, but my belief is that such a man has still to be trained for his job. Instead of his going out as a teacher in a responsible position, he must go out to learn. He must be given a couple of years to soak himself in the local knowledge, which will enable him to build up anew and to fit his training into the local conditions, and one has to have a man with a receptive mind to do that.

Believe me, there is nothing written adequately to this day on the geography of the country of Burma. One has to learn it almost by experience. There is not yet an adequate geography of India. School textbooks, yes; but not the adequate material from which a senior master ought to be able to cull that which is important and to fit it in to his own area.

We must get away from the idea that training in this country fits a man straightway to train others in a country of the East or elsewhere. I could give you other examples. My wife was a lecturer in education. She found that the curriculum in education in the University of Rangoon had been laid down and honestly modelled on that formerly used in the old London Day Training College. My wife lectured in child psychology and various more practical things, such as school discipline. Child psychology was quite absurd. As for school discipline, if you stand up before a Burmese school class there is that worship of learning which characterizes the Eastern races, and the children are all rapt attention and anxious to learn. Yet there

were the lectures, intended to keep a London group of seventy Cockneys in order, being given there.

When Professor Clarke came to Rangoon, with his wide experience elsewhere, he realized that, and I know he completely changed the point of view, and I believe the Teachers' Training College of the University of Rangoon, as a result of one man's seeing and understanding, has been completely changed in its outlook and is now very definitely related to the needs of the country. That shows what can be done with the right man determined to do the job.

However, I have talked about history and geography and English and so on, and I have not yet asked whether they are things that should be taught or not. I am not at all sure that they are. We talk very glibly about education being really for cultural purposes, that education really is not vocational training, that the schools ought not to attempt vocational training, and that, having reached the wonderful stage of culture provided by the high schools and universities, the boys and girls will then find their niche in life. Does it ever really work out that way?

Are we not in the East still manufacturing discontented equivalents of black-coated workers, more and more B.A.s, who become a drug on the market? If that is so, what is wrong? As I said, I am here to put problems before you, not to answer them. Can we not somehow combine vocational education and definite practical training with the cultural elements as well? Somehow or other we have to get away from this worship of a B.A. as a final climax of an educational career and the idea that it is going to be the key which will open the door to human success. My own leaning is towards much more vocational education.

With that goes something else for which we in this country are very responsible. We have set up certain spheres of knowledge on pedestals, and we have placed other spheres of knowledge in the background.

Why should we regard a knowledge of English language and literature, of History or the Classics, as something which is more worth while than an intimate knowledge of the workings of nature, of the soil and the produce of the soil in agriculture?

The mistake we have made is to separate the knowledge of this earth into artificial categories, and we need not only to synthesize knowledge but to be more democratic in our education by lifting so much we regard as mundane to a higher plane. I am quoting agri-

culture in particular because there is something which is vocational, real and scientific, something which has in it, I believe, all the elements necessary to make up a cultural background. I believe in the good earth, and in a study of the good earth, and if we only inculcate the idea that it is not derogatory to study the good earth we shall do away with this horrible system of manufacturing clerks for Government offices.

Are there obstacles to doing that? Yes, and we provide most of them in this country by our own unprogressive attitude. When I was in the West Indies I found the schools were using old-fashioned books. They were learning details of the geography of the British Isles which were of no interest to them. I said, "What these children should learn is the history or geography of their own country." Do you know the reply I got from educated teachers in Jamaica? "This is the geography, this is the history which is regarded as suitable for English schools. Why should we in the West Indies be regarded as having to learn something inferior?" Such is the regard for Britain's example.

What is the real aim and object of the student in a university of the Empire? To get to Oxford or Cambridge or London. Whether he despises the English or not, it does not matter. He wants the advantage of a B.A. or Ph.D. from England. The only way I got over the geography difficulty in the West Indies was by saying that we have made great changes in geography teaching in England in the last twenty years and that we now regard everything as being built on a study of the local environment, and it was better that the West Indies should do the same thing. I got away with that, but the local point of view was unexpected and provided a very real obstacle.

I have given you my three main problems and I do not want to take up all your time.

Amongst the major educational needs not only of the East but of other overseas countries at the present time I think is a supply of teachers or lecturers or professors with new ideas and new ideals, who do not regard their training in their home country as something which fits them to pass on knowledge elsewhere, and we need to give those teachers the opportunity of getting to know conditions in these overseas countries before they attempt to begin the actual work of imparting knowledge to others.

Secondly, I think what we really need is a change of heart not only in the East but in this country, the resuscitation of respect for the educational importance of other things besides the so-called cultural and

humanistic studies, and that we should give a greater respect to those branches of knowledge which deal with the earth on which we live and from which we have ourselves, our wealth and our life.

Dr. READ: I am sure we have all listened with very great interest to Dr. Stamp's most challenging lecture. One could hear from the applause that the audience was in sympathy with his main points.

I would like, if I may, from the experience which I have had both in India and in Africa to bring out one aspect of the first point he spoke of—namely, the top-heavy system of education. We have to remember that in building up the educational system of a country there are certain divergent aims which may not appear at the beginning of the system of education, but which sooner or later become clear to those responsible for carrying out that education, and certainly to the people who receive it. I refer to the blending of political aims with cultural and economic aims in education.

One sees in Africa at the moment the early stage through which India passed in the last century of rushing to everything English and Western. Possibly certain parts of the West Coast have already passed this stage, for there are some signs of a revival of interest in the vernacular languages. When I speak of the political aims in education I mean a dawning consciousness among the people that they belong to a nation which is part of the Empire but has an entity of its own, and that the language in which the education is given assists in building up this political consciousness among the people.

At the same time, all of us who have seen anything of education in India, realize the loss, in the cultural sense, to the people if they are cut off from their own language and literature and pushed into the milieu of the English language and literature. We have to try to balance these perfectly legitimate political aspirations of the people with the real necessity for maintaining their cultural heritage. We must recognize at the same time that education in the East and in Africa, as in England, has to have an economic aim—that is, that the people who are being educated have to *live* and that their education has to be in relation to their own economic future. Those three aims are very often incompatible, and we have somehow or other to keep them very clearly in mind.

Then there is another point to which Dr. Stamp referred and about which I would like to make one remark. That is the relation of research to the centres of higher education. Dr. Stamp referred

particularly to the necessity for people from this country going out to countries like Burma and learning about the people of the country before they attempt to teach Shakespeare, or English geography, or whatever may be required in the textbooks.

About a year and a half ago Sir Philip Mitchell, then Governor of Uganda, gave an address to teachers in training in Uganda, in which he made some proposals which would have the effect of reversing what is now called the educational pyramid. Among other things, he suggested that anyone going out to a new country in educational work ought to spend their first year or two in studying the country and the people, their customs, their traditions, the geography of the country and such history as it had before they attempted to do any teaching at all. Perchance that is a counsel of perfection, but this is something which one can bear in mind in any kind of planning for centres of higher education. These institutions for higher education so often only turn out people for particular jobs. There should be an element of research provided for in all these institutions of higher learning; research which will on one side be related to the cultural heritage of the indigenous people, and on the other side to the country itself, its geology, geography and so on. If the time comes for any such reforms in education as some of us hope to see, either at the period we vaguely refer to as the end of the war or in the course of it, we should keep in mind the importance of attaching to training colleges, technical colleges and universities some opportunities for research. This might prove one way to get over some of the real obstacles and difficulties in colonial education at the present time.

I would like to thank Dr. Stamp for his very enlightening and challenging remarks.

Dr. C. MIDDLETON SMITH: I come from the University of Hongkong. All my life I have been longing to hear a lecture such as has been delivered to-day. I, perhaps, may offend people here when I say that the root trouble with all these Eastern countries has been the University of Oxford. The trouble has been these Oxford graduates have gone out to these countries trying to teach Oxford. I had a colleague who came to Hongkong as Professor of English Literature who insisted upon the Chinese students learning Chaucer. I had another who came out there who insisted upon his students learning Greek. What are you to do with people like that?

We have suffered also from Oxford because our administrators

have come from Oxford, and they have brought these curious ideas to Asia. The consequence is that we poor scientists have had no sympathy whatever from Governors. They may, in Africa, try and turn things upside down, but I can assure you that in Hongkong and China they try to go on in the old rut. In fact, they seem to be afraid of new ideas, to become more Chinese than the Chinese.

I would therefore say that, if only we can get a little common sense into this education business, then there is some hope. In Hongkong I had the privilege of being for a whole year the only professor in the University, and I set to work with two ideas. One was that I would insist that the standard should be maintained, and every year we maintained it in my own subject of engineering. We sent our papers to the London University and had a certificate to state that our graduates had the same standard in engineering as in the London University, and every year we had a first-class honours certified by examiners from the London University.

But one thing I insisted upon was that whereas in London they had a three-years course, we must take a four-years course to overcome this difficulty of the schools. The schools in the Far East are bad, I admit. It amazes me to find, in this time when we are struggling for our lives, that there are people in this country who scoff at those of us who say that it is more important for a child leaving school to know the reason for the lightning and the thunder, and the reason for the laws of nature, and why things happen in their everyday life, than it is that they should learn ancient languages and Shakespeare and Chaucer and so on. I had to learn about English literature to pass my matriculation, but nobody insisted that the gentleman who comes out as Governor of Hongkong should understand anything about why it is that steam comes out of a kettle and elementary things like that.

Therefore you must start to work on your schools in this country. I have to thank Oxford for receiving me as a refugee and being very kind to me, but, really, as I walk about that ancient city and talk to some of the professors there, I sometimes shudder to think what this country of ours is coming to.

MR. J. HARDEMAN: To begin with, I should like also to pay my tribute to Dr. Stamp for his most interesting lecture. Especially it struck me that he has been able to make clear to us some of the problems we Westerners have in fulfilling our educational task in Asian territories under our control.

One of these problems Dr. Stamp pointed out to us was the ques-

tion of the foreign language, in your case English, used as medium for the instruction instead of the vernacular. In that respect Dr. Stamp said to us that he had to complain of the unsatisfactory standard of instruction in the three different grades. I should like to know whether in Burma you have got a general primary school; whether that is the school for all the different social classes of the community? We in the Dutch East Indies have, after having made some mistakes in the beginning, based our system for the native pupils on the fact that there are two distinct social classes, the upper classes—the aristocracy and native chiefs—and the common people. We took that into account, and from the beginning we had two kinds of primary schools—first-class schools for the upper classes and second-class schools for the common people. Later on, the first-class schools for the upper classes of the native population were reorganized into Dutch vernacular schools. That is perhaps the reason why we, as far as I know, have never had any major trouble about the standard of the instruction given in the Dutch language.

The second question I should like to put to Dr. Stamp is, whether Burma also has the same experience as we, that for the common people, especially in the rural districts, primary education, given in a three-year course, really satisfies the wants of the more or less primitive rural population? I believe that is the general experience in the Asian countries, and even elsewhere. I have been told that the same applies to the schools for negro children in America, that the majority of these children cannot stand more than three years of instruction.

For those very few pupils from village schools or from other native primary schools who have shown themselves fit for higher instruction we have introduced the so-called link school, where they first become acquainted with the Dutch language, and from there they can go on to high schools and to the Dutch universities.

Dr. Stamp told us about a certain general tendency now to change English for the vernacular among the cultured and enlightened classes of the Burmese population. We have the same tendency in the Dutch East Indies.

There is one other thing may be of interest. A sort of native school system is developing, in that they try to have a more harmonious connection in their school system between their own culture and the foreign Western culture. With Government financial aid, three years ago native corporations established vernacular schools parallel to the junior high school in the Dutch system. In those schools the teaching

of Dutch has been given a prominent place in the curriculum without, however, neglecting the vernacular. Still, we have to wait and see whether this will succeed, because the further aim of these schools is to build them up to the complete high school that could be the entrance to the universities.

Mr. PHILBY: I am really rather ashamed to confess that when I came here this afternoon I thought we were in for a dull couple of hours. Dr. Stamp has upset that idea of mine. You will agree that he has infused a certain amount of life into what might be a very dull subject indeed, and that he has made us feel that it is a matter of vital concern to us, this question of how we should teach these people for whom we have accepted the responsibility of ruling them and bringing them up to be citizens of their own countries or of our Empire.

It will surprise you to know that I, too, am a sort of professor. I must say a very honorary professor, holding a Chair that does not exist. I am, as our lecturer was, professor of geology and geography in the yet uncompleted University of Arabia. I get no pay for it, and I have been asked to prepare for them a textbook for boys of seven to ten on the geography and geology of Arabia.

Our lecturer has deprecated the idea of a professor being set down to write a book on his own subject for boys of seven or eight. I would go as far as to say that nobody but a professor, an expert in his subject, should be allowed to write a textbook for the use of small boys. I would also, with *malice prepense*, go as far as saying that no man should be a professor of any subject unless he was capable of writing such a book for such boys.

There was one point on which I was rather surprised that the lecturer did not touch at all, and that was the very controversial subject of script. We have certain organizations in this country who are engaged in trying to revolutionize the question of Oriental scripts—*i.e.*, abolishing Oriental scripts and substituting some kind of English script therefor. I can only say I deprecate it very strongly and, speaking more particularly for those countries with which I have been connected very closely, I think that they would very strongly resent the substitution of a Roman script of any kind for their own Arabic.

As to language, what body is there in this country, and many other countries, who really regard in their hearts and souls the teaching of their special subjects as of the most vital concern to the people they are trying to teach? It is surely the missionaries. What is the medium of instruction used by the missionaries? They know perfectly well it



is no good whatever going out to East or West and trying to put across the Christian religion, unless they are able to teach it to the boys and girls concerned in their own language so that they really can understand it. That is an example which we should adopt.

Dr. Stamp referred to the fact that in Burma they actually have a system of education which exists side by side with the teaching of the religion of the country, and includes with it a certain elementary training in the three R's. That seems to me an admirable system, and I think we are beginning to wonder whether we should not go back to something of the kind.

I should like, in ending, to express my own thanks, and I am sure yours, to the lecturer for a most admirable and a most challenging lecture.

Dr. STAMP: You have left me many points to answer. I think they almost call for another lecture.

In reply to Dr. Read, why not the great aim for us to be bilingual? One of the great regrets I have is that I am not a linguist. I have the characteristic English difficulty in picking up foreign languages, so it seems to me that the bilingual ideal is an excellent one.

There are so many things I did not touch on. Education, what is it for? Education for citizenship of the world. Surely civics might bind together so many of the things at present in our curriculum.

This question of research is a vast field, but as I have such a distinguished audience before me I am going to say this. What ought a professor in the university to do? What ought the university to do? I am growing more and more towards the idea that a member of a university should not be required to have any students and teach them at all. My trouble is that when a man is sent out East the amount of work which he does is counted by the number of lectures he gives. I was regarded as fully occupied in Rangoon because I gave twenty lectures a week. I feel I am probably doing more useful work now when I am giving one lecture a week in alternate weeks. To be serious, I agree that all centres of higher education should have a dual function—teaching and research.

I was very interested indeed in what Professor Middleton Smith said on the maintenance of standard. From what I have seen of my Chinese students in Rangoon, as a rule the Chinese stand above the average of other Eastern races. Possibly the maintenance of standard with that material and in the subject of engineering is therefore a little easier than in some of the cultural subjects. One of the great

troubles we had in Rangoon was that we got a lot of failures and the failed students did not like it. They wanted a B.A. or B.Sc.

So, having learned their political ideas from the West, they went on strike until the standards were lowered. They took the matter very seriously. The professors could not go out of their houses because the students were on a lie-down strike and would not permit them to move out of their bungalows. By such devious means they forced the lowering of the standard.

I appreciate very much indeed having the Director of Education of the Netherlands East Indies with so many interesting points of comparison. He asked a number of questions. Were our primary schools all the same and was there not a possibility of division in first- and second-grade schools? The matter is more complicated in Burma because of the different racial elements and the different languages one has there. Amongst the primary schools alone we had the English, the Burmese, the Karen, the Tamil and the Moslem primary schools, and a good many special ones, especially in the hills. There is that initial difficulty of a country where there are considerable minorities which have to be allowed for.

The organization amongst the Burmese is rather different from that amongst the native peoples in the Dutch East Indies. There are no people on the face of this earth who are quite as delightful as the Burmese, and they have a real democracy at heart. I cannot conceive of the Burmese agreeing to any class distinction in their primary schools. Their religion rather binds them into a truer democracy than we know in this country, just as there is a true equality of the sexes in Burma. The equality of the sexes works rather as it does in this country: when a man is married his wife takes the upper hand and makes sure that her husband earns enough money to keep them as she wishes. So I do not think we can use the phrase in Burma "the common people" in quite the same way.

With regard to the question of a maximum three years of education in the primary schools my answer is, education really never ends, and it is a narrow view of education which regards it as ending with the three years of school. I would like to see the three R's carried on into the future. There must be eventually some system of continuance of the possibility of education, cultural or otherwise, throughout life.

I should say that our Anglo-Vernacular middle schools correspond rather closely with what in Java are called "link schools." Children pass from the primary to the Anglo-Vernacular middle schools. There

they learn their English and from there they pass on to the high school and the university, so the system is rather similar.

I found the Burmese Government very willing to recognize national efforts among the Burmans. The Burmese were anxious to have their own independent educational system right away through to the university. The Government recognized that straightway and we had co-opted members on our Government Committees, but I am afraid it was not a very strong plant and I do not think it still exists.

There is an important distinction between Professor Philby's professorship and mine—I did get paid. I heartily agree with what he said about the duties of writing books for the schools. What I was saying is that he and I, in perfect agreement as I think we are, will not necessarily find that our colleagues of the senior universities in this country take the same point of view.

With regard to the question of script, I can appreciate Mr. Philby's point of view, but I do not agree with it. When I was studying in Turkey in 1928, Mustapha Kemal Pasha had eliminated from stations and public places every fragment in Roman script. I do not know the Arabic script and was in a hopeless position. Later he Romanized the whole script, recognizing his earlier ruling had the effect of isolating his people from the West.

As regards missionaries, I think their aim in using the vernacular is rather a different one from that we have been considering and the whole matter deserves separate and specific study.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I left India, for four years I was the Chairman of the Board that examined Indian candidates for cadetships. Many hundreds passed through my hands. We all gave every single one a most careful personal interview, and the conclusion that I came to at the end of the fourth year was—what has education done for these boys? They could spout Shakespeare by the yard. If you asked them why they wanted to be soldiers they gave you the most extraordinary answers. If, however, you asked them any questions of how India grew, what was the meaning of modern India, and any questions about what Dr. Stamp has so aptly called the good earth, they were completely floored, and I came to the conclusion that their education had not fitted them for after life, and that seems to me the whole object of education.

How are you going to educate these people in happier times than these?

I do my best to keep in touch with 60,000 young Londoners; our

aim is to turn them into decent citizens and give them education in character. What are you going to do to try and educate the boys in these other lands? Surely if there is any meaning in education, education in character is the thing you want to aim at. I do believe that one of the solutions is that you want to select teachers who really believe that they have got an educational mission, and then you will have your boys properly brought up.

*Any Member wishing to add to this discussion should send in his contribution before September 1.*

# RUSSIA AND THE WAR

By ARTHUR G. MARSHALL

At a Luncheon Meeting on June 4, 1941, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arthur Marshall is no stranger to us because happily we have had him several times at our lunches and our lectures before. I think that he is peculiarly fitted to talk about Russia because he first went there in 1908, just after the Russo-Japanese War, and stopped there during the two revolutions. He had a very large motor works in Moscow, which the Russians did him the honour of nationalizing in 1919, but the small matter of payment for the nationalization and his loss is up to date deferred.

Then he was largely responsible for paving the way towards the first Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement in 1922. He has been working on that particular line ever since, but nothing much has materialized up to date.

Then he was responsible for the settlement of the Lena Goldfields affair, which had been hanging on for a matter of five years, and which he managed to settle in five weeks. So you will see that his connection with Russia is very intimate, and I would like to stress the point that, though he has always been an advocate for closer relations between this country and Russia, and, indeed, has said that he thinks in the whole world there are no two countries which could give each other more, he has always remained very British, and in his work the interests of his country have always been paramount.

THE Chairman has been kind enough to introduce me to you. I should like to tell you, first of all, of my introduction to the Royal Central Asian Society. I was asked to one of their dinners, and before the dinner I was talking to the speaker, who was giving an address on Russia. I asked him when he had returned from Russia—this was in 1928—and he told me he had never been there, but he had read certain things which he was going to tell them. He gave us a most interesting address, full of facts and figures. We were introduced to every form of Russian activity—social, industrial, military, and political.

At the end of it I was called on to reply, and, in replying, I dealt with my experience over there, the impressions I had formed, the work I had been carrying on, and so forth, and as a result they asked me to

become a member. Since then, I am pleased to say, I have been a member.

With regard to Russia's attitude during the war, I met our Chairman at the Farewell Reception to the Chinese Ambassador a few weeks ago, and he asked me to give an address with regard to Russia and the war. I said: "There is really not very much one can say about what Russia will do, but, if you like, I will."

Russia's aims in the war are :

1. Not to join in the war.
2. To take advantage of the position by securing any advantages she can for herself as a result of the war going on; and
3. To hope that the nations will be thoroughly exhausted at the end of the war.

Her aims are selfish and not unselfish. She is not a philanthropist. She is wanting to look after Russian interests and the Russian end of life.

I want to proceed from that and say a little as to Russia's relationships with the Great Powers.

In the old days, before the revolution, France occupied a very special position over there. The French Government were very intimately connected with the diplomatic side and the financial side in Russia. French was used as a sort of second language, and the French were very much liked. Germany occupied the next place. From the commercial and industrial point of view German was a sort of second language, and the Germans were very well liked. They had built up a very large and extensive business over there, and were developing it very satisfactorily. Great Britain did not cut much ice in those days. To some extent in the textile and shipbuilding trades and in one or two of the heavy engineering trades we did have certain connections, but English was almost useless as a language. You had to speak either German or, preferably, Russian. But the Russians in those days understood and worked very well with the Germans.

Then the revolution took place. As a result the diplomatic and financial classes practically ceased to exist, and France's position in Russia was completely lost. After the revolution was established the Germans were the first to resume relationships with Russia, and they built up quite a nice business. On the other hand, Germany was left after the war in a very difficult position commercially and financially. As a result of that, the present Russian Government, wanting to extend their trade, turned to us. I do not think they turned to us half so

much because they were anxious to achieve friendly relationships with this country as for the advantages they could get out of relationships with us. They built up with us a very extensive business, and the business developed on very considerable lines, but principally in the purchase of Russian imports into this country and not so much in the sale of British exports. As Germany got in the position of being able to supply more exports, so Russia proceeded to use the money which she gained from the sale of her imports, not for the purchase of British exports, but transferred the money to Germany for buying German goods.

One cannot blame her. On the other hand, it did leave this country with a certain amount of sore feeling. We had a number of agreements with Russia at different times. The agreements were always very carefully worded, but somehow there was always some loophole which enabled Russia to get away with an inferiority in her purchases as compared with her sales to this country.

Stalin, without question, fears Germany, and, whilst the Russians on the whole like and get on very well with the Germans (they more or less, using a colloquialism, speak the same language), Stalin himself, and Russia as a whole, feel that they have a great deal to fear from Germany.

With regard to ourselves, there has always been a feeling in Russia of suspicion, of mistrust as to what we want to do; also a feeling of inferiority. They feel that we think that they are Easterners, that they are Asiatics, that we treat them as though they were Asiatics, and they do not like it; and, as a result of not liking it, they are rather inclined to stand on their dignity. We have a feeling, on our side, that when we sign an agreement with Russia, if there is a loophole, Russia will take advantage of it and we shall get a raw deal. We have had some experience of that. There have been various interruptions in Russian relations with this country, some of them unjustifiable, some of them with a certain amount of reason at the back of them, but they have not tended to improve the general relationships between Russia and ourselves. There is always that sort of feeling of suspicion. To-day Russia does not lay much importance on France, and none whatever on Italy.

Dealing now with the war, I want to trace up the history of it. You cannot, and I cannot, keep away from talking about Hitler as well as Stalin.

First of all, the Russian attitude. After the revolution Russia tried

to sow the seeds of Communism, State Capitalism, Internationalism, or any other title that you like to use, by means of propaganda, and generally subversive propaganda, especially in Europe, in India and Egypt. She was not very successful; in some countries she did achieve a certain amount of success, but nowhere complete success. And it was very expensive. Also it was getting her severely disliked in many countries. She decided, after trying it for some years, that this was not the proper method of bringing about Communism in the countries of Europe and achieving her great aim of internationalism. She decided to drop it, and, to the surprise of many people, she joined the League of Nations.

I would like you to think about what her activities were on the League of Nations after she had joined it. They were not frightfully constructive, and at times they were very destructive. Her criticisms were destructive nearly always. Take Litvinoff. He became a member of the Disarmament Conference. His idea was not partial disarmament. He believed in total disarmament, which nobody was prepared to agree to, which meant that nothing would be done, and Russia was at that time re-arming herself as hard as she could go. As a result of that it did not improve the chances of partial disarmament going through. I do not think Russia was anxious to achieve success in disarmament. I think she was spreading Internationalism or Communism.

Take the Spanish Civil War. In the Spanish Civil War Russia was definitely intervening on the side of the Spanish Socialist Government, Italy on the side of Franco; Germany later joined in as well. I think Russia was anxious to see that Spanish Civil War continuing. She looked on it as a chance of creating trouble.

I think Stalin or the Russians may have said to themselves: "What enabled Communism to take hold in Russia? It was one thing—namely, Russia's being completely down and out as a result of the Great War. Communism took hold, and offered the people a hope for a better existence." Stalin said to himself: "It will be much easier to achieve this internationalism if I can produce amongst the nations a similar state; in other words, exhaustion after a war." From that point of view Russia was rather anxious to keep alive the Spanish trouble. She never intervened sufficiently in Spain to secure a victory of the Socialist Government. She could have intervened far more than she did. She had the chance, but she did not.

Then came the Non-Intervention Conference, which held a very



large number of meetings. Russia was a member of that, and Russia's activities on that were also not very constructive. One scheme after another would be put up for partial non-intervention. Russia would criticize it because it was not complete non-intervention; the result would be that that scheme would not go through, Russia agreeing to it finally when it was too late to put it into operation, and another one had to be thought of. The result was it kept that sore alive.

Eventually Franco was victorious, and as a result the chance of the world war being created out of the Spanish Civil War ceased to exist.

Then take the next crisis, Czecho-Slovakia. At the same time as we had Lord Runciman in Prague, endeavouring to negotiate a compromise between Benes and Henlein, Russia had her ambassador in Prague persuading Benes not to give way. You all know the result of that: a compromise was actually arrived at between Benes and Henlein. Immediately it was seen there would be a compromise, Henlein was called back and given instructions to increase his demands. The net result of that trouble was Munich and the definite postponement of the war, and the agreement arrived at with Hitler was broken within a very few weeks of its being reached.

The next thing that happened was the trouble looming up in the distance with regard to Poland. At that time Poland had been more or less ready to come to an agreement with Hitler with regard to Danzig and the road through the Corridor. We came along and gave a guarantee to Poland with regard to her territorial interests. Immediately we gave that guarantee Poland stood on her hind legs and said she was not going to give way at all. That was the position, with Hitler insisting on getting his way and not getting it.

Having given the guarantee, we then had to think about how we were going to implement this guarantee. It was soon seen that we had to rely on and receive assistance from the U.S.S.R. We sent a delegation to Moscow. They carried on long negotiations, and the Russians put up terms which we could not possibly agree to, terms including the partition of Poland, with Russia getting half, and the cession to Russia of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. We said we could not interfere with other people's rights and nationalities and certainly could not agree. Russia still continued her negotiations with us, but at the same time she was negotiating with Germany, and we were faced very shortly afterwards with the Russo-German pact. You can imagine to yourself Hitler and Ribbentrop talking about this guaranteeing of the position, and Hitler saying: "Great Britain cannot implement her

guarantee to Poland without Russia, and, like a common-sense people, not having Russian support, they will say to the Poles: 'We are very sorry, gentlemen. We gave you this guarantee under the full impression that we should receive Russia's assistance, and that would have placed us in the position of being able to implement our guarantee. Unfortunately, the event has proved that we shall not get that assistance, and therefore we are sorry we will have to drop the guarantee.'

Stalin would say, "No, nothing of the sort. Great Britain, having given the guarantee, will not withdraw from it, and if Great Britain does not withdraw from it this Russo-German pact means war," which they had been striving for—not a war they would be involved in themselves, but a war in which the rest of the world would be involved, and a war which would result finally in the defeat of their enemy Germany, whom they fear more than any other nation.

The guarantee was not withdrawn, and as a result Hitler had to think again. He would say: "You cannot guarantee something that does not exist. I will have a blitzkrieg. I will remove Poland from the map, and then there will be no reason for war." We declared war, and Hitler had his blitzkrieg and removed Poland from the map, but, to his surprise, we did not patch up a peace, and instead continued to fight. Then he said, "Perhaps England wants an excuse; I will put up terms of peace," and he did, but we took no notice of these peace proposals.

I think Hitler all along has been extremely anxious not to fight this country, not because he likes us, but because he is afraid of us, because we never recognize when we are defeated and will go on fighting until we have won. I am sure he has done everything possible to avoid a direct conflict with ourselves.

Take his subsequent actions. His next step was to try and get the neutrals to join in. They refused to play. The next thing he did was to threaten all sorts of secret weapons. We were not deterred by that. His next step was to go to Norway and to take Norway. He said: "If Great Britain is faced with our getting the whole of the Norwegian coast, she is bound to recognize the position as hopeless and make peace." We still did not make peace.

Then he engaged in war with Belgium and Holland, and involved us at once in a land war on the Continent, we and the French being allies. The result was France was defeated.

He might have taken then the action of invading this country. We were not in a good position for it, but that would have involved

him irretrievably in actions against us. He did not take advantage of that. Instead of that he did just as he had done in the case of Poland: he went for France. He took France off the map and said to himself: "Great Britain cannot say: 'I am going to fight this war alone.' She is not in a position of being able to fight it alone. She will have to patch up a peace." And we did not. That is the position in regard to Hitler.

With regard to Stalin again, Stalin's main thesis is that he is most anxious to get into the position where the "proletariats of the world," as they call it in Russia, will unite and say to their Governments: "You dragged us into this war. We have had enough of it. Look at Russia. She has been living peacefully. She has not been engaged in any war. Why? She has a Communist Government. She believes in Internationalism. Let us adopt the Russian thesis." I think he has a hope that if the whole of the nations of Europe are reduced to a state of misery as a result of a long-fought-out war the proletariat might be inclined to take that action. Actually Russia in peace or war is not a country flowing with milk and honey. The people there are not living in the lap of luxury or anything of that sort, and the workers over most of the world know it. I do not think there is the slightest chance of the proletariat here, in Germany, or anywhere else turning round and saying they want to come under the Russian régime.

Now, one of the things which has annoyed Russia more than anything else is our non-recognition of her aggression in the Baltic States. She has been extremely annoyed at it. She says with regard to Poland: "I have taken over part of Poland which previously belonged to the Russian Empire, and the same applies to Bessarabia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and should apply also to Finland." She tried war on Finland, but the Finns were rather too strong—they would have been much stronger if we had been able to give them support, but owing to the neutrality of Sweden and Norway we could not—so that Finland to a very great extent retains her former boundaries.

One of our reasons for not recognizing Russia's aggressions is that we cannot refuse to recognize Germany's aggressions by force and recognize Russia's aggressions. We should lose our position with the United States, and we have in our policy of recent years had to do what we could to work on parallel lines with the United States.

If one of the results of this war was to bring closer co-operation between Great Britain and the United States, I think the war would have been well worth fighting. If, as a result of the war and our close

co-operation, we could get rid of any feeling that might remain in America, originating from the Boston Tea Party of years back, it would have been well worth while. We should have achieved something which would be of outstanding benefit, not only to ourselves, but to the world. We cannot afford to throw away for any advantage to this country that chance of getting full co-operation with the United States.

Stalin's position in all this is that he is like a man sitting on a fence. He is extremely afraid of Germany. He does not want Germany to win, but he does not want to risk fighting her himself. He wants us to do it for him, and he wants to be able at the end to take advantage of the new situation which has arisen.

I do not think he is anxious that we should win either. He wants to see us penurized, suffering grave want and disability, and the sole nation left in a satisfactory state, Russia.

There is a lot of similarity between Stalin and Hitler. They are both dictators; they both love to be surrounded by yes-men; and they are both opportunist in what they do; and I should say both—certainly Stalin—had a considerable amount of Asiatic blood in them. When Stalin said good-bye to Matsuoka the other day he said: "I am an Asiatic." Matsuoka replied: "So am I. We are all Asiatics." Then they laughed together. I also laughed. They had just signed a pact, and any pact signed with an Asiatic probably has more than one let-out clause. I am sure in a pact signed between two Asiatics there are probably quite a number of let-out clauses.

One of Russia's fears to-day is that Hitler, if he does not succeed in getting the supplies he needs for the continuance of this war, will invade Russia. They are extremely afraid of it. They see Germany with a very strong military machine—which they knew much more about than we did before the war started, and appreciated much more than we did—they see this machine ready to be used against them if the necessity in Hitler's view arises, and they are afraid. The conditions are not frightfully settled in Russia, and there is always a chance that if there was an invasion of Russia a part of the people there might start internal trouble. They do not want that. Therefore Stalin to-day will be keen on appeasing Hitler rather than running the risk of an invasion. On the other hand, I think if it got down to this point that Hitler were actually invading Russia the Russians would fight, and I think they would put up quite a good fight; but I do not think they are capable of withstanding without enormous outside assistance the pressure of the German military force.

Russia is in somewhat the same position as China as a country. It is enormous in size. Attack Russia you certainly can; to invade Russia is certainly possible; to conquer Russia, as to conquer China, is quite impossible. You can advance into the country, and if you do you get involved in a sort of military quagmire, and you cannot escape from this in Russia any more than Japan has been able to unite the occupied territories of China, where the Chinese Government is still collecting her revenues in islands surrounded by narrow Japanese cordons.

Hitler would be in the same position with regard to the conquest of Russia. The Russians are pretty clever. They are not by any means silly, and they have seen Hitler engaging in this orgy of conquest, taking over one European country after another, none of which have become German and all of which are filled with a greater and greater dislike of their German conquerors, and Hitler's position is not getting stronger. Stalin says: "If I can hold out sufficiently long I am all right." But at the present time Stalin is not taking any action whatever to assist Turkey, any more than he took action to assist his Balkan protégés. He left them alone.

With regard to the Russo-Japanese pact, I think Stalin was very anxious, as it were, to safeguard his back door, so as to leave a certain amount more military force for the protection of the front door if he were attacked by Hitler.

I would like to say one word of the comparison between Hitler and Stalin. Hitler definitely has as his aim the establishment of the overlordship of the *Herrenvolk*. He wants to do it by conquest. Not so Stalin. The Russians are far more bent on the spread of Internationalism and their ideology. I do not think they aim at anything in the nature of a conquest. They do aim at freeing themselves from fears of trouble, and one of their suspicions of this country is that we may really be ready to indulge in trouble with them.

Stalin's present difficulty is where to get off the fence. He cannot tell, and he is still struggling to make up his mind. I think it is for that reason that Stalin nominated himself as Prime Minister, so as to be in the position of being able to make a decision, carry it through without any difficulty, and make it as suddenly as was necessary.

That is all I would like to say. If anybody wants to ask any questions, I shall be glad to do my best to answer them.

Mr. HUBBARD: I think Mr. Marshall's account of the preliminaries to the war and to Russia's attitude are absolutely true to fact. But

there is one thing that might be elaborated a little, and that is why the Russians fear the British Empire. I do not think they really expected a military attack, but they realize that our democracy is the greatest stumbling-block to the spread of Communism. If they could get rid of our democracy, which, with all its imperfections, has resisted Communism more than any other country except the United States, they would have a far easier road. They started after the revolution with the idea that the standard of living would be so raised in Russia that everybody else would want to copy their example. The myth has been exploded. Conditions in Russia are, for the ordinary worker, perhaps, better than they were before the last war. It is rather doubtful whether they are a great improvement, and I do not think they are any greater improvement than one would have expected to occur naturally had there been no revolution. Because between 1905 and the outbreak of the war great strides had been made, not only in the standard of material welfare of the people, but in education and in all social services. If the same rate of improvement had been maintained, the Russian people would have been better off to-day than they now are.

It is from a short-term point of view that Stalin fears Germany, for Hitler has left no doubt that he considers the Slavs an inferior people and that, if he got control of Russia, he would treat them as he has treated the Bulgarians and the Roumanians and all the other people he has conquered.

I cannot support what Mr. Marshall has said—that individually the Germans are popular in Russia. The Russians appreciate the German technical skill and they will work with them, but my experience of Germans in Russia is that individually and personally they are not as popular as Americans and British. They do not take the trouble to conceal their contempt for the Russians, whereas I know from my own experience that American engineers in Russia will take off their coats in a factory and show the Russian workman how to do a job and explain it. The German is rougher. He does not trouble to flatter the Russian. The American does. He says: "You are a good chap, but we do it this way. Don't you see it is better?" The German is more likely to call the man a fool.

So I do not think that the Germans, if they do invade Russia, will receive a very good reception from the common people. Nor do I think that the Russians can afford to surrender too much of their economic freedom, if any, in order to appease Hitler. Hitler has more than once expressed his intention of getting the economic, if not the

political, control of the Ukraine, and he would certainly like the oil of the Caucasus. But Stalin cannot afford to give him a very great deal of that without reducing the standard of living of the Russian people, and that is the last thing he can afford to do at the present time. Therefore, if Hitler's demands go beyond a fairly moderate point, I think the Russians will say, "No, we have given you all we can; we cannot give you any more"; and if the Russians are invaded by Germany I think they will put up a good fight. They have a very highly mechanized army and a very powerful air fleet. The machines may be inferior to the German machines. I do not know about number. I am certain that the Russian soldier and airman will fight very well. The weak point is the higher command. In 1937 they bumped off eight of their leading Generals and have never been able to replace them with anybody else quite up to the same standard. But I think they would put up a very useful scrap in defence of their own country. They would be overwhelmed in time, and I doubt if they would last more than a matter of months or a year, because there would be a tremendous wastage of their tanks and aeroplanes, and their factories even now cannot keep up the supplies of spare parts for tractors and so on, and, when they do, the spare parts very often do not fit. Lack of maintenance would in a very short time bring them to an inferiority in comparison with the Germans, but they would have inflicted very heavy losses on the enemy. That is why I do not think we shall see war between Russia and Germany, because Hitler would expend so much of his force that it would leave him very much weaker in comparison with us. He would think twice about it if it came to war.

A MEMBER asked a question on Sir Stafford Cripps' mission and also whether the Russians still desired a port on the Persian Gulf. Report said that Hitler was urging Russia to attack Iran.

Mr. MARSHALL: With regard to Sir Stafford Cripps, I think he had a practically hopeless mission in Russia. The Russians will come to an agreement on this war when they want to, and it would be no use putting up any inducements to them to try and persuade them to come to an agreement if they did not want to.

With regard to the second point, I think that is very largely German propaganda. I have never found the Russians express any great desire to get down to the Persian Gulf. They would have had far more inclination to take over the Bosphorus.

With regard to the previous remarks, I would like to say this:

When I spoke of Russo-German friendship, I did not mean friendship between individuals, and I agree with Mr. Hubbard on what he says there. I meant friendship between the two Governments, and that the Germans found it much easier than we did to come to an agreement with the Russian Government, and the Russians found it much easier to negotiate with the German Government than they had found it to negotiate with our own Government. We are rather sticklers for the written word, but with Germany and Russia both sides know they can take advantage of a let-out.

With Mr. Hubbard's remarks I entirely agree. I personally think no other nations get on so well with the Russians individually as the Americans and ourselves. I like the Russians and enjoy dealing with them. I have always enjoyed my life over there, and I have known an enormous number of other Englishmen and Americans who feel the same. But when you come to Governments it is a different thing.

Mr. BYRT: In the last few years the Russians have made very great economic developments in Central Asia, including a great development of their mineral resources. They have also carried out huge irrigation schemes. They have doubled the output of cotton, and have developed considerably in other ways.

A few years ago the Russian revolutionary movement was causing great hardship to the Muslims of that area. Numbers of them bolted from the country southward into Afghanistan and India. Can the lecturer tell us something of the population from the Caspian eastward to the borders of Chinese Turkestan? Have they accepted what Moscow has given them in the way of economic development? Are they happier for it, and has what has taken place restored comfort to the mind of the Muslims, so that they would now stand by Moscow, or would they be ready to accept German propaganda and be hostile to Moscow?

Mr. MARSHALL: Russia certainly has done a great deal of industrial development in that district. Only the ordinary crops were grown there in the old days—green wheat and so on, and also a certain amount of cotton. What the Russians did in theory was to get rid of their food-growing production and put the whole of the country under cotton, bringing the wheat supplies from Central Siberia. The people did not like it, and were inclined to say: "We shall starve." But, however, their rulers succeeded in doing what they set about doing.

The discontent of the Muslims, I think, remains. They do not like that sort of organized agricultural system. They much prefer their



own life as it went on in the old days. As to whether there would be a Muslim rising in the event of trouble, I do not think so. A very great deal of the population has been made up by immigration from other parts of Russia, and I do not think there would be any serious trouble.

A MEMBER: In view of the fact that France is now collaborating with Germany, would not Stalin, too, be ready to turn round and fight with Germany in order to down us?

Mr. MARSHALL: I do not think Russia wants to down us, and she is extremely afraid of Germany being a victor. What would please her best would be to see all of us worn out and defeated. The fact that France is more or less working hand in glove with the Germans would not make Russia join with Germany.

A MEMBER: The lecturer said that Russia did not dream of world domination in the sense of the German *Herrenvolk* domination, but wanted to bring about world Communism. Does that imply a different kind of world domination? Would it not be directed from Russia? Would it not be analogous to the temporal rule of the Popes? Secondly, does the lecturer know how much Russia is sending to Germany at the present time in supplies? Thirdly, what does the lecturer think about Turkey's fears of Russia? Is there any chance of Russia adopting any other than a benevolent policy with regard to the Turks?

Mr. MARSHALL: I should say Stalin was much keener on being a St. Paul than on being a Julius Cæsar. He would be much keener on spreading his ideology and would think he was conferring a benefit on the world, which the world does not agree with.

Secondly, with regard to the supplies that Germany is receiving from Russia, undoubtedly they are considerable, but undoubtedly not as high as Germany would like them to be. Germany would like Russia to increase those supplies, but Russia would find it extremely difficult. If Germany finds herself faced with a real shortage of oil or grain, it is always possible that it would form a reason for Germany advancing into the Ukraine and the Caucasus.

At the beginning of the war Russia was extremely anxious to get us to supply her with very large quantities of copper. We asked if we could rely on this copper remaining inside Russia and not getting to Germany. They said they would guarantee that. We then asked if they would guarantee that they would not send to Germany the copper they mined and smelted themselves, or copper that they had bought

elsewhere, retaining ours for their own use. They would not give that guarantee, so we refused to let them have our copper. Undoubtedly supplies are going into Germany via Vladivostok.

Your third question was Turkey. I think Russia was afraid, in the event of her showing any inclination to join with Germany, that we might take action against the oilfields in the Caucasus. I do not think Russia would deliberately take action against Turkey.

*The unexpected has happened. Soon after this lecture had been given and was in print, Germany attacked her neighbour without any warning and without withdrawing the treaty of non-aggression signed in 1939.*

# THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY: ITS NEW RÔLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST\*

BY PHILIP WILLARD IRELAND

THE completion in the summer of 1940 of the Baghdad Railway, initiated nearly a half-century before as Imperial Germany's *Drang nach Osten* to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and India, passed almost unnoticed, overshadowed by the conflict in Europe, Africa, and Asia. No ceremonies marked the inauguration of the three-quarter-mile tunnel south of Mosul as the final link in the railway which had stirred bitter rivalries and quarrels in international chancelleries and financial circles. No representatives of Germany, under which most of the line had been constructed, stood on the platform at Baghdad, capital of Great Britain's ally, Iraq, on the night of July 17, 1940, when the first passenger train steamed out of the station for Istanbul, Berlin, and other points served by the Simplon-Orient Express.

For the first time the Baghdad Railway provides direct rail transportation for passengers and goods from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf. Constructed primarily for the development of peaceful commerce, the railway has become highly important in the time of war as an avenue of supplies for Near and Middle East countries no longer receiving their usual sea-borne imports as a potential exit for exports from these countries, and as a means whereby protection and assistance can be effectively brought to Turkey, Syria, and Iraq against German aggression. At the same time the completion of the railway, in conjunction with the extension of German power in the Balkans, raises the question whether Hitler will attempt to make use of the railway for the resumption of a German penetration of Asia.

## I. The Route

Through passengers from Europe to Basra by the Baghdad Railway travel a distance of 1,989 miles of single mile track, with a transfer at

\* For earlier accounts of the Baghdad Railway by other members of the Society, see Lieut.-Colonel H. Picot, "Railways in Western Asia," *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society*, 1904, ii.; M. André Chéradame, "The Baghdad Railway," *ibid.*, May 22, 1911; Colonel W. H. Gribbon, C.M.G., "The Turkish Railways," *Journal Central Asian Society*, vol. xv., 1928.

Istanbul by ferry across the Bosphorus to Haydar Pasha, the Asiatic terminus, and a change at Baghdad from the standard-gauge (4 feet 8½ inches) line to the Baghdad-Basra metre-gauge (3 feet 3⅜ inches) line. The Taurus Express, the Asiatic extension of the Simplon-Orient Express, makes its 1,636-mile journey to Baghdad in three days. Basra is reached in fourteen hours by night express from Baghdad.

The services are provided by railroads in three States. In Turkey the Turkish State Railways operate the through trains from Haydar Pasha to Eskishehir, Ankara, Bogazköprü (near Kayseri), Ulukishla, through the Taurus Mountains to Adana, through the Amanus range to Meydanekbez on the Syrian border, a distance of 907 miles. In Syria a French company (the Société du Chemin de Fer de Damas, Hamah et Prolongements operating in the name of Ligne Syrienne du Baghdad) runs the 103-mile section from Meydanekbez to Aleppo and back to the Turkish frontier at Chorbanbey (Çorbanbey), where one of the two existing Turkish private railway companies (Cenup Demiryollari S. A. Turk-Southern Turkish Railway Company) takes over to Nisibin on the Turco-Syrian frontier, a distance of 237 miles. Here the French line again assumes operations on the 48 miles to Tel-Kotchek on the Syrio-Iraqi frontier.

In Iraq, the Iraqi State Railways operate the 341 miles of standard-gauge track from Tel-Kotchek to Baghdad and the 353 miles of metre-gauge line down the Euphrates Valley from Baghdad to Basra. This latter line, together with the metre-gauge line from Baghdad North, across the Tigris to Khanaqin, near the Iranian frontier, owes its existence to the British army of occupation. The line was extended in 1925 to Kirkuk, 200 miles from Baghdad. The entire Iraqi railway system, which owes much of its efficiency to the British officials who have been in charge since the last war, now has about 1,215 miles of track.

## II. Construction of the Railway, 1889-1940

From Ankara to Kayseri and from Nisibin to Baghdad the Baghdad line now follows the route of the original concession of February 15, 1893, to the German-controlled Anatolian Railway Company, extending the Haydar Pasha-Ankara line, completed in 1889, to Kayseri, with the promise of an extension to Baghdad by way of Sivas, Diyarbekir, Mardin, Nisibin, and Mosul. A branch line from Eskishehir to Konya was also authorized. This route to Baghdad avoided the Taurus and Amanus Mountains and was more direct and

strategically defensible than the route eventually adopted. Protests made by Russia, which looked upon Eastern Anatolia as her special sphere of influence, caused construction to be held in abeyance except for the branch line Eskishehir to Konya. Actual construction was begun in 1904 under a revised concession, granted to the Germans by Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1902, not without opposition from Great Britain, Russia, and France, to build from Konya to Baghdad via Ulukishla, Adana, Aleppo, Nisibin, and Mosul.

Completion was delayed, however, because of lack of funds, the outbreak of the Balkan and World Wars, and the difficult terrain in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains. In 8 miles of construction work in the Taurus range over  $7\frac{1}{4}$  miles of tunnels and 1,200 yards of bridges were required. In the Amanus range 6 miles out of 21 were tunnels, including the Bahche Tunnel,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles long at an altitude of 2,500 feet, requiring six years to complete. Not until October 5, 1918, a few weeks before Turkey dropped out of the war through the Armistice of Mudros—October 30—was through traffic sent from Haydar Pasha to Nisibin.

Construction had also been carried on by the Germans 74 miles northward from Baghdad by the time the British captured Baghdad in March, 1917. After the repair of the rolling stock damaged by the fleeing enemy the line was pushed forward by the British to facilitate their advance against the Turks. By the end of October, 1918, the railroad had reached Bayji, 132 miles from Baghdad, and was carried on to Sharqat, about 70 miles south from Mosul.

Thus at the end of the war 1914-18 the two railheads, Nisibin and Sharqat, were separated by less than 200 miles, of which partial construction had been undertaken on 124 miles. No further steps to complete the gap were taken until 1933. On the contrary, the section from Sharqat to Bayji was demolished and, as a result of a decision in 1919 by the British Government to extend the metre-gauge line from Baghdad to Mosul by the way of Kirkuk, it was expected that the remainder of the standard-gauge line would be pulled up back to Samarra. This decision was made for strategic and economic reasons, notwithstanding the fact that standard-gauge sleepers had been used in building the line from Basra against the day when the line would be converted to standard gauge. The British Government apparently preferred a break in the gauge at a Northern Iraq point and the construction of a new railroad from Haifa on the Mediterranean to Baghdad rather than the completion of the standard-gauge line, Con-

stantinople to Basra. Several surveys were made for the trans-desert route, but the British Government was unable to induce the Iraq Government to pay its share of the estimated cost of £7,000,000.\*

The French company in Syria was the first to bridge the gap when in 1933 it built 7 miles of track from Nisibin to Tel Zouan, which became the terminus of the Taurus Express, inaugurated in 1930, with connecting motor-car service to Kirkuk via Mosul. On May 15, 1935, service was opened to Tel-Kotchek on the Syrio-Iraqi frontier, 41 miles from Tel Zouan. On this date also the Taurus Express ran by Ankara instead of Konya. With the transfer of British ownership of the Iraqi railways to Iraq for £400,000, under the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi Railway Agreement of March 31, 1936, completion of the railway became the policy of the Iraq Government. Construction began in late 1936 from Tel-Kotchek to Mosul, but not until March 31, 1939, did the Taurus Express steam into Mosul. Upon the outbreak of war, construction was also pushed from Bayji, a comparatively easy undertaking except for 30 miles south of Mosul, which necessitated tunneling. On May 24, 1940, the first train passed over the line to Baghdad, and on July 17, 1940, the first passenger train went northward. Construction and the new equipment, bought in England, cost about £3,500,000, financed from revenue and from Iraq's first foreign loan, floated in London.

Construction of a new railway towards Iraq and Iran has long been planned by the Turkish Government, to pass over existing lines to Diyarbekir and then to Siirt, where one branch to Iran would strike northwards to Lake Van and the other to Iraq would turn south-east to Cizre, near the Turco-Iraqi frontier. Recent announcements indicate, however, that the latter line will be realigned to pass from Diyarbekir to Bismil and then south-west to Mardin, where connections will be made with the existing 15-mile branch line to Derbessiye on the Baghdad Railway. This new section when completed will restore the original Baghdad route in its entirety: Ankara, Sivas, Diyarbekir, Mardin, Nisibin, and Mosul. It will reduce the distance to Baghdad by 150 miles. It will avoid Western Anatolia and the Taurus and Amanus Mountains, Aleppo, and most of Northern Syria, and hence will be strategically more defensible by Turkey. Construction from Diyarbekir is said to have begun.

\* Cf. E. H. Keeling, M.C., "The Proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xxi., 1934, pp. 373-393.

### III. The Baghdad Railway: Back Door to the Near East

With the intensification of the war in the Mediterranean the completed Baghdad Railway has acquired new importance as a means of supply from the port of Basra for the Near and Middle East areas cut off from supplies through Mediterranean ports. In these areas the cost of living, which, in spite of Government control, has mounted steadily since the outbreak of war, showed further increase in the summer of 1940, which the arrival of supplies through Basra and the Baghdad Railway has momentarily checked. The increased prices have been reflected, as might have been expected, in the cost of imported commodities such as cotton and woollen cloth, tea, sugar (except in Turkey, a sugar-producing country), paper, and manufactured articles.

Traffic through Basra and on the Baghdad Railway has become increasingly heavy. At the port now call monthly five to eight ships from American ports, the numerous Japanese, Dutch, British, Greek, and British India-line steamers. The facilities of the port, which, because of its original construction to serve the British Army of 1914-1918, is able to handle about 5,000 tons daily, have been taxed to the utmost. Ships at one time were forced to lie in the Shatt al-Arab for several days before coming to the wharf, but this difficulty has been overcome by reorganization of the port facilities by Colonel Sir J. C. Ward, Director of the Port.

Delays are also incurred in moving freight to and from Basra because of the lack of adequate rolling stock. The metre-gauge line, built and equipped in war-time "with odds and ends from India," as a contemporary writer expressed it,\* had, in 1938, 55 locomotives, 226 passenger coaches, and 2,543 goods wagons of all types. Much of this equipment is inadequate for main-line traffic. The broad-gauge line from Baghdad northward found itself even less adequately prepared to handle the new influx of traffic, possessing, in 1938, 11 locomotives, most of which were captured from the Germans, 55 passenger coaches, and 525 goods wagons of all types, few of which were modern. Additional orders, including those for air-conditioned carriages, were placed in England, but not all the equipment has arrived. Further orders are likely to be filled slowly.

Transit trade to and from Iran no longer accounts for its former large share of Iraq's trade, although the closing of the Mediterranean ports has caused a renewal of commerce between Baghdad and Western

\* *Railway Gazette*, September 21, 1920.

Iran. The shipment of goods to Syria and Palestine has nowhere reached its full possibilities, largely because of the high cost of trans-desert transport, added to the war-time cargo rates to Basra and freight rates on the railway, plus incidental dues and charges which tend to make the cost of many articles almost prohibitive. The rates on the railway, under the circumstances, are not excessive, averaging on the Basra-Baghdad run—on motor-car parts and tyres, for example—from one and a quarter to one and a half Iraq dinars (a dinar equals a pound sterling) per metric ton.

The greatest obstacle to increase of traffic has been the rate for trans-desert transport by truck. In early 1939 the rate per ton from the Mediterranean to Baghdad was about £5. It now stands at about £10 per ton. The increase seems to be due less to scarcity of gasoline or high cost of trucks or tyres than to the fact that the Iraq truck operators, who only can obtain licences from the Iraq Government to carry goods in Iraq, charge all that the traffic will bear. Syrian and Palestinian operators, who own even a larger number of trucks, are excluded from Iraq. The rate to Aleppo and to North Syrian points has been kept down by the completion of the Baghdad Railway, on which through rates by rail to Aleppo and North Syria run from £8 to £11 per ton.

Transportation to Turkey is also handicapped by the railway freight rates (from Basra to Istanbul the average rate per ton is £22 plus 12s. for transit dues), by the necessity of trans-shipment at Baghdad from metre gauge to standard gauge and by the lack of freight cars. At present one freight train runs daily in each direction to and from Turkey.

The Turkish Government, on the other hand, has taken steps to develop traffic in both directions. A Commission in July, 1940, came to Basra to investigate the possibilities of developing trade in the Persian Gulf, and a commercial attaché was appointed to Baghdad to facilitate Customs and shipping formalities.

Use of the Baghdad Railway to re-establish Turkish exports—as, for example, on the 1939 scale, when, out of an export total of 1,124,892 tons, over 300,000 tons were sent to countries reached only by the Mediterranean—would not only improve Turkey's foreign exchange position, but also provide nearly 1,000 tons of freight daily for Basra. Success will depend largely on the value of products—as, for example, tobacco and dried fruits—in relation to shipping costs. Thus one of the most recent shipments from Turkey over the railway has been 4,000 tons of tobacco for the United States. American moving picture



films for distribution to all parts of the Balkans and Near East are being imported by this route, as well as automobile parts, tyres, optical instruments, cotton and woollen cloth, chemicals, dyes, coffee, tea, and Government purchases of war materials. Only if shipments now passing through the Mediterranean under British convoy are cut off, and when prices in Turkey and the demand for Turkish products cover the increased shipping costs, will further expansion take place.

#### IV. The Burma Road of Western Asia?

The increasing hold of Germany on South-Eastern Europe, including Turkey, has renewed speculation as to whether the Baghdad Railway will serve as the Burma Road of Western Asia to Turkey and Iraq if they become involved in war against Germany or as a means of extending German conquest to Mediterranean ports held by Great Britain and the oilfields of Iraq and Iran, to the Persian Gulf and beyond, and of transporting essential supplies, especially oil and food-stuffs, to Germany from this area.

Turkey as a belligerent against Germany would undoubtedly require large supplies of *matériel*, particularly machine-guns, tanks, trucks, and planes to supplement the equipment which, in spite of her best efforts, is not sufficient to maintain adequately her fighting force of 750,000 men. As long as Great Britain retains her dominant position in the Mediterranean she will be able to provide convoys for a certain amount of support given under the agreement of October 19, 1939, and subsequent agreements, through Izmir (Smyrna). This route would be endangered by the occupation of Greece by the Germans and Italians. The Turkish ports of Mersin and Alexandretta, both on the Gulf of Alexandretta and connected by branch lines 27 and 37 miles long respectively, to the Baghdad Railway might then serve as avenues of supply, except that neither is well equipped to handle heavy cargo. Ships must lie out at sea, particularly at Mersin, where rough weather makes loading and unloading impossible. Thus it would seem that, barring shipments to Istanbul or Izmir, supplies from Great Britain, America, India, or from whatever sources they can be obtained, would best come into Turkey by way of the Baghdad Railway.

The basic problems involved in insuring transportation for war supplies in addition to essentials for non-combatants (Turkey is self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs) seems to be the lack of rolling stock, aggravated by the distances involved, with the consequent long "turn

around," and such factors as would retard shipments from Basra into Turkey—the change in gauge at Baghdad, the bottle-neck of the port of Basra, and the passage of trains through three States, with possible interference from the French forces in Syria, through which traffic to Turkey is now regulated by protocols to the Turco-Syrian Convention of Amity and Bon Voisinage of March 30, 1940. It seems highly probable, in the case of interference, that Turkey, with or without British support, would annex the section of Syria containing Aleppo and the Syrian sections of the Baghdad Railway. In this connection it may be noted that French troops in Syria do not exceed 20,000 at the present time.

Rolling-stock scarcity would probably not become acute unless requirements—say, at Ankara—ran over 2,000 tons daily, a small amount for a fighting army. To keep 2,000 tons arriving daily in Turkey about four trains of some 40 wagons carrying 12.5 to 15 tons each (full loading is seldom achieved), would have to be despatched daily in each direction over the Turkish railroads. Such deliveries, allowing seven days for covering the 1,266 miles from Baghdad to Ankara at the high average daily run of 180 miles, plus two to three days "turn around" at Baghdad and at the Turkish destination (average time required now is nineteen to twenty days), would require the constant use of between 90 and 100 trains, or about 3,600 to 4,000 wagons, and 100 to 120 engines, together with pusher engines for the mountainous regions. The total carrying capacity of such trains would be about one-half of the average daily goods traffic in Turkey in 1938 on all lines.

Turkey, thanks to the past years of active railway expansion, could probably supply these requirements at the expense of traffic on other lines. In 1939 the Turkish railways owned 898 locomotives of all types, 16,331 passenger and goods vehicles, and a number of wagon-lits. Large orders have been given, including 129 heavy duty locomotives and 200 goods wagons from Germany, 58 similar locomotives and 300 ore-carriers from Great Britain, and 22 locomotives and 600 wagons built for France by British firms. Definite figures as to deliveries are not yet available.

In Iraq the rolling-stock deficiencies would probably be as already indicated. In 1938, the most prosperous year for Iraq railways for which figures are available, a daily average of 1,680 tons of freight was moved over all lines. The present two trains daily between Basra and Baghdad in each direction come very close to being the estimated 2,000 to 2,500 tons capacity of the railway. The movement of 2,000 tons of

goods from Basra to Baghdad, or the equivalent of 4,000 tons in both directions, would require the daily use of about 2,000 wagons—more vehicles than Iraq railways possess in the necessary types in good condition. Rail service could be supplemented by river service up the Tigris from Basra, now furnished by three companies, including the British firm of the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company. These carry 50 per cent. of the freight movements between Basra and Baghdad.

These difficulties would be increased if Great Britain held it essential to move additional British and Indian units into Iraq to protect the oilfields of Iraq and Iran. Material and equipment for these troops would strain further the combined resources of the railways and the rivers. At the end of the last war, with a British ration strength of 420,000 men in Iraq, 3,000 tons of freight were moved daily by water and rail to Baghdad. Probably little equipment could be lent, as in 1915-1918, by India, since the industrial effort being made by India is already considerably higher than in the last war. Some additions to rolling stock could be made by the excellent Salchiya railway shops just outside of Baghdad, although they are not equipped to undertake extensive metalwork.

Should Turkey become involved in war against Germany, protection of the coal supply for her railways would become of immediate concern. The capture of the coal supplies, principally located on the Black Sea between Zonguldak and Ereğli, would almost irreparably cripple the railways. Iraq locomotives use oil as fuel. Syrian locomotives would have to be supplied by Turkey or from abroad through Basra.

### V. The Baghdad Railway: Avenue of Conquest?

Whether Hitler will attempt in the near future to venture down the route of the Baghdad Railway, either in an attack on Great Britain's positions in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Iraqi and Iranian oilfields or in quest of *Lebensraum*, is highly speculative, but merits consideration.

A group of expansionists looking toward the Danube Basin, Turkey, Iraq, and on to India has long existed in Germany. A school with politically stronger backing is that the raw material producing areas of Turkey, Cyprus, Iraq, and Iran must fulfil their natural function and be drawn into the German *Lebensraum*. In particular, British political and financial control must be ejected from the oil-

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producing regions so that these areas with their 16 to 20 million tons of oil annually will supply the needs of the "New Order" in Europe.\*

Full realization of these ambitions must await the defeat of Great Britain, which, together with access to oil supplies, becomes with the passage of time more and more imperative to the Germans. More immediate objectives of the Nazis in South-East Europe might include the destruction or capture of the Iraq and Iran oilfields in order to cut off petroleum supplies to the Mediterranean Fleet, the diversion of this urgently needed product to Germany, the destruction or capture by land and air of the naval bases at Haifa and Alexandria, and the closing of the Suez Canal, the task originally assigned to Hitler's Axis partner.

For the achievement of any of these aims control of the Baghdad Railway is essential, either through the conquest or the co-operation of Turkey. It is the only practical land route from Turkey to Syria and Iraq. Roads suitable for military traffic are almost non-existent. The route from Samsun, an open harbour on the Black Sea, to Iraq by the way of Sivas and Diyarbekir, can be used only if the railway construction through the mountains from Diyarbekir to Mardin (100 to 125 miles) is completed or if the Germans traverse the same distance of rough mountain road in the face of British bombers operating from Iraqi airfields in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1930.

Should Turkey, for any reason, become a Nazi satellite and permit Germany to use the Baghdad Railway, the British position in the Eastern Mediterranean would be greatly weakened but not rendered hopeless. The Taurus and Amanus, through which the single track of the Baghdad Railway runs, is one of the most strategically difficult areas in Asia. The mountains and the littoral plain between them, to which the railway descends, are relatively accessible from the Mediterranean. Great Britain would quite naturally take all steps within her power to prevent this section of the railway from falling into enemy hands. Small bodies of troops or bombers from the nearby island of Cyprus could, with well-placed high explosives in the tunnels and on the bridges and with mountain artillery, make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for an invading force to cross the mountains. The control of the sea would thus assist in securing control of the land routes.

\* For a typical view see Dr. Hans Bahr, "Neue Erdöl Politik im Kontinental-Europäischen Raum," *Wirtschaftsdienst*, July 19, 1940.

Even if a German expeditionary force should seize control of the Baghdad Railway and force its way into Iraq and eventually Iran—an improbable but not impossible event—the control of the oil wells, while inconveniencing the British fleet, would not enable Germany to satisfy her oil-hunger from pipelines to Tripoli or Haifa until British sea power in the Mediterranean had been destroyed. Means of transporting the oil by rail to Istanbul or to Samsun on the Black Sea are not now available. Tank wagons in Turkey are probably less than 200 (in 1933 only a few of 77 tanks were fit for service), while Iraq railways own less than 40. Unless Germany expects to divert wagons from Rumania, or from the new tank-car construction on which she is concentrating, she cannot count on oil from Iraq to fill her depleted stores.

Full development of the completed Baghdad Railway as a means of fast transport of commercial traffic from Europe to the Near and Middle East must necessarily await the end of the war. In the meantime, during the present crisis, the railway, as one of the most strategically located railroads in Western Asia, promises to play an increasingly important rôle in the solution of two of the most pressing problems of the area—the maintenance of the Near and Middle East peoples from undue privation until the Mediterranean is opened again, and the protection of the area and its resources, required by Great Britain, from German aggression. Its ability to handle the burden thrust upon it may influence the outcome of important issues affecting Europe and Asia.

# BROADCASTING TO THE NEAR EAST

By S. HILLELSON

(of the B.B.C. Near Eastern Service)

**I**N April, 1939, I gave members of the Royal Central Asian Society a brief account of the B.B.C. broadcasts in Arabic, which had then been operating for just over a year. Much has happened in the last two years, and broadcasting has become an integral part of our war effort, playing a part which few people could foresee when transmissions in foreign languages were first begun. In 1938 the B.B.C. made a modest beginning with broadcasts in Arabic and a Latin-American service in Spanish and Portuguese; the number of languages is now in the neighbourhood of forty, and there is hardly a country left to which Britain does not speak in its own language. The Arabic service has grown into a Near Eastern Department which has added broadcasts in Turkish and Persian to its responsibilities.

Two years ago I wrote: "While the press and the public have been thinking largely in terms of politics and propaganda, the B.B.C. has been thinking in terms of good broadcasting." We have not lowered our broadcasting standards, but in a world shaken to its foundations by totalitarian war, politics and propaganda have in an increasing measure become the flesh and blood of broadcasting. Wireless, to an extent which no one could have predicted two years ago, has become the principal source of news for countless millions, and news is no longer a story of far-off things to claim a small share of absent-minded attention, but a matter of vital concern pregnant with fate for the humblest. The B.B.C. was fortunate at the outbreak of war to possess the nucleus of an organization which could be rapidly adapted to the requirements of war; but, true to the British tradition, it was not war-minded, and just as peace-time industry had to be transformed to become the arsenal of democracy, so broadcasting had to revise its scale of values to become the voice of a nation at war.

Whereas in peace-time we gave about an hour a day to broadcasts in Arabic, the Near Eastern Service is now on the air for three hours daily, and its languages include Turkish, Persian, and the spoken Arabic of Morocco. Nor is there any reason to believe that



the schedule as it stands to-day is final. Quantity of course is important, as is the spacing of broadcasts so as to reach the greatest number of listeners at convenient times, but it is in the quality and the range of programmes that the change has been most marked. No one can doubt that the first duty we have to discharge is to give our listeners quick and accurate information about the war, and to give it not only in the form of "straight" news but also in a manner which clothes the dry bones of communiqués and agency messages with the flesh and blood of real things. The "commentary" on the news may describe a country or a place prominent in the headlines, or discuss the political or military significance of some event, or tell in the words of an eyewitness how London is "taking it," or how the weapons of war are forged; or relate a story of heroism and devotion to duty. The principles of "projecting the war" to the peoples of the Near East thus do not essentially differ from those which apply to broadcasting in all languages, but it is the function of the specialists who work in the Near Eastern Service to adapt these general principles to the requirements of their particular audience. This does not mean that we say different things to different people (on the German principle that a lie rejected by the Spaniards may yet be swallowed by the Arabs), but we try to present both news and commentary in the form that is natural to the language in which we are speaking, and we select the items with due regard to the particular needs of the audience and give most emphasis to matters most vital to their policies and to their intellectual outlook. We regard it as important that those who edit our news bulletins or write scripts for our programmes should understand the mind of Moslem peoples and judge their reactions, but we do not ask them to falsify facts or misrepresent principles in order to appeal to sectional prejudices or local fanaticisms, or to gain cheap successes by flattery. I shall have more to say presently on the difference between our methods and those of our enemies.

Though the war overshadows everything we have not abandoned the tradition established in peace-time of giving our Arab listeners a measure of light entertainment as well as serious programmes of cultural value, and "Huná London" continues to introduce musical performances of popular artists, as well as talks on literature, history, and science by Arab and English writers who are authorities on their subjects. Recent experiments with humorous features show promise of success, and the use of satire at the expense of the dictators has elicited from enemy stations the compliment of imitation. The following

analysis which shows the allocation of programme time to different subjects refers to a period of three months during which broadcasts in Arabic occupied about 137 hours.

News bulletins in standard Arabic ... ..	42½	hours
News bulletins in Moroccan dialect ... ..	15	„
News commentaries ... ..	10½	„
Koran readings ... ..	9¾	„
Musical programmes ... ..	23	„
General talks by orientalists, Arab and English men of letters, scientists, sociologists, etc.	16	„
Satirical features in colloquial Arabic ... ..	2½	„
Talks in colloquial Arabic ... ..	3	„
Weekly talks by Shaikh Muhammed Mahmud Gum'a ... ..	3	„
Dramatic sketches, short stories, light verses ...	1½	„
Special features for children ... ..	1½	„
Programme announcements, Big Ben, National Anthem ... ..	8	„

A few words in explanation may be of interest: Koran readings are broadcast every morning to introduce the first news bulletin of the day; and are also given in the main programme on Moslem feasts and other special occasions. The voices are those of Cairene shaikhs famous throughout the Moslem world, and the recordings are exclusive to the B.B.C.

The musical programmes consist to a large extent of commercial gramophone records, but arrangements made with Egyptian State Broadcasting and with the Jerusalem station enable us to obtain special recordings of notable performances for our exclusive use, and such programmes filled 6½ hours during the period under review. One hour consisted of live music played by Eastern artists in our own studios.

In the sphere of talks the net is spread very wide, and no subject is excluded in principle, the only test being whether it is likely to hold the attention of an Arab audience. The aim is to demonstrate our interest in the cultural aspirations of the Arab people, whether it be in the sphere of their medieval inheritance or of the modernist movements inspired by the West; at the same time we hope to show that there are cultural values which Britain can offer to the East, and that even in the midst of totalitarian war the torch of learning and of science is kept alight. Some of these talks are unlikely to appeal to the "average listener" (whoever he may be) but it is well worthwhile to gain the ear of those who are leaders of thought, however small

their number, and not all the talks by any means are designed for "highbrows."

Shaikh Muhammed Mahmud Gum'a, who gives his "Monday Talk" every week, has become a radio personality comparable (*si parva licet componere magnis*) to Priestley or Raymond Gram Swing. He applies to his review of the week's events the mind of a learned and quick-witted Egyptian, and his shafts of sarcasm and invective have stung the Axis broadcasters into angry retort.

The limited use of colloquial Arabic is a war-time innovation which seems to have met with immediate success. The dialect lends itself particularly to the light treatment of the day's news and to the play of wit and fancy. In a feature called "Café Chaos" the course of the war has been discussed in the idiom of a Cairene coffee shop, and "Abu Haggag the newspaper seller" exercises his ready wit in comments on the headlines of the papers which he sells. The voices and dialects of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria have been heard in programmes of this kind and other dialects will be added when opportunities occur. The daily news bulletin in Moroccan Arabic serves a different purpose. In contents it does not differ materially from those broadcasts in standard Arabic, and the dialect has been chosen in order to reach the masses of the population in a country where the educated class is small in numbers and where there is no semi-literate stratum of the kind which primary education has produced in the East. Our broadcasts in standard Arabic are, of course, available to educated Moroccans, who no doubt prefer them to the dialectal transmissions.

The use of dialect is of course subsidiary, and in principle there can be no doubt that a correct style of standard Arabic is the only possible medium for serious broadcasting. It is unfortunate that the Arab peoples have not yet evolved a literary idiom less remote from the language of everyday speech, and the fact must be recognized that there are large numbers of Arabs to whom standard Arabic is unintelligible or requires a greater intellectual effort than is compatible with full enjoyment of listening. The East, however, has always been used to learned and literary idioms, and it is not for us to move in advance of Arab opinion in a matter which is so obviously their own concern. No one can foresee how the Arabic language will develop. Much progress has already been made towards the creation of a literary style suited to modern requirements, and it is possible that the influence of broadcasting and the talking film will counteract the disruptive tendencies due to political and geographical separation. It is not

certain, anyhow, that the Arabic dialects will follow the analogy of the Romance languages and become as different from each other as are Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. In any case, the matter must be left to the Arabs themselves, and there is no doubt that our practice in linguistic matters has their approval.

The shorter time available for broadcasts in Turkish and Persian allows less scope for varied programmes, but news commentaries and reportage are being increasingly given in the Turkish transmission, and distinguished Englishmen such as the late Lord Lloyd and Mr. Amery have addressed the Turks in their own language. Sir Wyndham Deedes broadcasts in Turkish every week.

## II

Propaganda has taken an undeniable place as the fourth arm in war, and much as we disliked the word in peace-time, we have learned at last that it is not sufficient to have a good cause and that it is not unworthy of a great nation to speak of its cause to friends, to neutrals, and to the enemy. The strategy of the propaganda war is bound to be influenced by the resources and the moves of the enemy, and it is now common knowledge that Germany entered the lists as fully prepared for the battle of words and ideas as she was for actual warfare. In the material resources of broadcasting the two Axis powers possess a considerable advantage, though in the Near and Middle East we have powerful support in the Empire stations of Jerusalem, Delhi, and Aden, and the Allied stations of Cairo and Ankara. The Axis powers have consistently applied to their propaganda the theory of unrestrained *blitzkrieg*, conducting, in Mr. Harold Nicolson's words, "a smash-and-grab raid upon the emotions of the uneducated," and few will deny that this method is particularly dangerous to our cause in countries where the uneducated are numerous and where emotions are easily aroused. It is not surprising, therefore, that many observers have been impressed by the short-term successes gained by German propaganda in Arab countries. In Yunis Bahri, moreover, Zeesen has found a broadcaster of remarkable talent who knows how to make the best of the material industriously supplied by his taskmasters.

The principles of our own broadcasting strategy have been admirably set out in a paper contributed by Mr. Harold Nicolson to the 1941 issue of the *B.B.C. Handbook*. In contrast to the totalitarian method, which is essentially a short-term method, he shows that the

democratic method should be a long-term method seeking gradually to fortify the intelligence of the individual. "The passionate idea which is at the root of all totalitarian propaganda cannot be maintained indefinitely, since the emotions of men cannot remain permanently strained. By contrast, democratic propaganda, although its effects are less immediate and far less sensational, does aim at creating a durable state of common sense. Totalitarian propaganda is akin to revivalism; democratic propaganda is akin to education." Few will deny that this statement of policy is as valid in the East as it is in our own country and in the rest of Europe, and few will dissent from three principles stated by Mr. Nicolson in the same paper: "The first of these principles is that truthfulness is more effective than untruthfulness and honesty more durable than cunning. The second is that there does exist a difference between 'right and wrong' and that this difference is readily appreciated by the vast majority of mankind. And the third is that most people know the distinction between foolishness and sense."

Our broadcast strategy, therefore, does not copy the enemy's methods, though it does aim at striking at him hard on his own ground. In some respects our task is the harder; for just as the devil has the best tunes, so the demagogue who is unhampered by responsibilities and scruples has an undeniable advantage over those who weigh their words with a full sense of their responsibilities. Invective, scurrility, and unrestrained mendacity will always gain the ear, if not the credence, of the public, and there is unlimited publicity value in the exploitation of grievances and in criticisms of an existing order. In contrast, there is no scope for the demagogic arts in the defence of things as they are or in the commendation of ordered progress "broadening down from precedent to precedent," nor is there any sensational dynamism in the praise of good government, material prosperity, political liberty, and freedom of thought—possessions which men do not value very highly until they have lost them. But if in the propaganda war we have to suffer reverses and yield ground here and there, we have good reasons for confidence in the issue of the campaign. Unlike the Axis, we believe that it pays to address the Arab as an intelligent human being capable of reasoning and accessible to argument; we have an asset in the Arab's respect for cultural values and in his intellectual outlook, which owes much to the English and the French tradition, and we know that those to whom the Islamic tradition represents the highest spiritual values are bound to resist the new paganism of Nazi Germany. In policy and administration we have

a record which, whatever mistakes have been committed in the past and whatever grievances left unremedied, is immeasurably to our credit when compared with the record of the Axis; and Italy's misdeeds in Libya and Abyssinia have left her as vulnerable in propaganda as her armed forces have proved to be in battle. The assertion that the Oriental understands no argument but force is untrue and particularly misleading in its limitation to one group of the human race (it will be remembered that it once was said of the University of Oxford); yet a desire to be on the winning side is common to all men, and in the face of the well-known German technique of the war of nerves it is certainly our business to convince the Near East that we mean to win the war and that it is in our power to do so. This theme naturally is the keynote of our presentation of war news and war commentary, but it does not lead us to suppress news about reverses or to exaggerate successes.

It will be noted, then, that broadcasting strategy, in our conception, is the same for all audiences and that we reject the view that there is one truth for the Near East and other truths for other parts of the world. To the uninitiated it might appear that a theory of manifold truth or manifold mendacity is so easily exposed that it must defeat its own end; but, fantastic as it seems, is *is* the theory held and practised by German propaganda in accordance with Hitler's well-known contempt for the intelligence of the masses.

Regional specialization within the strategical plan is a question of tactics, and the problems it presents engage much of the attention of the Near Eastern Department in the B.B.C. I have already spoken of linguistic problems, and it goes without saying that a scholarly knowledge of the three languages is essential in the directing staff, and that we aim at the highest possible standard in translation and in announcing. The foreign language staff are selected with the greatest care, and they are encouraged to avoid "translators' language" and to adopt an idiomatic style true to the genius of the language in which they are speaking. The service owes much to their devoted work and to their skill. Great importance is attached to the study of the political background in the Near East as reflected in literature and in the press, and much of the raw material of broadcasting is provided by a close scrutiny of enemy propaganda in all its forms. The "Monitoring Service" of the B.B.C. issues daily reports on all important broadcasts from non-British stations, and in the Near Eastern field their work is supplemented by special studies carried out within the depart-

ment. These studies and the study of listener reaction, as well as "public relations" with the audience and with Arab groups all over the world are the function of a special unit within the department. The same unit edits the *Arabic Listener* (*al-Mustami' al-'Arabi*), a fortnightly paper, now in its second year, which, like its English namesake, preserves some of the broadcasts in a more permanent form. Even in the present difficult conditions of seaborne communications it reaches a large number of readers in many countries.

While the broad lines of policy are comparatively easy to define, it is less easy to speak of the tactical problems which arise in the day-to-day work of news editing and programme building. Should every enemy lie and twisted argument be answered and refuted in so many words or should we let the facts speak for themselves? Should we accept the view of those who hold that English restraint with its tendency to understatement is unsuitable to an audience accustomed, it is said, to hyperbole and exaggeration? How are the claims of different classes and different groups within the audience to be adjusted so as to give a service as acceptable to the Sudan and to Hadhramaut as to the sophisticated public of Beyrout and Cairo? How should programme space be allotted between the claims of political argument, instruction, and entertainment, or between the claims of different areas each of which would like special consideration to be given to its regional needs? In dealing with problems of this kind we get invaluable help from listeners who write to us either to praise or to criticize, and from official and non-official collaborators both in this country and in the East. Broadcasting cannot thrive without some personal relation between the man at the microphone and the man or woman at the receiving set, and there is nothing so encouraging to the former as some sign of response from the latter, whether it be a word of praise or a helpful suggestion or a criticism. Such progress as the service has made in the three years of its existence is in a large measure due to the lessons we have learned from "listener research" and from the suggestions and criticisms of many advisers experienced in the ways of the East and in close touch with Eastern opinion. Our only regret is that various practical difficulties prevent us from carrying out many plans which on their merits we should wish to adopt, and it will be readily understood that there has to be a good deal of compromise in a single-programme service from London addressed to the Arab world as a whole. Fortunately the stations of Cairo, Jerusalem, Aden, and Omdurman are available for the satisfaction of regional demands.

It would be unbecoming for one closely associated with the service to try to assess its value as part of our war effort, even if this were possible at this stage of the war. The "fourth arm" is an auxiliary which can function only in close association with policy and with the work of the armed forces, and its share in the responsibility for a reverse or its contribution to a victory cannot be determined without full knowledge of many factors which for a long time will remain unknown. We can leave it to the historian of the future to allot praise and blame for the victories and the failures of propaganda; for the present, speculation would be unprofitable. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that in propaganda the part played by the printed word and by the film may be no less important than that of broadcasting. The aim of propaganda is to persuade, to convince, to fortify, to educate, in other words to create a state of mind, and in order to achieve full integration of the effort it is necessary that all the media which serve this end should work in close co-ordination under the direction of a single general staff. If the future shows that as a nation we have been as successful in propaganda as we shall assuredly be in the armed conflict, broadcasting will share the credit with its fellow-workers in literature, the press, and the arts.

## THE B.B.C. DAILY SERVICE FOR THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

	<i>G.M.T.</i>	<i>Programme</i>	<i>Wave-length</i>	<i>Area primarily served</i>
<b>Arabic</b>	05.00-05.15	First News Bulletin	31.32	Near and Middle East
	05.30-05.45	Second News Bulletin	41.96	
			31.75	North Africa
	16.55-17.45	War Commentaries, Talks, Music, Entertainment ...	19.60	Near and Middle East
	17.45-18.00	Third News Bulletin	31.32	
18.00-18.10	News Bulletin in Moroccan Dialect ... ..	19.60	North Africa	
<b>Turkish</b>	05.15-05.30	First News Bulletin	31.32	Turkey
			31.75	
	10.30-10.45	Second News Bulletin	41.96	
	12.15-12.30	Third News Bulletin	19.60	
	18.10-18.25	Fourth News Bulletin, War Commentary, Talk or Feature	19.60	
<b>Persian</b>	16.15-16.30	News Bulletin	31.32	Iran
		(News and talk on Sundays)	19.60	

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# A CHRONICLE OF KASHMIR

By E. S. BATES

## I

**I**N the course of referring to chronicles of Ladakh, in the last number, some reflections arose as to the relations of such chronicles to Asia's other historical writings, and to the relation of these latter, in their turn, to history in general. It may seem worth while to follow these reflections up with a summary of a chronicle of Ladakh's neighbour, Kashmir, accompanied by some further comment. Without prejudice to the belief that Asia's two greatest gifts to mankind are tea and religion, there is room to admit that it has other gifts to offer, and that one of these is its histories.

The chief difficulty in starting on this subject is the realization that no human being can deal with such a subject. For one thing, the languages concerned make it impossible for any single person to acquire a comparative knowledge of its chronicle-literature. And, even if he did acquire it, the inaccessibility of the manuscripts would prevent adequate utilization of it. Competence in scholarship therein takes a lifetime to gain, and those few who do achieve it ought to be hardy perennials, whereas, in practice, they die off in their prime as if they were as easy to replace as archbishops. E. G. Browne, for instance, ought to have lived to 150 at least. The following notes, then, must be excused for their insufficiency on the grounds that he who studies Asia's historical writings comprehensively will never have time to study anything else, while an attempt to fathom them or utilize them can only be achieved by means of comparisons with alien kindred sources, themselves inexhaustible. Even though attention be confined to what is accessible in English, the same difficulty crops up, on account of the width of ancillary knowledge required and the rapidity with which it is being added to.

What is truly needed is some preliminary survey showing what has been done, and by what methods; and proceeding to make suggestions for more and better publications; in what order, on what system; and for more care in translation. This co-ordination naturally calls for a committee, chosen from representatives of all associations interested,

meeting at regular intervals; not mere agenda for one of those congresses which part, never to meet again, petering out in the concoction of "resolutions" and the mysterious disappearance of an indispensable manuscript, as happened with the Popol-Vuh of Guatemala.

Primarily it is as much a translation question as any other kind of question. If only for financial reasons, translation has to be done into one of the most widely known languages, which resolves itself into either English or French. French has the advantage, with regard to ancient literature, of higher standards of editing, those of the "Belles-Lettres" series. As to what can be expected, and should be expected, in the way of historical writing, their standards are likewise in advance of the rest of us. Yet there is no reason why similar standards should not be adopted here. But there is no security that they will be adhered to without supervision. Here are some phrases which appeared lately under the imprint of the Oxford University Press, printing the *Tungkhungia Buranji* of Assam:

"In the same year there was an earthquake which continued for six months in an abortive fashion."

. . . . .

"The footmarks indicated a toe detached from the remaining fingers."

. . . . .

". . . manipulated the detention of two sepoy. . . ."

And if the Oxford University Press pass such, what will not lesser publishers pass? Twenty pages could be filled with similar examples.

One reason why such lapses are hard to avoid in these versions is that the versions have to be left to the editor, who is often translating into a language not his own. This may possibly be easier to avoid in the future, seeing that central associations are coming into existence for such work, whereby translators can be telephoned for like taxis; yet with this difference, that whereas any taxi can be made to do, any translator cannot. This is the more so since residence in the country to which the book belongs is also a requisite, provided such residence is not of a kind which tampers with the translator's familiarity with his mother tongue. A solution may, perhaps, be found in the proposed committee selecting several manuscripts and proceeding with the one for which a suitable translator is forthcoming. Other hindrances, hitherto insoluble, await the translator, as, for instance, that no

generally acceptable plan has yet been discovered for rendering the archaic. The whole subject of translation as a fine art is, in fact, a new one. But it is essential to raise standards, if only for the fact that the existence of a bad version prevents a better one finding a publisher. Besides, chronicles are usually dull enough without having their values obscured. And a translation is an essential part of their publication. Chronicle reading cannot make headway otherwise. The best of all ancient historical works, the Icelandic, so well known here owing to many excellent versions, is practically unknown to Continental students other than Scandinavian, unless they are acquainted with English, so little having been rendered into other languages.

It may be queried, What are the values of Asian chronicles that so much attention should be accorded them? One example may be quoted: they show up what divergent ideas prevail in Europe and Asia about boundaries. Power in Asia radiates from a centre, weakening at the edges. Our histories accustom us to boundaries within which administrative effectiveness acts uniformly. A modern European boundary is a hair-breadth line; an Asian boundary has no mathematics in it. Even if it be stated in geographical terms—if it is, say, a lake—it will not be thought needful to define whether the lake is within the boundary or outside it.

These ideas of ours lead to political thought, according to which first the territory and finally its inhabitants are reckoned to constitute an entity, including all the inhabitants and excluding all the non-inhabitants. It drifts on into reckoning "race" and "nation" as something "national", and so to reckoning "race" and "nation" as something binding—more than mere nineteenth-century ideology; ideas containing all the dangers, both of action and reaction, which such theories involve. They read backwards into Europe's own chronicles by reason of the same names occurring in both. Spain, for instance, regardless of the divergent senses that "Spain" may bear; and then, conscious of no alternative idea, unless such be provided from abroad, we cease to be conscious of any right of appeal.

Anyone nowadays, again, reading Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* will not fail to note how his great gifts and efforts were side-tracked by his being unable to recognize any but three authorities on the experience of mankind: Greek, Roman, Hebrew. Nowadays these three are but three amongst many, and none of those authoritative. A change that has come about owing to diverse causes. One of these causes is translation. Travel is for the few. All can read. Translation is travel for

the multitude. The more wide-awake of our grandfathers were the first in England to see that light dawning, so far as histories were concerned, whereas now even politicians have to take its effects into account. The effects will not stop there. These Asian ideas are in touch with realities, modern European ideas with bureaucracies.

Still, foreign chronicles do not come to life by virtue of translation alone, but first of all by being printed and interpreted—interpreted by the divining of what survives therein from a date anterior to the date of the compilation of the chronicle and of the implications contained in those survivals; and, further, by annotations pointing out what would escape the notice of any but an expert throughout the chronicle.

Finally, what we can read, what our posterity may be enabled to read, can be but a fraction of what has been written. Most chronicles are lost for ever. And of those that survive how easily might most have been better! Great issues are rarely taken into account. The only compelling forces they seem aware of are fear and ambition, the latter fraudulently exploiting illusions that the little world they lived in was too small to hold both parties, while the multitudes affected by the outcome go on living briefer, more calamitous, less fruitful lives than need have been; and to their calamities the chronicler pays no heed. Nevertheless, the reverse recurs at times, the side paraphrased by William Morris when introducing Snorri Sturluson to us :

“ Lo, here an ancient chronicle  
 Recording matters that befell  
 A folk whose life and death and pain  
 Might touch the great world's loss and gain  
 Full little; yet such might had they  
 They could not wholly pass away :  
 From mouth to mouth they sent a tale  
 That yet for something may avail;  
 For midst them all a man they wrought  
 Who all these words together brought,  
 Made shadows breathe, quickened the dead,  
 And knew what silent mouths once said,  
 Till with the life his life might give  
 These lived again, and yet shall live.”

After that fashion is Kalhana's chronicle of Kashmir. It is chosen to use here because it sets a standard for Asian work. In the choice of it for publication, in the translating, in the annotation, it exemplifies what has been aimed at in the foregoing comment; and more also. But the rest of the comment may be left to the reader to make for himself.

Many of the remarks already made may sound so platitudinous that the reader may well think he has picked up the *Listener* by mistake. But the fact is the air needs to be cleared first, and clearing the air—does not that imply extracting the commoner objects out of it? To Kalhana, then, we will return now, trusting that the above-mentioned counsels of perfection may turn up in a maturer form in the agenda of the Society during, say, 2041.

## II

Nearly eight centuries ago, during the years 1148-1149, Kalhana of Kashmir wrote his *Rajatarangini*, a book doubly unique. For one thing, it is the only specimen of a chronicle in the whole of Sanskrit literature; for another, it is the only survival of the kind in relation to Kashmir. Much of the kind had been written, but each such specimen had been written to meet the taste of a particular court and period, and when that court and that period had passed away, that specimen likewise passed away, with the public that had created the demand. Old copies were not wanted; no new copies were made. But Kalhana was no ordinary supply-and-demand-monger. He not only used the works of his predecessors in a way that rendered them even more unwanted than they would have been otherwise, but he rendered it so difficult for future generations to compete with him that, in fact, nobody did compete. Besides summarizing surviving writings, he was indefatigable in utilizing inscriptions, coins, deeds, and any other material that might be of assistance. He had a knowledge of his own country that enabled him to visualize the scene of any event he describes; he was about fifty when he wrote, had always lived in the thick of what was going on in his lifetime, and carried his chronicle down to the time of writing. His father, moreover, who lived on till about 1135, had been one of the chief men of the time, and belonged to one of the chief families of Kashmir; the two together implied that the son reaped the benefit, not only of his father's knowledge, but also of the experience and experiences of three generations of that family and its friends. The space accorded to events within their memory and his own takes up half the book. Furthermore, Kalhana received a literary training equal to that of any of those European chroniclers whose names are more familiar to us, and inherited a personal character which prevented his literary training from doing him any harm. He apologizes, in fact, for the absence of literariness which might be expected of him; absent intentionally, he explains, in order to give all the space to what he, and we,

believe to be more important. He only remains in allegiance to his tradition by writing in verse. No doubt he conformed to that part of oral tradition because he expected to be blessed with more listeners than readers.

Now all this survived in a satisfactory state in one seventeenth-century manuscript, the original of all extant copies. This manuscript was rediscovered in 1875. But it was a family heirloom. The discoverer, Professor Bühler, was not allowed to do more than look at it. And by 1888, when Sir Aurel Stein followed up the trail, the owner had died and the manuscript had been divided up into three portions, one for each son. After a year's negotiations Sir Aurel Stein succeeded in getting the loan of all three portions. He put them into a box and brought them home in 1890. A porter at Ostend dropped that box into the sea. However, the quality of seventeenth-century Kashmirian paper and ink were such that the manuscript was restored to the owners without visible damage. The text was published in 1892, the translation in 1900.

It sounds a simple story. But how much it implies in physical and mental effort and initiative, in endurance and capabilities, both indoors and outdoors, is more than a reader's mind can grasp. What can be inferred and imagined is staggering. The profundity, the insight, the comprehensiveness that are brought to bear; the care and skill and knowledge that are mere preliminaries to starting; the lucidity with which all is finished off and presented; the hardships of the search; the humanity and tact needed to gain the goodwill of strangers as alien as can be—all these combined are something outside what is generally understood by "translation". But here is a case which makes it clear that without these efforts and these qualities the full utility of translation cannot mature, nor the common factors in history manifest themselves.

The work of translation seemed necessary, too, for the translator's own purposes. The text was so difficult that it required a commentary, and the exactness incidental to the labour of translation would the better enable him, he saw, to compile the commentary. What follows here is mostly a summary of this commentary, with quotations to illustrate it. The summary is intended to bring out the intrinsic historical value of Kalhana's book, his characteristics as a writer, and the contrasts he presents to other chroniclers.

Turning, then, to the contents of Kalhana's book, and confining ourselves to those parts which speak of people and events familiarly

known to the author, we come to the reign of King Kalasa (1063-1089); of Utkarsa, who succeeded Kalasa, but reigned only twenty-two days and then committed suicide by cutting his throat with a pair of scissors; of Harsa, son of Kalasa; and others. Yet even further back than the time of Kalasa there occur sentences characteristic of both what Kashmir appreciated and Kalhana transmitted. As, for instance, concerning one emotional king, of whom it was recorded—

“ . . . as the naturally pure-minded king was thus getting excited every day and cooling down every night . . . ,”

and how once when he left his palace before the cooling-down stage arrived and ordered his ladies to come with him :

“ . . . the royal ladies put their various possessions on board ships, and when starting left not even the iron nails in the walls of the palace. . . .”

And then there was a capitalist :

“ . . . by the revenue of his land, and by selling victuals as a trader to far-off regions, this greedy person accumulated wealth; . . . after having the ground dug up for a krosa and a half, he filled it constantly with heaps of money and then had rice plentifully sown over it.”

Now about King Kalasa :

“ . . . his mind was ever profitably occupied, just like that of a father, with plans for the kindly protection of his people. He showed skill in keeping account of his wealth like a merchant, was careful to spend it in the right way, and had ever an open hand. He himself watched over the present and future income and expenditure, and kept always by his side birch-bark and chalk, like a clerk. No sellers of goods could cheat him, as he purchased jewels and other things personally and according to their intrinsic value. . . . As he was watching the acts of his own people and of strangers by means of spies, only the dreams of his subjects remained unknown to him. As he looked after the country just as a householder after his house, no one among the people ever felt misery.”

He piled up a large royal reserve also, giving as his reason that a king without resources of his own becomes subject to the will of his own people as well as that of his enemies. King Kalasa experienced both disasters. Rebellion was his reward. But he lived longer than the usurper Utkarsa intended he should. The latter gave Kalasa into the

custody of a noble lord, commissioning the lord to execute Kalasa or to spare him, according to which of two rings he sent by the captain of the guard. But there was some confusion about all this, and the end of it was that the noble lord's head was cut off by mistake, instead of the ex-king's.

King Harsa is the hero of the book. He reminds one of our King Henry VIII., starting brilliantly and going downhill even faster than most of us do. Kalhana could hardly have remembered much, if anything, of him, but he is speaking, no doubt, mainly from his father's recollections.

“ He wore earrings which flashed like the reflected image of the sun; on his round, broad headdress was fixed a high diadem; he used to look round like a pleased lion; his bushy beard was hanging down low; his shoulders were like those of a bull; his arms great, and his body of a dark red complexion; he had a broad chest and a narrow waist, and his voice was deep like thunder.”

While Kalasa was alive Harsa revolted at the stinginess of his father's latter days. Being clever at languages and literature, open-minded and open-handed, he welcomed all comers, recognizing merit where his father did not. And, as the allowance from his father was insufficient for his extravagance, he had meals only on alternate days. After his accession he spent too freely on the army as well, and the turning-point in his career came when his attention was drawn to a locked-up shrine and to the wealth contained therein. After looting that, he looked for more, and came to fix his thoughts on spoliation of temples. Part of their wealth consisted of the material whereof the images of the gods were made. A “prefect for the overthrow of divine images” was appointed. Divinities of gold and silver rolled about on the roads like so many logs and were defiled in order to discredit all but their cash value, beggars whose noses, feet, and hands had rotted away being chosen as agents for the defiling. Only four images in the kingdom escaped spoliation. His father's and grandfather's savings went the same way, and “prefects of property” were appointed to discover further sources of inland revenue. Reckless fines were inflicted, even on the poor; owners of orchards whose trees stood in the way of the view from the palace were ruined by their trees being cut down. His reason seemed to give way, and he himself became a rogues' treasury. Some would bring slave-girls before him, saying they were goddesses, and Harsa would worship them. Others showed him a picture of an old woman, saying, “There, we have brought you your mother, Bappika,



from heaven"; and Harsa worshipped that. He attacked the aristocracy, particularly that section known as the Damaras. At the gate of his palace triumphal arches were erected covered with the skulls of Damaras; whoever brought in a Damara's head received presents. Vultures came in flocks to feast on the heads on the gateway. Then Harsa took to impaling travellers. The land was filled with corpses as if it were a burning-ground; the nose was tormented by the smell, and the ear by the howling of the jackals.

In the end Harsa was murdered. The palace was sacked; of those who took part in the sacking, some lost their lives, some their poverty. One found camphor and ate it, thinking it was white sugar. One woman was found grinding pearls in a hand-mill, believing the pearls to be white rice-corns; men of the woods were seen carrying off ladies from the seraglio, magnificently dressed ladies looking like fairies.

However, order was restored by another king when Kalhana was a small boy. This king knew all that was going on, since he spent most of the day outside his palace in order to hear what was said, and at the mere mention of the word "opponent" he would start off in pursuit, even though it were midnight. He organized his own grain-stores and sold off the grain cheap as soon as there was a famine. If he heard of suffering caused by an official, he saw to it that all the relatives of that official suffered still more. He enabled robbers to cease robbing by giving them employment.

Kalhana does not seem fond of officials. Of those who had been left over from the preceding reign he says :

" These rogues were everywhere suppressed by the king through degradation, dismissal from office, and imprisonment. . . . Some of those who had been dismissed from office could be seen running about night after night begging for anything, and veiling themselves with rags dripping with dirt. . . . Some again, as street beggars, would chant hymns loudly and with unctiousness, accompanied by their children, and thus amuse people. Some, in order to get employment, made even their mother, sister, daughter, and wife offer their persons to men of noble rank. . . . Those who were in prison appeared to others like goblins with their parched faces, with the wild-growing hair of their beards, with their lean bodies, and with the chains tinkling on their legs. . . . They could not deceive that wise king, as they had deceived others . . . by offering great sums, by procuring rare dishes, and the like."

However, it was a dismissed official who murdered this king; and, once dead, the king's body was abandoned by all and carried out naked to

the burning-ground for a pauper's funeral. The usurper himself was so soon murdered that the royal servants served one king in the evening, another next morning, and a third midday. Then, as Kalhana grows up, he recalls more sedition :

“What with troops marching out with music, with the return of the wounded, crowds bewailing slain friends, the flight of the routed soldiers, multitudes going to look on, masses of flying arrows, armour carried about, horses dragged along, and the dust raised by the throng accompanying the dead—roads were kept in an uproar day after day without interruption.”

Worse followed. Srinagar was burnt in the course of a battle. All the foodstores being consumed in the fire, famine ensued.

“The people's savings were exhausted by the long troubles; their houses were burned; and outside the city the Damaras seized the produce and blocked the roads. The nobles, who received no money from the royal household while the king was in distress, perished also quickly in that famine. Day after day there were houses burned among those few which the conflagration had left over, by fires which the starving people laid in their greedy search for food. The people at that time crossed the bridges over the streams holding their noses, on account of the stench produced by the decomposing corpses which had become swollen by lying in the river. The famished people, who could scarcely walk, and whose tall bodies were emaciated and darkened by the sun-heat, appeared like scorched wooden posts.”

Another bad interval was the reign of Bhiksacara, who attended only to women and food. When he was obliged to attend a council, he came tipsy and sleepy and had nothing to say on his own account, but just repeated the words of his councillors after them, as if he had been hollow inside. The latter took him to their homes, plied him with food and drink, and then robbed him as if he had been a rich young man who had lost his father. Nobody paid attention to his decisions because his intentions resembled a line drawn in water. His Prime Minister, Bimba, was not much help, since, “not having had many advantages in his early upbringing, he knew bad from good; and that was about all”.

Here follow three pictures of Kashmirian warfare :

“Sujji marched on quickly, and then, by having the drums beaten to announce to his opponents his surprise attack, caused a panic. Thereupon the troops with their helpless leaders fled quickly by various hill-paths while the night yet lasted. In the

morning the ministers were stripped of their fine dresses. . . . No one drew his sword to protect the troops from being plundered. Everyone then saved himself; but no one else. Some who were scaling the rocks in leaps and displaying their crimson under-clothing, showed such skill in their flight as if they had been red-buttocked monkeys. Some, again, who, having lost their clothes, displayed their yellowish bodies, appeared in their movement like fragments of blocks of yellow orpiment driven about by the wind. Some, again, whose bodies were heavy, as they moved on the mountains . . . trumpeting when they took breath—resembled young elephants. . . . What need of mentioning names? There was not a single minister who did not fling away courage and die like a beast. The chamberlain, dressed as he was, the circles of his arm-rings glittered in the sun. On recognizing him the soldiers set out to pursue him, running with all their might. The servant, struck by a stone, dropped him; and he himself, wounded by a stone, was then caught. His body was thin, like that of a S'arika bird, pining in grief over its recent captivity, and, with his contracted eyes in which tears appeared, he resembled a bat. . . . Thus they carried him away on their shoulders with shouts and laughter."

#### "CAPTURE OF A REBEL OF NEARLY SIXTY YEARS OF AGE.

"Lothana, who was being announced by the doorkeepers, was scarcely noticeable owing to the mass of people surrounding him. The soldiers had put their hands under his armpits. His face was covered by his dress, whose edge was drawn up to his nose. The white, dishevelled hair of his beard reached to his ear-lobes, which bore no ornaments, and made appear plainly the emaciated state of his cheeks. From time to time he glanced out of the corners of his eyes, in which the pupils were fixed and gloomy, at the citizens who were shouting various remarks. . . . He had suffered from despondency, misery, fear, exhaustion, and hunger. His body, which knew not sleep, was shaking like that of a cow pained by cold. He felt as if the earth was moving, the mountains tumbling down, and the sky falling. . . . At every step he stopped and thought, 'Let there be an intercession from heaven, or may a terrible darkness spread, or may the winds wither up this royal palace now nearly reached. How shall I stand before the king, I, who have done him this terrible injury?'"

#### "FLIGHT OF ANOTHER REBEL IN WINTER-TIME.

"In some places the sharp edges of the frozen stones hurt like the pangs of death. In some the clouds hid the daylight and pro-

duced darkness as if they were the snares of the death-god. Somewhere the falling avalanches resembled by their masses a herd of elephants. In some places his body was hit by the hissing spray of the torrents as if by arrows. In some places his skin would burst open under the piercing wind; in another again the dazzling reflection of the glittering snow would destroy his vision. At a wide-open place he would expect a deep fall, and a clear way at a narrow one. Oftentimes he would think he was ascending when gliding down."

Violent death was so common that the ordinariness of it might seem to account for the heedlessness felt about it. But this heedlessness was chronicled and to all bygone life—there was—and this applies to all death in times when medical aid to alleviate suffering was scarce or non-existent. Moreover, the belief in reincarnation diminished the normal disinclination to die. One minister was assassinated by a Brahman who, after being killed by the soldiers, was found to have a leaf wrapped round his arm, whereon was written: "From Yuga to Yuga I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil-doers, and to restore the sacred law". And then the warriors had their special theory—namely, that girls in the Kashmirian heaven awaited those who died in battle, with a mission to console the newcomers by every means in girls' power, their own female eroticism being stimulated to its highest intensity by the sight of a hero dying fighting. For the rank and file, who enjoyed no such compensations, the idea of expiation of their sins by suffering contributed in its own small way.

Custom, too, played its part, especially as regards inducing people to immolate themselves by burning. The custom was used by way of protest. The aforesaid minister, for instance, who was murdered by a Brahman, had exasperated the Brahmans by taxation. Some had held a solemn fast by way of protest, and, as that had had no effect, several burned themselves. And when this minister proceeded to confiscate the grazing-land of the sacred cows, one cow-herd, likewise, burned himself. Where the custom comes most into notice is in the sacrifice of kings' wives when a king died. The king who killed himself with a pair of scissors died in the presence of a mere concubine who had been a dancing-girl at a temple. She entered the pyre with her limbs smeared over with the king's blood; and Kalhana holds her up to admiration as one who was remembered as an honour to womanhood from that time to his own. Far different was the case which he records

with grief, that of the favourite concubine of another king. Seven queens and a minor concubine followed their lord to death, but the favourite refused, preferring to marry a village official. An ordinary kind of paragraph is this :

“ . . . four queens came forth from the palace to follow the king into death. The people, benumbed by the fear of a hostile attack, and by the sudden hard frost, were not able to conduct them to the distant burning-ground. Therefore they burned their bodies in haste . . . not far from the palace. The queen Devalekhá, whose beauty was as great as the Creator could make it, entered the fire with her sister Taralekhá. Jajjalá from Vallapurá, who excelled by her virtues, died there, and Rajalakami, too, the daughter of Gagga, was consumed in the fire.”

THE LAST QUOTATION is welcome to the reader as epitomizing all the foregoing quotations. It is this :

“ Even the gods have no pity in Trigarta, no morale in Campá, no generosity in the Madra-land, and no goodwill in Darva-bhisara.”

NOTE.—The absence of certain diacritical markings will be excused by the fact that this summary is no more than a reminder of a standard book.

## REVIEWS

**The Life of Sir Percy Cox.\*** By Philip Graves. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 350. 16 illustrations and map. London: Hutchinson. 1941. 18s.

### THE PERSIAN GULF

Sir Percy Cox, who was destined to play such a distinguished rôle in the Persian Gulf and, later, to found the Kingdom of Iraq, was born in 1864. Educated at Harrow and at Sandhurst, he received his commission in 1884 and joined the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) at Shahjehanpur. He, at once, set to work to pass the Higher Standard in Urdu, and then turned his attention to Persian and Arabic. He played polo, was fond of shooting and was keen on his work. In 1886, he visited Kashmir and, overtaxing his strength, he was sent home on long leave in the autumn of 1887, returning to India in 1889.

At Lucknow he met his fate in Louisa Belle, the charming daughter of Surgeon-General Hamilton. Realizing his lack of a sufficient income on which to marry, he decided to join the Indian Staff Corps with a view to entering the Indian Political Department. As soon as he heard of his appointment to the 29th Punjabis, acting with extreme promptitude, he told Miss Hamilton, to whom he was not formally engaged, that they must be married without delay—and married they were a week later, in November, 1889.

Cox, now twenty-five, was almost immediately appointed Adjutant of the Kolhapur Infantry and *ex-officio* Assistant to the Political Agent, under the Bombay Political Department. Another similar appointment followed, but his first real step was to Zeila in British Somaliland. There, living in quarters which Mr. Curzon, who visited the Coxes, described as "unfit for a decent dog," he did much useful work among the wild tribesmen and enjoyed wonderful big-game shooting, including lions and elephants. He also conducted successful operations and brought the lawless tribesmen to heel in an expedition which makes interesting reading.

In October, 1889, Cox was appointed Consul at Muscat and thus began his long and brilliantly successful career in the Persian Gulf. The situation, at this time, was a delicate one. The Sultan was unfriendly to the British, and had agreed to grant a coaling-station to the French, who were then their rivals. This action of the Sultan had been met by an ultimatum delivered by the British Admiral on his warship to which he perforce yielded.

Cox set to work to win over the Sultan. His grievances were firstly the coaling-station, the lease of which would have added to his slender revenue; secondly, the French Consuls at Aden and Zanzibar arrogated the right to

\* The first part of this review, dealing mainly with the Persian Gulf, is the work of Sir Percy Sykes; the section on Iraq is written by Sir Nigel Davidson; and Last Years is also the work of Sir Percy Sykes.

allow Omani owners of dhows to fly French flags, much to the detriment of his authority; and, thirdly, the Indian Government had stopped the payment of his subsidy.

The question of the coaling-station was finally settled amicably by making it a joint Anglo-French depôt, while the issue of further French flags was prohibited. As to the subsidy, Cox speedily secured its renewal. In the East personality counts most of all, and Cox before long succeeded in making Seyyid Feisal a friend of the British. For the Arabs, silence implies wisdom, and Cox never spoke unless he had a remark of some value to make.

In January, 1901, when I had taken leave from the Consulate at Kerman and was bound for South Africa, I spent the day with Captain Cox and his charming wife. Two years later, returning from the Boer War, I again passed through Muscat, and from that time our friendship was permanently established, while our official connection, generally speaking, was close.

At Muscat, the Consulate was a roomy two-storied bungalow with wide verandahs. There was no garden, and it almost adjoined the bazaar. The climate in the harbour, surrounded by rocky hills, was torrid beyond words, owing to the rocks giving out by night the heat they had absorbed by day. Yet Mrs. Cox made the very best of everything, while Cox undoubtedly realized the importance of the problems of the Persian Gulf, and decided that he was going to serve his country in it, whatever the climate might be.

In 1902, Seyyid Taimir, the heir of the Sultan, attended the Durbar at Delhi, when Cox was awarded a well-earned C.I.E., and in the following year, in 1903, Lord Curzon, escorted by a powerful naval squadron, visited the Persian Gulf and invested the Sultan with the G.C.I.E. He also received the tribal chiefs and Mubarik, the ruler of Kuwait. With all these chiefs Great Britain had treaties. The visit of Lord Curzon, whose Durbars were set with splendour which dazzled the primitive Arabs, was of outstanding importance, strengthening as it did both British prestige and the hands of British officials.

The excellent work done by Cox was rewarded by his appointment to be acting Political Resident of the Persian Gulf, which post he took up after a spell of well-earned leave in 1904. In these sun-stricken waters the following years were critical. France, as we have seen, was fighting for supremacy, using underhand intrigues; Russia took a hand in the game and secured temporary prestige by sending a cruiser with five funnels into the Persian Gulf, naval power being there calculated in funnels!\* Of far greater importance was the German menace, which was mainly based on the grant by Turkey to that Power of the right to construct a railway across Asia Minor to Baghdad, with a terminus, it was hoped, in the Persian Gulf, where strong efforts were made to lease a harbour in the Kuwait area.

In connection with this menace, the German firm of Wonkhaus attempted to secure a contract to mine oxide on the island of Abu Musa; the

\* I understand that a six-funnelled British cruiser eclipsed the prestige of Russia, two dummy funnels having been added for the occasion!

Germans also attempted to gain possession of the valuable pearl fisheries. They also tried hard to obtain a concession in the Karum Valley, but in every case they were defeated by Cox.

Of his positive achievements, by sheer personal influence, he turned Ibn Saud, the present King of Saudi Arabia, from being a potential enemy to a friend. He was equally successful with Sheikh Khazal, who ruled a large area round the mouth of the Karum River as a semi-independent feudal ruler. Thanks to his influence, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as it is now called, was able to acquire an excellent site for their refinery on Abadan Island, situated on the Shatt-el-Arab.

Thus, during ten critical years, Cox had not only foiled all foreign machinations, but had seen the construction of a cable to Muscat. He had also lighted the Persian Gulf and improved other services. When he left to take up the position of Secretary in the Foreign Department, we learned from a captured document that Wassmuss, the German Consul at Bushire, who was destined during the last Great War to give the British much trouble, rejoiced greatly.

## IRAQ

It is with sound judgment that, at the beginning of his first chapter, Mr. Graves lays early emphasis on Sir Percy's power of appreciating the minds and motives of men of other nations, creeds and castes, "often with sympathy, always without intolerance." This quality, not always found in "the strong, silent Englishman," was in large part the secret of his success in dealing with the problems and personalities of Iraq, where Arab pride and Oriental vanity were only too ready to resent any suggestion of racial inferiority. Again, the personal dignity of the man inspired confidence and respect, and enabled him to dispense with the ceremonial pomp and circumstance which might well have evoked antagonism. His gift of silence, once described by Lord Curzon as "devastating," was as effective as it was famous. The result of interviews, conducted apparently in silence, was positively uncanny!

To measure his achievement in this field, it is well to summarize the problems with which he was faced on his return to Iraq as High Commissioner. First, there were the liquidation of the 1920 rebellion and the restoration of order throughout the country. Here his personal prestige, and his tact and experience in dealing with the tribesmen and with political adventurers, stood him in good stead. It was at this stage that he found an invaluable assistant in Gertrude Bell with her encyclopædic knowledge of Arab personalities. His rejection of the "peace offers" made by the Shiah divines of Kerbela and Nejef, the Mujtahids, is a good example of the High Commissioner's political wisdom in refusing to sow dragon's teeth by taking the short cut to appeasement. On the other hand, with the same political wisdom, he was quick to recognize that no native administration could hope to function successfully without the help of Nationalist leaders who had opposed the British administration and had sympathized with, if they had



not actively supported, the rebellion. Within a year order was restored and a Council of State set up under the venerable Naqib of Baghdad. In the same period His Majesty's Government had, at long last, adopted a definite policy under the masterful direction of the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill. And so the decks were cleared for constructive action based on the promises made to the inhabitants by General Maude and on the principles of the Mandate accepted by the British Government.

The objects to be attained were threefold :

(1) To fulfil the obligations under the Mandate of maintaining law and order, and a decent administration in the Mandated territory, with safeguards for foreign interests and the minorities, until such time as the inhabitants were able to "stand alone" as an independent State;

(2) To implement the pledges to the Iraqis of independence under a national government in accordance with the wishes of the people;

(3) To relieve the British taxpayer of the intolerable burden of providing a large army of occupation at a necessarily extravagant cost.

The difficulty of reconciling these several aims might well have seemed to the practical man on the spot insuperable. How could order be maintained if the British forces and British personnel were drastically reduced? and how could promises of complete independence be squared with the control necessary to enable the Mandatory Power to fulfil its obligation to the League? The obvious course, and the course probably contemplated in Whitehall, would have been to go slow, but neither the British taxpayer nor the Nationalist Iraqi would brook delay. As we have learned by bitter experience in Ireland and Egypt, the grant of independence by instalments is an unsatisfactory and dangerous process. National aspirations, or at least the aspirations of vocal nationalists, are always ahead of the concessions granted, and each fresh instalment appears to be wrung from the dominant power by agitation and violence rather than granted from goodwill and a sense of justice.

Nor were these the only difficulties of the man on the spot. To those unversed in Roman law the terms "mandate" and "mandatory" imply more of dominance and command than of trusteeship; and, unfortunately, this meaning also attached to the Arabic translation. This was used as a weapon in the hands of the extreme nationalists, who also made play with the fact that the department of State responsible for the Middle East Mandates was the Colonial Office. The British advisers and others representing British control were labelled "The Colonizers." Trivial though this may appear, such words have a real propaganda value in the mouths of agitators. Again, the juridical status of the Iraqi administration was Gilbertian. Peace was not formally concluded with Turkey until years after Cox had signed the Treaty and set up the State of Iraq; and consequently, in international law, this independent constitutional monarchy was nothing more than a civil administration set up by an army of occupation in enemy territory! Not an easy situation for the lawyer responsible for advising on matters of personal status, foreign claims and constitutional rights.

Steadfast, dignified, imperturbable, Sir Percy Cox led the way through this maze of problems, policies and prejudices. His biographer has followed him with skill and impartiality, no easy task where feeling had run so high and the policy had often been distasteful to those who had to carry it out. The first and second objectives—that is to say, the fulfilment of the mandatory's obligations and the promises of independence given to the Arabs—were reconciled and attained by the expedient of substituting for the Mandate a treaty between two high contracting parties. This soothed the *amour propre* of the nationalist politicians and enabled them to accept by voluntary agreement limitations in the powers of the independent State, to which they would never have submitted if imposed by the dominant Power through the Mandate. Thus the Mandatory was able to secure by the terms of the Treaty such a measure of control in matters financial, administrative, military and diplomatic as would enable it to safeguard British interests and to perform its obligation to the League of Nations. On the other hand, the façade of national independence was maintained when such control was not imposed from above but formed part of a bargain between two "Allies."

The third objective, the drastic reduction of British expenditure, was effected, first by the pacification of the country which released a large proportion of the Imperial forces; secondly, by the substitution of the Air Command for the Army Command, which reduced the ground forces to a bare minimum; and, thirdly, by the establishment of the civil administration, financed entirely from local resources, which took over the police, the administration of justice, the maintenance of railways, communications and public works, and all other civil services without any contribution from Imperial revenues.

A bare statement of the objects aimed at and the policy by which they were attained, gives little idea of the daily drama, sometimes irritating, often depressing, but ultimately successful, through which Sir Percy and his staff of British advisers moved to the conclusion of their task. For this the reader must look to Mr. Graves's vivid narrative and the letters of Gertrude Bell. Nor was the touch of romance lacking in the establishment of an Arab monarch, himself a direct descendant of the Prophet, on the throne of the City of the Caliphs. The high light of the drama was reached in August, 1922. King Feisal, who, it is fair to remember, was faced with the same problem as Cox in reconciling the contradictory policies of Mandate and Independence, appeared to have thrown in his lot with the Anti-Mandate parties, and an indignity was placed on the High Commissioner at a State reception in the Palace. At the very moment when a deadlock appeared to have been reached, the King was seized with an acute attack of appendicitis. Sir Percy, without hesitation or display, quietly took over the reins with a firm hand. Relief was immediate and universal, even among the agitators themselves, and Feisal on his recovery expressed his gratitude in generous terms. From that moment events in Iraq moved with comparative smoothness to the signing of the Treaty. Such difficulties as remained were on the home front, where some frosty-footed politicians in

the Cabinet and a disgruntled leader of the Press made a determined effort to secure the abandonment of all British commitments in Iraq as well as our obligations to the Arabs and to the League. Cox paid a hurried visit to London by air, and in a few weeks returned with full authority to bring his task to its successful conclusion. The hardly less difficult task remained for his successor, Sir Henry Dobbs, of negotiating with the Iraq Government the "subsidiary agreements" on finance, defence, the administration of justice and the status of British officials, and of securing from the Constituent Assembly, then in course of election, the confirmation of the Treaty and the passage of the law of the Constitution.

In the background of Mr. Graves's picture stands the gallant figure of Lady Cox. Surely no worker in a torrid clime had ever a more devoted helpmeet. What was never suspected even by those most closely associated with the Coxes in their social and official life was the extent to which Sir Percy confided in her in every detail and difficulty of his task. So successfully did she conceal this intimate knowledge of all that was going on behind the scenes that never a hint escaped, and it came as a complete surprise when Sir Percy, at his farewell dinner, in a rare moment of self-revelation, declared that this practice had been the greatest comfort and help in his career.

(NOTE.—A few corrections in names should be noted. On page 245 Major *Feilding* should be Feilden and Dr. *Crawford* should be Crowfoot. On page 267, fifth line, *Garrett* should read Garbett.)

## LAST YEARS

Cox was fortunate in his retirement, since he was called upon to serve his country in two important Missions. In 1924 he was British plenipotentiary in the negotiations to settle the boundary between Turkey and Iraq. The Turks were, however, unreasonable and unwilling to negotiate and the matter, in default of agreement between the two Powers, was settled by the League of Nations. A second Mission was to represent the Government of India at the International Arms Traffic Conference at Geneva in 1925. This long-standing question, in which I had taken a hand in 1897, was made difficult by the attitude of the Persian delegate, who claimed the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman as Persia's territorial waters. However, in the absence of the Persian representative who withdrew, the maritime zone of exclusion was accepted by the other Governments and Cox was successful in this his final service to the Government of India.

Settled in London, he became President of the Royal Geographical Society. Having won his spurs as an explorer and with his wide knowledge of Arabia, Iran and Iraq, he was a competent, dignified and courteous President. His interest in Bertram Thomas and Philby, the two great explorers, both of whom had served under him, was deep, and I recollect spending a morning with him during which we decided exactly how much credit should be assigned to each in a book that I was publishing.

I may say that we were always friends and were generally in correspond-

ence with one another. In one letter which he wrote from Bahrein, at the beginning of the last Great War, he mentioned with especial satisfaction the lighting of the Persian Gulf. During its course, among other things, the late Sir Arnold Wilson bought all the Persian money that reached Iraq and sent it round by sea to my base at Bandar Abbas. This help was most valuable to my operations in South Persia.

Before summing up, a brief reference may be made to his attitude towards his staff and to the peoples among whom he worked. Junior members of his staff at first stood in awe of him, but, to mention Sir Arnold Wilson and Bertram Thomas only, they both admired him wholeheartedly and worked with him strenuously and loyally. Throughout, he was strenuously helped by Lady Cox who, as Sir Arnold Wilson wrote, "raised the standard of living and comfort, of private life and of public hospitality wherever she had been."

To turn to the Arabs, among whom he lived and worked for thirty years, it is safe to say that no Englishman was so trusted or raised the prestige of his country as he did. Indeed, hundreds of children bear his name.

To turn to another point, the late Lord Greenway gave me a copy of lines written by a Treasury official which ran :

"Three Percys have for better or for worse  
Filled from Great Britain's coffers Persia's purse.  
The first who propped her 'gainst external shocks  
With British gold was clever Percy Cox.  
Next, squandering gold as floods that burst their dykes  
On Southern Persia Rifles, Percy Sykes.  
Shrewd Cox—brave Sykes: their efforts still were vain.  
Yet may the third redeem the other twain,  
And luck attend Sir Percy of Loraine."

I showed them to Cox and asked for his impression. "Cheek," was his laconic reply.

One question frequently asked is how Cox compared with Lawrence. To this Bertram Thomas gives the admirable reply that "Lawrence was a brilliant meteor of the war beside Cox, a planet that illumined the Eastern firmament for thirty years."

To conclude this brief notice of the admirable work of Philip Graves, two succeeding generations produced an outstanding figure in the Political Department of the Government of India. Firstly, we have Sir Mortimer Durand, the great boundary maker, and, secondly, Sir Percy Cox, the great founder of the kingdom of Iraq.

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**Britain and Turk.** By Philip P. Graves. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 260. Hutchinson and Co. 12s. 6d.

In this book Mr. Graves combines pleasantly a political sketch of modern

Turkish history with personal reminiscences of his long connection with the country.

The introduction treats briefly of the old Turkey from 1790 to 1878: Napoleon's attempt to conquer Egypt; the Greek War of Independence; the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on Turkish reform; Mehmed Ali's establishment of his family's rule in Egypt; the Russian descent on the Bosphorus in response to the Sultan's appeal for aid against his dangerous vassal; Palmerston's opposition to the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi, which would have turned the Black Sea into a Russian lake; French jealousy of Great Britain in the Near East, which still continues; the Crimean War; the Russo-Turkish War, and, finally, the Treaty of Berlin. It is strange that the author, in discussing the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi, makes no use of the late D. A. Cameron's *Egypt in the XIX Century*. Cameron points out that when Stratford Canning urged the despatch of British warships to support the Sultan the British Prime Minister "could not make up his mind. The Great Elchi had one virtue—he did know his own mind and often forced his views on later cabinets at home." In considering the careers of the British Ambassadors to Turkey during the last 100 years, one is struck by the fact that only two succeeded in imposing their own personality, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Sir William White.

The thirty-three years of Abdul Hamid's despotic reign are described in detail in the first eight chapters. The author has little sympathy for the Red Sultan, whose motto he gives as Divide and Rule; but Abdul Hamid II. may at least be given credit for the diplomatic skill with which he played off the European Powers one against another and preserved the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which began to crumble directly he was removed. The single exception, if it can be so called, was the annexation to Bulgaria under Prince Alexander of Battenberg of Eastern Rumelia in 1885. The author seems to have forgotten this when he remarks on page 113 that in 1908 Eastern Rumelia was still an Ottoman autonomous province.

In 1908 came the Committee of Union and Progress Revolution, which forced Abdul Hamid to re-establish the parliament, prorogued *sine die* by him in 1878. Almost immediately 'Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria proclaimed its independence of Turkish suzerainty and Greece annexed Crete. Mr. Graves describes from his personal experiences as *The Times'* correspondent the exciting events of those days, culminating in the counter-revolution of April, 1909, the march of the C.U.P. army from Salonika, the deposition of Abdul Hamid and the tangle of political intrigue which followed. In 1911 Italy invaded Tripoli, and in 1912 the Balkan States declared war on Turkey. Constitutional government had brought no luck to that unhappy country.

When the World War broke out the three leaders of the C.U.P., Talaat as Minister of the Interior, Enver as Minister of War and Jemal as Minister of Marine, were all-powerful. Influenced by German propaganda and forced by the presence of the two German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* at Constantinople, they allowed Turkey to be kicked into the war on the German side. The author is severe on Sir Louis Mallet, who had suc-

ceeded Sir Gerard Lowther (it is odd that the author calls him Sir Gerald) in October, 1913. He was not the man for the post at that critical time, but it would have required superhuman personality to shake off the German hold in those last twelve months.

The last four chapters deal with the post-armistice period, and are the most important. The central figure is Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, whom the author rightly styles "the Cromwell of Turkey, the most constructive of modern dictators."

The fatuous policy of putting the Greeks into Smyrna gave Ataturk his opportunity. He took full advantage of it and created the new Turkey, which Great Britain to-day woos as an ally in the Hitler War. The story of the *εμγαλη ιδεα* is best told in the author's own words: "The British Government had proposed territorial gains for Greece in Asia Minor in January, 1915, and M. Venizelos thenceforward committed himself ever more deeply to the acceptance of the Allied offer to aggrandize Greece at the expense of Turkey in Asia Minor. Colonel Metaxas—*i.e.*, the late General Metaxas and Prime Minister of Greece, then Chief of the General Staff—had opposed the acceptance of the offer of Smyrna on political and strategical grounds. He explained to Mr. Venizelos and convinced King Constantine that the Greeks of Asia Minor at the most favourable estimate equalled a bare fifth of the Moslem Turkish population, that even in the Smyrna region there were seven Turks for every five Greeks, that the Moslems had passed through the military mill and were valiant soldiers, whereas the Greeks were neither hereditarily warlike nor trained to arms, that an attempt to annex the coastal region of Smyrna would entail a long campaign in the interior in which the geographical advantages would pass to the Turks, that even if Greece were at first successful the effort to hold Ionia, which formed a geographical and economic whole, would be a source of continual friction and could only be terminated by the reuniting of Asia Minor."

"On August 4 (1922) Mr. Lloyd George made a fatal speech, expressing his confidence in the ability of the Greek Army to hold its ground and insisting that the Christian minorities in Asia Minor must receive the fullest protection. They were in danger—and thanks to whom? On August 26 the Turkish Army attacked. The Greeks were routed. Smyrna was burnt under the eyes of the British Mediterranean Squadron. The survivors of the Greek Army escaped to Thrace and the islands with scores of thousands of civilian refugees. The overweening ambition of M. Venizelos, the divisions of the Allies, and, above all, the obstinate courage and military genius of Mustafa Kemal had saved Turkey from final ruin."

"Having cleared Asia Minor of the Greeks, the Nationalist forces advanced towards Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Although abandoned by their allies, the British stood firm on both sides of the Straits. Mustafa Kemal welcomed the possibility of a truce on favourable terms. On September 23 the three Powers invited the Turks to a Conference."

This took place at Mudania, where a military agreement was successfully negotiated through the tact of General Sir Charles Harington. A

general conference was opened at Lausanne on November 20, and after eight months of stubborn bargaining was concluded by the Treaty of Lausanne. Thus ended Turkey's part in the World War.

"The Turks had found a leader, and for the next fifteen years Mustafa Kemal and his lieutenants persuaded, hammered, or moulded the Turkish people into a new nation. He had set himself three tasks: to establish a Government based on the sovereignty of the people, to Europeanize the administration, the laws and the institutions of his country and to raise the authority of the Law above all other powers."

The author relates the various measures taken to achieve these ends. Mustafa Kemal set his face against both the Pan-Islamic and the Pan-Turanian ideals. It is interesting to note that recently one of the schemes of Nazi Germany has been to work up a Pan-Turanian movement among the Turkish-speaking Moslems of Bolshevik Russia. The Nazis published and circulated what they termed "Promethian" propaganda—the idea being that just as Prometheus was chained to a rock in the Caucasus so the Moslem Republics in the U.S.S.R. are fettered by the Russians. This particular brand of propaganda was dropped like a hot potato when Hitler and Stalin signed their pact.

A tribute is paid to the statesmanship shown by M. Venizelos in visiting Angora and concluding a treaty of friendship between Greece and Turkey. The author expresses the regret felt by all that great Greek statesman's friends that he did not seize the opportunity of himself bringing back King George II. to the throne of Greece.

The book ends with the gradual revival of the old friendship between Great Britain and Turkey:

"So the year (1940) ended, the Turks stood hand on hilt, looking northwards. They had done all and more than their British allies could have expected of them. They had refused to be intimidated, tempted or cajoled by German, Italian and Russian to abandon their alliance. They had understood the moral hollowness of German pretensions to found a new civilization in Europe. They had no intention of becoming lock-keepers of the Straits for the Russians, and by refusing this humble function had convinced even Stalin that they were not a people with whom he could play fast and loose. Above all, by their steady resistance to the pressure of the tyrants they had put heart into the still free peoples of the Balkans and the Near East."

A. T. W.

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**Our Arabian Nights.** By Ruth and Helen Hoffman. 8½" × 5¼". Pp. 282. 17 illustrations. Hale. 1941. 12s. 6d.

Books about the Middle East there are in plenty—political books which prophesy, historical books which interest, but in *Our Arabian Nights* Ruth and Helen Hoffman have written a book whose primary function is to give enjoyment. In this they succeed. These American twins, whose joint work it is, acquired fame with their first novel, *We Married an Englishman*.

"But now," they say in the Foreword, "*Ya Allah*, we have been asked to write another book about how we lived happily ever after. . . . How as a sequel to our three years' isolation in the desert we romped through troubled times in Baghdad; how we watched the long-tangled episodes of a blood feud between Sheikh Fulan's people and an enemy tribe; how we lived with the three wives of the Sheikh in his desert *harem* until last September when the news of the War drove us back to temporary safety in Baghdad." The result is a most delightful informal narrative describing with equal zest and judgment their usual and unusual doings—the latter category is by far the larger. The nerve and enterprise with which they accumulate twenty-seven animals, including such diverse company as a wild boar, a peacock and many Siamese kittens, hold the reader entranced throughout. (Two baby storks were acquired at the outset of a long desert motor trip, temperature 113° F.) One finds oneself carried along by their enthusiasm to a feeling of real participation in their worries, joys and adventures. Some will sympathize especially with the twins in their inevitable struggle with Arabic grammar. It is regrettable that an extract from this noble *Journal* should have served to throw them deeper into that confusion so well known to all who venture on the perilous yet fascinating sea of classical Arabic.\* To those readers who know Iraq and some of the friends of the Hoffmans their book is particularly entertaining. It reads, in parts, almost like a vivid private letter recounting the doings of friends and acquaintances. Such is the description of a moonlight picnic on the Tigris; who was there, what was eaten and the reactions of the guests to their surroundings. However, there is a great deal more to the book than that. The authors' successful experiments in house decorating and furnishing under adverse circumstances are really interesting, anyhow to the female mind, and the description of life with the Bedouin tribe is in some ways unique. Here they have obviously been at pains to describe accurately the life they shared with the Bedouin *harem*, nor have they been led astray into adding self-conscious glamour and over-emphasis. This is to their credit.

The style of writing is vivid and pleasing, therefore to come on a split infinitive in page 111 is momentarily displeasing. However, that is a detail, and anyone acquainted with the dissertation on split infinitives in Fowler's *Modern English Usage* would probably not even mention it. Perhaps it is not fair to criticize details in a book which does not pretend to impart scholastic knowledge; but why, for instance, is the well-known Arabic word for "groom" written "Zeiss" when its initial letter is a soft "S"? The meaning is clear enough, but the reader is disturbed with a vision of binoculars, just as he is keenly enjoying the scene at that point depicted. The sketches of the wrought-iron furniture give a good idea of what the authors achieved in this line, but why are the measurements in Arabic

\* From the review of *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq*, by John Van Ess. Reviewed by "C. J. E." Vol. xxv., p. 650. Every Arabic word has five meanings: (a) The original meaning; (b) the opposite; (c) something poetical and nothing to do with the first two; (d) something connected with a camel; (e) something too obscene to be translated.



numerals when some keen reader anxious to experiment in the same fashion may be unable to read them? Why throughout the book is "bread" called "*khuz*" and never "bread"? The authors have a perfect right to join with T. E. Lawrence and say, "Why not?" But, all the same, it aggravates; and, lastly, having followed the accounts of the Sumer tribe, the Sumer Sheikh, the Sumer Bedouin, why does one read on page 158 of the *Summer Camp*? This may mean Sumer and it may mean summer; again it is not of great importance, but it starts a query in the reader's mind which breaks the atmosphere for him.

Ruth and Helen Hoffman are well known as artists, so praise of their illustrations would be superfluous, but it should be recorded how much they add to the delight of the book. The fact that these are their own illustrations enhances the intimacy both with the subject and with the authors, which the Hoffmans have great power to evoke. A word of praise must also go to the dust jacket designer—it is perfect.

There may be a few surly individuals who will be impatient with such a light book in such troublous times, but there are undoubtedly a great many who will fall on it with joy and be grateful to the two remarkable young women whose work it is.

MARY ROWLATT.

**The Working Constitution of India.** A Commentary on the Government of India Act of 1935. By S. M. Bose. 10" × 7". Pp. xxv + 677. Oxford University Press. 30s.

**The Choice before India.** By J. Chinna Durrain. 8" × 5½". Pp. 225. Jonathan Cape. 8s. 6d.

These books, differing greatly in other respects, have one object in common, a consideration of the possibility of working the Government of India Act of 1935. It may at present appear exceedingly doubtful whether that Act will ever be given a fair and full trial. In spite of the years of enquiry and deliberation, in spite of the Act being, as Mr. Bose says, "a splendid achievement of draftsmanship," it seems to receive little favour from any of the various sections which so sadly divide Indian opinion. The Congress Party professes to reject it as not granting India a popular constitution. The Moslems believe it to put them and the other minorities at the mercy of the Hindu numerical superiority. The State Rulers, already considering the safeguards for which they stipulated to have been whittled down below the safety line, cannot but be alarmed at the threats of the Congress, and at the unfriendly attitude of the Moslem League. Even the Moderates, who recognize the great advance signalized by the Act, appear to ask for immediate changes at the Centre before trying the innovations provided. It is the more necessary that books such as these, one of which explains what the Act really implies, and the other inviting Indians to try to work it, should be carefully studied.

Mr. Bose's exposition of the Act is complete and clear. The only error

noted in its perusal is the inadvertence by which he states the representation of the States in the Federal Assembly to be 150 instead of 125, the correct figure. He is careful to avoid expressions of personal opinion. When, however, he states that it is not easy to find any logical principle underlying the allocation of seats in the Federal Legislature, whereby representation in excess of their proportional population is allowed to the States and to the minorities, he appears to ignore both historical tradition and the necessity for protecting the minorities against the preponderating numbers of one community. When so careful a commentator regards the attempt to give weight to such considerations as illogical, there can be little surprise at finding that the States Rulers and the Moslems alike should regard the assistance of such special representation as insufficient and unlikely to be permanent. Mr. Bose, while considering that the Act should operate satisfactorily in the Provinces, doubts its success at the Centre for three reasons: the element of dyarchy, the existence of communal electorates and the representation of the States, which he regards as a discordant feature. Presumably Mr. Bose does not object to the presence of the States in the Federation, since without them it would not be a true Federation of India, but to the method of their representation. With the existence of these points, however, he thinks a party system of government would be impossible. It may be doubted whether this would be such a drawback as Mr. Bose thinks. The old system of Parties is regarded by some as played out, even in those countries in which they have been most successful, the United Kingdom and the United States. Mr. Bose admits that a group system would be possible, and it may be observed that something of the sort has already taken form in the Coalition Ministry of the Panjab. In any case the warning of the Joint Parliamentary Committee should be remembered, that, while dwelling on the existence of centrifugal tendencies, the centripetal forces in a Federation should not be forgotten.

Those critics, generally Indian, who assert that no real advance has been made in the International position of India, should note Mr. Bose's remarks: "Her status in the League of Nations is the same as that of Canada or Australia, a full member independent of Great Britain." "India is in a large measure independent legally of the United Kingdom in the sphere of International Law. She has a legal entity of her own." We may well agree with the conclusion that, "Recent events in Europe have called attention to the urgent necessity for the establishment of a Federation of the British Commonwealth of Nations, including India."

Mr. Durrai's book is written on more popular lines. He emphasizes, largely by quotations from Nationalist speakers and writers, how much has been already effected and built up in India, how great her advance has been, and how much also remains to be done, especially in the primary obligations of education of the people and removal of caste disabilities. He points out that the refusal of the Congress to accept the Act of 1935 is a negation of the principles set up by the founders and early leaders of the Congress itself. He observes that the Extremists would have the world believe that the Congress is synonymous with India, but the claim is entirely

incorrect, and the Congress is no longer run on the lines of true democracy. Mr. Gandhi is, of course, an autocratic law to himself, whether he is in or out of the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Nehru, also, as Mr. Durrai shows, has very thinly veiled his own dictatorial tendencies, while there are lesser members of the Working Committee who already aim at being Provincial Dictators. Mr. Durrai calls on his countrymen to make the choice of working the Act, and thus to become equal members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. He comes, therefore, though by a different process, to the same conclusion as Mr. Bose. His courageous book deserves to be widely read as an antidote to others recently written which have belittled the contribution of Great Britain to the creation of an Indian nation, and demand a nominal and precarious show of entire independence.

P. R. C.

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**Indian Harvest.** By Pamela Hinkson. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 320. Illustrations. London: Collins. 1941. 16s.

This is a book to be read for the sake of the information it contains by those who know not the parts of India described; and those who know them may echo the words of one of Miss Hinkson's hosts, who said he was glad she was writing a book, for "it is only through the fresh eyes of people like her that we out here can see ourselves."

Keenly alive to beauty, from the sheets of little pink tulips to the austere mountains on the North-West Frontier—but still more interested in living creatures—Pamela Hinkson has given an appreciation of her visit to India, seeing everything for the first time, "a thing we can never do again." From the outward voyage onward her book will for many of us awaken memories—sometimes wistful—of long-ago years.

Arrived in India, we are taken with a wealth of detail to Delhi, Meerut, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, Rajputana, Peshawar and the Khyber Pass. (Incidentally we should like to have been led by her to other parts of India.) In Delhi are included an account of the hospitality of the Viceroy's House with visits to Indian "slums," to the joyous playground for outcaste children, and, lastly, to the "All-India Cattle Show"—first of its kind; with a pithy note on "Cattle in Hariana Country," written in English for the authoress by the Rissaldar Major.

Much thought is given to questions of purdah, of child-marriage and the failure of the Sarda Act; and of the tragedy of widowhood—falling often on little girls, under conditions which, to quote an Indian Prime Minister, "the widow must be exceptionally strong to survive."

Interesting talks are recorded with Congress officials, men and women—and many will echo the words of a woman Congress member that the proportion of "Haves" and "Have-nots" in India is in terrible disparity.

Among her gifts, Miss Hinkson is blessed with a sense of humour, and she gives us in full a quotation from a farewell tribute to an official leaving a Frontier outpost. After a meed of praise, it said: "We have seen you as a single man and . . . as a married man. . . . Under the beneficent,

kindly, restraining, uplifting influence of Mrs. Smith we have seen you change beyond all recognition. . . . To Mrs. Smith . . . we offer our heartfelt gratitude."

If we have a regret on reading Miss Hinkson's *Harvest*, it is that she did not prolong her visit and find time for further contact with the cultured and charming Indian women who have renounced purdah; who grace social gatherings; whose friendship is a privilege appreciated by British women and whose zeal in social reform is the best augury for the future of India.

M. G. A.

**The Sassoon Dynasty.** By Cecil Roth. Demy 8vo. Pp. 288. Illustrations. Robert Hale. 12s. 6d.

This is the fascinating story of the Sassoon family, the great merchants of the Orient who, starting business in a small way at Baghdad, eventually made their headquarters in Bombay with branches in China and many other parts of Asia. They appear to have been the most adaptable family, for so late as the middle part of the Victorian period they were true Orientals clad in the *caftan* and turban, and speaking Arabic. A few years later they were to be seen in the Royal Enclosure, and even the Royal Box, at Ascot, wearing the top-hat and frock-coat; and not only one member of the family, but practically all of them.

Perhaps the most remarkable of the family for this complete change in mode of life and outlook was Reuben, the son of old David Sassoon, the founder of the family. Reuben came to England from Bombay in the sixties as a typical Jewish merchant of the East with a Talmudical upbringing and education, and in a few years he was a recognized white-tied first-nighter at London theatres, an inveterate race-goer and owner of race-horses, an expert bridge player, and a most intimate friend—not to say crony—of Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII. Later generations of the family produced a large number of cavalry and gunner officers, one of our most popular authors, a great steeplechase rider, a lady who owned and edited both the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer* at the same time, and a Minister of Air.

It is pointed out that it is a common habit to compare the Sassoon family with the Rothschilds, but the author shows that actually there is very little comparison beyond the fact that they are of the same race and that both families amassed fortunes. The Rothschilds were financiers always, but the Sassoons were merchants. The Rothschilds were European Jews of long standing in the Occident, whilst the Sassoons were from the original Princes of Captivity in Baghdad, and were Oriental in every respect until the middle of the last century when various members of the family came to England and settled there. Mr. Roth also points out that the persecution of Jews leads to philoprogenitiveness and a disproportionate increase in numbers, but that favourable treatment and encouragement—including inter-marriage—leads eventually to partial extinction of the race,

and he quotes several instances besides the one-time very prolific Sassoons to prove his point.

It is an interesting book, but perhaps the business side is too much stressed, and the long list of unbroken financial successes that attended every new departure in the East may cause the average Central Asian reader and ex-exile, who has nothing but his Government pension, to feel ill-used about it and to wonder why he served as an official and thus missed all these golden opportunities. The volume suffers slightly from the footnote drawback, and, as usual, nine-tenths of these could have been included in the text. The only time a footnote is justified is when it calls attention to another chapter where the subject of the note is dealt with fully; and possibly on those occasions when the publisher has notified the author that he will have to bear part of the cost of too many proof corrections.

C. S. J.

**Signpost on the Frontier.** By R. J. H. Cox. Church Missionary Society.

Dr. Cox has written a modest book on his missionary work on the North-West Frontier of India. It is modest in size and modest in tone, but is, none the less, very convincing and will be found to be of great interest to many.

A medical missionary has opportunities of gaining an inner knowledge of the people among whom he works which rarely come to others, however long they may spend in a foreign country. Dr. Cox has used these opportunities very fully and has recorded his impressions in this book in such a way that all his readers must be impressed by it.

For those interested in mission work it is a record of achievement; not so much on account of great numbers of converts to Christianity, for no one can expect many converts from a population so intensely fanatical as the Moslems of the North-West Frontier of India, but rather on account of the feelings of respect and sympathy for the Christian religion which must have been evoked in those inhabitants of the Frontier who have come into contact with Dr. Cox and his fellow-workers.

The Pathan is a reasoning man, and when he sees that religious beliefs can cause men to labour for others, not for worldly gain but from goodwill towards fellow-men, he will surely respect that religion, and the general respect of the Christian religion in a fanatical Moslem is something to have achieved.

*Signpost on the Frontier* can be read with enjoyment by those who have known the Frontier; they will feel that here is a story written with deep knowledge and without any exaggeration or overstatement.

Those who do not know this turbulent part of India will find much to interest them with a very vivid but real background.

This account of the work of medical missionaries cannot fail to appeal to all who appreciate our responsibilities to our fellow-subjects in India and

to those who dwell on its borderland. There is much that is interesting and enjoyable in the book and very much to be learnt from it.

A. H. M.

**Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan.** By T. Burrow.

*The Translation of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, by T. Burrow, is a valuable volume for students of Central Asia and its peoples, because of the sidelight which these documents throw on the details of everyday life among oasis dwellers of a long past period.

In the main they are legal instructions and refer to laws regarding those matters which still constitute the chief interests of desert men to-day. The perpetual reiteration of the phrase, "When this sealed wedged tablet reaches you, you must carefully enquire into the matter," makes it quite plain in what form the messages were sent to the people concerned.

Sir Aurel Stein writes of digging up at Niya a "wooden document about four inches long, bearing two short lines of Kharosthi on one side, with the rest of the surface as if scraped." He also refers to finding "wooden documents with Kharosthi writing, just like the shavings of the Chinese slips which had been found in large numbers at the Loulan station and along the Tunhwang limes." This volume contains the translation of such Karosthi writings.

It is clear that the law, in those ancient times, had its own dignity and authority. In section seventeen, for example, two men had hidden treasure, and among the treasures were some skins. Dogs in digging these up revealed the theft, and the magistrates' order is that all is to be paid back, but that no extravagant demands are to be considered, and, in this connection, a law is established that "whatever is taken in time of war is to be regarded as cleared." The value of an oath is recognized, and should a man go back on his word, a decision is to be made according to law. The present of an arrow "for luck" is referred to in many of the papers. The law of compensation for injury received through another man's beast is established, and many of the documents refer to camels, beasts which evidently took as large a place in the life of the Central Asian then as they do to this day. The rules which govern the herding of cattle and the providing of water for envoys have also changed little.

One paper tells of a family feud between some who had inherited land from their ancestors. The younger brother had beaten the elder and broken one of his bones. That a younger man should dare to strike an elder added greatly to the seriousness of the crime, as it does in Central Asia at the present time. This ancient record states that a punishment of seventy blows was given to this young man and that, in consequence, he is "much cut up." "From now on," the paper adds, "the elder brother shall beat the younger and the father the son—so an end is to be made of this matter."

This book represents a vast amount of patient research by the scholar who undertook the work, and is a valuable addition to our knowledge of a remote period of Central Asian history.

M. A. C.

### On the Sino-Tibetan Border Incident.

In *Asia* for May, 1941, Madame David-Neel has written a very interesting account of affairs on the Sino-Tibetan border after the death of the Tashi-Lama.

Those of us who were involved in Anglo-Tibetan relations since the Younghusband Mission know only too well that we made every effort to avoid any sort of entanglement in Tibetan affairs. Any action which even remotely risked too close a rapprochement was immediately checked either by Whitehall or Simla. What we wanted was a strong independent Tibet. Tibet by itself is so small and weak that it can never be a menace to our Indian frontier—not so a Tibet under the control of a stronger power, say Russia or China. The above remarks are a prelude to a protest against Madame David-Neel's statement that many Tibetans saw with regret British influence taking the place of the influence China had discreetly exercised in Tibet for centuries, and above all that the Tashi-Lama was pro-Chinese. There was a small, unpatriotic and insignificant clique in Tibet who, for various reasons, not entirely connected with politics, were pro-Chinese, but to say that the Tashi-Lama was one of these is merely to let the authoress's anti-British feelings, which have been expressed in her books, run away with her. Her accounts of the reason of the flight of the Tashi-Lama from Tibet in 1923 are inaccurate.

The cruelties of the Chinese in their occupation of Lhasa and parts of Tibet in 1912 have never been forgotten by the inhabitants and had the Tashi-Lama marched into Tibet with the support of Chinese troops, as Madame David-Neel suggests that he wished to do, the country would have been split from top to bottom. The Tashi-Lama knew this and had no desire to be accompanied by a Chinese escort. The escort was forced upon him by the Chinese, and it was on account of the presence of this escort, of which he could not rid himself, that the Lama never returned to Tibet.

When this has been said, Madame David-Neel's first-hand account of events on this border is interesting; such incidents and frontier fighting have broken out from time to time ever since 1904.

F. M. B.

### **The Mongol Empire : Its Rise and Legacy.** By Michael Prawdin.

Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Pp. 581.

Demy 8vo. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

It is safe to assume that the publication in English of M. Prawdin's book will fill an important gap in the historical knowledge of many people. For this book falls very happily between the two common standards of information about the Mongols current in this country, between the school that writes with slapdash romanticism about Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane as fabulous monsters torn loose from their historical setting, and that which delves into the specialized minutiae of Mongol lore.

The great thing about the history of the Mongols is that it makes a

good, romantic "tale" and with accurate information so hard to come by there has been a temptation to falsify or neglect its true significance in order to enhance its fictional qualities. M. Prawdin shows that this need not be, that the enthralling and readable virtues can be retained in a fully documented and clear-cut narrative of the historical processes which moulded the figures of high romance and in turn were refashioned by the impact of their characters.

*The Mongol Empire* takes the story of the Mongols from their beginnings as a petty Onon tribe, when the all-powerful Khan was yet young Temuchin, through the adhesion and subjugation of peoples from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, through the days of the great fiefs, the Golden Horde and the Empire of the Ilkhans, through the break-up of the heart of the fantastic monster of continental hegemony, to the present day, when the Mongols are once again a small collection of East Asiatic tribes, eking out an existence on the fringe of later-born empires.

Emphasis must of necessity be laid on the personality and exploits of the great figures: Genghiz, Kublai, Tamerlane. Here, perhaps, there is a trifle too much ceded to the romantic tradition and the general tone and sense of proportion of the book negated by fictional excursions. Dialogue and pictorial descriptions are introduced to bring out individually dramatic incidents, and in some cases the style (though this may be the responsibility of the translators) is rather too reminiscent of books with titles like *Scenes of Savage Splendour*. But throughout the book, and only occasionally disrupted by these diversions, is a continuous thread of narrative, clearly showing the qualities which gave the Mongols their unprecedented military and political successes and the defects which eventually helped to wash away their power. The great military campaigns are thoroughly described, and Mongol strategy (to which Panzer strategy seems so closely akin) examined.

Nor is the administrative system, the institution of the Kuriltai and the establishment of the Yasak, neglected, and due emphasis is laid on the enduring power of this code of laws, under which Genghiz Khan's empire was created and which even three hundred years after Genghiz's death was the basis of Baber's conquest of India.

Not the least interesting feature of the book is its final part, in which the story of the Mongols is brought up to this century and their present insignificant but potentially dynamic position discussed. M. Prawdin perhaps romanticizes when in his closing sentences he says: "Not on the Pacific Coast, but somewhere on the midmost plateau of the Asiatic continent, near the roof of the world; will come the decision of the struggle now opening for the hegemony of Asia. The circulation that began in Jenghiz Khan's days has been resumed, the heart of the continent has again become of primary importance and the victor in the land of the Great Khan of Tartary will be the true heir of Jenghiz and will become the new Lord of Asia."

Overdrawn as that theory may be, there is much to support M. Prawdin's argument, and a book which in its body gives both an enthralling



story and a great deal of accurate and well-laid-out information ends by striking a new note of current politico-strategic analysis.

PETER HUME.

**Asian Odyssey.** By Dmitri Alioshin.  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ . Pp. 311. Map. Cassell. 1941. 10s. 6d.

It is not clear to the reviewer why M. Alioshin's book is dedicated to "The Rising Generation," unless it be intended as a cautionary tale to guard them from the follies of their fathers. For it is doubtful whether any of the more horrible manifestations of the dark forces unleashed by the last war exceeded in barbarity the Siberian aftermath of the Russian revolution. And it is with this discreditable episode in human history that M. Alioshin deals, not as a historian but as an anecdotal autobiographer, savouring with perhaps a little too evident relish all the grisly detail which is so easily raked from this particular muck-heap.

The author, it appears, is a former artillery officer of the Tsarist army and comes of a family settled in Harbin. After the revolution he naturally made his way Eastwards towards his home. After chapters of astounding adventures he got there, to become part of that fanatical survival of the old world which under General Horvat persisted in Harbin for some time after the system to which it owed allegiance had crumbled.

But soon he was away again on Horvat's armoured train, one of the motley band bent variously on restoring the glories of Russia and more often on self-aggrandizement. It was an expedition which led him (not, of course, on the train) all over Mongolia and Siberia until he eventually landed in Peking. During this period he appears to have been continually under threat of death from several simultaneous sources, whose reasons for wishing his extinction are not too clearly explained, and to have regularly preserved his life in fashions usually only granted to the heroes of the serial story. That is not to say one doubts his story; such things were characteristic of the time. But a little more regard for the laws of cause and effect would make the story less puzzling.

As it stands, *Asian Odyssey* is a collection of highly coloured pictures, daubed on the rough canvas in a style rather too reminiscent of a bright journalist's capitalization of a condemned murderer's life story. The subjects of these pictures, Ungern-Sternberg and Kaza Grandi, for example, are intensely interesting, and the whole grim fresco has a macabre historical significance. To pass judgment on the accuracy of the facts would be possible only for someone who had shared the weird experiences of the time and place; what is evident to the outsider is that M. Alioshin is himself representative of the spirit that was abroad and his writing is in the same swashbuckling, semi-mystical, semi-brutal style.

PETER HUME.

**China's Struggle with the Dictators.** By O. M. Green. With a Foreword by the Chinese Ambassador.  $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ . Pp. 259. 12 illustrations. Hutchinson. 16s.

This is an excellent book. It is reliable and interesting. It explains the origin and development of the heroic fight which the Chinese nation, a civilized, peace-loving people, has waged against the barbaric military leaders of Japan. It also provides us with a considerable amount of useful information about these two Far Eastern nations.

This book makes it plain that it is folly for the British Empire and the U.S.A. to ignore any act of aggression by any nation. We are, to-day, paying the penalty for failing to act decisively when Japan threatened to seize Chinese territory. "Nothing succeeds like success" is a saying that has encouraged the criminal aggressors in the Far East and in Europe. Hitler was stimulated to hope to secure bloodless victories when he saw how easy it was for Japan to triumph without much risk of intervention by Britain in the Far East.

The crime of the Japanese leaders is particularly horrible. They have permitted their soldiers to behave in an infamous manner in China. They have been guilty of conduct that would not be believed but for the fact that it has been certified by very reliable witnesses. The fact that the Japanese are indebted to past generations of Chinese for any real culture in their national life makes this predatory warfare especially abhorrent to those who believe that one good turn deserves another. The tragedy of the Far East is that when Japan adopted some civilizing ideas and literature from China it did not adopt the teachings of Confucius.

During my residence in the Far East (1912-1939) it was my ambition to read as many books on China as possible, and it was my good fortune to accumulate on my bookshelves a good number of volumes on that subject. A few years ago the Hongkong branch of the English Association invited me to read a paper; the result was a statement of my ideas concerning "Books on China." At that time it seemed to me that, in spite of the numerous books on all sorts of aspects of life in China, there was an opportunity for someone to write, in English, *the* book on China. A British consul, Meadows, who lived and travelled in China during the Taiping rebellion, had taught me more about the Chinese than any other author. Backhouse and Bland had produced classics. Yet something more was needed; something authentic, readable and instructive. O. M. Green has done all that was required—but only for a period since the revolution in 1911. He has, however, given us so many facts and ideas about what has happened in the Far East over that period that anyone who attempts to talk or to write about China would be wise to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the contents of his book.

It is my considered opinion that O. M. Green has written the best book on the Far Eastern problem and the new China that has been published during the last twenty years.

There may be many more profound students of the Chinese language, or of Chinese social customs, than O. M. Green, but there is to-day no one

who is able to talk and write so well and so reliably upon one of the most difficult subjects for the average man to understand. China was always a land of mystery for those who have never lived there; it has suffered a great deal from perambulating visitors who have written down their superficial impressions of the people. It has suffered even more from the novelists who have made ignorant readers believe that the Chinese are villains of the deepest dye. It is therefore a delight to find a book which long experience in the Far East, close contact with many thousands of Chinese students from all of the eighteen provinces, and thousands of miles of travel in the interior of China enables me to recommend to any reader. It is the imperative duty of every intelligent individual to understand the basic principles of the Chinese social system, for upon those foundations has been built up the greatest and most enduring monument the world has ever known—*viz.*, a nation of four hundred million industrious, intelligent and good-tempered people. O. M. Green concludes his book with words which should make the reader eager to read other books on China. He writes :

“Confucius knew nothing of republics. He would have said that forms of government are immaterial compared with the quality of the men administering them. But when he defined the four cardinal virtues—*Li, I, Lien, Ch'ih*, which may be interpreted courtesy and good manners, justice and uprightness, frugality and integrity, modesty and self-respect—he surely traced the whole pattern of harmonious life for peoples and Governments alike.”

You have only to contrast the speeches and behaviour of the Nazi and the Japanese leaders with the teachings of Confucius, teachings instilled into every young Chinese, and still the ideal teaching of the leaders of the Chinese nation, to realize the great gulf that separates China from the dictators. It is a gulf that will never be bridged in our time.

It is probable that other British readers of this book will share my regret concerning the attitude of our own Foreign Office during some of the critical moments of China's recent history. A certain British consul in Canton must bear the blame for many of our troubles in South China in the third decade of this century; nor can those officials in Hongkong who were impatient and untactful with Chinese officials in Canton be excused. There is no mention of those unfortunate episodes in this book; curiously enough, the word Hongkong does not even appear in the index; but Hongkong has exerted a profound influence upon China. On the whole, China has benefited greatly owing to the amazing development of the British Crown Colony. What is made clear, however, is that Sir John (now Lord) Simon did a grave injustice, both to his own country and to the Chinese, when he refused to co-operate with Mr. Stimson at the time of the first most blatant attempt of aggression by the dictators. This is Mr. Green's statement :

“It is obvious that the League's failure in respect of Manchuria was the death-knell of all hopes founded upon it as an instrument for enforcing peace.

“It is, nevertheless, extraordinary that the Great Powers most interested

in the Far East, and moreover pledged to watchfulness over it by the terms of the Nine-Power Treaty, did not bestir themselves to enforce its pledges."

Against any excuses made by our then Foreign Secretary we must weigh the words in this book :

" America has strongly urged that a meeting of the signatories of the Treaty ought to be held, which, if the article [in the Treaty] means anything, surely should have been enough. But the British Government could not be persuaded to agree."

Thus this latest book on China confirms what so many other books on the Far East have suggested to the unbiased student of British foreign policy; it is that our diplomatists seem fated to blunder when they have to deal with affairs in China. Perhaps they will be more successful if they study carefully O. M. Green's book on China's present struggle. They might also read other books on China.

The story of the prominent Chinese leaders—many of whom are known personally to the reviewer of this book—is well told and the pen portraits are good. The statement " No account of Chinese students would be complete without reference to the extraordinary manner in which Chinese girls have come to the front in the past twenty years " is indeed true. My admiration for the Chinese girl student is almost beyond expression. We had one of them in our engineering workshops and laboratories in Hongkong who was as capable as any man trained under my supervision during an experience of forty years. Incidentally, it seems a pity that more praise has not been given to the Chinese mechanic by English writers. They are splendid workmen and invariably industrious and good-tempered.

It is difficult to resist the temptation to quote many paragraphs from *China's Struggle with the Dictators*, but it is hoped that enough has been written to persuade readers of this journal to study the book carefully. Perhaps a humble word of sincere congratulation to O. M. Green may be permitted from one who sent him many manuscripts when he edited the *North China Daily News*. He was, in those days, in a happier position than his successor of to-day. He, unlike many Shanghai and Peking journalists, was interested in Hongkong and he used his influence to assist in the building up of a great institution which it was my good fortune to call, nearly thirty years ago, " a lighthouse off the coast of China." The University of Hongkong has been a lighthouse which has sent the beams of Western science over China. The men fighting against the dictators must be grateful to that institution. Its predecessor, the Hongkong College of Medicine, trained Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The University has trained a large number of graduates who have done splendid work in China.

O. M. Green has used his knowledge of the Chinese people to explain to Anglo-Saxons aspects of Chinese life which it is important for us to understand. For we can learn valuable lessons from the Chinese people just as they can learn science from our teachers.

C. A. MIDDLETON SMITH.

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**West China Border Research Society's Journal.** Vol. X. 1938.

The *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, Vol. X., contains some most interesting and instructive articles. The Ch'uan Miao—tribes of Western China—take a large place, for not only are many of their legends recorded but there is also a vocabulary of their language. These are collected by David Graham of the West China Union University.

In the legends there are records of important historic events, some of which may not be found in any history. They definitely indicate the province of Kwangtung as the last home of these people. "There are stories of the creation, of the flood," and "some reflect conditions that existed in the stone age when men killed wild animals with stone axes."

These articles are followed by a report of the investigations of dyestuffs used by the Ch'uan Miao; the volume also contains an assay of Ma huang bought on the Chinese markets, from which the highly valued drug Ephedrine is obtained and which is now in such demand in the West.

Robert Cunningham contributes a concise and valuable article entitled "The Six Planks Across the Stream," in which he tells what the lama is seeking for and how he hopes to obtain it. "Stated very simply it is this: the lama is 'here' and his one ambition is to get 'there,' and between 'here' and 'there' flows a stream, and across this stream lies the realization of all his hopes and fears." "There are," he says, "no less than 20,000 lamas in Eastern Tibet," and he suggests in an article entitled "Origins in Lamaism and Lamaland, that lamaism may well be the result of geographic control. "Could any other religion live and move and have its being on the Roof of the World?" He asks if "these sixteen thousand five hundred strong, well-fed, able-bodied men were not in these lamaseries where would they be and what would they be doing?" "That the lamaseries absorb the man-power of the nation can be explained only by Geographic Control." ". . . Lamaism has absorbed them . . . and has given them something to do."

There is a valuable record of the excavation of a Han Dynasty tomb at Chungking, also by David Graham, and other most interesting articles.

M. C.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND THE EAST

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## OBITUARY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HORACE MONTAGU  
RUMBOLD, BART., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.

SIR HORACE RUMBOLD, for three years Chairman of Council and afterwards an Honorary Vice-President of this Society, was one of the fast disappearing class of old school diplomatists. Himself the son of an Ambassador, he was brought up in the old tradition and went through the Service from *attaché* at The Hague in 1888 to Ambassador in Berlin in 1928. After the last Great War he filled several important posts, among them that of British High Commissioner in Turkey during the Armistice; he was Curzon's No. 2 at the Lausanne Conference which concluded the peace with Turkey. He also served as Vice-Chairman of the Royal Commission which was sent out to report on Palestine in 1936, the Chairman being the late Earl Peel.

It was said of Sir Horace that he had a great asset in an expressionless face which masked his thoughts and gave no hint of the suave firmness which he kept in reserve. For those who worked with him grip on the essential core of the problems set before him was perhaps the secret of his success (*vide* his now famous letter from Berlin to the Foreign Office after the first few months of the establishment of the Hitler régime). Socially he owed much to his graceful wife. It is to be hoped that Mr. Harold Nicolson, who has done so much for the historians to come in his great trilogy, will find in Sir Horace a true exponent of British post-war diplomacy and may give a Life by which he will be remembered.

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### WING-COMMANDER ROBERT JOPE-SLADE

The death of Wing-Commander Robert Jope-Slade, O.B.E., D.S.C., in the Middle East, announced on May 23, 1941, is a loss which the country can ill afford at the present juncture, and will be heard with deep regret by large numbers of people who have been connected with 'Iraq during the past twenty years. His association with the Middle East commenced shortly after the Great War, in which he served with the Naval Air Service, and was awarded the Distinguished Service

Cross for gallantry in air operations over the coast of Flanders. His service in 'Iraq soon led to employment on Intelligence duties, chiefly on the Headquarters Staff of the Royal Air Force at Hinaidi, and latterly at Habbaniyah, but he had also worked in earlier years, prior to 1929, as a Special Service Officer in out-districts. Though not a serious Oriental scholar, he had acquired a very extensive and sound knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs, and was a shrewd judge of the political problems of that region.

To his numerous friends the passing of "Jope's" cheery personality will be a real sorrow. He was delightful, both as a companion and colleague, possessing a keen sense of humour—an indispensable asset in 'Iraq. In appearance he was young for his age, having an almost boyish countenance. He was extremely good-natured, patient, and never rattled, which made it a real pleasure to work with him. He had a distinct literary bent, and was very well read, so that he could talk well on many subjects. He had a quaint habit of speaking sometimes in a literary style, as though composing prose aloud, partly, it seemed, to amuse himself, and partly for the edification of his audience. The result was often humorous. There was a pronounced streak of the thinker and philosopher in his make-up, which often led to lengthy and stimulating discussions on somewhat abstruse problems, so that an evening spent in his company in some remote spot could never be boring.

His early death has deprived the country of an officer with a long experience of a vital theatre of the war, the Royal Central Asian Society of a valuable member, and his numerous friends of a most attractive character, whose memory they will long cherish.

H. M. BURTON.

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### MAURICE INGRAM

Edward Maurice Berkeley Ingram, who was killed in an air-raid in May, was born in December, 1890, the son of the late Major E. R. Berkeley Ingram, Welch Regiment. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, served at the War Office 1914-18, and entered the combined Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service in 1919. He accompanied the Milner Mission to Egypt in 1920, where he did excellent service, and after that was posted to Oslo, Berlin, Peking and Rome, with intervals at the Foreign Office. At his various posts

abroad he several times acted as Chargé d'Affaires, and was created a C.M.G. in 1934. Early in the present war he was transferred to the Ministry of Economic Warfare, which was in need of a stiffening of permanent civil servants, and did most valuable work there.

I think that perhaps he enjoyed his time in Peking more than anywhere else, though Rome came near it: he was never married, and spent wisely his moderate means in the collection of books, pictures, and some remarkable pottery; in these things he had admirable taste, and got together some fine material. I can best describe its fate by recounting the last time I saw him.

We had been staying in the same country house, and arrived at Victoria in the middle of a Monday morning. He had to catch a train at Paddington in the early afternoon, and I suggested that he should come to my house, which is about halfway between the two stations, for a wash and brush-up, and some refreshment. As for the latter, I found that he was of the opinion of another Cambridge friend of mine (a Don who has now moved on to higher things as the Principal of a University College) that "champagne is only really good at two times of the day, 11 a.m. and 11 p.m." A bottle and some biscuits were accordingly produced, and as we drank it he said to me, "I wonder if you know what it feels like to own nothing in the world but half a dozen books and the clothes you stand up in." Only then did I learn that early in the war he had put all his cherished possessions into store, that the store had been bombed, and that all had perished. I don't think that he ever quite recovered from that blow, or from the death of Montague Shearman, a man of like tastes to his own, and a close friend.

Ingram was a large man, of a comfortable and merry appearance and humour, with a very wide circle of acquaintances, a good talker, and a faithful friend. He will be sadly missed by us all.\*

STEPHEN GASELEE.

\* There were excellent biographical notices of him in *The Times* of May 14 and May 21.

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### M. JOSEPH HACKIN

In the April number of *La France Libre* Commandant Escarra has given a moving Memoir of M. Joseph Hackin and his talented wife. M. Hackin was at the time of his death by enemy action *Chef de*



*Service des Affaires Étrangères* to General de Gaulle, not, as was wrongly put in the notice in the last Journal, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sir Percy Sykes added a letter to the Memoir, given below :

*Le 21 avril, 1941.*

A MONSIEUR LE COMMANDANT ESCARRA,

Comme historien de l'Afghanistan, je suis dans une position particulièrement favorable pour apprécier l'admirable travail que M. Hackin a fait dans ce pays à Bamiyān et à Begram.

La publication de ses importantes fouilles doit beaucoup à la profondeur de ses études, jointe à la carté de ses œuvres. Il était, je dois dire, admirablement secondé et aidé par Madame Hackin.

J'ai assisté à l'excellente conférence que M. Hackin a donnée il y a trois mois à notre Royal Geographical Society, et j'ai aussi visité le Musée Guimet.

En terminant, mon cher Commandant, je veux rendre respectueusement hommage à M. Hackin comme archéologue et comme personnalité sincère et forte, et je regrette vivement la mort tragique de cet illustre archéologue et de sa femme dévouée.

Agréez, mon cher Commandant, tous mes vœux pour le succès de *La France Libre*.

(Signé) P. M. SYKES,  
*Brigadier-General.*

Commandant Escarra ends his Memoir with a judgment in which all who knew M. Hackin would wish to join :

Du moins nous laisse-t-il l'image d'une noble existence. Dans les Forces Françaises Libres, il était le chevalier, sans peur et sans reproche. Pour la France, qu'il a servie et aimée passionnément, son œuvre demeure un titre d'orgueil et un gage d'espérance.

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The Council deeply regret the loss of Second Lieutenant L. O. M. Barstow, son of Sir George Barstow, K.C.B., who has been killed in action in the Ægean.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### CENTRAL ASIA AND GREAT BRITAIN

A sentence occurring in the obituary notice of Lord Lloyd in our last issue has suggested a new feature for the Journal under the above title. The sentence runs: "He always had some pointed, practical, constructive ideas to put forward, and usually succeeded in taking steps to see that they were put into effect." And this is reinforced by the final sentence in the appeal, signed by him, which accompanied that issue: "There seems every reason to believe that the Royal Central Asian Society will in the future have an even more important part to play and an even greater influence to exert than in the past."

The suggestion is that the best memorial to a practical and constructive man is practical, constructive effort on lines that appealed to him. In this particular case the effort proposed is to consist in giving publicity to ideas for the betterment of Central Asian studies and to the furtherance of joint interests as between Central Asia and Great Britain. Such an idea can best succeed in so far as it enlists the cooperation of members in submitting brief notes on weak points as they exist at present and on strong points that might be.

The first is on a matter which must come before every student of Oriental literature.

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### NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

IN the comment on "A Chronicle of Kashmir" elsewhere in this issue some suggestions are put forward for an improved state of affairs as regards Asian chronicles. The improvements suggested are self-evident except, perhaps, in one case—namely, where what is asked for is "more care in translation." Putting it bluntly the case is this: the work best worth translating is that of capable men in touch with life and practical affairs, and if the translation is of a kind that gives the impression that the writer was a born fool who spent his life in an armchair trifling with conventional literary stuff because no other occupation was open to him, the result is even more damaging to the subject than it is unfair to the author.

Now the difficulties of getting good results are as marked as is the

prevalence of the impression that either these difficulties do not exist or, if they do exist, that they don't matter. The difficulties are much as follows.

If only for financial reasons, translation has to be done into one of the most widely known languages, which resolves itself into English or French. French has the advantage of higher standards of editing; those of the "Belles Lettres" series. As to what can be expected, and should be expected, in the way of historical writing, their standards are likewise in advance of the rest of us. There is no reason why similar standards should not be adopted here. But there is no security that they will be adopted without stimulus and supervision. Here are some phrases which appeared lately under the imprint of the Oxford University Press, acting as agent for the "Tungkhungia Buranji" of Assam :

In the same year there was an earthquake which continued for six months in an abortive fashion.

The footmarks indicated a toe detached from the remaining fingers.

. . . manipulated the detention of two sepoys. . . .

If the University Press will pass such phrases what will not lesser publishers pass? Twenty pages could be filled with similar examples.

One reason why such lapses are hard to avoid is that these versions have to be left to the editor, who is often translating into a language not his own. This may be more avoidable in future, seeing that central associations are coming into existence whereby translators can be telephoned for like taxis, yet with this difference—that whereas any taxi can be made to do, any translator can not. This is the more so since residence in the country to which the book belongs is also a requisite, provided such residence is not of a kind which tampers with the translator's familiarity with his mother-tongue. Such requisites are hard to fulfil in the case of the more rarely known languages; intensified, too, by the liability to be confronted with archaic forms in the case of chronicles, and this, again, by the fact that no generally acceptable plan for rendering archaic forms has yet been discovered. The nearest solution in sight is that of proceeding with the translation for which a suitable translator is forthcoming. The whole subject of translation as a fine art is, in fact, a new one. The urgency of doing something about it lies partly in the fact that the existence of a bad version prevents a better one from coming into existence.

## THE UKRAINE

Mr. W. E. D. Allen's book will remain for many years the standard work on the Ukraine. It may, however, be of interest to read the following criticism of it sent in by that ardent Ukrainian nationalist, Mr. V. de Korostovetz. In reading it one wonders whether the people now living in the Ukraine, whether pro-Soviet or Nationalist, torn and purged for the last twenty years and now (whoever wins) to be torn and purged again, would not prefer to remain settled under any stable Government rather than face the consequences of changing to another totalitarian régime.

“In all ages the Ukraine, a country extremely rich in natural wealth, has been the object of covetous looks from all its neighbours which throughout the ages have endeavoured to possess it. It was so when the country was a highly cultured unit, nationally independent as were its European contemporaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So it is now, when the totalitarian régimes, both Soviet and Nazi, and their imperialisms are raging round it. Ukrainian national territories are split up and divided between the two, who have for the moment eliminated the third competitor, Poland. In the seventeenth century, having until then had cultural and national independence, the Ukraine was annexed and incorporated into the ‘one and indivisible’ Russian empire, whose conquests of its neighbours meant only complete incorporation of the subjugated states and their full denationalization; the Russian conqueror forbid the use of the mother-tongue. This prohibition was carried through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and only in 1905, after the Revolution, Count Witte's liberal régime allowed the Ukrainians the use of their own language and that limited to the printing of the Bible in Ukrainian. From this it follows that every foreigner who approaches the Ukrainian ‘controversy,’ not having been in the country and having no knowledge of the Ukrainian language, nor of the people, will, however unbiased he may be, be faced with the onslaught of anti-Ukrainian propaganda coming from Russian or Polish or other similar sources which set out to prove, in the words of the reactionary Tsarist Minister Valoff that ‘the Ukraine does not and must not exist.’ The unbiased foreign student of Ukrainian matters will find when he approaches his task seriously that, owing to the fact that the period of complete national freedom of the country in the twentieth century lasted but a few years, the Ukrainians had not much chance of publishing their side of the story; for in 1919 the Dnieper Ukraine became part and parcel of the Soviet empire, and from 1919 until 1939 the Western Ukrainian lands were annexed by Poland, and in 1939 the greater part of Polish Ukraine became Russian and a smaller part fell to the lot of the Nazi expansion. It follows therefore that only one in every half-dozen books have been written by an Ukrainian, while the remainder have an anti-national Ukrainian character. What then is his dilemma? He must accept either one or the other point of view—the Russian or the Ukrainian nationalist—or he may attempt to keep his writing unbiased or quasi-unbiased and include both sides of the story. In this case his narrative will (and must) be five against and one for the pro-Ukrainian version. It may therefore seem to his readers that such a country never existed as the Ukraine as a separate entity and that Ukrainian nationalists are but traitors to the mother country, Russia, and those who call themselves Ukrainians are but foreign spies and ‘Nazi agents,’ or bad theoreticians

and idealists, who do not really know what they are talking about, that their language has no separate existence and that every act of theirs to bring about the independence is an act of treachery, inspired by foreign agents. It should be noted that the Imperial Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, an institution which rarely dared to oppose the Tsarist policy, stated that the Ukrainians had a separate language, one amongst other Slav tongues, but the other point of view which I have stated is accepted by Russians of all denominations, whether red, white or pink. This history therefore gives prominence to the five pro-Russian sources and only brings in the fifth source, the pro-Ukrainian nationalist, in this proportion. I should therefore like to point out to those who may be persuaded to take this point of view that in this troubled world there are some fifty million Ukrainians who have refused to call themselves by any other name, claiming their Ukrainian nationality, and thousands have died and have been imprisoned for their national cause. Wherever these Ukrainians live, whether in Canada, the U.S.A., in China or Siberia, they claim their nationality as Ukrainian and in the freedom-loving countries they have hundreds of National Ukrainian clubs, societies, co-operative and insurance companies, and they all, wherever they may be, look forward to the freeing of their country one day. It is true that every nation has its Quislings, its Joyces, but they cannot be considered true nationalists."

The paper ends by asking whether the Nazi iron heel or the Russian knout are the only alternatives before his country, or whether it would not be possible to have a free constitution and self-determination, on the lines of the British Empire, for all the small States of Eastern Europe.

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## TURKEY AND BRITAIN

It may be of interest to recall the following words addressed to the Turkish Sultan Abdel Aziz by one of his ministers, writing from his death-bed, in 1869:

"Sire, when this writing shall be placed under Your Majesty's eyes, I shall no longer be of this world. On this occasion therefore you may listen to me without mistrust. The voice from the tomb is always sincere. . . . Amongst our foreign allies you will find England always in the first rank. Her policy and her friendship are as firm as her institutions. She has rendered us immense services in the past, and it would be impossible to calculate those which she may render us in the future. Whatever happens, the English people, the most wonderful and the most steadfast in the world, will be the first and last of our allies. I would rather lose several provinces than see the Sublime Porte abandoned by England. . . . I can conceive of many acts of folly of all Governments, it is even one of their prerogatives to commit them. But I confess that I have been unable to fathom the profound wisdom of the Government which, with such strange indifference, permits the most frightful despotism in the world to . . . swallow up at every step provinces and kingdoms as large as France; and while it hems in Asia with its arms, and on the other hand undermines Europe . . . comes forward periodically protesting its love for peace and its sincere resolution no more to seek for further conquests."

The fact that this last sentence alludes to another power than that which now answers to the description does not lessen the significance of these words as we read them to-day.

MARY ROWLATT.

# THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1940.

	EXPENDITURE.			INCOME.		
To Office Expenses:	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Salaries and National Insurance ...	448	1	8	...	...	...
Rent ...	230	0	0	By Subscriptions received	1,562	5 6
Telephone ...	12	9	8	Journal Subscriptions and Sales	...	58 10 0
Stationery and printing ...	45	3	5	Interest Received (less tax)	...	10 6 6
Postage ...	72	11	9	Interest on Deposits	...	10 0 5
Office cleaning ...	47	3	0	Dinner Club (Contributions to expenses)	...	25 0 0
Audit fee ...	5	5	0	...	...	...
Bank charges ...	9	12	3	...	...	...
Lighting and heating ...	33	18	0	...	...	...
Sundries ...	32	11	4	...	...	...
	936	16	1	...	...	...
<i>Journal:</i>						
Printing ...	433	11	11			
Postage ...	63	12	5			
Reporting ...	30	4	0			
	527	8	4			
<i>Lectures:</i>						
Lecture fees and expenses ...	6	0	0			
Lecture halls and expenses	66	17	10			
Lantern ...	21	7	0			
Slides ...	12	8	11			
Printing ...	27	18	2			
	134	11	11			
<i>Library</i> ...	17	4	3			
<i>Balance</i> (being Excess of Income over Expenditure)	50	1	10			
	£1,666	2	5			

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1940.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
<i>Creditors</i> ...	174 18 9	<i>Cash:</i>	£ s. d.
<i>Life Subscription Fund:</i>		Petty Cash in Hand	... 16 9
Balance as per last Accounts	180 5 0	On Deposit: Post Office Savings Bank	... 215 6 1
<i>Entrance Fee Account...</i>	215 0 0	<i>Sundry Debtors and payments in advance</i>	216 2 10
<i>Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund:</i>		<i>Investments (at cost):</i>	126 12 3
Balance January 1, 1940	122 8 0	£100 3½ per cent. War Loan	... 100 0 0
<i>Less:</i> Cost of Medal presented during the year	4 17 0	£231 18s. 10d. 2½ per cent. Consolidated	... 175 17 6
	117 11 0	Stock	... 175 9 9
<i>Bank Overdraft</i> ...	82 6 7	£173 9s. 6d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan	... 451 7 3
<i>Income and Expenditure Account:</i>		<i>Society Premises Account:</i>	
Balance January 1, 1940	73 19 2	Balance as per last Account	... 100 0 0
<i>Add:</i> Excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date	50 1 10		
	124 1 0		
	<u>£894 2 4</u>		<u>£894 2 4</u>

PERSIA FUND.

<i>Accumulated Fund:</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance January 1, 1940	...	354	12	1		
<i>Add:</i> Interest on Investment	...	9	8	2		
Deposit Interest	...	0	14	4		
		<u>364</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>		
<i>Less:</i> Lecture Expenses	...	5	5	0		
Subscription to "Gertrude Bell" Memorial Fund	...	1	11	0		
		<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>		
		357	18	7		
<i>Sundry Creditors</i> ...		...	6	16	0	
		<u>£364</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>		
<i>Investment:</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
£467 8s. 3d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan	...	467	8	3		
at cost	...	...	...	...	331	17 3
<i>Cash:</i>					32	17 4
On deposit with Halifax Building Society	...					

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

We have examined the above balance sheet, and have obtained all the information and explanations that we have required. In our opinion such balance sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and explanations given us and as shown by the books of the Society.

22, BASINGHALL STREET, E.C. 2.

June 7, 1941.

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PART IV

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## NOTICES

MEMBERS will understand that shortage of paper has necessitated the slight differences in the Journal type and setting. It has also to some extent necessitated the curtailment of size.

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The first big lecture of the session was held at the Royal Empire Society on October 1, when Lord Winterton urged the fuller use of all the manpower of the whole Empire, the quicker consolidation of the Delhi Conference policy, its fullest expansion to increase industrial production not only in Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa, but in the Crown Colonies, Malay and West Africa. His figures were convincing. It was at this lecture that Sir John Shea put forward the real dangers into which our policy in the Middle East had led us and was followed by Mr. Philby, who, recognizing Palestine as a question apart spoke very strongly of other unsettled points. The lecture will be given in the next Journal, and by then it may be that Lord Winterton's suggestions are being acted on. Lord Winterton's very wide experience and travels through Asia and Africa enable him to grip as few can what can be done and what still remains to be done for the winning of this war. The Allies must find amongst their numbers the superman who can direct this stupendous output. Lord Hailey stressed some practical difficulties.

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Members are asked to send in any change of address to the Office.

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Contributors only are responsible for their statements and their spellings of place names in the Journal.

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## NOMINATION FORM.

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

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL  
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend *him*  
*her* for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

*His*  
*Her* connection with Asia is :



# BRITISH REPRESENTATION IN THE EAST

By SIR THOMAS HOHLER, K.C.M.G.

Report of a meeting held on Wednesday, July 23, 1941, the Right Hon. Lord Hailey, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have much pleasure in introducing to you Sir Thomas Hohler, who will lecture to us this afternoon. Sir Thomas Hohler has spent a long and distinguished career in the Diplomatic Service. I have here a list of the number of offices he has held. I almost hesitate to read it to you, because it is so long that I imagine you will think he has spent no time in England. Constantinople, Cairo, Addis Ababa, Buda-Pesth, Denmark, Columbia, among other places. But what brings him here in particular this afternoon is his interest in the Near East. He has spent very many years in Constantinople—I think altogether seventeen years in the East. He will lecture to us on the question of Representation of British Interests in the East.

Just at the moment, as we all read of discussions on the reconstitution of the Diplomatic Service, this question is of very grave importance to us; but it has a special importance when it comes to representation in the Near East in particular. I am sure there are many here who read Sir Thomas Hohler's letters to *The Times*, suggesting that representation in the Near East might very well take the form of a re-establishment of the old Levant Consular Service. That suggestion has given rise to a certain amount of discussion. It is exceedingly important for us, as we know lately from the example of Iraq, to have representatives in countries of this character who know the people, who have some knowledge of the language, who have some knowledge of its history and some experience of working among conditions such as present themselves there. It is of such importance to us to have representatives of that class in circumstances like those that I know we shall listen with exceptional interest to anything that Sir Thomas Hohler has to say to us on the subject.

**I**N the days of Tamerlane there lived in Anatolia a famous old Turkish character called Nasr ed Din Hodja. On a certain Friday he went to the mosque, being full of virtue and pious ideas, so that he was tempted to go up into the pulpit in order to address the assembly. He said: "My brethren, you know what I am going to talk to you about?" "No," they replied, ignorant of his fervent state of mind, "we do not." "Then you are a set of rascals that fear not God," he cried. "You are disgraces. Go home." So they went home.

On the next Friday he put the same question, having again gone up into the pulpit. Taught by experience, they said this time: "Yes, we know." "In that case," he replied, "it is useless for me to address you."

He came again the following Friday, and his neighbours, having thought the matter out, replied: "Some of us know and some of us do not." He said: "Well, then, go home, and let those who do know tell those who do not."

That, I think, is the position of anybody who addresses so erudite and experienced a body as the Royal Central Asian Society.

It would be very difficult for me to say anything new, but I think the points I wish to make are of such importance that they will bear almost any amount of repetition and of emphasis. I start from the postulate,

with which you will not disagree, that the wonderful position of the British Empire reposes primarily on its connection with the East, and, even leaving out of account India, it is a position that has been gradually built up in the East that has raised this country from a small island to be the head of a great and extremely beneficent empire. In order to maintain our position, it is obviously essential that we should be very carefully and well represented. In order to obtain such representation, special study, I maintain, is necessary.

The first obstacle which an official in the East has to meet is the very perfect acquisition of probably two, if not three, extremely difficult languages. If it is in the Near East, he must know Turkish and Arabic probably; I think also Greek, and I believe a Slavonic language was also expected under the old régime.

In the Far East the linguistic difficulties are still greater. Think of the difficulty of the Chinese language with its 40,000 characters, each pronounceable in four different tones, and of the Japanese language with three different scripts and three different methods of approach to another person according to whether he is an inferior, an equal, or a superior. But this difficulty is like the first hedge at Aintree; there are others as big or bigger further on.

It is necessary for a man, to carry out his functions satisfactorily, to have a very intimate acquaintance with the customs and the mentality of the people he is going to deal with. You will all know what I mean by the imperious demands of etiquette and of Eastern courtesy. There is that love for bargaining which I once found translated in a somewhat amusing way. There was a most estimable lady who had passed all her life in Constantinople. The Ambassador, Sir Nicolas O'Connor, died, and this lady accompanied his widow back to London, where they resided in one of the suburbs. The lady came up to the Army and Navy Stores and saw a very nice ham on the counter. She asked how much it was, and was told fifty shillings. "Oh," she said, "I never give more than thirty," slammed down the money, put the ham under her arm, and was walking off with it, to the complete dismay of all the attendants of the Stores. That is the mentality of bargaining, which is prevalent throughout the East. It is typical of much.

Another curious thing is the way that they are so fond of postscripts. You may get a letter ever so long. You can ignore the letter. It will be full of idle compliments, inquiries after health of people who do not matter in the slightest, and then you will find the postscript, which contains the whole thing.

After the Armistice, when I was the principal political officer of the High Commission, there was one of the Sherifs of Mecca, a remarkably cultured man who was capable of quoting Milton with the same ease as the Koran. I had various bits of business with him, mostly on matters of money. On one occasion he came round in flowing white robes, with a beautiful gold dagger thrust into his girdle. I was very busy, but it was obvious he had something he wanted to say. He sat on and on and talked and talked. At last he got up and went towards the door, and my heart rejoiced. But no; he put his hand on the handle, then came back and

dropped his voice almost to a whisper. He said: "You see, Mr. Hohler, there has never been a sovereign in the world who reigned over so many Muslims as King George V., and, if he would only become a Muslim, every one of us would rise and fight, and we would sweep the world."

There was no humbug about it. The man was bitterly in earnest. His earnestness quite prevented any inclination I had even to smile.

These things may seem trifling, but they are characteristic, and I think they are rather fundamental. You remember Kinglake's delightful description of his interview with the Pasha when he endeavoured to entertain this old-fashioned old gentleman with an account of a railway train before Baron Hirsch had invaded the Balkans. The Pasha said, "Oh yes, I know; whiz, whiz, all by steam, whir, whir, all by wheels," and he sat back in his divan and resumed his *chibook* and his *kéf*. I wonder what the Pasha would have thought had he been disturbed by a wireless and by an aeroplane buzzing overhead and by a motor-car booming at his door.

These inventions have undoubtedly created the greatest possible stir throughout the East, the results of which are still incalculable; but I think you may say the same of ourselves here. The ultimate results of cheap and rapid communications are still unknown. We are being swept along by the current. There are those who like them and there are those who detest them, and, when you think that this delightful war we are engaged in would be quite impossible were it not for these modern inventions, I rather think you will all be inclined to come over to the view that they are an unmixed calamity for the world. Still, there they are, and the East is suffering the impact of them to the full.

It is also suffering the impact of three very great characters who have recently arrived on the scene of history. I refer, of course, to Riza Khan, to King Ibn Saud, and to him who was, perhaps, the greatest of all—Ataturk, Mustapha Kemal. They have each introduced the most sweeping changes into their respective countries. But, even so, even now if in Stambul women walk unveiled, if the Koran is printed in Latin characters, if the fez and the turban are no more really sacred headdresses, is it possible that the real fundamentals of all these peoples have changed? I hesitate very much to believe it. The Rulal no more shout in their mad ecstasies, the Mevfevi dance themselves into a trance no more, the fanatical feast of Muharram is suppressed, and yet these things seem to descend from a most remote and immutable antiquity; I wonder if they are not traceable straight back to the priests of Baal, who cut themselves with knives, or to the Sons of the Prophets, whose dancing and other exercises were undoubtedly of an orgiastic nature.

It is only a comparatively short time ago that Lord Cromer, in his wonderful book on Egypt, quoted the following story. It was in the nineties. There had been a great many robberies with violence in Lower Egypt, and Lord Cromer—who had no idea of accepting the advice—put the case quite solemnly up to the Sheikh of the Azhar, enquiring what would be the suitable punishment. An answer came as follows. There were six different punishments. You might cut off the right foot and the left arm and then crucify the offender. You might crucify him first and

then cut off the leg and the arm. You might disembowel him and crucify him. You might crucify him upside down. But crucifixion was, in any case, to be inflicted. Lord Cromer did not take that advice, but he was immensely interested in it.

On another occasion he was visiting the Grand Mufti, and the conversation turned on astronomy. Lord Cromer asked for his opinion as to whether the earth went round the sun or the sun round the earth. "I think," said the Grand Mufti, "that the sun goes round the earth." Lord Cromer replied: "There are people who say it is the other way about." The Grand Mufti said: "Yes, I have heard that; but, after all, what does it matter?" I think that is a delightful story to show Eastern mentality.

The East is the home of mysticism and of very many strange cults, some new, like the cult started in Persia some sixty years ago (The Bahais), and some of great antiquity. It is hard to think that those have quite disappeared.

It appears to me that since the end of the last war the vision of the successive Governments of this country has been turned very largely inward. They have been immensely concerned with the spread of education, the rise in the scale of living, the adjustment of wages, the importance of housing and suchlike things. I fear that this has been somewhat at the cost of some of the foreign services, notably of our representation in the East. In this connection the Royal Central Asian Society may possibly be able to render immense services by drawing attention to this matter by acting as a kind of watchdog. So many of its members are continually travelling and have opportunities of observing for themselves and are armed by their own experience of their earlier days. Since I have been here this afternoon I have come across two or three people who have come from all sorts of different places who have begun to enlarge on this same topic. Material for good representation is certainly not lacking. I do not believe any of the members of the Society would disagree with me when I maintain that the English are far the best of any other foreigner at getting on well with Orientals. They have the knack of it, a kind of instinct for it. It is sufficient for me merely to mention such names as Leishman and Lawrence, Aubrey Herbert and the lamented Lord Lloyd, to give you an idea of what I mean. For thorough insight I am unaware of any books in any foreign language which can vie with Morrier's inimitable *Hajji Baba* or Charles Norton Elliot's *Turkey in Europe*, which will remain a classic so long as Turkey exists. Pickthall's delightful novels convey an extraordinarily true picture of Oriental life with the deepest insight. Then there was Sale, whose studies of Egypt are still unrivalled. Kinglake did not write a very profound book, but how brilliant his sketches are of the Near East!

I do not wish to discuss those very great men who have served this country so marvellously in the East. I refer here to people like Strafford de Redcliffe and Sir William White, Lord Cromer, Sir Stamford Raffles, and many others who will probably suggest themselves to you. But there is one whom I would like to mention who, I am glad to think, is still alive, and that is Sir Reginald Wingate, who, after his share in subduing the bloodthirsty rule of the Khalifa, set himself in his position as Sirdar



and Governor-General to regularize and organize the administration of the Sudan. He did it with such complete success that it has gone on being a source of wealth, prosperity, and happiness both to the Sudanese themselves and also to ourselves, without the slightest trouble or hitch, and the Sudanese Army has covered itself with glory by its gallantry, its discipline, and its morale in the fighting that has just been taking place in Abyssinia. We certainly owe a very great debt to Sir Reginald Wingate for that. These men were not, as the Germans would have us believe, freebooters and bloodsuckers and all the rest of it. It is frightful to think of all the rubbish that is talked by ourselves, and not only by our foes.

I want to come down today more particularly to the somewhat more ordinary men who formed the Levant Consular Service. They were chosen as young men after the test of a pretty severe examination. They went to Constantinople, where they spent nearly a year in the school at Cadi Keui, which was under the supervision—and no sinecure—of people like Goschen, Mansfield Findlay, and Sir Maurice de Bunsen. They were taught the difficult languages I have already mentioned, and they were encouraged by every means to study the habits and customs of the people amongst whom they were destined to pass their lives. They did so. They produced a most remarkable body of men, and it is only necessary to mention a few of their names; there are two of them at least here today—people like Sir Robert Greaves, Telford Waugh, Sir Adam Block, John Elijah Blount, A. Wrench (who started his career in the Damascus Massacre in the sixties and finished it in Constantinople in 1896), Sir Henry Lamb, and Sir Reader Bullard. There was Sir Andrew Ryan, who for many years filled with distinction the post of Minister at the Court of King Saud, and subsequently was the last Minister in Albania, carrying out his mission there with no less success. There are very many others I could mention, but it is sufficient that I should just mention those to you.

Any school or method which produces a body of men like that cannot have much amiss with it, and I think, therefore, it is regrettable in the highest degree that the Levant Consular Service was swept away and assimilated with the ordinary Consular Service. The results are certainly being felt now. I have been told that the recent trouble in Iraq was largely due to the fact that we had three or four representatives in as many years.

When I was mentioning the distinguished men who adorned the Levant Consular Service, I should like to say exactly the same of the Far East, where you have very similar men. I think the case of Japan is, perhaps, the hardest, for there there are only two Consuls-General, and it is, perforce, a very small service. But I have known two cases at least where members of the Japan Consular Service have been appointed as Ministers to States in South America, where they have carried out their task with most distinguished success. In China you have exactly the same state of affairs, and there you get extremely eminent men—Sir Harry Parkes to begin with, and Sir Ernest Satow, a marvel of erudition. I was once taken by him to a dinner-party at Prince Ching's and sat at the end of the table. In the centre a great discussion was going on. I listened, and it seemed they were discussing the proper form of the ideograph to

depict some new-fangled object, like, perhaps, the typewriter or an aeroplane. The dispute was waxing hot. Sir Ernest knew Chinese, owing to his intimate knowledge of Japanese. He listened for a little time, and then said, "I think it ought to be done like this," and drew it in the air. Silence fell on them with astonishment as they said: "Why, of course, that is the way it ought to be." Sir John Jordan was for many years Minister in Corea, and subsequently went to Peking, where he served with the utmost distinction. Sir Rutherford Alcock is another name which suggests itself from the Far East.

In connection with the Near East, I forgot to mention two individuals whose names I could not refrain from quoting in my letter to *The Times*. The first was that perhaps somewhat eccentric genius, Harry Boyle, who, when studying in Constantinople, was very fond in his spare time of going over to the Black Sea, where he stayed with an old seaman called Palmer, the head of a corps of lifeboatmen on the Black Sea at a peculiarly dangerous spot known as the False Bosphorus. There he struck up a friendship with a body of Turkish cavalry, with whom he became intimate and with whom he shared many extraordinary adventures. He was suddenly sent to Cairo, where Lord Cromer needed an interpreter. He arrived. His clothes always were a perfect disgrace. Lord Cromer looked at him and said: "I suppose you cannot talk much Arabic?" Boyle said: "No, I am afraid not, but I can learn it." "How long do you want?" asked Lord Cromer. "Six or seven weeks." He disappeared from the eyes of Europeans for the six or seven weeks, and emerged with a knowledge of Cairo and the Caireans as profound and remarkable as that which Sam Weller had of London and the Londoners. He became Lord Cromer's continual adviser in all native matters—in all matters, I think I may say—and was his complement.

His work was of incalculable value. The Foreign Office in its wisdom, to reward him after some twenty-five or thirty years in Egypt, appointed him as Consul-General in Berlin, where his health suffered considerably from the climate.

The other person of special notability is FitzMaurice, and I expect there are a great many of this Society who are acquainted with his achievements. I think the most notable was during the great massacres in 1906, and the most fierce killing had been done in the neighbourhood rather north of Aleppo. Sir Philip Currie had made the most heated representations to the Sultan, so that a mission of enquiry had to be sent down, but His Imperial Majesty refused to appoint any European on it. Nevertheless, Sir Philip sent instructions to FitzMaurice that he was to attach himself to the Mission and see what he could do. We all thought FitzMaurice was going straight to his death, and, in fact, two attempts were made to assassinate him; but he succeeded in making the acquaintance and then in gaining the friendship and confidence of the members of the Commission; we next received two or three telegrams, most difficult to decipher because Turks wrote from right to left, and we found that he wished one or two most trifling words of instructions altered.

Mungo Herbert was in charge in Sir Philip's absence, and with immense adroitness he went to the palace and got the consent of the

Sultan to these slight changes, which were duly telegraphed to the Commission. FitzMaurice, with incredible skill, seized upon the alterations, but especially he dwelt on the fact that the Sultan had changed his mind and had made even these trifling changes in his instructions. He said it showed that His Imperial Majesty must have changed his mind on the whole thing, and so on. At all events, the result was that the unfortunate Commission reported to the Sultan that undoubtedly the Bishop and his flock had been forcibly converted to Islam and ought to be converted back to Christianity. The life of those people was entirely respected, despite many other incidents that occurred in that neighbourhood, until the final annihilation of the Armenians during the last war.

He was later sent down to arrange the boundary outside Aden, and I think it took him something like two years, but the hard work and the rigours of that terrible climate told on his health very greatly. He succeeded in his task, and, in fact, annexed so much of Arabia that the Foreign Office was extremely anxious to get him away, lest he should annex the whole of it. That was the kind of person he was, and I consider it one of the greatest privileges I have had in my life that I was on terms of intimate friendship with both these men.

The question why the Levant Consular Service was assimilated to the General Service is one which has always puzzled me. I have been told that it was partly due to bureaucratic modern ideas, which wished to have everything levelled down and placed upon one nice flat basis. I do not think that at all meets our needs. It is quite impossible to take an ordinary man and send him to the East and hope that he will carry out his duties efficiently. I only knew of one such case during the time I was in Constantinople, and the gentleman was appointed to a very important consulate-general. His knowledge, even of French, was elementary, and I shall never forget going to dine with him at a club he had recently helped to found. The waiting was indifferent, and at last he ejaculated angrily, "Mais qui attend sur cette table?" to the amazement of all the waiters and guests.

I have dwelt on the tremendous changes inevitably introduced into the East by mechanical devices—wireless, motor-cars, aeroplanes, and many others. That is not the only influence that has been brought to bear. There are all kinds of other things. There has been Communism, Socialism, and every sort of ideology, and we ourselves have done our utmost to adopt our system of constitutional government and of ruling by the counting of noses. It may be that that will suit the Orient. Personally, again, I am in great doubt. I do not think anyone here can indicate to me a single State from east to west or from north to south in all Asia which has not from time immemorial been under a despotic form of government, very often benevolent, sometimes very fierce, but it seems to me as if Asiatics absolutely had to have a firm hand on them, firm but just.

Whilst absolutely refusing in this address to embark on to the stormy sea of controversy about the unification of the Diplomatic and Consular Services, how important it is at this crisis, is it not—more important than ever before—to have highly trained observers to see what is going on in

the East? It has been said that it was the men of the Levant Consular Service and the Far Eastern Service themselves who desired a change. I have heard it freely stated that these Services particularly were envious of their diplomatic collaborators, and I would not blame them for it. I think that the Consular Services contain men of the very highest ability, in many cases superior to the diplomatic secretaries and other officials who served in those countries. But, at the same time, there you are. Just as you must have a machine to make machine tools or screws or boots—what you will—so you must have a machine which will turn out men who will do the ordinary everyday spadework which these two Services were doing and have up till now done with such eminent success. I think that the Consular Department in the Foreign Office is now being organized and managed with peculiar skill, courage, and sympathy by Sir David Scott, and I think he is fully aware of the present shortcomings of a highly trained Service. I understand he is endeavouring to supplement in some degree, too, the lack of the Cadi Keui School by sending such young men as wish to serve in the East for a few months to the American College at Beirut; but this is an inadequate makeshift. It is very much the fashion now to run down that rather hateful term “the old school tie,” by which I mean (if I use it, which I never do) a very fine old tradition. Well, if I had been in the Levant Consular Service I should certainly be extraordinarily proud of my old school tie as a symbol of the highest and noblest form of service which could be rendered to the British Empire, and I think that the Royal Central Asian Society might find it possible, either through Parliament or through individuals, as a corporate body to do something, first of all, to induce the Foreign Office to re-establish some form of special service, both for the Near and for the Far East, and then by any means you like to inspire the new entrants into this Service with a sense of the good service they would be rendering to their country and to the responsibilities which will fall upon them if they are only able to render themselves worthy successors of the people I have mentioned—their predecessors.

Mr. M. PHILIPS PRICE, M.P.: In general I very much agreed with the outline of what Sir Thomas has said, and if any remarks that I make are in the least degree critical, they are only critical in a constructive sense, with a view to amplifying what he has said and possibly giving an emphasis in another direction. But in general I think he has proved his case, that our representation in the East is not altogether satisfactory, and that every effort must be made to see that it is improved.

In his opening remarks he dealt a good deal with the different atmosphere of the East compared to the West. He stressed Oriental mysticism and the different way of life. There is a very beautiful poem, translated by Dr. Giles from the writings of Chuang Tzu, the famous Chinese mystic, who lived about two thousand years ago. He ends this little poem with these words: “Thus strong in faith I live, and hope to be one of the pulses of eternity.” If those who represent us in the East were to try and understand the meaning of those words, they would have gone some way towards understanding a little of the extraordinary deep mysticism which

runs right through the East. On the other hand, I am not altogether prepared to accept what Rudyard Kipling wrote some years ago, that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." On the contrary, as Sir Thomas quite rightly says, there is a revolution going on, thanks to the discoveries of science, which is bound to have a colossal effect upon the relations between Europe and Asia. Mechanical inventions are bound to react upon psychological complexes. There is bound to be a mingling of ideas. We must see to it that as much as possible in this mingling the best is retained of both—the West with our more material outlook, and the East with its more spiritual and far more profound outlook.

Sir Thomas rather seemed to suggest that our political ideas of constitutional government would not really take much hold in the East. Of course, it is true that in the East there have been till now the traditions of what I may call theocratic government, based on the traditions of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, and Eastern Christianity, which then spread further into the East, was taken over by the Arabs, and was there long before in the Chinese empires of dim, distant ages.

It seems to me, in this exchange of ideas that is going on, different Eastern nations are reacting differently. We have the Egyptians, to begin with. I suppose one can reckon them as part of the East. In spite of their Arab and Moslem tradition, they seem to be developing along the lines of Western constitutional government. On the other hand, there is Turkey, which in its revolution has thrown over theocracy, but has established a semi-democracy with a paternal Government at the head; not democracy in our sense of the word, but at the same time apparently efficient. I think that Eastern States will work out their salvations on different lines.

For that reason I think it is so important that those of our people who go out there to represent us in the East should have their minds open to all these new ideas. My experience of the East directly is not very recent, I am afraid. I travelled a good deal before the last war in Central Asia, Turkey, Iran, and Syria, and I remember very well being struck with the English communities I came across and the English representatives I met out there. They seemed to be very different in type. Very often you got them living their own lives apart from the country and not coming much in contact. On the other hand, they were greatly respected because the Englishman's word is his bond. There was a feeling, "We can trust the Englishman." That is an enormous advantage to us everywhere now over the Germans wherever the two come in contact in the East. On the other hand, it is not quite enough. We must do more than trade upon our reputation for sincerity, truthfulness, and honour. It is quite true, too, that many of our representatives do show an extraordinary knowledge of the East. Sir Thomas gave us a number of instances, but I do not think there are quite as many as one would like to see. He gave one case of FitzMaurice, of the British Embassy in Constantinople. I, too, had the honour of making his acquaintance. I shall never forget one thing he said to me. I was a very young man and was contemplating a journey down the Baghdad railway through Konia to Syria. He said: "You must, if you possibly can, go to Palestine. One of these days there will be trouble

between Arabs and Jews out there." I have never forgotten that, particularly now when we are faced with the present situation. Those extraordinarily wise words were said in 1913, and showed the prophetic insight of a man who knew the East as few people have done.

These brilliant men whom our people seem to throw up from time to time, who know the East almost better than its inhabitants do, are not too common. We would like to see more of them. You see many who just look on the East as a place where they have to live, and who try to create a little England in Baghdad or wherever they are.

That brings me on to the other point Sir Thomas touched on—the sources from which our service is to be recruited. He spoke of "the old school tie" and the need of tradition in the Service. I quite agree with that, but I am afraid in the past there has been too much drawing our representatives from a certain class in our community. I think there is no doubt that there has been too much Eton and Harrow about our representatives, particularly the higher ones. I am an old Harrovian myself, so cannot be accused of being prejudiced, but it has been said that if the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton, the Battle of Britain is being won on the playing-fields of the council and secondary schools. We must draw to-day for our foreign representation, including the East, from all classes of our community, and I am certain we shall find talent everywhere. Those who represent us must have their minds open to see all that is going on, all these movements which come about through the interplay of Eastern and Western ideas, now more important and more complex than at any time in the world's history. It is quite true that, in part at least, our difficulties in Iraq have been due to the fact that we have not quite appreciated the position out there. We have given contradictory promises to Arabs and Jews. We have possibly tended to rely too much upon the tribal chiefs, on the old feudal leaders of the people, and have not got our ears to the ground sufficiently to the young intellectuals. I know they are very difficult, but we cannot ignore them. In those three interesting articles in *The Times* lately by Freya Stark, she did point that out, that our representation there seemed to be more in contact with the older school of Arab politicians and statesmen and the tribal chieftains, rather than some of the younger elements, and this is where, if we are not careful, the Nazis may get in.

There in Iraq is possibly a red light, which it is necessary for us to be on the lookout against, and we must therefore have those who serve us in the East drawn from all classes in our community which show ability and capacity to understand, with broad minds, tolerance, and firmness.

With those words, I would like to say how much I have enjoyed listening to Sir Thomas.

In thanking Sir Thomas Hohler for his lecture, which he described as the fruit of much experience and of practical wisdom, Lord HAILEY referred to the importance at the present day of the issue which the lecturer raised. Were we to advocate at the moment a return to the old system of specialized consular services? The Government had recently decided to amalgamate the Consular and Diplomatic Services, and the intention appeared to be to have one unified Service with no distinction

between the different classes of representation of His Majesty abroad. Everyone must appreciate the outstanding value of knowledge of the language and customs of other peoples, particularly in the East and in the Arabic-speaking world. If he was correct, we had recently had an unfortunate reminder of the necessity of such knowledge in the case of our representation in Iraq. But it seemed to him that there were in diplomacy two other requirements not less important than the knowledge of language and customs of the people. The first was personality. To take only one instance, it was, perhaps, to personality that Lord Cromer owed his success, rather than to any intimate knowledge of the Egyptian people. The second was the ability to deal not merely with those more primitive and backward peoples with whom we often felt as Britishers that our most successful work had been done, but ability to deal also with the new elements of a more intellectual and advanced type that were now coming into prominence among the peoples whom we had previously regarded as relatively backward. That was a task of unusual difficulty and demanding a new type of approach. He thought, therefore, that we needed now to recruit our Diplomatic Service on the widest possible basis, with a definite view to obtain for it the services of men of the different types of character that these tasks demanded. There might be times, for instance, when representation in the mid-East or among Arabic-speaking peoples required a man of unusual attainments, who need not necessarily have had any previous experience of those countries, but whose character was of more importance to us than his knowledge of them. If so, then he should be able to call on the assistance of subordinates who had that knowledge. Perhaps one alternative to the revival of a closed service of the type of the Levant Consular Service would be to recognize that there were groups of countries within which members of the Diplomatic Corps would ordinarily work, and for which they should receive special training. They would only pass out of such a group if special need arose for their doing so, but the groups would have to be large if the system was to have sufficient flexibility to ensure its success.

*Communication from Colonel J. K. Tod, C.M.G.*

All at the meeting will have understood the humour of Sir Thomas's remark that when FitzMaurice was with the Aden Hinterland Boundary Commission the Foreign Office hastened to recall him, in case he should annex more of Arabia than they wished, but I think that if this is set down in bald print it may seem an admission of the predatory acquisitiveness that our ill-wishers are so fond of attributing to us. As one of the very few who know the real facts of the case, I should like, out of consideration for FitzMaurice himself and another good old friend, Colonel Wahab, the head of the Mission, to say what happened.

When the Commission, with an escort of one company of Indian infantry, arrived at Dhala on the plateau early in 1901, we found that the Turks had anticipated our arrival by occupying the plateau with a strong military force dominating the approaches to it from Aden and the lowlands.

At the first meeting with the Turkish Commission in our camp the Turkish Commissioners made it clear that they based their claims for the boundary upon this military occupation, and that they intended to maintain them by force. The first meeting thus unavoidably ended in a deadlock.

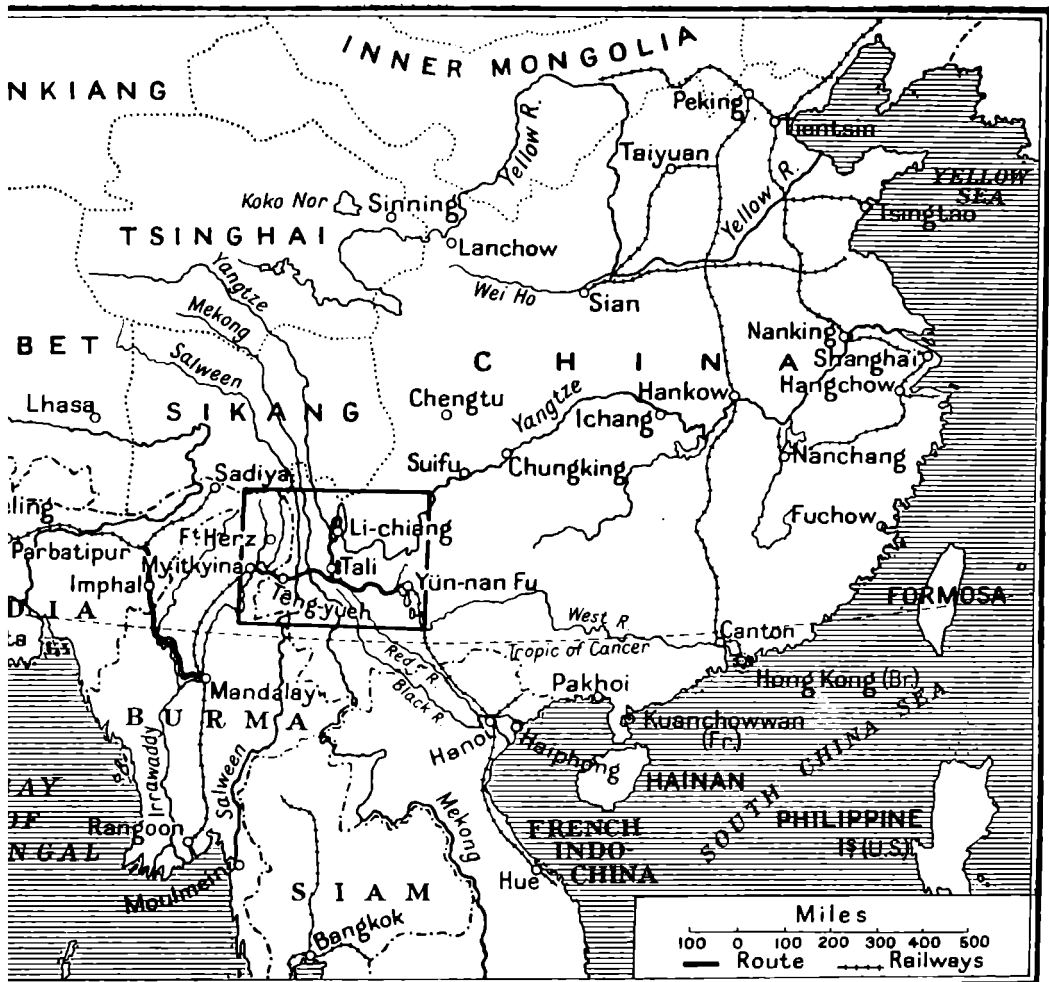
Soon after the Turks reoccupied Yemen in 1870 they pushed southwards over the

border of the Amir of Dhala's State. As the Amir had entered into a protection treaty with the British, he naturally appealed to the Aden authorities for protection but the one idea of our Government seems to have been to avoid any entanglement in the Aden hinterland at all costs. As the Turks continued their encroachment the Amir repeated his appeals, but nothing was done to help him.

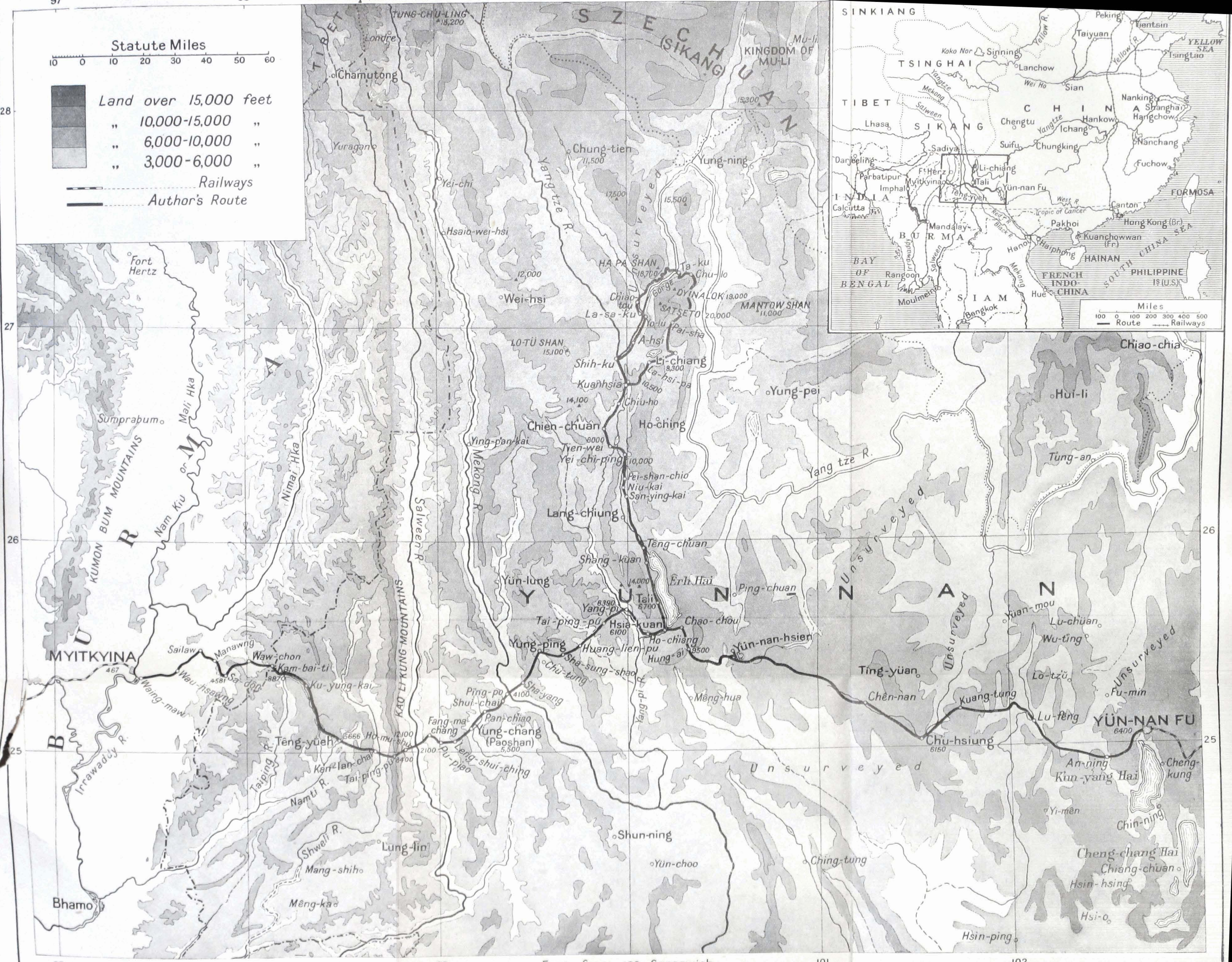
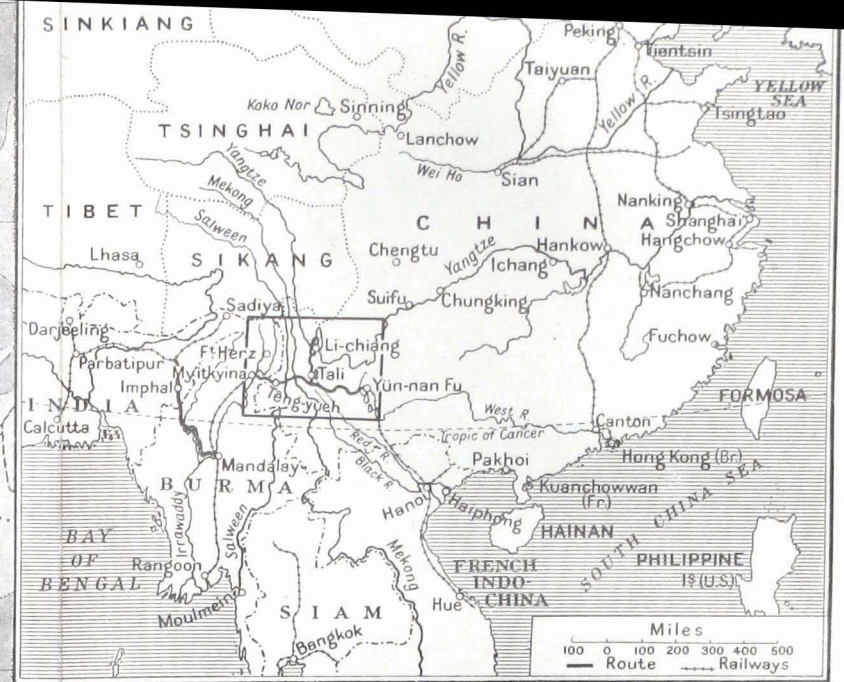
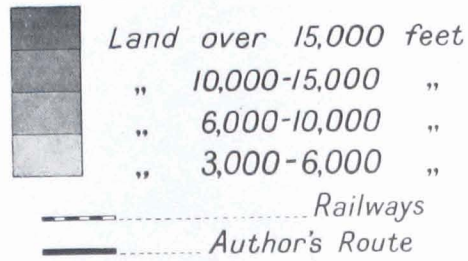
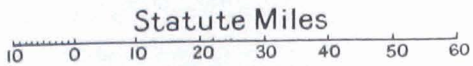
The Turks had been in possession of Jalela, close to Dhala and commanding the main pass from the lowlands, since 1872.

In 1900 matters were brought to a head by the encroachment by an underling of the Turks on another part of the Aden frontier, and a column was sent out from Aden to eject him. The Turks, who had evaded previous British proposals for demarcation of the frontier, now made a proposal to that effect themselves. To this we promptly responded, and our Mission was sent to meet the Turkish Mission on the Dhala plateau. The deadlock with the Turkish Mission lasted through 1901 and 1902, while correspondence was carried on with Bombay, Simla, and the Foreign Office in London. Again our Government sought to avoid trouble by arriving at a compromise. The Commission on the spot maintained that we were bound by honour and justice to the Amir to stand for the complete restoration of his domain and Colonel Wahab could not agree to a line of partition which the Foreign Office proposed in the hope of gaining Turkish acquiescence. FitzMaurice was then sent from Constantinople to try and help to arrive at a settlement. His help was of great value, for it was clear to us all that his intimate knowledge of Turkish ways and his tact and patience in dealing with them gave him advantages over those who had not such experience, and that representations to the Foreign Office from their nominee would carry much more weight than those from the Mission. What I wish to make clear is that what FitzMaurice succeeded in doing was persuading the Foreign Office that Colonel Wahab's attitude was thoroughly justified, and that nothing but a show of force would make the Turks yield. Hence a force sufficient to overawe the Turks was marched up to Dhala. Then, and then only, did the Turks withdraw, and the Amir's domain was restored to him complete.













# THE SNOW MOUNTAIN GORGE OF THE YANGTZE IN NORTHERN YÜN-NAN

By GERALD REITLINGER

Lecture given on June 10, 1941, Mr. Ch'en, the Chargé d'Affaires at the Chinese Embassy, in the Chair.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said that it was hardly necessary to introduce Mr. Reitlinger to the audience, who knew him well already by repute as an archæologist and traveller in the more remote and difficult parts of Asia, and as the author of *A Tower of Skulls*, an account of his journey through Persia and Turkey to the Black Sea, and of *South of the Clouds*, the tale of his journey through Yün-Nan. It was of a remote corner of Yün-Nan that Mr. Reitlinger was lecturing, so remote that the Chairman himself had never visited it. He was looking forward to hearing an account of this wonderful Yangtze gorge and of the people who lived there.

**A**LTHOUGH this journey was made in war-time, I am not going to talk to you about war or politics. I hope, if possible, and if subsequent speakers consent to keep the peace, to give you an hour's rest from both by taking you to a very remote part of the world where people are little concerned in either of these matters.

My subject is a mysterious gorge of the River Yangtze on the Chinese edge of Tibet. First, I must make it clear that this is *not* one of the famous Yangtze gorges which are known all over the world and which some of you may have visited. These, the gorges of Wu-Shan, are navigated by the small steamers which ply above Ichang, but the gorge of which you will hear is far beyond the limits even of junk or barge navigation, fully twelve hundred miles above the Wu-Shan gorges. The "Wind-box" at Wu-Shan is said to be four miles long and three to four thousand feet deep. The Snow Mountain Gorge is fifteen miles long and its depth 10,000 to 15,000 feet. The river burrows through the heart of the highest mountain in South China, its summit being estimated at between 20,000 and 23,000 feet, while the river-bed is only 6,000 feet above sea-level. For several miles there is on one side a sheer wall from the beginning of the permanent snow-line to the sub-tropical belt of vegetation along the river.

For some time I believed that this must be the deepest gorge in the world, until I happened to describe it to Sir Aurel Stein, who immediately capped it with a gorge through which the River Indus runs in Kashmir, which may be 4,000 feet deeper. So much, then, for world's records and for those who insist on them. There is the sobering lesson of the lost aviator in Venezuela who entirely by accident came across a waterfall of immense depth, dwarfing the Niagara and the Victoria Falls by thousands of feet. In unsurveyed mountain country this kind of chance may happen at any time.

I have just described the gorge as mysterious, and I have not used this adjective at random. There are two aspects of it, apart from the mere

depth, which deserve such a description. In the first place, there is the behaviour of the river itself. Looking at the map, you will see that the Yangtze, in common with a whole system of rivers which rise in Tibet, flows from north to south, but at one point, near the little town of Shih-Ku, it doubles back to avoid some obstacle and flows north for over a hundred miles. The obstacle is a neck or isthmus of high ground thrown across the valley, not more than 2,000 feet high. After this the northward course of the river is relatively straight, and one would therefore suppose that the river had found a convenient passage without obstacle. And yet, having shied at a 2,000-foot barrier, it appears that the Yangtze only forty miles downstream has had to burrow through a much worse barrier of 14,000 feet, having come up against the highest range in Southern China. Of this I shall have more to say shortly.

The second aspect of the gorge which is mysterious is that it has eluded publicity. It lies in unsurveyed but by no means unexplored or uninhabited country. It is a day or two's march from three well-known trade routes into Chinese Tibet from the south, all of which have been described by recent travel-writers. But, as far as I know, in 1937 when I made this journey, there was no published description of it. I got my first information about the gorge from Dr. Josef Rock at Yün-Nanfu, who has still not published his long-promised compendious work on the Li-Chiang region and its Na Shi people. Dr. Rock had been preceded in some of his researches in the Snow Mountain country by the botanist George Forrest, but though Forrest, who lived in this district for years, must have seen the gorge, if not penetrated it, he seldom wrote about his exploits.

The region of the gorge was mapped in some detail for the first time in a book published by the geologist Professor J. G. Gregory in 1923, *The Alps of Chinese Tibet*. In this work a plausible explanation for the weird antics of the Yangtze River is suggested, but the author does not realize the true scale of the gorge, which he did not visit, although he twice came within three days of it. The theory on which Professor Gregory works is that the mountains of Chinese Tibet and Yün-Nan represent two systems. The one which is very ancient is called the Indo-Malayan system; the other, more recent, is the Himalayan, which at one time thrust across the older upheaval and created transversal fissures.

Look again at the point on the map where the Yangtze turns north and begins its great hairpin bend. Hitherto its course has been parallel to three of the great rivers of Asia, all rising in the depths of Tibet. These are the Irrawaddy, Salween, and Mekong. At one point the Salween, Mekong, and Yangtze are less than twenty miles apart from each other. Striding north to south across the map like telegraph posts, they merit the enthusiastic words of M. Bacot: "Il n'est rien, je crois, de plus géométrique ailleurs dans le monde."

The change of the Yangtze's course at Shih-Ku has caused it to part company with the other rivers, and, while these reach the sea in Burma and Indo-China, the Yangtze continues right across the Chinese Empire, which it may be said to have created, to emerge in the Pacific near Shanghai. If we assume the 2,000-foot obstacle at Shih-Ku to be the result of the upheaval which created the more recent Himalayas, it is

possible to plot the former course of the river. It would have flowed either through the Yang-Pi Gorge three days' march to the south of Shih-Ku, or through the present Tali Lake by what is now the Yang-Pi River into the Red River of Tong-King, and so reached the sea at Haiphong.

The same great upheaval which accounts for the creation of a barrier at Shih-Ku may account, too, for the splitting of the Snow Mountain range, leaving a tunnel which was to conduct the Yangtze eventually into the Chinese plain.

I think this is enough preliminary geography to enable us to get on with the journey. Although I did not set out to reach the Snow Mountain Gorge from England, since I only heard of it in Yün-Nanfu, you may like to hear of the route by which I reached it. Leaving the Singapore-bound plane of the K.L.M. at Bangkok in Siam, I travelled by train and car through Angkor, Saigon and Hué to Hanoi, the capital of Tong-King, and from there by the narrow-gauge line which climbs the Yün-Nan plateau to the city of Kunming, or Yün-Nanfu, which at that time, the winter of 1937, was still inviolate from Japanese bombers. Kunming, which most people still recognize more readily under its imperial name of Yün-Nanfu, is on the Burma Road, which now goes right through from Rangoon to the provisional capital of China at Chungking on the Yangtze. At that time only some 300 miles had been completed westwards from Yün-Nanfu as far as Hsia-Kuan, south of the Tali Lake, but work was proceeding furiously on the section from there to the Burma border at Mong-Shih. We reached Hsia-Kuan, which is the very heart of Yün-Nan, in three days by car and motor-lorry; the latter, in spite of its mediæval discomfort, is a far more certain way of reaching one's destination in wet weather. The centre from which our small expedition was to be organized was Tali, a ten-mile walk from Hsia-Kuan along the lake. Tali is, perhaps, more recognizable as the Talifu of our old school atlases. The lake is called the Erh Hai, the Ear Lake, because when seen from a great height its roughly oblong shape looks in perspective like a human ear. It is the largest of the Yün-Nanese lakes, twenty-five-miles long, twelve broad, and about 7,000 feet above the ocean into which its water ultimately flows. It is treated exactly as if it were the sea, and junks sail on it up to a hundred tons in burden.

Tali, a few miles from the lake, and built in the lee of a 14,000-foot mountain which ruthlessly curtails its sunlight, is one of the most ancient cities of Yün-Nan, as witness its pagodas, which may be more than a thousand years old. It is one of the prettiest of South Chinese cities, and is built in the typical Yün-Nanese style. Practically all the buildings are of wood and stucco, painted white with monochrome frescoed designs, and there are none of those frightful imitation European buildings which disfigure every inland city in China nowadays. The importance of Tali to my travelling companion, Mr. J. Hope Johnson, and myself was that there we met Mr. P. C. Fitzgerald, who was collecting materials for his book on the Min Chia people of the Tali plain. As he was planning a journey to the north in order to make comparisons with other Yün-Nanese tribes, such as the Lissu of the Mekong Valley, we had no difficulty in persuading him to visit the Snow Mountain Gorge on the way.

Our caravan consisted, besides ourselves, of Fitzgerald's cook, who appointed himself caravan-master, three muleteers, and six pack-mules, beasts whose speed rarely exceeds two miles an hour, but whose other qualities we were soon to learn. Our first destination was Li-Chiang, the last Chinese city before the feudal Tibetan border region is reached. It is only ninety miles from Tali, and we reached it in six very leisurely day marches through the prettiest part of Yün-Nan. Much of the road was through deep valleys cultivated by the Min Chia and Na Shi peoples, who, in spite of separate languages, have a common Chinese culture. In sharp contrast to the forest region north of Li-Chiang, the country is very populous and teems with temples and carved stone tombs and all the evidences of long occupation and Chinese civilizing influences. Nevertheless, in this short journey there are two passes of over 10,000 feet, as well as numerous lower saddles, to be crossed, so that there are constant abrupt changes from trim ricelands to savage moors and forests. I should like to be able to convey to you some of the pleasures of this gentle and leisurely form of travel. During the day, sometimes riding, sometimes walking, you follow the narrow stone tracks, often between hedges of wild rose designed for nothing so modern and revolutionary as a pack mule, but for the processions of laden porters whom you jostle past, men and women toiling in single file with baskets of live chickens, brown rock salt, lumps of coal, or great pink bamboo roots. You may stop by the gates of temples and drink tea, or you may dismount at a market fair and augment your provisions with the delicious cakes baked on these festive occasions. The long midday halt is spent at a wayside restaurant situated among orchards or in a clearing on the mountain-side, and in the evening you arrive at an inn such as the Apostle Paul might have used in his travels, where the bolder spirits of the place will sit politely in your room, with the conviction that you are a missionary, and the expectation of free tracts and medicaments, and looking a little shocked when offered a cigarette.

As I have said, there are two high passes on this journey. The second of them, between Kuan-Hsia and La-Hsi Pa, is surprising. It is about 11,000 feet high and is reached by a track which seems scarcely passable for laden animals, but is, in fact, a fair specimen of the tracks of the Tibetan border, to which one rapidly becomes accustomed, even to the extent of no longer dismounting. Instead of the usual bleak and scrubby ridge there is at the top a plateau several miles in breadth, growing wheat in unenclosed and unditched land, so that the scene is European, rather like the French Beauce or the plain of Hungary. From this queer traveller's mirage you pass quickly to the view over the desolate and once bandit-haunted Valley of Ho-Ching, with the summits of the great snow range to the left, at least 6,000 feet higher than anything within hundreds of miles.

In a sense this is a nameless mountain, and I have baulked the issue by calling it, after the fashion of the missionaries, the only foreigners to whom it is familiar, the Snow Mountain. This they derive from the Chinese-speaking community, who call it simply *Hsüeh Shan*. The Na Shi, in their own language, have two words for it—*Dmvulaka* and *Satseto*. The latter should be the corruption of a Chinese name, and it

has been accepted by the compilers of the map of China published by the *National Geographical Magazine*, but it is not known in Chinese gazetteers, which have a name for it which seems to have passed out of use long ago—*Yü-Lung Shan*, the Jade Dragon Mountain. Foreign atlases might well revive a name established in Chinese geography for centuries rather than leave so romantic a peak completely anonymous.

Li-Chiang stands in one of the small cultivated lake plains which are a characteristic of Yün-Nan and are the main centres of its population. It is the highest of these plains, being 8,200 feet above sea-level, some 2,000 feet higher than the average. Except for the deep rifts of two of its great rivers, there is very little in Yün-Nan, most mountainous of Chinese provinces, which lies below 6,000 feet. The little city of Li-Chiang in the shadow of the Snow Mountain has a unique charm. I know nowhere like it in the world. Its architecture is Chinese, and yet you do not feel yourself in China. The canals of clear water which flow down each street give it an exotic look. So, too, do the many kinds of dress of the people you see. The working population of Na Shi race, who have not altogether adopted Chinese ways, wear their own costume. The men in black turbans, the women in Victorian-looking poke bonnets of blue calico. Itinerant Tibetans, who come here from the north to trade skins and yak meat for the dried green tea of Pu'-Erh, throng one quarter of the town, where they have their own inns, places of unbelievable filth, and a monastery of Lamaist monks. On market days other races may be seen who have come many days' journey to trade their produce—the hawklike and untamed Lissu from the north-west, the flat-faced Lolo, and the puckered Shan. On these days you may buy rough-dyed yak felts from Tibet, bright red-leather snow-boots, insect eggs which are eaten as food, or unusually inland shrimps. The real charm of the town lies in the freedom of manners of the people. The Na Shi belong to the happy Tibeto-Burman group of races where there is no segregation of the sexes. Some of their customs show a very romantic view of life like that cultivated in thirteenth-century Europe. Young people wander about in bands indiscriminately, and you feel a relaxation of the strict Chinese family code. With the Tibetans this freedom runs to excess, and, as in all the border cities of the west, their inns are places of scandal. The Tibetans whom you see in Li-Chiang are known as "Hsi Fan," Western Barbarians, and for the most part come from regions not many days away, such as Chung-Tien and Atuntzu, where, though nominally subject to China, they are always ready to make trouble or to side with independent Tibet, whose army, not so long ago, lay within thirty miles of Li-Chiang on the Yangtze banks. In what to them must be a great metropolis the giants from the highlands have a sheepish, bewildered look. Their only desire is to sell their wares, buy their winter tea, get drunk, and be gone.

In spite of Confucian temples and two Pentecostal missions, religion in Li-Chiang is mainly animism and magic. We were introduced to a devil-dog and a house possessed by fire-demons. We were also shown books of picture-writing, in which the Na Shi used formerly to transcribe extremely pretty hymns and love-lyrics in their own tongue, a subject on which we still await the encyclopædic work of Dr. Rock.



In Li-Chiang we made the inevitable discovery that our muleteers had never been further north than there in their lives, and had, in fact, never heard of our gorge before they met us. As invariably happens when travelling in Western China, we were able to rely on our missionary hosts to get us out of our difficulties. They found us a Na Shi caravan, to which we were to be attached as far as Ta-Ku, near the northern exit of the gorge. Unfortunately, these Na Shi were jealous of our Tali muleteers and deliberately enticed them to leave the trail, so as not to have to share the best camping-ground with them. Consequently they got lost, and a Tibetan boy of Atuntzu, supplied by the missionaries, who seemed to have the carrying strength of two mules and who drank raw spirits like lemonade on the march, turned out to be a stranger in those parts. We were two nights out on the road to Ta-Ku instead of one, but this was no serious matter, because getting lost in the rhododendron and bamboo forests which cover the whole eastern slope of the Snow Mountain turned out to be an agreeable experience. We camped by a torrent and made our fire with the boughs of rare shrubs, and sat down to one of those open-air feasts which are the best joys of travel, the Min Chia, Chinese, Tibetan, and Na Shi races being represented beside ourselves.

Our route ran north from Li-Chiang inside the hairpin bend of the Yangtze. Here we followed a used track which has been described by several travellers; it crosses the Yangtze at the apex of the bend and goes on through Yung-Ning and the kingdom of Muli to Baurong and the Szechuan-Tibet border at Ta-Chien Lu. In order to reach the Yangtze ferry on the west side of the bend, we had to leave this track and cross the northern saddle of the Snow Mountain. The saddle was not nearly as high as the main snow ridge, and scarcely exceeded 13,000 feet, a height which in Yün-Nan is free of snow, even during a large part of the winter. It was, nevertheless, a very hard climb for loaded animals, since mules bred in the Tali plain feel the effects of altitude at about 10,000 feet. It was here that we first saw those grim giant pines, a hundred feet high or more, which throughout the Himalayan system grow on the rainy side of the mountains at this altitude. Most of them were dead trees and looked very sinister with the stumps of their boughs wrapped in white tufts of moss. Many had fallen across the trail and added to our difficulties. Here, too, we came across a strange, stunted race of mountaineers, presumed to be Na Shi, though looking very different from the pleasant people of Li-Chiang. Their log cabins were much lower down the mountain-side in lonely forest clearings. In addition to lumber-cutting, they keep cows in the space round their dwellings, which, though of a most pitiful squalor and quite inadequate as shelter, look distinctly European. At the top of the pass we had a tremendous view which I believe embraced the mountains between the Mekong and the Salween, and even 120 miles away, the first snow-peaks of Tibet in the Doker-La region beyond a sea of intervening ridges.

As it was too late to make the whole of the steep descent of 7,000 feet into Ta-Ku that night, we stopped at a Na Shi farmhouse, one of a group on a cleared part of the slope. The house was very habitable, being of the more sophisticated kind in the Chinese style, with much pork and maize

in store as winter provisions. Here, as in other houses, we saw a family altar with many curious little clay models of the sacred mountains of Tibet, a typical Lamaist contribution to the complicated worship of the Na Shi. In the morning we walked down into Ta-Ku, soon striking the alluvial plain where the Yangtze emerges from the gorge, the opening of which came into view across the flooded ricefields. The plain is completely surrounded by mountains and is naturally warm and stuffy. We were warned that we should feel ill after the descent, and so it turned out, though it was the Yün-Nanese members of the caravan who suffered most, being used all their lives to mountain air. The difficult track from Li-Chiang is the only link between Ta-Ku and the rest of Yün-Nan, for the ferry across the Yangtze is seldom used by travellers, except by occasional Tibetans on their way to the lamasery of Chung-Tien. Even this is not the principal track, and was spoken of in Ta-Ku with a good deal of disparagement. The lonely ferry came into its own once at least; this was in 1935, when a large part of the Communist army crossed the river here to escape the Yün-Nan Government forces. After a trek through the Tibetan Mountains, which involved many of them in cannibalism, they reappeared in the north of China in the provinces of Kansu and Shensi, where they caused much destruction. They seem to have left Ta-Ku undamaged, and we found a long, white, dusty Chinese street looking surprisingly urban.

We were lodged in the house of Mr. Tsao, a carpenter, who is also a preacher for the Pentecostal Mission in Li-Chiang. It was he who, after terrible altercations in which we seemed likely to lose our entire caravan, including Mr. Ho, our excellent Szechuanese cook and major-domo, so great was the dread that the now visible gorge inspired, went off quietly into the blue and came back with four beaming dwarfs. They were mountain Na Shi, who for a small sum and plenty of the raw spirit called *pai kan*, were ready to hump our baggage through the gorge; but it would take three days.

Soon with the lure of further profits to be made, the muleteers abandoned their first prudent intention of taking the animals back to Li-Chiang and decided to come with us. We had misgivings, but, as the sequel showed, the caravan got through without the loss of a single beast. I should, however, advise prospective travellers to leave their mules behind.

The actual bed of the Yangtze is nearly 300 feet below the level of the Ta-Ku plain in an erosion canyon which completely falsifies the sense of its width. As far as information can be got, these erosion canyons are a peculiarity of the next 700 miles of the Yangtze course almost down to Suifu in Szechuan, where small-junk navigation begins. Along this course ferry-places are exceedingly rare. All this part of Yün-Nan and Szechuan is unsurveyed country, and something of its desolation could be gauged by this depressing downstream view. Ferrying occupied an entire morning and seemed a hazardous business; the most terrified of the mules were quieted by the homœopathic remedy of sprinkling them with water as soon as they were got on to the barge. This seemed to work, but several journeys were necessary, and, the speed of the Yangtze below the rapids in the gorge being quite ten miles an hour, it was impossible to make the

same landing-place each time. After climbing the other side of the canyon and reassembling our scattered caravan, we found a continuation of the cultivated Ta-Ku plain, but a few miles across ricefields brought us to the foot of Ha-Pa' Shan, the detached half of the Snow Mountain, and here at the very entrance to the gorge we halted for the night at a village perched at the top of whole series of erosion terraces tumbling into the river. We pitched our tents in one of the terraced fields, for the cabins were the worst we had yet seen—mere crazy nests of logs and planks through which the formidable wind of the gorge, the *ta feng*, whistled and yelled.

We learnt here that it would not be possible to proceed through the fifteen miles of the gorge at the river-level, though a trail led down to it from the village. A few miles upstream the sides of the canyon narrowed to a width estimated with different degrees of exaggeration according to the speaker, but as the narrows were called the *Hu Tiao Chiang*, the Tiger's River-leap, it was evident that they were not called that for nothing. We had, instead, to climb the lower slope of Ha-Pa' Shan, and this climb for a caravan of mules and loaded porters was severe, as there was no marked trail, and one simply pushed straight up the mountain-side among the stunted trees. The four Na Shi carried loads which appeared somewhat bigger than themselves, a feat in which they can rival their cousins, the Lepchas of Sikkim. It took four hours to reach the highest point in this day's march, a place where the entire length of the gorge could be seen, and where there was a Tibetan shrine or *chorten* made of loose stones with white praying-banners protruding from it. The weather was wet and cloudy, with snow falling on the summits. This, of course, is normal during most of the year in these high mountains, and even at best the sun is only visible in the gorge for two or three hours a day. The photographs I took were poor and give little idea of the spectacle which actually confronted us of a 15,000-foot wall from the snow peaks to the river.

The formation of the gorge is curious. The foot-trail which we used was generally 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the bottom, but at one point it dropped to about 1,000 feet, and it was possible to see the stepped erosion terraces and the narrows of the river. Most of the right bank is completely precipitous. As we went further the cliffs became more sloped, and at the bottom, on the detritus of landslides, forests of bamboo had grown, which must be inaccessible to two-footed beings, and should therefore show interesting animal survivals such as the giant panda. On the left bank, which we followed, the slope was generally more gradual, and forests of bamboo and rhododendron occurred frequently, while the spurs formed by landslides had been partly cleared and even terraced for cultivation. These farmers are not Na Shi, for the Na Shi of the mountains are lumbermen and hunters and not peasants. There is only one race, and that is the Chinese, which has the courage to settle on such unpropitious soil, practically hacking out the sides of a cliff for a living. The colonization of the gorge is recent, and the colonists are wandering emigrants from some overcrowded district of Szechuan in search of free land. There may be half a dozen communities in the gorge itself. Like the place where we stayed the night, they are groups of farms rather than

villages, and are known according to size as the "one-house place," "three-house place," and so on. In appearance the colonists are not easily distinguished from the Na Shi, as they retain the headdress of the primitive pre-Chinese population of Szechuan, which is the same, black turbans and blue poke bonnets.

Our first night in the gorge was spent in the *Walnut Tree Garden*, the most disagreeably placed of the settlements. It seemed incredible that three cows should be kept on this step-ladder. The three or four families of the place were ragged and filthy in the extreme, but looked very healthy, in spite of spending their lives in a sixty-mile-an-hour draught.

It seems that even here the vigilance of central authority cannot be escaped, as we met in the gorge a land surveyor of the provincial government, engaged, as we supposed from the instruments carried by his retinue, in assessing the cultivated area. The crop grown is maize, which is, presumably, a fairly recent import into Yün-Nan, but which has been found the most suitable for high-terraced cultivation. The *lo*, the loft or upper story of every North Yün-Nanese house, is always spread in winter-time with this golden crop, drying generally in company with malodorous dangling flaps of salt pork. Mountaineers such as these use their surplus in distilling a sort of moonshine liquor for sale in the villages.

Naturally, travel in the gorge was extremely slow. We reckoned to have covered fifteen miles in the two and a half days spent between the first village and the little town of Chiao-T'ou. Drops and ascents of 2,000 feet are frequent, and there are few places where a mule can be ridden for long. Mountain sickness gave a little trouble at first, but, as at Ta-Ku, it was the final descent into a sub-tropical climate which was upsetting. On the third day we came through to the other entry of the gorge. There was vegetation at this point on both sides, and the river was, perhaps, as broad as the Thames at London Bridge.

Chiao-T'ou, where we paid off the bearers and rested for a day, is on a tributary stream which flows into the Yangtze from the north-west. Ethnographically this little place of a single street along the banks of the stream is interesting as being the beginning of Tibet, for, with the exception of the Szechuanese immigrants in the gorge and some scattered Na Shi, this side of the Yangtze is inhabited by the Hsi Fan tribes of Tibetans. A few days up the Chiao-T'ou stream is the Chung-Tien plateau, where there is one of the largest lamaseries of the Tibetan border. Politically, of course, it is still within the province of Yün-Nan, and Chiao-T'ou is occasionally the residence of a deputy-prefect. As at Ta-Ku, there is a Government elementary school, and we saw copy-books in which the Na Shi children had written English sentences. The handsome house in which we stayed belonged to the Na Shi *T'su Ssü* of Chiao-T'ou, a landowner who still retains certain feudal rights and responsibilities for the conduct of his people. This survival of feudalism begins north of Li-Chiang, where in a country mainly Tibetan there are scattered tribal groups of all kinds, and the central government is represented by only occasional military posts. The *T'u Ssü* had little of a mediæval baron about him. We found him entertaining picturesque Tibetan guests, while the women of the house were engaged in a furious maize-boiling,

as a first step to making *pai kan*, the spirit of the country. Our excellent cook, Mr. Ho, now able to relax after the trials to which he had been subjected at an advanced time of life, sat down with the *T'u Ssü* and his friends and ate, without pausing, twelve *tang babas*, dough cakes fried in oil and coated with sugar.

Next day we walked the mules, now in very poor condition for lack of the bean food to which they had been accustomed, another two miles to A-Hsi Ferry, where we were rowed across a broader and more placid Yangtze than at Ta-Ku, flowing, not in a gloomy canyon, but among open meadows. Paradoxically, the river widened continuously in the next two days as we travelled upstream, till at Shih-Ku, where you will remember the northward bend begins, it formed a sort of lake, with the town perched on a rock above the marshy ground. In spite of its romantic position, which suggests an Umbrian hill-town, it is not nearly as attractive as Li-Chiang. A great deal of it was recently destroyed by one of the frequent Yün-Nanese earthquakes, against which that popular god, the earth fish, *Ao Yu*, whose tail waves from so many roofs, was of little help.

We stayed for two days in Shih-Ku. Fitzgerald went north along the river to the Li-ti P'ing Pass, to Wei-Hsi and to the Mekong. Hope-Johnson and I made our way back to the Burma Road at Hsia-Kuan, from which we continued by way of T'eng-Yüeh to Myitkina on the Irrawaddy and the Manipur and Naga hills of Assam to India. In five days we were back in Tali, which we had left a month before. We were surprised that the unknown places of the world can be visited so easily. We had, however, travelled only 300 miles, so perhaps by globe-trotting standards our pace was slow.

The questions turned mostly on practical matters—of the difficulties of transport, on the cost, which, Mr. Reitlinger said, was only approximately 2s. a day per traveller, on food (all of which had to be carried), and on the approach to the gorge and the help given by Chinese officials.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Reitlinger for his graphic lecture and spoke of the excellence of the slides. He spoke of the great province of Yün-Nan, so important to China, and of the Burma Road, and, when he closed the meeting, said he had been delighted to see from the large audience how much interest was felt in his country.

## ASOKA : BORN 304 B.C.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on September 24, 1941, Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair.

**T**HIS is a moment in the history of the world when Asoka's experiment can be of the greatest service to mankind. When the war is ended and the nations gather round the conference table, may not an empty chair be left to symbolize the presence of Asoka? "Why Asoka?" some of you may ask. Because Asoka Maurya, Peacock Emperor of Ind, gave up war, disarmed his troops and ruled thenceforth by moral force alone. What courage! What an experiment in a world resounding with war drums—third century before Christ—when Parthians and Bactrians were on the march; Pyrrhus had just died but Scipio and Hannibal were at hand. I will show you in his own words how without arms he conquered the minds and hearts of men.

There is a rock edict called true conquest which reads thus: "The Kalingas were conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished. Thus arose his remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty. . . . If to such people in such a country befalls violence, or slaughter, or separation from their loved ones, or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, comrades, and relatives of those who are themselves well protected, while their affection is undiminished, for them also that is a mode of violence. All these several happenings to men are a matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. . . . Thus of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in the Kalingas, if the hundredth or the thousandth part were to suffer the same fate it would now be a matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty.

"He desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.

"The conquest by moral force is the chief conquest in his opinion, this it is that is won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues, where the Greek King Antiochus dwells, and north of that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander; and in the south the realms of the Cholas and Pandyas, with Ceylon. Among the Yonas and Kambojas, among the people of Nabhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere men follow His Sacred Majesty's instruction in the law of Piety. Even where his envoys do not penetrate, there too men, hearing his ordinance based on *Dharma* and his instruction in that law, practise

and will practise that law of non-violence. . . . Conquest thereby won is everywhere a conquest full of delight.

“And for this purpose has this pious edict been written, that my sons and grandsons who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer anew. . . . The only true conquest is the conquest won by moral force.”

All the world knew of the riches of Ind, for ever since his grandfather Chandragupta had built a trunk road linking up his capital with the markets of Babylon, Palmyra, and the ports on the Mediterranean, the Maurya caravans had carried gold, sugar, cotton (tree wool the Greeks called it and the Germans do still), cinnamon, pearls, rubies, and, not least in demand, the far-famed medicinal herbs, bark, roots, and gums of the forests of Ind.

The world also knew that the only fortification guarding all his treasure, the only weapon that could make an enemy pause, were Asoka's words graven on the rocks of Himavant (in the Himalayas). Yet neither greed nor lust for power brought hostile armies to his gates; on the contrary, princes and envoys came from over the frontiers to enquire into his novel idea of ruling an empire without arms, yet Asoka's commands were still obeyed as far away as the Hindu Kush and the Bay of Bengal and from Khotan to Mysore.

Invitations soon began to come in from foreign courts asking the Emperor of Ind to send his envoys to explain this “new order.”

Before going further you may like to know something of the ancestors of this man who had the courage to trust the security of his empire to moral force. I will give you a short account of the Peacock Dynasty, partly historical and partly legendary, for in the legends of a race lie the whole spirit and outlook of its people; but no historian could wish for more authentic material than the words Asoka inscribed on stone. Thanks to the labour of James Prinsep, who in 1837 deciphered Asoka's script, the edicts have been read in the original by scholars such as Radhakumud Mookerjee, S. Bandarkar, the late Vincent Smith, whose translations I have used.

Now as to Asoka's forbears. The cradle of the Mauryas, the Peacock clan, lay amongst the hills of Himavant, screened from the outer world by a horseshoe of mighty snow peaks—Kinchinjunga, Tresul, Nanda Devi—the home of the gods who had been the inspiration of Ind since the beginning of time—Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and his snow-queen Parvati. Out of the deep blue valleys skirting Nepal rose crest upon crest of rolling foothills, crowned in spring by the crimson blossom of the rhododendron. Here stood the palace of the Peacock Kings; the clan had taken the name Maurya from the “mors,” peacocks, that inhabited the forests.

In the year 345 before Christ a message yodled from hilltop to hilltop in long swelling sounds made known that the Peacock king had been slain in battle. There was a whisper in the forest, followed by the sound of cantering hoofs—Queen Mura was fleeing with her unborn child.

In a tent on the banks of the Ganges, where her parents now lived disguised as peacock tamers, Mura gave birth to a son. Seeing nothing but a life of exile before them, she decided to offer her baby to the gods and,

clad in the cherry-red skirt of her own peasants, carried him back to his father's hills beneath the sacred snows. There Mura left him in a disused cattle trough, garlanded with flowers as for a festival.

So it was that Asoka's grandfather began life among the shepherds of the hills. They named him Chandra, after the moon. As he grew up, wise men who retired to the mountains for meditation and hermits living in the caves round the pastures were glad to teach the intelligent lad who sheltered with them from the storms or made himself welcome with a handful of forest fruit, a bundle of sticks for fuel, eggs from the water-fowl, or honey from the wild bees. Astronomers attracted to these slopes for the wide view they afforded of the heavens, and travellers passing through the hills, all gathered round the shepherds' fire of juniper. Chandra sat wide-eyed among them.

Year by year, as spring came round, the goatherds climbed to where the wild sheep frolicked with their young over a carpet of gentian and all the flowers that lend enchantment to the Alps. Here they would build their *karak* huts for shelter during the butter and curd making season, until the snowstorms sent them down to the lower pastures once more, where Chandra roamed the forest learning the language of the jungle. He had an advantage over city lads in that he developed a habit of meditation as he sat alone with his flocks.

News of this remarkable youth and of his power over wild animals travelled down to the market-places with the shepherds' wool, and reached the ear of the Nanda King of Magadha, a miser, disliked by all his neighbours. The Rajah of Simhala, wishing to make a fool of him, announced that he was sending a caged lion which he defied the Nanda to release without opening the cage. Bewildered, the king thought of Chandra, and sent a messenger to summon him to the court by the next full moon.

As Chandra walked up to the great gold gates of the city he heard the drums warning Pataliputra of the arrival of a galley, and hurried to the palace.

The doorkeepers had thrown open the portals of the audience chamber to allow bearers, wearing the colours of the House of Simhala, to carry in a large cage covered with grass matting, which water carriers sprinkled, while chowrie wallas fanned, to cool the imprisoned animal. Directly the matting dropped, Chandra's forest-trained eye saw the trick. He grasped a red-hot iron from the brazier and plunged it through the bars; the beast neither howled nor squirmed and, to the amazement of the on-lookers, instead of blood, wax poured through the bars and the lion melted away.

Cheers echoed round the hall. But Chandra saw a look of jealousy rather than gratitude on the face of the king, and quickly made his escape—away went the small honey-brown figure back to the hills.

\* \* \* \* \*

A few years later, when the shepherds were gathered round their evening fires on the wind-mown uplands, a rebel from the Nanda court named Kautilya joined the circle. He said that the people of Magadha



were in revolt and had sent him to enlist the help of the giant King Porus in overthrowing the niggardly king. Watching the goatherds in their games he noticed how they always chose Chandra for the part of king or judge, and was glad when the youth offered to guide him to the country of the Five Rivers. For weeks they travelled together, down through the *sal* forests where wide-spreading branches held the roof of scented blossom, then up again to where the *moonal* pheasants flash and call, and all the time Kautilya's stories of rebellion filled Chandra's vivid imagination and developed that spark of kingship in him. Here was a stage set for a drama—a worthless king, the people in rebellion, and Chandra's genius.

In the north-west the greatest general of early times, Alexander the Great, and Chandra, the Shepherd Prince, met. Alexander himself was willing, but his was not the help that the rebels were to find, for the Greek troops mutinied before they reached the valley of the Ganges and clamoured to be taken back to Greece.

The young Maurya watched the ships laden with spoil disappear over the horizon, then, as Chandragupta, Kautilya as councillor at his side, he walked on to the stage Alexander had vacated. The jungle soon bristled with armed men led by Porus, and, with the aid of Kautilya's spies, the corrupt city of Pataliputra fell and the Nandas were wiped out.

Chandragupta then returned to the north-west with an army increased by all the well-trained cavalry, war elephants, and the famous gold chariots of the Nandas, to expel the Greek satraps left by Alexander to govern his conquered territory.

The idea of empire had been growing in Chandra's mind, and he now found that many kingdoms and republics, freed from the foreign yoke, were ready to unite in supporting his ambitious idea. He returned to Pataliputra as Emperor of Ind. Aided by Kautilya's knowledge of polity he began to organize this vast territory. Megasthenes leaves on record that he established an elaborate War Office, containing his Admiralty, which dealt not only with river craft but ocean traffic; he built reservoirs to irrigate the desert; and, in order to encourage trade with the outer world, the young emperor constructed a trunk road leading from his capital through Taxila to the trade routes beyond. This necessitated a Foreign Office to ensure the welcome and comfort of foreigners streaming into India along this new trunk road.

In the midst of the prosperity that followed, news reached the capital that Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's former generals, was attempting a second invasion of India in the north-west. The highly organized War Office was busy once more. With a blare of conch shells gold chariots raced through the golden gates and across the drawbridges out on to the plain, raising clouds of dust, that made known the emperor's march.

Kautilya was left behind as lawgiver and mentor to the heir-apparent Bindusara.

In the year 305 before Christ the forces of Chandragupta and Seleucus met. The Greek was aghast at the sight of 9,000 war elephants—to him a new weapon—and already alarmed by news he had received from his allies in Asia Minor, he feared to wage war on two fronts, and made

terms with Chandragupta; ceding Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and other Greek territory, at the same time he offered the Emperor of Ind the hand of his daughter in marriage.

As a gift of courtesy, Chandragupta sent Seleucus 500 war elephants, which later appear to have enabled him to defeat Antigonus. And I like to think that it was some of these same elephants which Pyrrhus, Alexander's cousin, used in besieging Rome.

A sumptuous welcome awaited the victorious emperor in all the vassal states through which he passed on his way back to Pataliputra. Flags were flying from every housetop along the lighted streets of the capital, looking like tongues of flame in the night. Every minstrel, from citar and vina player to woodland piper, had foregathered there; and poets, inspired by the occasion, brought verses to be set to music. Moon flowers were pouring out their scent over the palace garden, where the ladies of the court awaited the emperor. When Chandragupta arrived he adorned the garden like the full moon whose name he bore.

At the break of day the emperor took the Greek ambassador Megasthenes to the palace of the heir-apparent.

Bindusara came forward saying, "My heart is full of joy." Chandragupta saw his son's seamless robe of pure ethereal weave and knew that his return was not entirely responsible for this joy. The garland of five different coloured flowers hanging down upon his chest, and earrings of new gold, meant that the diviners of dreams had given Bindusara further reason for rejoicing. The heir-apparent conducted his father to the dais where incense of aloe wood and ambergris rose in curls of perfume. A little apart, screened by a diaphanous curtain, stood his princess, lovely to behold. Taking a scented flower in his hand, Bindusara drew aside the curtain and the princess entered. She placed her hands together upon her forehead so that all ten finger-tips met and prostrated herself before the emperor, then she turned and repeated the act of reverence before the holy man, a naked Ajivika, who had come to interpret her dream.

The ascetic turned to Bindusara saying, "Beloved of the gods, meditation has brought enlightenment. I can now tell the meaning of this gentle lady's dream. She will be the mother of a son who will be the most powerful emperor the world has yet seen, a ruler of great courage and virtue who will free mankind from sorrow—therefore shall he be called Asoka" (without sorrow).

So it came to pass that Asoka found a place waiting for him in his grandfather's heart. Royal princes, almost from babyhood, spent three hours a day with the sages, listening to fables similar to those Æsop told. They learnt to recite the Vedas, and as they grew older the wisdom of former kings was explained to them—kings such as Janaka, whose philosophy is handed down in the Upanishads. At the University of Taxila they learnt the science of medicine, algebra and the decimal system, and how to square the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle and prove it equal to the squares on the sides containing the angle. To-day one would say that Asoka learnt Euclid, but it is more true to say that Asoka could have taught Euclid, because the books known to us by this name were a

compilation built up chiefly on theories which the Hindus discovered in building their altars.

Following an ancient custom of the Kings of Ind, Chandragupta, still in the prime of life, now abdicated in favour of his son Bindusara. It would have been harder for him to relinquish his empire had he not seen in his grandson Asoka a successor who would fulfil all his dreams. "Asoka will be a Chakravartin, a universal monarch," he thought.

Famine was threatening Magadha; as a last gesture, Chandragupta encouraged the people to leave the province and emigrate to other parts of the empire where food was abundant. He himself, in company with a Jain saint, led the way, thus making the movement popular.

At Sravanbelgula, in Southern Mysore, the ex-emperor retired to a monastery to spend the rest of his days preparing for the next world. Here Asoka visited his grandfather.

Like Chandra, Asoka at the age of seventeen was eager to put his own ideas into practice. Hearing that his elder brother, the Viceroy of Taxila, was in difficulties, he tried to persuade his father to let him take a relief army to quell the revolt; but Bindusara, a less vigorous man, felt an antipathy for this son's rough exterior, it is said, and refused to listen to him.

A legend tells that the earth divided and disgorged armed men who readily followed Asoka, but, whatever the truth may be, when the prince approached Taxila he was met by the elders of the city, who said, "Our quarrel is not with the king's sons, or the king, but his ministers drive us to distraction." Asoka was so successful in handling this revolt that Bindusara was won round and, recalling Sumana, appointed Asoka viceroy in his place.

In this university town an atmosphere of complete tolerance to all schools of thought had for centuries attracted students who came unarmed over the passes to study the arts and sciences, especially medicine, with the scholars of Hindustan. After two years' successful rule, Asoka was appointed Viceroy to Ujjain, with its port on the Indian Ocean, a babel of many tongues. Here he was to learn about commerce, an important subject in preparing a prince for kingship. Ujjain, through which the prime meridian ran, was the home of poets and craftsmen, astronomers and mathematicians, the very heart of Hindu culture, and here Asoka was to find complete happiness.

In a village of ivory carvers nearby he met and loved the beautiful Devi, daughter of a merchant of the Sakya race. She became the mother of Mahendra and Sanghamitra, who grew up to be their father's most trusted missionaries.

Asoka, with his fertile mind and dominating character, must have been impatient for the day when Bindusara would in turn retire to a hermitage, but he had not associated it in his mind with his father's death. In the year 272 before Christ the call came, and he had to face the wrench of parting with all that he held most dear, for there is no record that Devi went with him, unless, as some would have it, she was Asandhimitra, the chief queen. In any case, Devi remained an influence in his life, for the most beautiful monuments that Asoka built stand at

Sanchi, near to Vedisa, where Devi lived. It is to Sir John Marshall's skill that we owe their restoration in such perfection.

A knightage of *Amatyas*, chosen for their immunity to temptation to be the new king's most intimate companions, came to conduct Asoka to his capital. As he drew near to Pataliputra he looked with new eyes on the city of scarlet flowers, the golden gates and palisade weathered to the colour of a grey goose feather, all aglitter with men-at-arms. The Maurya Navy tacking up and down the mighty river Ganges added to the splendour. Three-masted vessels were painted white, two-masted yellow, and those with one mast blue; the prows were carved in the shape of animals, birds, and even frogs. Invitations had been carried by the bards to the vassal kings who had come to pay homage; some came enthroned on sea-faring ships, others awaited the new emperor on the quay. Merriment was afoot in the land, for, as Megasthenes wrote, "there are none so gay and laughter-loving as the people of Ind."

Asoka mounted Chandragupta's giant elephant and moved into the city under a shower of many-coloured petals; his councillors, following in golden chariots, scattered largesse to the crowd.

During the next few years he lived much the same life as other Hindu kings. One day Asoka overheard words of wisdom spoken by his seven-year-old nephew Nigrodha, and this incident was to lead to his raising the word of the Sakya sage Gautama Buddha to a state religion.

The time came when it seemed advisable to test the loyalty of the petty kings. A pleasure tour was arranged, to begin with Asoka's favourite amusement—the chase. The masseurs brought a thousand scented oils to polish the royal skin till it shone. Then, spear in hand, Asoka mounted his elephant and, surrounded by amazons with bows and arrows, like Indra, god of thunder and lightning, he passed over the plain towards the Tarai, the home of the man-eating tiger.

Day by day, from Court to Court he travelled, his hosts vying with one another in the generosity and magnificence of their hospitality, until the cavalcade approached the wooded country of Kalinga, where disquieting rumours awaited him. The sight of battalions drawn up along the borders in battle array came as a shock to one whose supremacy had so far been undisputed.

Two years of fighting followed, bringing untold devastation and suffering to the people of Kalinga. It was in the hour of victory that Asoka conceived his great idea of perpetual peace. I will now show you of his rule of non-violence by selecting passages and phrases from his edicts. First, I will read an edict that seems to justify this patchwork. It reads as follows:

#### *Rock Edict XIV.*

"These edicts have been inscribed in abridged, medium, or expanded form. Nor was all executed or suitable everywhere. Vast is the conquered country, much is already written and much will still be written. Some are voiced again and again for the honeyed sweetness of the words."

### *Pillar Edict IV.*

“The Rajukas have been placed by me over many hundred thousand lives. Their administration of law or justice has been made by me subject to their own authority, so that the Rajukas assured, and without being afraid, may set about their tasks, distribute the good and happiness of the people of the country, and also bestow favours. They shall acquaint themselves with what causes happiness or misery. . . . Just as a man, after having entrusted his child to a skilled nurse, rests assured with the thought, ‘The skilled nurse will be able to keep my child well,’ even so the Rajukas were created by me for the good and happiness of the country people.”

*The Borderer's Edict* runs thus :

“It may be asked ‘With regard to the unsubdued borderers, what is the King's command to us?’ or ‘What truth is it that I desire the borderers to grasp?’ The answer is, ‘They should not be afraid of me, they should trust me, and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow.’ Moreover, they should grasp the truth that the King will bear patiently with them. This is my determination and vow inviolable.”

### *Kalinga Rock Edict.*

“Again, in administration it may happen that some individual incurs imprisonment or other ill-usage which may accidentally be the cause of death; when that happens without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved, but in such cases you must demand that the middle path of moderation be observed. Success will never be achieved by impatience, envy, lack of reverence, harshness, or lethargy. ‘That these traits be not mine’ is to be wished. The root of the whole matter lies in perseverance and patience in applying the principle. The indolent man cannot rouse himself to move, but one must needs move and advance and ever go on. For this purpose has this rock been inscribed in order that the officers in charge of the town may strive without ceasing to prevent the imprisonment or ill-usage of the townsmen without due cause. . . .” And again he writes, “I shall also send on circuit every five years Mahamatras of mild and temperate disposition, regardful of the sanctity of life.” Thinking by these quinquennial visits to keep his law pure, and make sure that none of the Rajukas were losing the spirit, in the letter of the law.

Resting in the groves where philosophers and holy men foregathered, Asoka met the Buddhist sage Upagupta, Nigrodha's teacher, with whom he enjoyed debate. As a result of this meeting, he made a pilgrimage to meditate beneath the sacred bodhi tree where Buddha had received enlightenment. Fortified in spirit, the emperor then returned to Pataliputra accompanied by Upagupta, who had become his guide, philosopher, and friend. At the emperor's express wish the festivities of welcome contained no gory sacrifices.

On the rocks he wrote :

“Here in the capital no animal may be slaughtered for sacrifice, nor

may the Samajas of old be held, because His Sacred and Gracious Majesty sees in them manifold evil, although certain Samajas displaying to the people the sights of celestial cars, of elephants and other heavenly shapes, are meritorious in the sight of His Sacred Majesty."

In the Hall of a Thousand Pillars he once again received ambassadors and envoys. And in the Judgment Hall of the Sacred Fires his subjects knew they could appeal for their emperor's higher judgment. To the 60,000 Brahmins who still foregathered round the palace to be fed, he showed the following edict :

"Formerly, in the royal kitchens many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered from day to day for savoury meats. But now, when this pious edict is being written, there are slaughtered daily for savoury meats only three living creatures—two peacocks and one antelope, and not always the antelope. Even these three living creatures in future shall not be slaughtered." Whether being a peacock king made him feel that peacocks were his prerogative I do not know, but it would seem that this favourite meat dish of Asoka's continued to furnish the royal table. A touch of human weakness which makes Asoka perhaps the more lovable.

Again with pens of iron the masons wrote :

#### *Rock Edict VI.*

"At all hours and in all places, whether I am dining or in the ladies' apartments or my bedroom or in my chariot or in the palace garden, the officers shall report to me on the peoples' business. . . . Vast is my territory. . . . I am never fully satisfied with my efforts. Work I must for the welfare of all. . . ." And again :

#### *Pillar Edict VII.*

"Whatsoever meritorious deeds I have done, those deeds the people have conformed to and will imitate, whence the result follows that they have grown and will grow in the virtues of hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers, reverence for the aged, and seemly treatment of Brahmin, Jain and ascetic, of the poor and wretched, yes, even of slaves and servants."

His mention of slaves is interesting, because the Greeks who came to India with Alexander have left on record that they saw no slaves in India. And while Aristotle was looking for reasons to condone slavery, Kautilya firmly denounced it as "a custom that could only exist among savages." Nowhere did Asoka advocate poverty. Nor did he undertake to play the part of providence. He writes :

#### *Rock Edict III.*

"A meritorious thing it is, to spend little and hoard little."

Asoka still kept up the panoply of state. Though he had joined the Order he did not always wear the monk's robe, as the carvings on his monuments illustrate. Devi's children, however, brought up in touch with all their father's ideals, were soon to give up everything for the yellow robe. Mahendra was ordained a monk at the age of twenty, and

Sanghamitra, already a married woman with a son, joined the sisterhood two years later.

In *Rock Edict VIII* he says:

“In the past, kings used to make Pleasure Tours, enjoying hunting parties and other similar amusement. These have now become tours for Dharma. . . . From Gaya His Gracious Majesty will visit the Brahmins and Sramanas with gifts and will distribute gold among the elders; and visit the people of the country to instruct them in morality and to discuss with them.”

These last words show how tolerant and liberal-minded Asoka was, always ready to listen to the other man's view. He talks of it being “a great delight—an additional part for His Sacred Majesty to play.”

The following edict was inscribed 256 times on the roads as he travelled round: “The people of Ind who were unassociated with the gods have become associated. This is the result of exertion, indeed! But this is not attained by the great alone—for the small too can attain to a wide heaven of bliss by sustained exertion.”

In other places he has written: “A respect for all life should be an established principle. Truth must be spoken. The preceptor must be revered by his pupil. Proper treatment should be shown towards relations. This is the traditional rule of conduct, and this makes for long life.” Asoka exerted himself greatly to harmonize all religions and thought out a Dharma that could be understood and followed by all men irrespective of class, sect or sex, Indian or foreigner—a universal way of life independent of creed.

He did not abdicate in the prime of life as was the custom, but remained amongst his people, experiencing their joys and sorrows, in touch with foreign lands; not until he was seventy-seven did he retire as a monk to a cell in the mountains of Magadha. He thought not only of the brethren who preserved the word of Gautama Buddha, the philosophy he now preferred, but also “considered the feelings of the Brahmins and Jains, of rich and poor and aged.” To the naked Ajivikas he gave caves—that they might live in peace, without being persecuted or shocking their neighbours—and Asoka never forgot the welfare of bird and beast; even the fish were remembered in his new law, and he writes: “The living must not be nourished by the living” (Pillar Edict VII.).

Inscribed on another pillar we find:

“Mahamatras incapable of violence or lack of consideration are chosen by His Sacred Majesty for taking steps against imprisonment, for freedom from molestation, and for granting release, on the ground that one man has numerous offspring, another is overwhelmed by misfortune or afflicted by age. Here, and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of my brothers and sisters and whatever other relatives of mine there are, everywhere are these messengers stationed for their convenience and safety.”

The sage Upagupta now convened the third Great Council, presided over by Asoka. The largest assembly of wise men the world had seen foregathered at Pataliputra to debate and record the words of the Compassionate One, sifting truth from fable.

Nirvana is not mentioned in Asoka's edicts. He leaves that problem for the monks and nuns to think out; to his people he promises heavenly bliss and happiness in this world and the next, but says, "It is difficult to attain, save by the utmost exertion."

Messengers were now sent to distant lands; to Greece they went, to Epirus and Macedonia, to Egypt, Cyrenaica, Syria, and all the then discovered world. They not only explained Asoka's law but also the Hindu science of medicine, introducing his new idea for building hospitals for man and beast.

*Rock Edict II.* The edict runs :

"Everywhere has His Gracious Majesty arranged for two kinds of medical treatment—medical treatment for man and medical treatment for beast. Medicinal herbs also, those wholesome for man and wholesome for beast, have been imported and planted in all places wherever they did not exist, roots also and fruits. Many more sarais have been built and banyan trees planted for shade along the roads, wells have been dug and mango trees planted for the enjoyment and comfort of man and beast."

Professor Mookerji writes: "The Indians brought only a message of peace and good-will, with the means of medical aid for man and beast. They came to serve and not to teach any new religious truths; the Greeks were not called upon 'to discard their gods at the bidding of the Hindus.' Asoka's messengers came to them on an innocent and peaceful mission and not on any offensive and aggressive religious propaganda."

It might have been expected that Asoka's Court would lose some of its attraction for the people of other lands, but not so; foreigners came more frequently than ever before to learn how he had applied his law of non-violence.

*Rock Edict XII.* This edict on toleration states :

"His Sacred Majesty respects men of all sects. . . . He does not value gifts or homage as much as the growth of the essential matter in all sects. To achieve this it is important that there is restraint of speech in debate—a man must not reverence his own sect and disparage that of another man. Depreciation should be for specific reasons only, because the sects of other people all deserve reverence for one reason or another.

"By acting thus a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of others, but by acting contrariwise a man inflicts the severest injury on his own sect."

On another rock he writes :

"All men are my children, and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness in both this world and the next, so also I desire the same for all men."

Like the other missionaries who were now preaching from wayside pulpits, Mahendra, at the invitation of King Tissa, sailed for Ceylon. The response to his sermons there was overwhelming, so he sent for his sister Sanghamitra to assist him in the work, and asked her to bring with her a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree to plant in the garden of the temple King Tissa was building.



Asoka was untiring in his travels. To Kashmir he went to inspect the monasteries he was building for Buddhist monks and nuns and Brahmins alike, and on to Khotan, where he came in contact with the Chinese. Wherever he went an edict was inscribed to commemorate his visit, and the pillars used were generally made of any stone near at hand; some were of jade, some of deep blue lapis lazuli, or, as a Chinese pilgrim leaves on record, "of a lustrous violet colour."

Chandragupta had founded the first Empire of India. Asoka was the first ruler of an empire to give up arms and rule by moral force, thus making his empire a lighthouse to humanity for all time.

To end in his own words :

"There is no higher aim than the commonweal, and for this purpose have these edicts been inscribed, that so long as the sun and moon endure, my sons and sons' sons may strive for the welfare of all" (Rock Edict VI.; Pillar Edict VII.).

Mr. RAWLINSON : In thanking Mrs. Seligman for her delightful lecture, might I add a few criticisms? First of all, we have no external proof of the truth of Asoka's claims. It seems hardly credible that he can really have governed his vast empire for thirty years without the use of force: we must remember that it included the North-Western Frontier, and the unpleasant experiences of Alexander with the frontier tribes only a few years previously show that they were just as martial then as now. We have no confirmation in Greek history of the statement that Asoka actually sent evangelists (or should we translate the word as "envoys"?) to the West at all. Perhaps the noble words of the edicts are in the language of endeavour and aspiration rather than actual fact. Secondly, is the doctrine of *ahimsa* or pacifism as taught by the Jains and Buddhists really nobler than the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita? Here Krishna says that it is the duty of the warrior to fight. Fighting for one's country is not wrong in itself, provided that the motives are pure. Buddhism and Jainism so emasculated India that she fell an easy prey to the Muhammadan invaders. But, on behalf of the India Society, I must express the gratitude of us all to the lecturer. In her beautiful historical romance, *When Peacocks Called*, she has infused fresh life into the dry bones of Indian history. This book gave me the same pleasure as those two remarkable novels by Mr. L. H. Myers, *The Root and the Flower* and *The Pool of Vishnu*, which deal imaginatively with India's other great ruler, the Emperor Akbar. We should, in these days especially, welcome warmly those who bring home to us, as the lecturer has done, the achievements in the art of government, in literature and culture, of the great and ancient nation which is now fighting shoulder to shoulder with us in the cause of freedom.

Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS also spoke on some translations of Sanskrit terms.

The LECTURER (communicated): Mr. Rawlinson stated during his very friendly remarks that he doubted whether Asoka did in fact establish his new rule without violence, and expressed the opinion that there was no evidence of his having done so. Possibly Mr. Rawlinson overlooked the fact that the edicts, written in dialects to suit different parts of the Maurya

Empire, would not have been left standing, or even erected, if they were not respected. Moreover, the edict at Dauli tells how Asoka sent Mahamatras out on circuit every five years *not* to see that the people were obeying the Rajukas, but to make sure that the Rajukas were still "attending to the good and happiness of the people" and applying his law of non-violence in the right spirit. Nowhere does Asoka issue instructions to police or soldiers—his edicts are consistent with moral force as the keynote. To the unsubdued Borderers he wrote: "Let them know that they should not be afraid of me, they should trust me and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow, and that I will bear patiently with them as far as it is possible. This is my determination, my vow inviolable."

I cannot see how a king could apply these two laws simultaneously, a law of *no violence* on the one hand and the *rule of force* on the other.

Then, again, in Rock Edict XIII. Asoka states that he has won a conquest by the *law of non-violence* "both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring states as far as 600 leagues, where the Greek king, Antiochus, dwells, and north of that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings severally named—Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander (of Epirus)."

This is something accomplished, this is no mere hopeful ambition for the future, and is evidence that his ideas had reached the land of Greece. There is nothing to prevent our doubting "truth to be a liar," as the poet says, but there can be no more authentic material for building history than Asoka's autobiography graven on stone under his own eye.

The CHAIRMAN spoke with praise of the charming picture the lecturer had given of a most remarkable man, and thanked her, the audience warmly endorsing his words.

*The lecture was given to a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the India Society.*

# ABYSSINIA : THE BRIDGE BETWEEN AFRICA AND ASIA

By SIR SIDNEY BARTON, G.B.E., K.C.V.O., C.M.G.

Luncheon lecture given on June 28, 1941, General Sir John Shea in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, After Sir Sidney Barton had distinguished himself in China one would have thought that he would have been sent to the same zone. But he was sent to an entirely different country. He was sent to Abyssinia. Abyssinia had never a more whole-hearted and sympathetic supporter, its ruler never had a better adviser; and we may say this, that Sir Sidney has the same lofty type of mind as Mr. Winston Churchill, and has never once since those fateful days said, "I told you so." In passing, I may mention that Sir Sidney is in no way responsible for that very remarkable musical composition which is known as the "Abyssinian National Anthem."

**A** MONTH ago I consented with much diffidence to talk on the subject of Abyssinia at another Society; I happened to use the phrase "Abyssinia has been for many centuries a bridge between the two continents of Asia and Africa." I am glad to justify to this Society this statement. It is obvious from the map that this is so, but I am going to ask you to look back into history. I am one of those people who hold that one must have some knowledge of the past if one is to make wise decisions for the future. When you come to deal with one of our subjects to-day, with Abyssinia, you have a past of enormous length; that is one of the charms of the country and one of the great points of interest about it.

As you may know, the present Emperor, who was in England only last year, believes that he is a descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and this takes us back for some 3,000 years. The story of the queen's visit in the Ethiopian version is developed in far greater detail than we have it in Holy Writ, but, briefly, it tells that King Solomon made the Queen of Sheba promise that if her child was a son she would send him back to visit his father in Jerusalem. She did so, and Solomon taught his son, the first Menelik, a great deal. The young man was not slow to appreciate the fact that the basis of this culture was the religion of Jehovah, with its centre in the Ark of the Covenant in the temple in Jerusalem. When he had finished his studies and the time came for him to go back, his father said: "Now you must go back and do the best you can for your own people, and I will send some of my principal advisers with you." But the son was determined to take nothing less than the Ark of the Covenant, so had a replica made, and substituted it by stealth for the real one, which he took away, and it is now placed in a church in Abyssinia. To-day these churches are not cruciform in shape but circular, as was the temple, and each contains the consecrated *tabot*, or box, containing the Commandments. Many Jewish customs still prevail among the people generally, and a colony of Jews, dating from the Dispersion, still survives in the neighbourhood of Gondar.

In the fourth century of our era, Abyssinia was converted to Christianity and remains a Christian country to this day. The first Archbishop was consecrated by St. Athanasius, and for sixteen centuries the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria has nominated his successors. In 1938 an Italian attempt to bring about a separation from the See of Alexandria was promptly met by a Decree of Excommunication containing references to the teaching of Athanasius. -

Shut off from the rest of the world by the deserts of Egypt and the Red Sea, it is interesting to speculate what would have happened if Abyssinia had become a member of the western branch of the Church and had her connections with Rome instead of with Alexandria. Her only outlook on the world was through Jerusalem and her holding there has remained until to-day; she occupies a portion of the roof of the Holy Sepulchre only because she is a daughter of the Coptic Church. Jerusalem to-day plays a very vital part in Abyssinian history, and I think a Society such as this one realizes that we are approaching a subject of some importance when the issue of the ownership of the Holy Places is raised. The connection with Jerusalem is not therefore merely an interesting relic in ecclesiastical history dating back to the Crusades but is to-day a serious question of practical politics.

The Church has always had great power in Abyssinia, and while the Italian Government in 1935 had their military defeat of Adowa in 1896 to remember the Vatican had also memories of a military defeat dating from the sixteenth century. At that time there was a very determined attempt made by the Moslems to overrun Abyssinia, which they had never hitherto succeeded in doing. The Emperor made an appeal to the Pope and the Pope referred him to the King of Portugal, who sent aid to the Abyssinians to defeat the Moslem invaders. Then the Portuguese suggested to the Ruler that it was an excellent opportunity for this lost daughter of the See of St. Mark of Alexandria to return to the true fold of St. Peter of Rome. The Ruler himself was willing, but a civil war followed and those in favour of the Western Church were driven out.

We, here in Europe, may think little of these names out of the dim past, but in the country we are talking about they stand for actual living issues. Thus, only ten years ago the Vatican sent a Diplomatic Mission to Addis Ababa which included an Italian, a French, an American and a Chinese Prelate; but no sooner had this Mission completed its visit than the heads of the Ethiopic Church demanded and obtained that the Patriarch of Alexandria himself should visit his daughter church and so demonstrate that there was no possibility of any return to Rome.

Let us now turn to the story of the relations between Britain and Abyssinia, which also illustrate the "bridge" caption of this talk. Abyssinia has been in treaty relations with us for just over 100 years: In 1840 the "overland route" to India was coming into favour and people were becoming interested in the Red Sea region, where we had recently established ourselves at Aden. Then Bombay sent our first envoy, Captain Cornwallis Harris, who did his job thoroughly and well. He went to Ankober (Shoa), and there in 1841 signed the first treaty with the King of Shoa. It was a treaty providing for freedom of trade, a

typical treaty of that time, based on similar agreements with China, where we were extending our commerce through the eastern gateway of India, as we were here extending it through the western gateway. The first British consul was a Chichele Plowden from Calcutta, who, in 1849, signed the first treaty with the Emperor at Gondar containing extra-territorial privileges based again on the China model. He had considerable influence with the next Emperor, Theodore, but was severely wounded in 1860 on the road near Gondar, where he died and was buried. We discovered his grave there during the time I was in Abyssinia and put up a stone to him.

Plowden was succeeded by Cameron, who was imprisoned by Theodore with his foreign employees at Magdala until released by the British expedition in 1868 under Lord Napier. In this expedition we were aided by the chiefs opposed to Theodore, and Lord Napier consistently advocated a square deal for these men, one of whom succeeded as the Emperor John.

We come now to the 'eighties, when the Egyptians had a good deal of trouble with the Dervishes, who established themselves in the Nile Valley and Gordon was killed in Khartoum. In 1884 we sent an Embassy to the Emperor John to get him to take the Egyptian garrisons safely out for us, and also to fight the Dervishes, whom he defeated in battle in 1889 at the cost of his own life. To-day is by no means the first time that Abyssinia has been our ally, for she helped us against the Dervishes to some effect. At that time the Emperor had asked that he should be put back into the seaport of Massawa which the Turks had taken from Abyssinia, but all he obtained then was a guarantee of free transit. The following year we put the Italians into Massawa, and again Lord Napier said we would have trouble if we did not keep faith with Abyssinia. This warning was forgotten. We were of course at that time still competitors with the French, who had sent M. Hericourt on a mission to Abyssinia just after our mission under Cornwallis Harris arrived. You must remember the rivalry of those days in order to understand to-day.

Years passed and the Italians had spread from Massawa into Eritrea, when they announced that the Emperor of Abyssinia had committed the conduct of his foreign relations to the Italian Government. The Emperor Menelik at once denied this and hostilities threatened; we sent a mission to try to mediate between the Italians and the Abyssinians, but it failed, and the Italians were, as you know, heavily defeated on March 1, 1896, at Adowa.

It might have been expected that, with the defeat of Italy and the establishment of foreign Legations at Addis Ababa which followed, any further ideas of allocating independent Abyssinia to the Italian share in the partition of Africa would have been abandoned, but ten years after Adowa and two years after our *entente* with France—namely, in 1906—we entered into a tri-partite agreement with France to maintain the *status quo* in Abyssinia on a basis which excluded the treaty by which defeated Italy had recognized the independence of Abyssinia but included the earlier "spheres of influence" agreements. For the sake of racial prestige we ignored unpalatable facts.

Another ten years passed, and we were then in the Great War, 1916. The Turks and the Germans said to Lij Yasu, the young ruler of Abyssinia, "You become a Moslem and at the end of this war we will see that all the neighbouring Moslem areas are added to your kingdom." Lij Yasu himself swallowed the bait, but he was deposed and replaced, as Heir-Apparent, by Ras Tafari, now the present Emperor, for the people would not change their faith. What is the lesson of all this? It is that Abyssinia is an old ally of ours.

Before the Italian war we had several thousand British-Indian and Arab subjects in the country, some from Bombay, some from Aden, and also a number of British Somalis. They were the principal traders and they got on very well with the Abyssinians; in fact, the biggest single British investment in the country was that of the British-Indian firm of Mahomedally. When the Italians came in they expelled this firm, which had been in the country for fifty years, on the ground that they were "British spies."

Abyssinia was admitted into the League of Nations in 1923, and, in point of fact, is still a state member of the League to-day, for the League as such has never recognized the Italian conquest.

Mussolini, risen meanwhile to power in Italy, believed that it was his destiny to restore the Roman Empire. The British Empire, he thought, was slipping from our hands, and all he had to do was to pick up the pieces. It is, of course, true that we control a land frontier of two thousand miles with Abyssinia, but that frontier was held not so much by force of arms but by force of the square deal. When the Italian army marched into Abyssinia they made it clear that they regarded this as but the beginning of their great scheme; once in control of Abyssinian manpower, with fortifications to rival Perim and friends in the Yemen, Italy would control the route by which we go to India, and so, by dominating the link between Africa and Asia, hasten the downfall of our "tottering" Empire.

Abyssinia's relations with the Arab states east of the Red Sea were becoming increasingly cordial and there was no serious Moslem minority problem. I remember one incident which illustrates this. At the time of the coronation of the present Emperor in 1930 most of the chiefs in Abyssinia came up to Addis Ababa, but there was one Moslem chief in the far west who was too heavy to travel to the capital by mule, so we were asked to arrange for his transport via the Sudan by car, rail and steamer, which we did, and so shared in improving the position between Moslems and Christians.

The views on the racial issue current in the last century during the partitioning of Africa are still common subjects of discussion to-day in connection with the future of Abyssinia, but unless all such views are put firmly behind us in 1941 we are going to have nothing but disaster and trouble. We must give the Abyssinians a square deal, remembering that they have been our allies and that we have had one hundred years of treaty relations with them as an independent African state, whose citizens are fanatically attached to their independence, which they have never signed away.

Our Prime Minister has said to the Emperor of Abyssinia, "You are the first victim of the Fascist aggression to be restored to your lawful throne." It must be our duty to see that this is so and to return the port of Massawa to the Abyssinians. This will go a long way towards stabilising friendly relations with Abyssinia for a long time to come.

In answer to a number of questions, the lecturer said that the Emperor would be able on his own initiative to put down slavery and to bind the Rases in the outlying districts to the central Government. If Massawa were given back, Abyssinia would have the necessary outlet to the sea, without which it is extremely difficult for any state to survive.

But at any cost the Prime Minister's promise of complete independence must be kept; all Africa and all Asia are watching, for this will be taken as a test case.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting was held in the Society's rooms on July 9, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN called for the Honorary Secretaries' report for the year, read by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E. :

Sir John Shea, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Royal Central Asian Society has now reached the fortieth year of its existence, and since I was in touch with most of its founders I may perhaps preface the Annual Report with some account of its formation. I had just returned from South Africa in the autumn of 1901 when I met Major Younghusband, who told me that Mr. Cotterell Tupp, a thoughtful Indian civilian, who had travelled widely in the Himalayas and had visited the source of the Ganges and had read most of the scanty literature on Central Asia, considered that a society should be formed to study this most important subject. General Sir Thomas Gordon and Colonel Algernon Durand, among others, supported the scheme and Younghusband himself had agreed to serve as Honorary Secretary. Mr. Cotterell Tupp certainly deserves a niche in the Temple of Fame. Miss Kennedy, his niece, is our present Secretary.

To come to our joint report, at the beginning of the autumn session, Sir Philip Chetwode found his work on the Red Cross so onerous that he decided he could no longer help this Society as he wished to do. He therefore resigned, and the Chairmanship was taken by General Sir John Shea, who has given a great deal of his valuable time to the welfare of the Society.

There have been twenty-two lectures, all of them held as luncheon meetings with the exception of one. It is hoped, however, that one or two later meetings may be held at times which will suit some members better than the luncheon hour.

The losses through resignations, which number forty-one, have not been heavy. On the other hand, losses through death have been most serious. These include Lord Lloyd, Sir Horace Rumbold, General Sir James Cooke-Collis, Mr. W. A. Cave, Sir George Buchanan, Colonel Boyle, Mr. H. R. Brereton, Captain L. S. Parke, Mr. B. Messervy, late of the Imperial Bank of Iran, who died in France. By enemy action we have lost, among others, the Earl of Aylesford, Lord Alington, Sir Arnold Wilson, General Bruce Hay, Commandant J. Hackin, Mr. Maurice Ingram, Wing-Commander C. F. Ogden, Squadron-Leader R. Jope-Slade, Colonel F. C. L. Hulton, Major V. C. Brown, Major Grant Rundle, Second-Lieutenant L. O. M. Barstow, R.N.V.R., and Mr. R. E. Balfour.

We are indebted to the late Mrs. Alec Tweedie, a distinguished member of the Society, for the sum of £100, the first legacy that the Society has received. It is being added to our tiny capital.

We are most grateful to our speakers, whose lectures have been very valuable, ranging over a wide area; many of them were topical. We have



to regret the loss of our coat of arms, our golden book and other valuable works, including complete sets of our journal, through enemy action.

To conclude, Lord Lloyd, our late lamented President, suggested shortly before his death that a letter urging each member to find a recruit should be drawn up. This was done and he signed it. May I suggest that we can all pay a suitable tribute to his memory by carrying out his last appeal to members of this Society?

The CHAIRMAN agreed that no better tribute could be paid to Lord Lloyd than that which he had himself suggested. He then called for the Hon Treasurer's report.

Major EDWARD AINGER, Honorary Treasurer:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

If you examine the accounts of the Society for the year ending December 31, 1940, you will see that we have had a reasonably successful year and that our income and expenditure have kept pace with each other. I would call your attention to the actual cash position, which is somewhat complicated by the fact that we had money on deposit with the Post Office Savings Bank while we were overdrawn on our account at Lloyds Bank. Taking both these facts into consideration and also our payments in advance as compared with our outstanding creditors, we really ended the year with the sum of £85 odd in hand. Though this may seem to be a reasonably satisfactory result, I feel I must remind you that subscriptions for this year are likely to be £100 less than last year owing to resignations and other causes, and we shall be without the normal annual subsidy of £25 from the Dinner Club, so that we are unlikely to end next year with a cash balance to our credit. There is another point to which I would like to draw your attention. In the balance sheet the amount shown on the liabilities side for life subscriptions, entrance fees and the *Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund*, which amount in all to just over £500, are not fully covered by our investments. The position next year will be that they are in fact covered, but only owing to the generosity of the late Mrs. Alec Tweedie, who left us a sum of £100 in her will, which has now been invested. I hope that with the return of income tax which we expect to receive from the Inland Revenue from the Covenants which many members have signed, we may be able to invest another £100 and thereby be in a position fully to cover these liabilities with invested assets.

Under the circumstances of the times I think that the position is fairly satisfactory. We have still need of new members, and I hope that as many more members as possible will sign the covenant.

There is another point on which I ought to touch, and that is about the Journal. Last year we bought sufficient paper in advance to last us through till 1942. I do not yet know to what extent we shall be able to replace this stock, but I hope we shall be able to come to some satisfactory arrangement.

The accounts, as attached, were put before the meeting and adopted.

The CHAIRMAN put the nominations of the honorary officers and Council before the meeting:

The Right Hon. Lord Hailey, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., had accepted the office of President in the place of the late Lord Lloyd.

Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode had been obliged through an overwhelming pressure of work as Chairman of the Joint Council of the British Red Cross and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to ask Sir John to take his place as Chairman of Council. Sir John had accepted with great reluctance, but he saw that Sir Philip Chetwode's resignation was inevitable.

Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes proposed and General H. Rowan Robinson seconded the proposal that General Sir John Shea be elected as Chairman of Council for the ensuing year. The election was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then put the following names to the meeting :

In accordance with Rule 16 the two senior Vice-Presidents, Sir A. Telford Waugh and Dr. G. M. Lees, retire. Sir Kinahan Cornwallis also retires on his appointment as Ambassador to Iraq. The Council has elected the Right Hon. Sir Robert Clive and Sir John Pratt to the vacancies, and Mr. F. Hale has accepted also.

As Honorary Treasurer : Major Edward Ainger, who had so well fulfilled the post of Honorary Treasurer, to be re-elected.

As members of Council : In accordance with Rule 25, the three senior members of Council retire, and the Council proposes that Lieut.-Colonel Sir Bernard Reilly, K.C.M.G., Brig-General Sir Osborne Mance, K.B.E., and Captain E. H. O. Elkington, M.C., be invited to fill the vacancies.

Colonel J. K. Tod proposed and General H. Rowan Robinson seconded these names, and the elections were carried.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the Council to those who were retiring for their work and help, and hoped that they might still count on their advice. More especially he wished to say how very much the Society owed to Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode for his constant and ready help. It was with the greatest pleasure that he was able to say that Sir Philip had accepted an Honorary Vice-Presidency in the place of the late Sir Horace Rumbold, and the Society would therefore be honoured by his continued advice.

## RIZA SHAH PAHLEVI, 1925-1941\*

THE career of Riza Pahlevi, ex-Shah of Persia, will be judged later in the impartial light of history. For the present it may be profitable to recall briefly the circumstances under which he came to govern Persia and to try to assess the services which he rendered to the country. For far-reaching changes were made during his reign. Before the last war a period of decadence had set in in Persia and the power of the central Government had greatly declined. This coincided with the extension of Imperial Russian power throughout the regions lying north of Persia and led to the increasing Russian influence in that area. In the south the British Government undertook various measures to counteract the northern menace. The oil fields were also becoming important. The decadence of the central Government encouraged resistance and lawlessness amongst the Persian tribes, who form the most virile part of the population and who number at least a quarter of the people. The corruption of the general administration of the country was notorious.

The war of 1914 accentuated the general decay of the Government and aggravated the economic stringency. Although Persia had declared its neutrality, from 1915 onwards northern Persia was invaded by Turkish and Russian forces. German missions and agents penetrated central and southern Persia, bribing and raising up the tribes and other disaffected elements. British forces entered Persia in order to eliminate the German influence and incidentally to restore law and order. After an abortive attempt in 1919 to conclude an Anglo-Persian treaty, whereby Great Britain should give further help to Persia and asked certain guarantees in return which the Persians feared to accept, the British Government withdrew its military forces and ceased paying the subsidy to the Persian Government. The Caspian provinces had been invaded by the Soviet military forces, but in the early part of 1921 a treaty was concluded and the Soviet forces were withdrawn.

It was under such depressing political and economic conditions that Riza Khan appeared as a live force. He was then an officer in the Persian Cossacks, a Persian force organized many years previously by the Imperial Russian Government and until then commanded by Imperial Russian officers. On February 20, 1921, he marched with his troops on Teheran and seized the capital. After occupying the posts of War Minister and Commander-in-Chief, he became, in May, 1921, the leader of the nation. On December 12, 1925, he was proclaimed Shah of Persia, setting aside Ahmad Shah, the last Shah of the Kajar dynasty, who for some time past had lived abroad, showing no desire to return to his country.

The new Shah's chief task lay in the restoration of law, order and security and the raising of his country to a place among the modern nations. His necessarily limited outlook showed him only one way to this end. He created within a few years a new-model army directly under his personal control. With this army as his instrument he subjugated one by one the nomadic tribes and other disaffected elements. It is to be regretted that this work should have been one of retribution and punishment, marred by the execution of many tribal leaders and, in some cases, by the ruin of the tribes through the confiscation of their livestock and their forcible conversion into settled cultivators.

During the ex-Shah's reign communications in Persia had been greatly developed. Before his reign the country possessed only one Russian-built road from the Caspian

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\* Following the suggestion of a very practical letter in *The Times*, which pointed out modern European practice and custom, *Persia* is used rather than *Iran* throughout this article.

to Teheran and a few other roads built by British military forces. During his reign an extensive road-system had been constructed throughout the country. A still greater achievement has been the construction of the Trans-Iran railway, from the new port of Bander Shahpur, near the head of the Persian Gulf, to Bander Shah at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea. This single-track line, constructed by an international agency, has a total length of 865 miles and involved a total cost of £30,000,000, all of which huge sum has been raised in Persia. The raising of this vast sum is partly responsible for the tragic poverty of the peasants. The construction of this line represents a wonderful feat of railway engineering as the track runs across two formidable mountain ranges. This railway should now be of immense benefit to the British and their Russian allies in the transportation of all kinds of military traffic to Russia. It seems probable that the branch line running from Teheran to Kasvin will be prolonged to meet the Russian railway, which terminates at Tabriz, thus establishing direct railway communications between the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus. In the words of the late Sir Denison Ross, this railway is "entirely due to the determination and earnest will of one man, Riza Shah."

During the ex-Shah's reign the modernization of Persia had been greatly accelerated through the reorganization and spread of education of all kinds, and through social reforms; most especially through the unveiling of the Muslim women and the raising of their status. To accomplish this the ex-Shah had not only to break through age-long custom, but also to curb the powerful Shia Muslim clergy, who were noted for their reactionary tendencies. The national spirit of Persia has been raised by the abolition of the Capitulations, while in the economic life of the country considerable progress has been made by the establishment of local industries, by the foundation of a national bank and by other measures.

In questions of foreign policy the chief object of the ex-Shah was to make his country independent of all foreign influence, and more especially to eliminate the influence of the two countries which possessed the greatest economic and therefore political interests in Persia—viz., Russia in the north and Great Britain in the south. It seems clear that he pushed this policy beyond the bounds of realism and committed the error of leaning heavily on the aid of Germany, a proceeding which caused his downfall. Nevertheless, an impartial view will show that as a patriotic Persian the ex-Shah can hardly be blamed for seeking to make his country completely independent, although he adopted wrong methods in trying to accomplish his purpose. Persian relations with her three immediate neighbours, Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan, have improved since the conclusion of the Saadabad Pact in July, 1937.

In conclusion, the failings of the rule of Riza Shah Pahlevi are those generally to be found in all countries governed by dictators and have been accentuated in recent years by the growth of his cruelty, cupidity and love of gain. On the balance it must be admitted that he has accomplished a great deal towards national regeneration. The country is stronger, more stable, more united, and may be yet more prosperous than when he took over the rule. It is through his efforts that Persia will be better fitted to take a place in the modern world. The good wishes of this Society go to his son who has succeeded him.

D. B.-B.

*The small type used here and in the reviews is necessary on account of the shortage of paper.*

## REVIEWS

**India and Democracy.** By Sir George Schuster, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., M.C., M.P., and Guy Wint. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi+444. Macmillan. 1941. 12s. 6d.

The first part of this book, a general historical and political survey of India, is by Mr. Wint. The second, by Sir George Schuster, is a more technical examination of constitutional problems. It is a real joy to read Mr. Wint's fresh and stimulating review of India's long story. He shows how there was no idea of democracy before the advent of British rule, and in this connection he emphasizes the importance of the Hindu doctrine of reincarnation. For if a man's position is derived from his merits or faults in a previous life, the problem of human equality is not pressing. Mr. Wint's survey is generally so sound that it seems ungracious to make carping criticisms. But in so vast a field some differences of opinion are unavoidable. It is suggested that in Hinduism there is a strong strain of pacifism. It might rather be said that the military vocation is highly specialized. Killing is a caste business. Krishna in the Gita of the Mahabharat, oldest of Hindu classics, gives short shrift to "conchies." Simplicity is said to be a Hindu trait. But Hindu art, magnificent as it is, tends to complexity and elaboration. Hindu philosophy and thought are subtle and intricate. Hindu asceticism is not a mark of simplicity. One of its aims is spiritual athleticism, gaining control over supernatural forces. There is the story of the low caste man who performed such austerities that he shook the gods in their heaven. And even when this crude aim is absent, Nirvana, absorption in the soul of the universe, is the goal. Caste helped the Hindus to survive the Moslem invasion. But it made them too weak to drive the Moslems from the country, as the Spaniards did. It was not the British who stopped the Mahrattas from achieving "the traditional rôle," but the third battle of Paniput in 1761, when the Moslems, led by the Afghan king, dissolved the dream of a Mahratta empire. In that year the British were still a power remote in east and south. But these points do not detract from the general excellence of Mr. Wint's picture.

In his account of the British Empire he is equally happy. He emphasizes that India swallowed the Company and not *vice versa*. He shows that the British administration is the old Indian one, based on the three pillars of the Army, the Fiscal System, and Intelligence. It is impossible to visit a District Collectorate, with its Nazir, Tauzi Navis, and other Mogul-titled officials, without acknowledging the truth of this assertion. *Intelligence* is a polite name for spies, which, as Mr. Wint says, have bulked largely in every Indian Government since the time of Alexander the Great. But *we* did not appreciate its necessity until the Mutiny, which burst on us with the suddenness of a typhoon owing to lack of an Intelligence Service. Mr. Wint points out a fact largely overlooked in Indian political discussion, that for over a century India has had a constitutional system, under which every man knows his legal rights, and can protect them by suing the Government in court. He also calls attention to the curious paradox that the vigorous policy of Lord Curzon, beneficial though it was to every branch of the civil administration, gave a fillip to Indian nationalism. Certainly his Partition of Bengal helped the establishment of revolutionary terrorism there. Before the Partition the efforts of emissaries from western India were a failure. After it they succeeded.

Mr. Wint correctly diagnoses Congress as undemocratic and totalitarian. As the national party it must be the sole one, and therefore any other must be anti-national. This is precisely the Nazi-Fascist claim. As Mr. Wint points out, the elected legislatures wilted under the Congress bosses as European parliaments would do under Nazi "protectors." There is a conspiracy to substitute Congress for the State, such as succeeded in Germany and Italy. Mr. Wint, like most outside observers, is inclined to overstress Mr. Gandhi's control over Congress. It only follows him when convenient. He is really its servant and not its master. As shrewd Indian politicians, Hindu as well as Moslem, have privately pointed out to me the British Government has really "made" Mr. Gandhi by the deference and attention it has paid to him.

Mr. Gandhi has frankly admitted that his usefulness to Congress lies in his ability to "deliver the goods" (generously bestowed on him by us). On the two occasions when the Government arrested him, not a dog barked.

Mr. Wint sees warning signals in India's political future. Of the Hindu-Moslem clash he says that Pakistan may prove a "fateful date in Indian history." An equally fateful date was the securing of separate Moslem electorates from Lord Morley in 1908. Besides this obvious Hindu-Moslem peril, Mr. Wint points to four other difficulties. The first is separatist sentiments. India is less a country than a continent. Mahrattas object to Gujerati Ministers. An Andhra province, "Dravidistan," desires to be born. There is a sub-plot in Indian politics to re-draw provinces on ethnological lines. Economic nationalism has appeared. For instance, in Bihar employment of Bengalis is resented. The only bonds holding India together are the Civil Service, the Army (both with strong British elements) and the English language. Until the British Raj there was no "India." The very boundaries were uncertain. The Afghan is more akin to the Moslem of the north than a Bengali is to a Madrasi. Congress wants British India without the British.

The second difficulty is ferment among the masses. Mr. Wint rightly says that industrial unrest is not of major importance, as India is mainly an agricultural country. He suggests peasant unrest as a danger. But national differences will split and divide it. Mr. Wint asks a pertinent question as to future Indian politics, "Is the Indian peasant likely to be a Liberal?"

The third difficulty is the national psychology. There is an inclination to autocracy. As the late Sir Harcourt Butler said, "Every Indian wants to be a Maharaja." Mr. Wint quotes the saying, "Scratch an I.C.S. and you find a democrat, scratch an Indian Liberal and you find a bureaucrat." Mr. Wint notes the strange taste for superstition and astrology. "Yet those who must take the responsibility of transferring power to Indian hands would be happier if they were sure that in its exercise necromancy would play a minor part."

The fourth difficulty is the current of political thought, which is veering from democracy to totalitarianism, as forecasted by Lord Hailey in 1933.

Sir George Schuster's survey is, as might be expected from his acquaintance with Indian politics and administration, instructive and suggestive. He stresses the importance of the Civil Service in India as essential to the success of the new (or indeed of any) constitution. The present numbers of the I.C.S. are interesting, 588 British and 597 Indians. Sir George Schuster points out that the high rate of pay essential for the British element in the I.C.S. should not have been extended to the Indian. (Practical opinion in India favours the view that the Indian element in the I.C.S. should be provided by promotion from the excellent Provincial Services.) Sir George Schuster rightly points out that industrial protection is paid for by the peasant. He suggests that a remedy for literate unemployment can be found in appointments for social services in villages. But on the Congress Ministries' efforts in this direction he quotes an opinion which states that these urban social workers were received in the villages "without enthusiasm" and that their "advice on agricultural matters often provides subject for derision." Sir George Schuster's survey of Indian politics is, as could be anticipated, full of interest, suggestion, and stimulation. But embracing as it does the conception of a unitary India, it is dependent on the successful establishment of indigenous political and constitutional unity.

J. C. FRENCH.

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**Survey of International Affairs, 1938.** Edited by A. J. Toynbée, assisted by V. M. Boulter. Pp. x+735. Map. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Vol. I., Part IV., The Mediterranean.

Mr. H. Beeley continues his account of the administration of the British Mandate for Palestine up to the outbreak of war, and includes (a) the Arab Rising and Inter-racial Strife; (b) the Abandonment of the Policy of Partition; (c) the London Conferences and the White Paper of May 17, 1939; (d) Arab and Jewish Reactions to the White Paper, and the Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Institute is precluded from expressing opinions; the record is, therefore, as always, a summary with considerable detail. The report states that :

“Evidence shows that the driving force of the rebellion of 1936-39 was the nationalist feeling of the Arab population in Palestine itself and assistance from other Arab countries or from further afield was secondary.”

Rebellion was mainly directed against the Mandatory Administration, the Jewish community was a secondary target. Like the Irish rebellion of 1920-21, the rebellion was not personal but political, against the Mandate, its shape and execution; and by October, 1938, the civil administration, outside the Jewish areas and large towns, had been almost completely paralyzed. Then reinforcements were sent exceeding 16,000 men with the addition of some 8,000 special constables. Partly due to this force, and possibly to the decision of the Mandatory Power to abandon the policy of partition, the effectiveness of the armed bands diminished. The new declaration of British policy on May 17, 1939, weakened the rebellion on the Arab side, but led to activity amongst the extremists on the Jewish side. But the declaration of war on Germany by the Mandatory Power arrested the decline of internal security. Both communities in Palestine felt their interests to be involved with those of Great Britain, and the political struggle came to a temporary standstill.

Then follows the arguments of the Woodhead Commission showing how and why the Partition Scheme was cancelled, with the result that Mr. MacDonald on November 10, 1938, announced the intention to hold a Palestine Conference.

The Colonial Secretary stated that the Government would enter the discussions bound by its obligations both to Jews and Arabs under the Mandate, but would not prevent either party presenting arguments for the modification of the Mandate.

The Arabs denied the validity of the Balfour Declaration (or the interpretation of it as practised) and the Mandate: whereas the Jews would accept no settlement which was not based on those title-deeds.

The Arab case was that the Mandate was incompatible with promises made to the Arab people two years before the Balfour Declaration and with the Covenant of the League of Nations, especially para. 4, Article 22.

An Anglo-Arab Committee reported on the Husayn-McMahon correspondence (Command 5974 of March, 1939), and considered other documents including a series of pledges made to Arabs during 1918, including the Hogarth message. “In the opinion of the Committee . . . it is evident that H.M. Government were not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine.”

The Jewish Agency complained that they had not been enabled to express their views on a matter vitally affecting their interests. They held that the responsibility for Palestine's future had passed by way of the Principal Allied Powers to the League of Nations, who subsequently conferred on Great Britain a Mandate to administer Palestine on specified principles: hence the Mandate would cancel the legal validity in its provisions, and the McMahon pledge or any other would no longer be operative.

But British opinion reflected that in fact, if not in theory, the Mandate had been drafted by the British Government of the day and not by the Secretariat of the League at Geneva. If the Cabinet of 1922 had been at fault, their error could not be dismissed as irrelevant to the conduct of British policy in 1939.

Various suggestions were put forward for a settlement, including the establishment of a Federal State, divided into cantons, giving the Jews autonomy in areas where they were in a majority; and giving the Jews parity of legislative power on certain reserved topics.

Eventually the British Government laid final proposals restricting sales of land to Jews, and limiting immigration when Jews became one-third of the whole, unless Arabs consented to further immigration.

Ultimately, an independent state would be created, after a period probably of ten years dependent on Jewish consent. It was on this uncertainty of date that the Anglo-Arab negotiations broke down, and the Jews declined to accept any such limitation to immigration.

Negotiations were continued with Arab leaders in Cairo, who accepted limited immigration, included special safeguards for the Jewish minority in a treaty with Great Britain.

At length, Great Britain issued the White Paper of May 17, 1939, which restricted immigration to 75,000 Jews in five years, land sales to Jews, and promised that as soon as peace and order were sufficiently restored, steps would be taken to give the people of Palestine a larger share in the administration of the country, till possibly a Council of Ministers would be formed.

At the end of five years the working of this machinery would be surveyed by a body representative of all Palestinians and of H.M. Government, and this body would make recommendations for the future constitution of the independent State.

The Arabs would not accept the White Paper because the concessions were nullified by qualifications and by imprecision; in effect, they said past experience had destroyed confidence.

Dr. Weizmann asserted the White Paper would subject the Jews against their will to an Arab State and relegate them to a permanent minority, and drew the conclusion that the White Paper represented the triumph of force, or a premium on the campaign of Arab violence. Further pages give the views of different sections of Zionists at the Zionist Congress held at Geneva on August 16, 1939. Ultimately, it declared uncompromising hostility to the White Paper, denying the legal and moral validity of the British policy of a Government which would not remain permanently in power, and the executive was instructed to persevere towards harmony of Jewish and Arab aspirations.

Mr. MacDonald had to explain the White Paper to the Permanent Mandates Commission, four out of seven members of which stated that they did not feel that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the Mandate, any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate. The war stopped further discussion.

The above is a summary of a most valuable and fair account of the events of 1938, of the Palestine Conference and the White Paper.

The views of each of the three parties concerned are given, no blame being apportioned to either of them, but the main factor is that the British Government were induced to reconsider not only initial promises made to the Arabs (many of which, but not all of them, being included in Command 5974), but also the drafting of the Mandate of 1922.

If the latter did not conform either to these promises or to the Covenant of the League, as Arabs contend, then it is clear an error was made in 1922 which had to be rectified, and the verdict of the Mandates Commission would tend to show that the Mandate itself required to be altered.

It may be that the next report on the Palestine question dating from September, 1939, will indicate a solution accepting the principles of the White Paper, but built on some policy of Arab Federation, in which the Zionists can take a part.

The section ends with a detailed account of the cession to Turkey of the Sanjak of Alexandretta.

S. F. N.

The section of this Survey of International Affairs that deals with the Far East has again been entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. G. E. Hubbard. The progress of Japan's attempted conquest of China is described in a lucid and orderly narrative which clearly sets out the military, economic, political and international aspects of Japan's disastrous adventure. The events of 1938 are of great importance. Japan had launched her attack on North China in July, 1937, in the belief that China would give way once more, that the "incident" would be localized and that in a few months a second Manchukuo would have been set up in North China. By 1938 the painful truth had become evident that China meant to fight it out to the bitter end, and before the year had drawn to its close the Japanese had begun to realize that however often they might defeat the Chinese armies in the field those armies invariably escaped destruction, that however wide the extent of territory they might conquer and occupy the domination that they sought and the economic advantages they hoped to reap eluded their grasp. Victories were rendered of no avail as much by the element of space as by China's enormous reserves of man power and by the ingenuity, perseverance and indomitable will to resist of the Chinese people. Faced with this situation, the Japanese threw off all pretence



of abiding by their international obligations, declared the Nine Power Treaty to be obsolete, and announced their policy of the Co-prosperity Sphere and the economic bloc between China, Manchukuo and Japan.

In 1938 the situation that has existed for the last three years took shape. The Chinese won one important victory in the field at Taierhchuang, but after that they were driven from most of the sea ports, the rivers and the railways. Canton fell almost without a blow being struck, Hankow immediately became untenable, and the Chinese Government withdrew to the fastness of Szechuan. There was a vast exodus of population to the western and south-western provinces; it was more than a mere flight of refugees, for whole universities, with books and apparatus, students and professors, were transplanted to the south-west, and, stranger still, factories with their equipment of tools and machinery were similarly transplanted and re-established in places beyond the reach of the invader. The regions occupied by Japanese troops were actually administered by "Border Governments," appointed by and owing allegiance to the Chinese Government at Chungking; and Mr. Hubbard describes how these Border Governments and the operations of the guerillas behind the Japanese lines brought to nought the Japanese plans for the economic exploitation of the territory they had conquered.

An interesting and valuable section describes the effects on Japan's economy of the war and the expansionist policy generally. The subject is also mentioned in Part I. *World Economic Affairs*, for which Mr. A. G. B. Fisher is responsible. One of Japan's grievances against the West is that tariffs have excluded her goods from the markets of the world. It is interesting therefore to note that in 1931 Japan deliberately sacrificed the light industries, upon the exports of the products of which her abounding prosperity had been built up, in order to develop her heavy industries, and that at the same time she took steps at great cost to reduce her dependence on distant sources of supply of raw materials. Mr. Hubbard explains that this change was made under the influence of the military party, whose sole object was to mobilize the economic forces of the country for purposes of war. From this period also dates the great extension of state control over industry, culminating in the National Mobilization Law of 1938, which empowered the Government to assume an almost unlimited control over the country's material and human resources. Mr. Hubbard does not mention, however, that this movement was due to the sudden discovery that sanctions might possibly be used against Japan. The question was widely discussed by journalists and publicists in connection with Manchuria, and not only the military party but the people of Japan generally realized with horror that other nations were in a position—if they chose—to impose their will upon Japan and dictate to her the policy that she should follow. That is why a totalitarian economy was eagerly adopted by a United Japan even before Hitler had taken the first steps on that disastrous road.

The Far East also figures in Mr. David Milrany's account of *The United States and the World* (Part VI [1]). Mr. Milrany makes the strange assertions that the Open Door in China was a vague principle until it was embodied by Secretary Hay in a definite formula, that a second principle, the integrity of China, was added to the first, that the Open Door and equal opportunity were abandoned, and that since the conclusion of the Nine Power Treaty at the Washington Conference in 1921 the integrity of China had become the dominant principle. The facts are that the principles of the Open Door, equal opportunity and integrity of China were established by Great Britain in 1842 and maintained for over 50 years. When challenged by Russia, Germany and France, all seeking to carve out spheres of influence, America refused to aid Britain to maintain them. John Hay was then persuaded (by an Englishman) to adopt the Open Door as a specifically American (not British) principle, but the open door of John Hay's notes of 1899 was a sadly mutilated version of the British original, for it admitted the existence of spheres of influence, and it was not till the Washington Conference in 1921—the one occasion when America laid aside her obsession about the wily Englishman pulling the wool over the simple-minded American's eyes—that the full régime of the Open Door, equal opportunity and integrity of China was restored. As regards Manchuria, Mr. Milrany accepts the fantastic story that "the League, and that

meant first of all Great Britain, refused to embark upon sanctions, and so Mr. Stimson's efforts and the chances of joint action with the United States collapsed." The facts, of course, are that the United States, through Mr. Stimson, made it clear that the right policy was not sanctions but the mobilization of the moral opinion of the world. Within those limits Great Britain secured complete co-operation between the League and the United States. No responsible person can have believed that Congress would ever agree to imposing the economic sanctions of the Covenant against Japan, and the very guarded reference that Mr. Stimson makes to this subject in one passage in his book hardly supports the inference drawn by Mr. Milrany.

J. T. PRATT.

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**The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.** By M. Rostovtzeff. 1779 pp.; 112 plates; 11 text figures. 10" x 6½". Oxford University Press. 1941. £5 5s.

This is a book that might well be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested by all those who will be concerned with the building of that great new post-war world for which we all look, based on the Atlantic Charter. The masons who go to that gigantic task—the greatest the world has laid on any shoulders—would assuredly find here many a valuable and constructive idea for the plans on which to build. To the merely inquisitive wanderer in the maze of world economic and international relations, the knowledge and understanding of economic facts presented in this book will prove a veritable thread of Ariadne. *Experientia docet* is a maxim that loses nothing of its truth by being trite. And the writer of this book has a power of sifting and synthesizing facts, and a quality of vision combined with lucidity of expression that are outstanding.

When it is mentioned that notes and bibliographies, arranged chapter by chapter, together with the excellent 91-page index made by the author's wife, alone fill the third volume save for three short appendixes by specialists, it will be realized how vast a body of fact and theory has been digested and reduced to logical narrative by the author. And yet this great work is very readable; it is kindly, it is tolerant, it is very human. A glance at plates 32 and 50, to choose only two, will suffice to show the writer's wide sympathies and his understanding of the human race quite irrespective of class and creed. A deep appreciation of the artistic and creative side of man's effort in Hellenistic days is implicit in the remarkable choice of illustrations. A special tribute is due to Professor Rostovtzeff for the striking portraits of the chief protagonists of the Hellenistic period, enlarged from their coins; they provide visual evidence of character and ability, or the lack of it, that underlines the conclusions to be drawn from the facts of history and the appreciations of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writers. The portrait of Seleucus I. is of a man far advanced on the road of civilization.

The construction of the book, with its requirements of clearness, conciseness and logical thought, and of a guiding thread of purpose throughout, has led to a rather curious but necessary inversion of historical sequence in the early chapters. In his first chapter the writer has outlined the history of the post-Alexandrine period down to the time of Augustus—the three centuries of "the Hellenistic world" of his title. This is history in the old-fashioned sense, centred round monarchs, their policies, their deeds, their wars and treaties. It is the least readable section of the book, and it is not surprising to find it so, for the author explains that he included it solely to provide a succinct narrative of events on which the reader can peg the account of the economic and social life of the times which is to be laid before him. It is when he reaches the main body of his work that the author is truly happy.

Historically, the Hellenistic period resolves itself into three sub-periods: that of Alexander's immediate successors, that of the balance of power between their descendants, the monarchs of Syria, Macedonia and Egypt, and, lastly, that of the

gradual penetration of the influence of Rome and its swallowing up of the Hellenized states that had resulted from the falling apart of the short-lived empire of Alexander. This is the framework on which the author proceeds to rebuild the economic fabric of the Hellenistic world into a skilfully interwoven whole.

In the second chapter we are taken back to the end of the fourth century B.C. to consider "one of the most interesting products of Greek speculative thought combined with practical sagacity"—namely, "the second book of the 'Economics' ascribed to Aristotle, a treatise by an unknown author." This work, "a collection of financial measures and devices by which certain Greek cities and statesmen and certain Hellenized Persian satraps and barbarian kings succeeded in solving temporary financial crises," the author describes as "the first attempt at a theory of finance."

Brief summaries of the economic structures of Persia and of Greece in the fourth century B.C. then follow. Here we see how the period of Greek prosperity after the establishment of the many far-flung Greek colonies gradually lapsed into a state of economic tension and unrest due to many causes: ceaseless wars and revolutions, the lack of foodstuffs, the loss of markets through the replacement of Greek wares by local products, the growth of local currencies, slave labour, piracy, but chiefly, in the author's opinion, to a growing maladjustment between production and demand. Greece was faced with the necessity of readjusting the manner of her economic life. Alexander's conquests served this purpose; new markets were found, a wide new field for emigration was opened, and a brave new Hellenistic world came into being.

Professor Rostovtzeff's account of this new world, though limited to its purely social and economic aspect, makes enthralling reading. It is amazingly diverse and catholic in range, a far too complex and imposing whole for more than brief indications of the interest in store for the reader. Individually, the small and discrete parts of this whole are fascinating; for instance, the account of a royal dairy farm, after Theocritus, or the remarkable reconstructions in word and plan of Pergamon, Miletus, Delos, centres of culture, trade and wealth, that rose and waned and are now well nigh forgotten. We read of a pottery famous in its day, of the trade in papyrus or such a commodity as incense or perfume, of the manufacture of glass or of metalwork of artistic value and contemporary fashion. The temple with its large estates and commercial as well as religious interests is fully dealt with, as are also the *gymnasia* established by the Greeks wherever they went as centres of social life and of intellectual and athletic activities as well as of education. Trading corporations, guilds of artisans there were, and religious and political societies; in short, many of the social features of to-day. Examples could be added in great numbers from this lengthy and detailed story of man's social and economic activities in ancient times, but the reader will find them for himself.

"In ancient times" . . . but there is a strikingly modern ring to terms such as "banking," "trade credits," "proletariate," "bourgeoisie"—even, alas! "slave labour." All these subjects are discussed, together with coinages and mining and shipping and agricultural technique, as everyday phenomena of the Hellenistic world: that is perhaps the salient feature of this well-balanced book—the outstanding impression that is left on the mind of the reader that "ancient" and "modern" are almost interchangeable terms in respect of social and economic phenomena. There is the same sense of present-day familiarity about some of the author's concluding remarks: "By their political rivalry and jealousy the Greeks gave the Romans a pretext for active interference in their political affairs, and the same rivalry and jealousy prevented them from uniting to check the rapid progress of the intruders." For "Romans" read "Nazis": for "Greeks," "the smaller European states and their minority subjects."

In his conclusion the author states: "The Hellenistic world was in itself a

stupendous creation of the Greek genius, and it had a far-reaching influence on the future. This influence lay chiefly in the field of literature, art, religion, philosophy, science and learning, but it was considerable also in the social and economic sphere." In that last sentence, incidentally, is indicated the balanced judgment of the writer; he is able to see the subject nearest his heart in its due perspective.

One particularly useful feature of this book should not escape mention. Wherever he sees an untouched field for research or the need for further work on any question bearing on his subject the author makes a point of bringing it to his readers' notice.

The lack of maps is unusual for so important a book. No mention is made of the reason for this omission, but possibly where so many maps are called for, it was thought better to have none than that they should be stinted.

D. M. M.

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**The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus.** By John F. Baddeley. In two volumes. London: Milford, Oxford University Press. 1941. £6 6s.

The groundwork of these magnificent posthumous volumes are Baddeley's meticulously kept diaries of travels in the North Caucasus forty years ago (1898-1902). In the long period which elapsed between the writing of the diaries and their publication in 1941, the author added a vast superstructure of learned notes to his own observations on the folklore, archæology, flora and fauna (especially the *tour* and ibex genus), customs and peoples of the region. But he died in 1940, aged eighty-five, before this great work to which he had devoted the last years of his life was published. Baddeley's first journeys in the Caucasus were in the neighbourhood of Derbent, Baku, and Grozny, in "quest of oil." The incidental and all too brief account of a dash across the Caspian to Bokhara, where he enjoyed a luscious lunch of "roast quails and quinces, some twenty of each, set alternately round a vast oval platter of boiled rice . . .," must also be mentioned. On later journeys he investigated the Mamisson Road to the west of the better known Georgian Military Road across the main Caucasian ridge, the wild homelands of the Galgais, the Ingooshee and the Khevsours, the Aouls of Northern Ossetia and Tchetchnia and the rugged hills of Dagestan. All this coming and going was originally compressed into some seventy days in the saddle. "Ivan Ivanovitch," as Baddeley was called by his Caucasian friends, was in many ways the ideal traveller. He could sleep anywhere, easily adjusted himself to local ways, was keenly interested in anything he saw around him, and only too anxious to slip under the skin of the country in which he was. He travelled simply on his favourite pony Poti, always accompanied by "the gallant Ourousbi, my servant, guide and friend," an Ossetine who initiated him into the varying but unfailing rites of hospitality of the Caucasian mountaineers (always scrupulously observed by Baddeley) and their extraordinary store of folklore and legend. *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* is a fine monument to the ways of these tribes. Ethnographically and linguistically they long presented a riddle to science, only finally to have their most racy characteristics obliterated by the steamroller of Soviet administration. Baddeley's vast accumulation of local lore and knowledge was less fortunately linked with an inveterate chain-association tendency of mind, which in a book already bursting with erudite information produces many purely tangential and often tantalizing digressions. The high cost of silver-ore mining in Ossetia in the eighteenth century, for example, suggests an itemized comparison of old silver prices at Christie's in 1929-30. Moreover, the detail-crammed pages at times are difficult to master by reason of Baddeley's seeming inability to co-ordinate or select his material and his habit of pitchforking the reader into a maze of local minutia before he is properly aware where he is or what are the general features of the country whose birth or burial customs he may be studying. The explanation of all this may well be that, having written the ideal introduction to these volumes himself many years previously in his *Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (1908), Baddeley assumed the background to be obvious and left the reader to his own devices. This is specially so in the separate Ossetia and Dagestan

chapters. In the latter case, much of the point of the topographical descriptions is lost unless clearly related to Shamil's revolt against the Russians (here never plainly explained), when every crag of Dagestan assumes a new and poignant interest. It is, perhaps, opportune to recall that the Ossetines are the only Aryan Indo-European tribe among the mixed Caucasian mountaineers, and their success in beer-brewing has even led certain German ethnologists like Haxthausen to claim kinship with them. . . . What Hitler may make of this kinship (at which Baddeley broadly smiled), if his Panzer troops should reach the Caucasus, remains to be seen.

Apart from the many-sided attraction of Baddeley's text, these beautifully produced volumes form one of the most distinguished products of the bookmaker's art in recent years and have all the elegance of the best pre-war tradition. The illustrations, made from Baddeley's drawings and photographs, are a very valuable collection in themselves, and are largely irreplaceable. The many detailed maps are excellent. No praise is too high for the wide sweep of the bibliography and the admirably arranged index. Many perusing the former must marvel at the unflagging interest of this octogenarian scholar in Soviet Russian and Georgian affairs up to the last years of his life. And many readers may in this way learn for the first time of a wealth of Soviet learned publications (mainly proceedings of scientific societies), evidently well maintaining the high standards of old Russia, but, unfortunately, all too difficult to trace in this country.

VIOLET CONOLLY.

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**Colloquial Persian.** By L. P. Elwell-Sutton. 7½" × 5". Pp. vii + 140. Kegan Paul. 1941. 3s. 6d.

At a time when British troops, in conjunction with their Russian allies, are keeping Iran free from the sinister intrigues of Germany, the publication of this work, *Colloquial Persian*, is especially well timed.

It is divided into three parts—to wit, grammar, conversations, and vocabularies. The elementary lessons are given in transcriptions of the language, in order to avoid the difficult Arabic alphabet and reading its various sections. I would especially note the practical conversations, which are far removed from those which I once had to learn two generations ago, such as, "Hi! hi! postillion, your horse has been struck by lightning!" In this work they are not only practical, but up to date. For example, I would choose: "What is the hire of a taxi?" This appears under "travelling," while sections are devoted to "Domestic," "In the Office," "An Investigation," "In Camp," etc. Finally, vocabularies are marked "Military, Naval, and Air," "Technical," "Commercial," etc.

Every officer ordered on service to Iran should certainly take *Colloquial Persian* with him, and study it earnestly on the voyage with his companions. I would especially draw attention to Lesson XII., which deals with greetings, polite phrases, etc. Persians are far more ready to oblige when treated politely. Indeed, without politeness, allied in some cases with firmness, it is difficult to carry out any task in historical Iran.

P. M. SYKES.

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**Ruz-Gar i Nau.** A quarterly illustrated magazine in Persian. No. I. Summer, 1941. Doubleday, Doran and Co., Ltd., New York. Hodder and Stoughton, London. 1s. net, or 20 cents.

This excellently produced illustrated quarterly, somewhat on the scale of *Lilliput* and similar productions, appears under the ægis of the Ministry of Information, and is intended to promote friendly relationships between Britain and Persia. Its sumptuous colour-plates from Persian miniatures in the British museum, its attractive form and low price should certainly assure it popularity wherever Persian is read and spoken. Though mainly instructive, the contents are well balanced to suit an average standard of Persian education, and seem to divide themselves into Persian literary subjects and information about England fairly equally.

Thus there is an article by Mr. Lawrence Binyon on the miniatures illustrating the "five poems" of Nizami in the British Museum. There is also an appreciation of Nizami and a bibliography of his work by Professor Storey. Mr. Mujtaba Minovi contributes a poem, "Yuz Khuda," the panther of God, being a rendering of Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven" in Persian stanzas. Mr. Basil Gray has an article on Persian mediæval metal-work, Mr. A. J. Arberry one on the library of the India Office, with illustrations of Persian calligraphy.

On the English side there is the introductory chapter of a guide to English history which carries the story as far as the reign of Elizabeth, an article on "the largest city in the world," with photographs of various historic monuments, including the Ministry of Information, an article on Great Britain in War-time, on British industry, and on recent publications on Persia.

G. R. R.

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**The Law of War and Peace in Islam.** A study in Muslim International Law. By Majid Khadduri, Ph.D. London. 1941. Luzac and Co. Pp. 132+x. Paper 6s. Cloth 8s.

The author—an assistant professor at the Higher Teachers' College of Baghdad—describes his book as "an attempt to study the theory and practice of Muslim Law with regard to non-Muslim Communities as revealed in the *Qurān*, *Ḥadith*, and the writings of Muslim jurist-theologians." "The study is confined to the first four centuries of the Islamic Era, and is limited to the Eastern Caliphate" (p. vii).

Part I deals with the fundamental concepts of Muslim law. Part II describes the law of war, the doctrine of *Jihād* and the rules and customs followed by the Muslims in war. Part III states the law of peace (the *Amān*, treaties, arbitration, status of the *Dhimmis*, and diplomacy in Islam).

The author comes to the following conclusions:

In its origin, Muslim "International Law" was only a temporary institution, until the whole world should be Islamic. If the mission of Islām, therefore, were wholly carried out, the *raison d'être* of a Muslim international law would be non-existent (119-120). Similar to mediæval Christian "International Law," Muslim international law recognized the theory of a universal state (120). Muslim international law is not a separate body of Muslim law. It is a part of the Muslim divine law designed to bind the Muslims in dealing with non-Muslims . . . whether inside or outside the *World of Islām* (121). The author's view is that Muslim international law "was binding" upon individuals rather than upon separate territorial groups (121). Having shown "the philosophical differences between the system of Muslim international and the system of modern international law," the author points out "concrete similarities in certain rules and practices such as immunity of diplomatic missions, sanctity of treaties and arbitration" (121, note).

While the conclusions of the author seem to be correct for the period to which he confines his study, they do not cover the whole field of Muslim international law. Taube has pointed out (in the *Receuil des Cours de l'Academie du droit International*, v. 11, p. 383) that legal principles must have governed the relations between Islamic states in the Middle Ages and expressed the hope that a competent historian would one day trace these principles. Islām has contributed much to the law of war indeed, during the Byzantine period—as Taube (*op. c.* p. 368) points out—"C'est encore grâce à l'Islām" that one could speak of laws of war at all. There is no fundamental difference between the several schools of thought in Islām as to rules governing the conduct of war and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims.\* As to the Muslim international law of peace—viz., its rules as to the intercourse between Islamic States and Islamic and non-Islamic—more research is needed. But one guiding principle of these rules emerges already. Dr. Khadduri quotes the well-known passage in the *Qurān* on Treaties: "Fulfil

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\* Compare f. 1, *Hedāya*, by Sheikh Burhan-ad-Deen Alec (530-591 A.H.), English ed. 1791, the Treatise of Khalīl Ibn Ish'āk (d. 776), French translation 1849, Query, *Droit Mussulman*. See also Hanneberg, *Das Muslimische Kriegsrecht* (Kgl. Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1871), and Hatschek, *Der Musta'min*, Berlin, 1920.

the covenant of *Allah* when you have made a covenant." Abu Bekr, in the charge to his troops says: "Let there be no perfidy nor falsehood in your treaties with your enemies, be faithful in all things, proving yourselves ever upright and noble, and maintaining your word and promise truly" (quoted by Walker, *A History of the Law of Nations*, i, p. 76). And we read in *Hedāya*: "It does not become Mussulmans to break treaties" (Book ix., p. 148 of English translation). No better foundation for any system of international law can be found than the belief in and the upholding of the sanctity of treaties. On that foundation both Muslim and non-Muslim international law will be developed.

The book under review is a most conscientious study, based on original and secondary sources. We venture to express the hope that the author will continue his research work and give the history of Muslim international law from the fifth century of the Islamic era.

V. R. IDELSON.

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**The Sayings of Muhammad.** (Wisdom of the East.) By Sir Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy. Pp. 128. London: John Murray. 1941. 3s. 6d.

In a recent number of this journal a writer condemned the bad English that is so often found in translations. He might have taken this book as text for his remarks. Here are some samples:

Its account will be small in futurity.  
Ordered me to direct in that which is lawful.  
Doers of excellence.  
He deputized Abu Bakr.

It is a mistake for a foreigner to try to write archaic English. For some reason the words *mu'min* and *rasūl* are not translated, though English has adequate equivalents. An error of translation is the statement that the Koran was revealed in seven dialects; there may be no equivalent for the Arabic here, but dialect is certainly wrong. The translator brings later ideas to the interpretation of these sayings. *Mi'rāj* means "ascent," and is applied especially to Muhammad's journey to heaven; so "prayer is the *mi'rāj*" means that prayer is the common man's way of approach to God. It does not mean "union with, or annihilation in, the divine essence by means of continual upward progress," which is pure mysticism and would have been branded by Muhammad as polytheism. Bukhārī's collection of traditions contains some 6,000 sayings of the Prophet; this book contains 439, yet several are duplicates and one is repeated thrice. This does not say much for the editing. Emphasis is laid on the fact that Muhammad claimed to restore the primitive religion, not to introduce a new one; this claim only brings into relief his ignorance of the religions which came before him. It is certain that one of the main objects of Muhammad's life was to conquer Mecca, and war was one of his means to this end. That he was merciful in the hour of victory does not alter the fact that his victory was largely won by force. It is comic to find Gandhi commending the words of a fighter.

A. S. T.

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**Catalogue of Arab-Sassanian Coins in the British Museum.** (Umayyad Governors in the East, Arab-Ephthalites, 'Abbāsīd Governors in Tabaristān and Bukhārā.) By John Walker. Pp. clxi+244. Forty plates. Nineteen figures in text. Printed by order of the Trustees, 1941.

"He ('Abd-al-Malik) substituted for the Byzantine and Persian coins, which had hitherto been in general use, new gold and silver pieces." The obvious meaning of this summary in the *Literary History of the Arabs* is contradicted by the whole of this volume—an example of the difficulty of making a brief generalization about complicated facts. It seems that no gold was coined in the eastern provinces of the

Muslim State. Soon after the conquest the Arabs struck coins on Sassanian models, keeping even the name of the king, but with a short Arabic legend added. Those with the name of Yezdigird have all the same date, reminding one of the Maria Theresa dollars which are still current in parts of Arabia, while those with the name of Khusrau are of different dates. A coin of A.H. 41 has the name and title of Mu'awiya in the Pehlevi language and script. Most of the coins on Sassanian models were issued by governors or sub-governors; the name of the governor, the date, and the mint were written in Pehlevi. This continued till A.H. 83, though a year or two earlier the governor's name was sometimes written in Arabic; but there is no fixed line of division, as the practices overlapped, while in Tabaristān the use of Pehlevi lasted till A.H. 160 and, for some purposes, till the coinage ceased. Occasionally a mixed date is found, part Aramaic and part Pehlevi. Three eras were used—that of Yezdigird, dating from his accession; the post-Yezdigird, dating from his death; and the Hijra. The post-Yezdigird era was used in Tabaristān till the end of this coinage. The coins of Tabaristān are only half as big as those of the other provinces, though of the same type; but those of Bukhārā are modelled on the coins of Bahram V. Some, in addition to Arabic and Pehlevi, have legends in a script akin to that on the coins of the Ephthalites, or White Huns; this script has not yet been deciphered, but Mr. Walker has ascribed them tentatively to certain governors by combining the dates and mints on the coins with the governors of provinces recorded by the historians.

The Arabs showed no originality in their coins, for, apart from Bukhārā and three or four exceptions, they are all modifications of one type. Under one governor the face of the king is replaced by a lozenge containing two Arabic letters. This may be a result of the orthodox prohibition of images, but, if so, it was limited to one man, for the older type reappears afterwards. One coin has on the reverse an arch supported on two pillars, within which a lance stands upright. The author explains this arch as a *mīhrāb*; this may be right, as there is a long Arabic legend, so the coin can hardly be early. Everybody issued coins—the opposition caliph, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubair, and Katari, the *khāriji* caliph; so far no coins of Mukhtār have been found. Rivals issued coins from the same mint in the same year. Does this indicate the victory of one, or was it a gentleman's agreement between them?

The catalogue is not limited to coins in the Museum, for all known types are described and, when possible, illustrated; the book is an exhaustive treatise on its subject. Some problems still await solution, but that is not the fault of the author. The introduction contains all that it should—the history of those who issued coins, full discussions of the many mints, notes on the alphabets used, and essays on knotty problems. There are plenty of indexes and the plates are distinct. In one point the arrangement is at fault; it is difficult to find the meanings of the Pehlevi legends, for they are not always translated on their first appearance. It would have been convenient if, in the index to them, those which can be translated had been distinguished from those which cannot. The word *afd* is said in one place to mean "excellent" and to be the opposite of "spurious," while in another it is said to mean "praise" and to be equivalent to "in the name of God." It is hard to believe that coins with the name of the caliph al-Amīn were struck in Bukhārā; he never ruled over the town, and his brother, who did rule there, was not a model of fraternal affection. The reader is left to marvel at the patience which has so successfully wrested from crabbed scripts their secrets.

A. S. T.

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(1) **History of the Arabs.** By Professor Philip K. Hitti. Second edition, revised (first edition published in 1937). Macmillan. 31s. 6d.

(2) **Arabica and Islamica.** By U. Wayriff. Revised edition (first edition published in 1936). Luzac and Co.

It is highly creditable, both to the public and to the publishing profession, that a second edition has been called for and issued in the case of these two works, neither of which can be regarded as having even the remotest connection with the principal preoccupation of mankind at the present time. It is true that the tide of



war is already lapping ominously against the fringes of the Arab world, whose political and literary activities have inspired these two volumes. But in both cases the authors are concerned with its ancient greatness rather than with its modest reactions to the storm and stress of modern times. Professor Hitti ends his story at 1517 A.D., and Mr. Wayriff deals with classical Arabic literature and with the life and traditions of Muhammad.

I do not propose to deal at any length with Professor Hitti's work, which I had the pleasure of reviewing in its first edition for the Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society in one of its 1938\* issues. As I said in that review, Professor Hitti's work is a valuable summary of Arabian history. He claims to have made an effort to bring his material up to date, but I have failed to find any appreciable evidence of such an effort in the new edition, which is substantially the same as its predecessor and, as I understand, replaces it on the shelves of the Society's library, which have not escaped unscathed from the Nazi bombs. Professor Hitti does not seem to have read my review of his great work, and has certainly not attempted the revision of his chapters on early Arabian history which I suggested as a worthy task for his pen. To give but one instance, he tells us, on page 54, that "Müller has identified the names of twenty-six Mināzan kings. . . ." That may be so, but that was a long time ago, and the study of South Arabian inscriptions has not stood still since then. He does not even mention Dr. Ryckmans of Louvain University or other modern scholars who have worked amain on much newly discovered material to quicken the dry bones of ancient Arabian history, and to reveal at least the outlines of what must be regarded as one of the great periods of human development. So I still hope that some historian of Professor Hitti's calibre will undertake the task of placing before the public a concise and readable summary of a history of the Arabs at a time when they largely dominated the world's political and economic stage.

Mr. Wayriff begins his volume with the frank admission that, "This is not a work of much erudition." Well, he has said it himself and can scarcely take offence if I concur in his judgment of his own work. I have read it through from cover to cover—by no means an easy task even for a reviewer—and I cannot imagine anything better calculated to deter a prospective student from venturing on the vast and varied field of Arabian literature. I imagine the author to be an Arabic scholar of some competence, but entirely devoid of any æsthetic appreciation of his subject. He is, in fact, rather like a vegetarian explaining the intricacies of a carnivorous *cuisine* without an adequate understanding of the recipes for its more elaborate creations and without any attempt to conceal his abhorrence of the noble messes which some misguided people seem to enjoy. *Chacun à son goût!* But it does seem strange that Mr. Wayriff should have spent so much time in struggling with the difficulties of Arabic literature and so much trouble in giving to the world a wholly inadequate and inaccurate picture of its content at inordinate length in the form of disjointed jottings from his laborious notebooks. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to disentangle his own remarks from the notes and commentaries of others, or, indeed, from the texts which he quotes in translation (by himself or by others) in support of his apparent view that most, if not all, Arabic literature is wretched stuff. Most of his extremely prosy and uninspired translations—presumably they are his—seem to support such an opinion, and I can only draw the conclusion that his translations are to blame rather than the original texts. On page 378 he gives a verse translation by E. H. Palmer of an ode by Zuhair, which does seem to suggest that Arabic poetry is capable of better things than Mr. Wayriff suspects. Most students of Arabic poetry will probably agree that it is not entirely without merit.

Mr. Wayriff's disabilities as an interpreter of Arab thought and literature would seem to be due in large part to his unfamiliarity with the commonplaces of Arab life itself. For instance, in his chapter on the pilgrimage, he tells us how the pilgrim circumambulates the Ka'ba seven times. "He then goes to a holy spot in Mecca called the station of Abraham, and there recites. . . ." One would scarcely suppose from this account that the "station of Abraham" is not only within the precincts of the Great Mosque but actually within half a dozen paces

\* January, 1938, p. 105.

of the Ka'ba. It is the spot on which Abraham is represented by tradition as standing to lead the prayers of the congregation and on which to this day the Imam stands for the same purpose. Mr. Wayriffe seems to have only a very vague and confused idea of the pilgrimage ceremonies and of the rites constituting the little pilgrimage or *'Umra*. He leaves his readers in doubt as to whether women are allowed or encouraged to attend prayers in the mosques, and does not seem to know that they do habitually attend the public prayers in the Great Mosque at Mecca and also at Madina, though in the latter place they pray within a latticed section of the mosque known as "the cage." He also does not seem to know that women must be unveiled while praying. Further he tells us that "the girths of animals should not be tightened except to go to three mosques, those of Mecca, Jerusalem and Madina," though he does not explain, or apparently know, the significance of this extraordinary prohibition. It does not mean that one may ride *with loose girths* to a mosque, say, in Baghdad or Cairo, but that one may not make "pious visitations" to any but the three places named. It is merely a question of idiom to which mere literal translation cannot be expected to do justice.

Turning to Mr. Wayriffe's treatment of secular Arab literature, I cannot but think that his bald summaries of the *'Antar* and *Bani Hilal* legends would be enough to discourage anyone from desiring a closer acquaintance with those undoubtedly great epics. "To the western reader," he says, "the jingling rhymes and other features are often rather soporific. The intelligent Near Eastern audiences keep, as I am informed, wide awake." That may seem more surprising to Mr. Wayriffe, who modestly describes himself as "one imperfectly instructed Western who has found it intolerable to do more than glance at or skim these poems," than it does to me. And I do not think that in these enlightened modern times of ours our "imperfectly instructed Westerns" need much instruction from the East to "enjoy the monotonous movements of troops in ridiculously monstrous numbers, hundreds of thousands, sometimes even millions, and the battles . . . lasting days or even weeks." Nor are we likely to be any more shocked than these Arab audiences to hear nowadays that "fifty to a hundred ladies accompany each army"—indeed the number strikes one as being rather insignificant.

Space forbids any discussion of Mr. Wayriffe's reactions to "later Arabic classical poetry," on which—to do him justice—he says: "My remarks will be slight, as indeed my acquaintance with it is superficial. To read and fully understand it many years of plodding would be needed." I will conclude, therefore, with a single specimen of his translation of a passage from *the Mutanabbi*, as he calls him: "The failing accomplishments of the promise of you two to help me is as the ruined abandoned house, the view of which is of increasing sadness as the destruction progresses and my tears console me the more as they pour out the faster." On this Mr. Wayriffe comments: "The first distich is exceedingly obscure. The above is an attempted expansion of it into something intelligible. There is an enormous note which also seems obscure." It all seems rather obscure but, as Mr. Wayriffe reminds us in quoting from one of his commentators, the wise man when confronted by an unanswerable or awkward conundrum should answer that, "Knowledge belongeth to the Lord." That certainly seems the safest course for me in concluding this review of a work which has been hailed by an American reviewer (in *Moslem World*) as "a clever debunking of the language, history, literature and religion of Islam by one who is himself no mean scholar"! *Astaghfiru 'llah!*

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY.

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**The Peacock Angel.** By E. S. Drower. Pp. vi+214. Illustrations. Murray. 1941. 10s. 6d.

In this book on the Yezidis of North Irak Lady Drower prudently keeps clear of all difficult problems of what the so-called "Devil-Worshippers" really hold about the supreme Deity, and the position of that "Peacock Angel" whom they revere, Malik Taus. Others have written on that, with perhaps overmuch confidence. Our authoress confines herself to an account of the customs and observ-

ances of a "millet" among the inhabitants of Irak among whom she has stayed for some time, and in so doing she fills a gap in our information on the subject.

She paid long visits to their leading villages and shrines, and, as she speaks Arabic herself, was able to make friends among and converse with many of the people—including especially the leading "Sairey Gamp" of one village, who had almost too much to say on her own special line—and could secure ready interpreters for the majority who still speak only Kurdish. She does not appear to have visited the national stronghold in the Sinjar mountains.

This opportunity was given her by the fact of her acquaintance, in Baghdad, with a leading Yezidi lady. This was the Khatun Wansa, wife of the "Mira" of the people. Being separated from her husband, this lady has not the best of reputations among her own folk, and indeed many of the tribesmen would think it a mere duty to stick a knife into her on any opportunity, so that she pines in Baghdad away from her hills. Still, her own family honour any guest who comes with recommendations from her. Barring this readiness to commit homicide in what they consider a good cause, the Yezidis are a gentle and courteous people, very ready to forget hideous national wrongs in the past, and kindly to the stranger who can respect their peculiar ways. Lady Drower gives them a high character as being "more cleanly than most, and really less superstitious than some." Socially, their customs are much the same as those of their Mohammedan and Christian neighbours (as, for instance, in the ladies' habit of taking their baths in the open), and the observances at, e.g., their great spring festival are, religion apart, much the same as those of others, with their gifts of hard-boiled eggs, their floral decorations, and the great dance (not, of course, a "promiscuous" dance of the two sexes together) to which the universal pipe and tabor give the music. Christian guests from the neighbouring Shrine of Mar Mattai are welcome on these occasions.

In religion they naturally have their own peculiar taboos, abstaining from cabbage, beans, lettuce, and fish, as well as from meats that are *haram* to Islam. They have their own peculiar dress. The Yezidis' white short coat must fasten at the back of the neck like a clerical dog-collar, and for reasons obscure, but no doubt profound, no son of the faith will ever put on his trousers seated! They have other customs too that are sacred and make military service difficult for them, save in a corps of their own. Funeral customs read in Lady Drower's account as much like those of their neighbours, and marriage is, as always, a family affair, though the lady concerned is sometimes allowed a negative voice. Khatun Wansa paid the price of high rank in being wedded for diplomatic reasons, and that was what brought her marriage to disaster. Still, the fact of her daring to secure a separation is probably an omen of social change—as elsewhere. They have hitherto been spared education, but the boys, at any rate, are getting it now, and the fact is another solvent of old custom. The right of any lad or lass to adopt "another brother" or sister, from outside the family, seems a custom peculiar to this people.

The "Mira" is the secular head of the people, but they have an elaborate religious hierarchy. Sheikhs, under the "Baba Sheikh," may be compared to Bishops, with *Pirs* who correspond more or less to Archdeacons. *Qawwals* are the ordinary clergy, who recite the prayers and chants that are too sacred either to write or to reveal to outsiders, and who escort the Sacred Peacock when that holy bird makes his perambulations to collect the *Mira's* due tithe. Lady Drower confirms the old belief in the existence of a chasm in the hills of Sinjar, into which precious offerings to Malik Taus have been thrown from time immemorial, and which no man dares to plunder.

Membership in these ranks is hereditary, though there is also a formal initiation to them. Sheikhs are supposed to be lineally descended from the body of twelve original disciples of Sheikh Adi (*floruit circ. 1163 A.D.*), men who were so holy that they produced sons without the need of female assistance—but then they were all of them incarnations of angels, Adi in particular of the Archangel Gabriel. The descendants of one of them, Sheikh Mand, have to this day the power of curing the bites of serpent or scorpion. There was one woman among them, Khatun Fakhra: but she left no female descendant!

In addition, this religion has its monks and nuns. *Faqirs* and *Kocheks* represent the former, and these follow an ascetic rule of their own choosing, often seeing

visions, "unless they are afraid of the Government." The nuns or *Kabaneh* seem to number only three at present, voluntary celibates who reside at Sheikh Adi and are mainly employed in weaving the wicks for the multitudinous lamps of that shrine. Yezidis seem to have an unoriental reverence for the celibate state, paying honour to the *Ubekr*. Lady Drower concludes her book with a good description of the shrine of Sheikh Adi, laying special stress on the "fonts" or tanks for the baptisms which Yezidis undergo at least once in their lives, and some say on all visits to the sanctuary. She also describes the strange and picturesque habit of lighting every night numbers of miniature lamps, "in the names" of those who have established a small endowment for this end. She is inclined to connect this observance with the belief in re-incarnation which, whether that point be established or no, is certainly a feature of the Yezidi faith.

Sheikh Adi, by the way, if primarily the sanctuary of one religious leader, contains also shrines of all the twelve "companions" whose names the people revere, and has a history that goes back to earlier days than those of the Sheikh himself. It was certainly the site of the Christian monastery at one time, and of a pagan shrine in primitive ages, which were sure to reverence so splendid a spring.

The whole book is the work of a lady who has taken the trouble to get personal knowledge, and to cultivate the friendship of those about whom she writes. It does not profess to be a profound study either of political or religious problems, and indeed its hero Malik Taus, the Peacock Angel, is not very conspicuous in its pages; it is, however, a book for readers who are interested in their own kind, and for those students of affairs who need reminding, as some of them do, that their material is, after all, composed of human beings and not of automata.

W. A. W.

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**Mongol Journeys.** By Owen Lattimore. 8" x 5½". Pp. 284. Cape. 1941. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Owen Lattimore is a representative of the best type of American whose interest in Far Eastern Asiatic affairs is dispassionate and above the struggle of the self-seeking powers in international high politics. In general, this may be said of the policy of the United States in all its relations with the Far East and particularly with China. In his book, *Mongol Journeys*, Mr. Lattimore gives an account of journeys that he made early in the thirties in certain parts of Inner Mongolia, the part lying north of the Great Wall and south of the desert of Gobi. This territory is of considerable interest scientifically from the point of view of the interplay of nomad and settled agricultural communities on submarginal lands; and it is also of interest because it is on this part of the Far Eastern Asiatic continent that the political struggle between powerful neighbouring States has been unfolding itself. The book contains much descriptive writing and personal reminiscences of his journeys, interspersed with dissertations on the past history of Inner Mongolia and of the Mongols, and also an attempt to look into the future. The book is not arranged in an ordered form and is inclined to be discursive, but it is quite the best of its kind that has appeared about this part of the world, and should be read by all who want to study what is going on there.

Mr. Lattimore gives a most interesting account of how he went into the country of Ordos tribes of the Seven Banners in the great bend of the Hoangho, and was the first non-Asiatic, apparently, to witness and actually take part in the great pagan ceremony which the Mongol tribes of the Ordos carry out annually in this remote district round the so-called "coffin" of Jenghiz Khan. My own travels in Outer Mongolia in 1910 showed me that the Mongols still retain ceremonies of a pre-Buddhistic character. Mr. Lattimore shows that in this ceremony the Buddhist lamas are kept almost entirely in the background, and the rites are secular in so far as they do reverence to the memory of a temporal ruler and not to a spiritual authority. What the "coffin" of Jenghiz Khan actually contains remains a mystery, but the author thinks that there is no evidence that any part of the great man's ashes or bones are there, but more likely offerings to his memory which may be contemporary, but are more likely of later date. He does not have much belief in the idea, still held by many Mongols, that a new ruler will rise one day like Jenghiz.

Indeed, with modern science replacing the horse and the camel, the Mongolian desert to-day hums with Ford cars and in places with the whistle of the railway locomotive. What made the Mongol military power, the mobile cavalry, so great has long disappeared, and instead Mongolia is a place where rival Powers compete to set up aerodromes and radio stations.

But the old Mongolia is still there in large measure, and Mr. Lattimore shows us some of it when he describes his journey across the Ordos to the Jenghiz Khan ceremonies. Yet he describes something much worse than the old Mongolia. It is a country in a state of moral and social disintegration in consequence of the struggle of neighbouring Powers round it and of its inability to defend itself or take part in the effort to create a new world. When reading this part of the book one realizes that it must be very like what happened in Europe during and after the Thirty Years' War. Here is a sample of what is happening: "Wang Ying, one of the most notorious bandits of the Mongol border, belonged to a landholding family which had a fortified town and a private army. Many landlords' armies of this kind are first recruited from bandits, both as a protection against other bandits and to hold down the tenants. Then there grows up the convention of allowing the private army to pay for itself by going on bandit expeditions. The next step is taken when banditry is more profitable than farming. . . . When we moved at night it was almost impossible to find food or new riding animals; everything vanished. It was the men who ran away, taking horses and cattle if they have time. The women and children stay behind quaking. The bandits have established the convention that unless women are left they will burn everything. A baby that is bandit-begotten is just thrown out to die." The author seems to have had several narrow shaves passing through this country, but, thanks to his knowledge of the people and the way to handle them and to the types of servants he had with him, he was able to bluff his way through this no-man's-land of terror and blackmail.

The reasons for this state of affairs are described by the author. Lying between the rich cultivable Chinese lands south of the Hoangho and the stony desert plateau of Gobi, Inner Mongolia is a marginal territory where nomads can make a living, but where small farmers can also manage to scrape a precarious existence. If they were left to themselves the nomads would probably prevail, but a predatory landlord system has developed in which local tribal chiefs, Chinese speculators, and the Buddhist monasteries have acquired a vested interest in stealing the land from the Mongol nomads, selling it to Chinese peasants from the south escaping from wars and famine. When these find they cannot live on this marginal land, they are sold up and a new lot is brought in. Finally, Mr. Lattimore found that whole districts were deserted, soil erosion had set in, and desert had invaded the derelict millet-fields.

North of the Hoangho in the country rising to the Gobi plateau there are mountains and upland plains with good pasture where the Mongols are relatively flourishing. Mr. Lattimore noted in this country evidence everywhere of former urban settlements and villages, similar to the Chinese colonies there to-day. He thinks that the Mongols were not always nomads, and he cites Marco Polo to show that these relics of cities prove that the population consisted once of nomads and settled population both of Chinese and Mongol origin. The country north of the Great Wall, in fact, was not just barbarian country. The Great Wall itself was probably built, in large tracts of it at least, by Mongol chiefs to protect themselves against other Mongols further north. He develops interesting arguments to prove his case.

As for the rôle that Inner Mongolia may come to play in the international struggle in the Far East, he thinks that Russia is following a wise policy in not intervening directly in Outer Mongolia. She wants the Mongols to regard her as a friend, and she has no interest in the hides and wool from the plateau, of which she has plenty in her own Asiatic territories. She merely wants to keep Japan out of there. Japan, he thinks, is trying to "cossackize" Inner Mongolia, and has succeeded in organizing some of the bandits to do her dirty work against the Chinese, but he gives evidence to show that the bulk of Mongols hate the Japanese, and the latter are quite incapable of solving the scandals of the land system and of raising the condition of the people. The Chinese, he thinks, made many mistakes in sending

the wrong kind of man to administer the country in the early days of the Revolution, but, if the land system can be reformed and landlord banditry abolished, the foundations of a settled condition may be reached. The success in working out a policy of this kind has given the Chinese Communists their hold over some of the Chinese provinces. In general, Mr. Lattimore hopes that Mongolia will become a federated autonomous province within the New China.

M. PHILLIPS PRICE.

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**The March of the Barbarians.** By Harold Lamb. Pp. 347. 3 maps. 1 illustration. Hale. 1941. 15s.

Mr. Harold Lamb, the well-known writer on Mongol and mediæval Oriental subjects, has now given us a history of the great Mongol drama from the birth of Genghis Khan in 1157 A.D. in the Karakoram down to the present day. In a preliminary chapter, entitled "The Steppes of Asia," he describes in very general fashion the evolution and movements of the main Asiatic races leading up to their eventual geographical distribution.

From the narrative in this book it is possible to obtain a clear picture of the methods employed by the Mongols in achieving their amazing successes, which may be summarized as follows:

(a) Clever and far-reaching methods of diplomacy, as, for example, the relations cultivated with the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, which led to alliances against the Moslems.

(b) A highly organized system of intelligence and information by means of numerous spies and agents; also the use of terrorism and of unscrupulous "fifth column" methods to break down the morale of hostile nations.

(c) A cast-iron military organization established by the genius of Genghis Khan, and founded on the tribal system and laws, reinforced by rigid discipline. The attention paid to details even down to the smallest article of equipment is well brought out in this book. This organization incorporated many tribes of kindred ethnical origin and vast numbers also of outsiders. It was greatly helped by the magnificent system of courier communications.

(d) A new system of tactics. The Mongol military successes were gained mainly by the employment of dense mounted forces manœuvring at high speed in huge sweeps and "pincer" movements directed at definite objectives. The numbers of their armies, as the author points out, were greatly exaggerated by contemporary historians, and in many cases the Mongols were outnumbered by their enemies. Their secret lay in paralyzing their foes often at small cost to themselves by attacking in several different and unexpected directions. As time went on they were forced to modify their methods and to operate in populous and sometimes difficult regions. For this reason they rapidly adopted the military appliances which they found in the conquered countries such as siege trains and even gunpowder, generally employing foreigners for their use.

(e) The employment of terrorism and massacre on a scale which had never before been witnessed in the world.

In the conquered countries the original Mongol system of government was based on the exploitation of the conquered people for the benefit of the conquerors. Nations which submitted through terror were heavily taxed, but otherwise left unharmed. As the author points out, the personal character of the Mongols had an extraordinary Jekyll and Hyde aspect. In the ordinary relations of life they were jovial, hospitable, and even kindly. The pagan Mongols, in addition, were tolerant and protective towards all religious faiths. But in politics and war they regarded their frightful methods merely as means towards achieving their ends, which were, in short, world domination.

From 1206 onwards in less than a century the Mongols overran and conquered Asia from the Pacific to the Mediterranean. In 1240 they penetrated Europe as far as Silesia with comparative ease owing to the absence of any combined resistance; in the following year they retired to the Karakoram owing to the news of the death of the *Khakhan* Ogadai. Thus Europe was saved by a fluke which amounted to

almost a miracle! During the latter part of the century the armies of Kubilai, the last great *Khakhan* and founder of the Yüan dynasty in China, conquered such outlying territories as Burma and Indo-China, and unsuccessfully attempted the invasion of Japan. Mongol ships reached Java and Sumatra. How then was the Mongol avalanche halted and what were the reasons which led to its comparatively rapid effacement?

These are to be found firstly in the inter-tribal jealousies arising about the succession to the office of *Khakhan*, or great chief, which led to many years of bitter civil wars. These jealousies were accentuated by the power of religion. The conversion of the Western Mongols to the Moslem faith and the influence of Chinese Buddhism on the Eastern Mongols widened the breach. Lastly, civilization and luxury promoted the work of disintegration. After the death of Mangu *Khakhan* in 1259 the Mongols, together with the kindred tribes assimilated into their system became separated roughly into four great zones—the Western Mongols, founders of the Mongol dynasty of Persia; the Golden Horde dominating the greater part of southern Russia; the Mongol clans occupying the homelands around Lake Baikal, and the Yüan Empire in China and surrounding countries. The thinning-out of the Mongol elements through perpetual wars and intermarriage with foreign women, together with the employment of vast numbers of outsiders in both civil and military activities, completed the process. The decay of the great trans-Asiatic caravan and courier routes encouraged maritime enterprise, and eventually opened the way for the penetration of Asia by the Europeans.

In an interesting Afterword the author describes the labours which he has undertaken during the last twenty-three years in pursuit of his subject, and his acknowledgements to various *savants* who have furthered his journeys and his studies. He discusses the main sources of knowledge and the changes of opinion which have gradually developed amongst scholars of all nationalities as the result of much new investigation and research. Instead of being regarded as human scourges the Mongols have now come to be considered as "savages of genius" pursuing a definite course of world domination. In many respects the publication of this book is timely. The mounted hordes of the steppes which overran Asia and half Europe resemble in many ways the mechanized hordes which have overrun Europe and are now knocking at the gates of Asia. The "gangster" diplomacy, the "fifth column" work, the lightning tactics, the terrorism, the economic exploitation of conquered nations, practised by the Mongols, have their counterpart in the Nazi activities of the present day. There is significance in the author's note at the end of the last chapter to the effect that there are indications that "readers in the Third Reich have made a close study of the Mongol campaigns and especially of the Mongol technique of attack."

The author's literary methods in vivifying the dry bones of history are vivid and picturesque, but on the whole very effective; above all, he creates an atmosphere. It might be alleged that, at times, his tendency to dramatization is excessive, notably in the reconstruction of scenes and conversations which may never have occurred in the form which he presents. In a work of this size dealing with so vast a subject the difficulties of selection and compression must inevitably be great. But the treatment of some historical features seems to be perfunctory, as, for instance, the career of Tamerlane, generally considered to be the greatest Asiatic conqueror of all time, which only occupies four pages of the narrative. In the interests of the general reader the book needs a more detailed map than those available in the book as the narrative contains many place names and other geographical features.

D. B-B.

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**Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century.** By E. W. Hutchinson. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xxvii+283. Maps and illustrations. London: The Royal Asiatic Society. 12s. 6d.

At this present juncture in the affairs of mankind, when threats against the widespread interests and dominating influence of the white man in the Far East are borne daily on the air, a peculiar interest attaches to the exploits of those early

adventurers who faced privations and dangers by sea and land in search of the riches of the Orient, and incidentally sowed the seed from which sprang those interests and that influence.

Consequently, Mr. Hutchinson's book comes at a propitious moment, and its title is likely to attract readers who, though they may have no particular concern with Siam (now Thailand), are in search of information with historical bearing on a country that seems likely shortly to become yet another victim of this evil time. For those few more intimately connected with that country the attraction will naturally be greater.

The title is, however, not altogether an accurate indication of the contents of the book, and students hoping for descriptions of the adventurers themselves, their race, numbers, and reactions to their surroundings, their customs, habitations, appearance, social relaxations, and manner of life generally, as well as their commercial methods, will find that it does not add very much to the knowledge—all too little—that we already have of such matters; the work being, in fact, more concerned with a single individual than with the general aspect of the early foreign contacts with Thailand.

That individual is Constantine Phaulkon, the Greek merchant sailor who in eight short years rose from a menial office to be Finance and Foreign Minister to the King of Thailand, who for a time practically ruled the country, and who perished in the course of a revolution in great measure the result of his own activities. This remarkable personage holds, so to speak, the centre of the stage throughout the work, the European missionaries, Jesuits, merchants, sailors, the Indian, Japanese, Chinese traders, and other foreign adventurers, together with the native populace, officials, ministers, even the King himself, filling minor rôles in the drama of political and commercial intrigue through which he moves to his tragic end.

The romance of Phaulkon's career and the diversity of opinion as to his character and designs that obtained during his life and persisted afterwards have caused much to be written concerning him. His story has remained alive and has not only held—though perhaps in fluctuating degree—the interest of historians and archæologists, but has from time to time been the inspiration of stage plays and novels in more than one European language.

Influenced by a random article on Phaulkon, seen by chance in a Scottish magazine, the attention of Mr. Hutchinson, long a resident in Thailand, was aroused, and with Anderson's monumental work, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, at his elbow he began what proved to be a long and arduous investigation into the origin and career of this singular character, an investigation pursued not only in Thailand, but through the State archives and libraries of Europe and Japan, and even to the island of Cephalonia, the birthplace of his hero. And now, after many years, there emerges this book, which (whatever it may lack as a treatise on the adventurers in the bulk) is, without doubt, the most exhaustive study of this particular specimen of the breed, the finest and largest of them all, that has ever appeared.

It was Phaulkon's fate to excite, in the minds of those with whom he came in contact, pronounced feelings either of admiration or the reverse, wherefore unbiassed records concerning him are rare. But by careful analysis and collation of such records, from the eulogies of those who extolled him to the skies to the fulminations of others who cursed him to the depths, Mr. Hutchinson dispels the mists of controversy and reveals the man, neither spotless hero nor double-dyed villain, morally neither better nor worse than the average of his period, but lively and quick-witted far beyond his compeers, brave enough to grasp occasion when it came his way, and intelligent enough to extract the utmost advantage from it. With the additional aid of documents unknown to, or neglected by, former writers, much new light is thrown on this strange and complex character, and the author goes far to settle for all time the much-debated points as to the degree of Phaulkon's good faith and honesty and the basic purposes of the tortuous foreign policy in which he involved his King and ultimately lost himself.

The book opens with an informative introduction, followed by eight well-arranged chapters interspersed with twenty-seven apposite maps, plans, and illustrations, and nine appendixes, and concludes with a bibliography and a useful index.



It is in every way worthy of the high distinction accorded to it by the learned society that has sponsored its publication.

W. A. GRAHAM.

**Vagabondage.** By Claudia Parsons. Pp. 304. Fifteen plates and three sketch-maps. Chatto and Windus. 1941. 15s.

Miss Parsons starts her story by saying that she earned £165 by writing a novel, and with this sum in hand she determined to travel round the U.S.A. Having got so far, she suddenly decided to carry on round the world, and thus travelled for thirteen and a half months in all on a sum of £306, supplementing her very limited resources by picking up various temporary jobs on the way. Her book is, therefore, a record of hard, enterprising, and cheap travel, and as such provides excellent entertainment. Scenes and incidents of travel are described throughout with great spirit and humour, varied with short and vivid paragraphs of descriptive and historical interest. Furthermore, in spite of the immense range covered, she appears to be very accurate in her statements.

Now to come to the actual journeys. Excluding certain interludes on the sea, her travels fall into nine sections. The first of these took place in the U.S.A., where she drove a Ford car from New York to San Francisco and thence up the coast to Seattle. The most remarkable feature of this part of her journey is that she crossed the continent, staying in roadside auto-cabins with comfort and even luxury, at an inclusive rate of £1 a day in what is generally considered to be the most expensive country in the world. She actually travelled two-thirds of the journey on 10s. a day, and finally sold the car on the west coast at a profit of £10!

From Seattle it was only a step into British Columbia. At Victoria and on Vancouver Island generally she met with British living conditions, pleasant social contacts, and less value for her dwindling means, but she found temporary work on a dairy farm. In spite of the news of the outbreak of war in China, she decided to return by the Far East, and embarked on a Japanese liner for Yokohama and thence to Tokyo.

In Japan, for financial reasons, she lived as much as possible in Japanese fashion, and her travelling was confined to beaten tracks. She wrote articles for the *Japan Times*, but the editor forgot to pay her for them, and finally her peregrinations on an island in the Inland Sea, combined with her passion for photography, aroused the usual Japanese spy complex, and on embarking at Kobe in a penniless condition she was arrested and severely interrogated by the police, narrowly escaping detention.

Finding a welcome sum of money awaiting her in Penang, she travelled second class via Bangkok to Aranya on the Indo-China frontier, and thence by bus to Angkor Siemrap, whence she viewed the glories of Angkor, and on the return journey met "Kylton R. Stewart, psychoanalyst," an American scientific vagabond who eventually proved himself to be the best of good companions on subsequent journeys, and, incidentally, as she discovered later, an elder of the Mormon Church!

The pace now begins to quicken: From Rangoon a rush up country accompanied by another and gigantic American vagabond of Irish extraction, then a period of rest and relaxation in Calcutta with her relations moving in official circles. But this could not last long, and, after a dash northwards to view Mount Everest and Kinchinjunga, she returned to Malaya for eight weeks to take up an interesting secretarial job with the Government ethnologist and Stewart the psychoanalyst in a Sakai village.

It now became inevitable that the final stages of the journey should be performed overland, and from Calcutta the two travellers set out in a thirteen-year-old Studebaker car, subsequently known as "Baker." After a sharp but futile struggle with the Simla authorities, they obtained an Afghan visa through the kindness and courtesy of the Consul, who also gave them valuable letters of introduction to the Afghan authorities, and at Peshawar they were treated with consideration and obtained the indispensable Persian visa. The journey to Kabul was successfully negotiated, and they proceeded westwards via Kandahar, living in caravanserais and finding the main roads very rough but surprisingly safe, and the local population friendly to foreigners. Useful information was obtained from American geologists

and Germans engaged in the usual "peaceful penetration" of the country, but the trip taxed "Baker's" powers to the utmost, and he started to fail.

Trouble started on the Persian frontier and continued throughout their stay in this country, partly through "Baker's" declining health and strength, and partly owing to the mass of official rules and regulations which impede all touring in Persia and convert the country into "a very factory of red tape." "Baker" collapsed on the Meshed road, but Miss Parsons travelled the sixty intervening miles to the Holy City in a passing bus, and rescue was finally effected through the kind efforts of the British Consul-General. The expedition then carried on to Teheran, where the travellers were unable to secure the necessary permit to take photos, but proceeded to Shiraz, viewing various classical monuments on the way, and thence to Baghdad, where they were most hospitably received by a British official and his wife, who had both played parts in the making of the new Iraq State. It is pleasing to note that the authoress devotes two short paragraphs to the memories of Colonel Leachman, "whose personality and extreme mobility have now an almost legendary fame," and to Captain Shakespeare, who bears a name "remembered throughout Arabia."

To such hardened travellers the journey by night across the desert to Damascus was but an ordinary incident of travel, and, passing through Jerusalem, where they delighted in the facilities offered by the new archæological museum, they reached Cairo, tired but happy.

Their last stage of travel has now considerable topical interest, owing to the fact that they crossed Libya, travelling westwards to Tunis by Mussolini's famous coastal road, and stayed at an inn in Benghazi. They noted, in passing, the preparations for the great Italian immigration schemes and settlements, which admittedly were well carried out, but at the expense of the local population. Taking ship from Tunis to Marseilles, the rest of the journey to London via Paris was like child's play after overland travel lasting seventy-nine days, including forty-nine days of actual travel. In London the indomitable "Baker" was eventually sold for £5, leaving a balance of £1 for distribution after the payment of entrance dues and other charges. Instead of a life of ease and retirement to which he must be fully entitled, he is passing his extreme old age in working on a farm.

Miss Parsons' final dictum on travel in general is that the lower the grade of travel, the more entertaining it is and the more instructive it is to the traveller concerned. She is now fully occupied in a munitions factory, where her knowledge of practical mechanics may be of great value. The illustrations to this book consist of three small sketch-maps and sixteen plates, mostly displaying two photographs, each of which presumably come from the authoress's collection of snapshots, and are good. It might be added that about half the plates are of a very orthodox character and portray views of celebrated monuments which have already been reproduced on innumerable occasions in the past. In a book of this sort one would like to see a greater number of photos, especially those showing queer scenes and queer types of people.

D. B.-B.

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**Rome and China.** By Frederick Teggart, Professor of Social Institutions in the University of California. A Study of Correlations in Historical Events. 9½" × 6½". Pp. xvii + 283. 14 maps. University of California Press. Oxford: University Press.

This work by Professor Teggart was written as a study of correlations in historical events. The author's plan has been to collect every possible historical evidence of events in Europe and Asia for the period from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107, and this he has done in the most exhaustive manner. Indeed, if merely taken as a tabloid historical summary, it is a useful piece of work. But it is more than this, since it proves that, within the chosen period, the outbreak of war on the Eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire or in the "Western Regions" of the Chinese Empire, was followed by attacks by the barbarians on the Lower Danube and possibly also on the Rhine. Further, he writes: "There were no uprisings in Europe which were not

preceded by the respective disturbances in the Near or Far East, and there were no wars in the Roman East or the T'ien Shan which were not followed by the respective outbreaks in Europe. These two-way correspondences represent Correlations in Historical Events."

Professor Teggart considers that the interruption of trade on the Silk Route, for example, may well have been a main cause of these reactions. On this subject there is surely no doubt that the western march of the hordes of Chinghiz Khan and later of Tamerlane had far-reaching reactions. For instance, the Osmanli Turks, residing in the neighbourhood of Merv, fled across Asia to Asia Minor, where they became so powerful that they captured ultimately Constantinople (which they still hold) and besieged Vienna.

The reasons which lay behind these migrations are certainly not for dogmatic pronouncement. The construction of the Great Wall of China possibly impelled the Huns to attack their neighbours, the Yueh-Chih, who, fleeing from them, invaded and overwhelmed the Kingdom of Bactrea. Incidentally the Yueh-Chih dispossessed the Aryan tribe of the Sakae, who, in turn, seized the fertile delta of the Helmand, naming it Sakastene, whence the modern Seistan. Later, following in the footsteps of the first Aryan invaders of India in the sixteenth century B.C., the Sakae marched down the Bolan Pass and occupied Kathiawar, Cutch and other provinces in the plains of India. These great migrations, which caused such great reactions, may also, in some cases, have been due to drought, to over-population, to quarrels over grazing grounds or the rise of an ambitious warlike leader.

To conclude, this work is certainly valuable for the reasons given above, while it is also a call to historians to take a wide view of the subjects on which they write. So far as Asia is concerned, this is especially desirable.

P. M. SYKES.

### A Study of Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore.

By Louise Wallace Hackney and Yau Chang-foo. Pp. xvi+279. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. £8 8s.

This large and sumptuously produced volume is specifically called, not a catalogue, but "a study of Chinese paintings in the collection of Ada Small Moore." With the principle of picking out from Mrs. Moore's collection thirty-seven examples (or, more correctly, forty-six, for ten of those thus treated and reproduced are part of an album and are resumed under a single number, though they are by different hands and completely independent works) there can be complete agreement. It is (almost) inevitable that any collection of Chinese paintings should include a good deal that is only of reference value.

There are few private collections of Chinese paintings in the West which are worthy of close study and commemoration in a printed catalogue. A folio volume like the present, with its forty-three monochrome and five colour plates produced by collotype by Messrs. Arthur Jaffe, of New York, is too sumptuous for any except perhaps this of Mrs. Moore. Indeed, the good impression made by Mrs. Moore's collection might have been further enhanced by the omission of several chosen for illustration. Thus reduced, the collection would reward the closest study, and it should be added that it is only by such close study of select examples that it will be possible to learn more about Chinese painting. But even the generous size of the volume does not, apparently, permit of the reproduction of even parts of the paintings in the size of the originals; so that not only is it in many cases impossible to judge of the actual handling, but seals and inscriptions, to which so much attention is paid in the text, are often illegible or quite invisible. This is not a criticism of the technical work of reproduction, but of the failure to publish details. We shall have more to say of the seals later on.

The best-known paintings in the collection are all, as it happens, handscrolls: the "Assembly of Birds on a Willow Bank," attributed to Huang Ch'uan, tenth century (No. VI.); the "Group of Court Ladies fatigued by Embroidering," to which an attribution to Chou Fang of T'ang has been attached (No. XXI.)—both of these were lent to the exhibition at Burlington House in the winter of 1935-1936—and the Mi Fei "Mountains and Water" picture dated A.D. 1104 (No. X.). There

is also the Hsia Kuei "River Landscape" inkscroll (No. XVI.), a version of a much quieter subject than the Yangtze scroll shown there; and several other pictures well known from reproductions in standard books..

It is natural to turn to these first to see their treatment at the hands of the authors of this book. After the words "No. VI. Attributed to Huang-ch'uan (*d.* 965)" there follows the dating "Pre-Sung." After a short description of the painting, the authors go on to say that "it has a very interesting inscription recording the selecting and recording of the painting by the Interior Treasury of Paintings in 1032," as well as various imperial seals from Sung to Ch'ing. Then follows the estimate by the authors: "This painting is a remarkably fine example of flower- and bird-painting, and shows an extraordinary truth of observation. It is powerful in execution, yet has great fineness of brush-stroke." Next, "Silk: Pre-Sung. Paper: First Colophon, T'ang. Second Colophon, Sung. Third Colophon, Ming. Mounting: Ming. K'o-ssu on the outside of the scroll, Ming." The rest of the entry consists of three and a half folio pages of translation of the seals and inscriptions on the painting itself and on the colophon attached to it. The information to be derived from these has been summarized above, but it can be added that a large proportion of the seals are examples of those used by the well-known Ming painter and collector, Hsiang Yuan-pien (1525-1590).

Turning to No. XXI., this is what we find: "Artist unknown. Attributed to Sung dynasty. . . . [Description]. . . . There is every evidence that this painting cannot be as early as Chou Fang, of T'ang, to whom it is attributed by Ch'ü Tê-i, modern scholar, authority on art, and formerly curator of the art collection of Viceroy Tuan F'ang. The pigments and treatment date it as Sung; the silk on which it is painted is also Sung." Then follows a translation of Ch'ü Tê-i's long inscription written on the colophon following the painting and dated 1917. About the Mi Fei (No. X.) we have a quite definite expression of opinion: "This painting is a fine example of Mi Fei's best work." The paper is Sung, and it is signed Fei, of Hsiang-yang. In addition, "there are poems and inscriptions by some of the foremost men of the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties, together with a large number of seals of prominent men," the translation of which occupies four and a half pages. The treatment of these three paintings is a fair indication of the line followed by the authors. It is explained in the introduction, "In the study of the paintings in this collection more weight has been given to the inscriptions and the seals than is customary in the West," as in China, where, of course, connoisseurship of painting is inseparably bound up with the critical appreciation of calligraphy and the scrutiny of seals. "The great reservoirs of catalogues and books on seals published by Chinese collectors and authorities on art have been freely drawn upon." Evidently the latest of these, "Maler und Sammler-Stempel aus der Ming- und Ch'ing-Zeit," by Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch'uan, was published too late (Shanghai, 1940) to be of use to them, for it is not included in the bibliography. This is a pity, for it is the first attempt to give photographic facsimiles of seals, which may be of great use in detecting the countless forgeries, for a seal can never be cut twice correctly the same. In default, the authors have had to depend in this matter, as well as in the judgment of calligraphy and brush-stroke, on the sensitivity of the trained Chinese eye, which "can distinguish shades and differences which would escape that of the Westerner. It is upon this sensitivity, coupled with years of familiarity with authentic signatures, that the authors have based their evaluations."

The text is, in fact, in the tradition of Chinese scholarship. In this tradition its authority naturally depends on that of the authors, but they would not be expected to state their reasons. Of course, not every signature or inscription is accepted as genuine, for instance, seals and inscriptions on XXXV. are dismissed as forgeries, and it is pointed out that the name "Ma Yüan" on No. XV. is an attribution, not a signature.

It will have been noticed that another criterion has been referred to in the extracts quoted—the date of paper, silk, and pigments. This question is also treated in the introduction, where the authors mention it as a subject to which they "have given more than usual importance" (that is, presumably, *weight*) in making their attributions of date; though they are careful to point out that the evidence from silk is only negative, being limited to the possibility of proving that a painting could not

have been painted in the period stated if the silk is of later date. They continue: "The study of all these matters in the modern analytical method is scarcely more than begun." To the question that may be asked, How, then, can any conclusions be advanced? the only answer must be, once more, through the sensitivity of the trained Chinese eye.

It is not in the least the wish of the reviewer to depreciate this traditional approach to the expertise of paintings in China. But it is discouraging that in a book like this, intended exclusively for Western readers, no attempt should have been made either to explain the points noted in such a study or to support the attributions by the adducement of the other examples present to the authors' minds when making them. There are, in fact, in the text no references to either Chinese or European books, not even to those in which some of the paintings have been reproduced or discussed. And the authors display no interest in a previous ownership which has left no mark on the paintings in seal or inscription. Nor, in the case of those bearing inscriptions by Ch'ien Lung (for instance, on the Su Shih Bamboo, picture No. VII.), is there any indication whether an entry has been found in his catalogue or if the inscription appears in his "Works." Such detachment cannot but be somewhat exasperating, and when we read in the introduction that to make the rich references in the inscriptions understandable to the English-speaking reader would require a vast number of explanatory footnotes, "footnotes more suitable to a book on literature than one on painting," and therefore withheld, this detachment seems to approach contempt, and we cannot help asking what they have presented to us beyond a picture-book weighted with a great deal of tedious matter.

Some attempt has, however, been made to interest the reader in the authors of inscriptions and owners of the seals translated by giving brief biographical notes in an alphabetic index; and three plates are devoted to the reproduction of 115 of the seals, grouped according to the date of the owner. It is to be regretted, however, that there are no references back to the paintings from which these are reproduced, and that they are not reproduced either in facsimile or in a uniform scale of reduction or enlargement. A comparison of these seals with those reproduced in the book of Contag and Wang Chi-ch'uan mentioned above reveals the rather disconcerting fact that, of the seven seals of Hsiang Yuan-pien, five at least, and probably all seven, differ from seals of similar form reproduced in this latter book from pictures cited from Chinese collections. The matter is particularly important, since it is pointed out in the preface that by a "most interesting coincidence a large number of the most important ones bear the seals of . . . Hsiang Yuan-pien." There are few pre-Ming seals given in the Shanghai publication, for the significant reason that there are so few genuine ones to reproduce. The upshot seems to be that, as in the matter of silk and pigments, not enough evidence has yet been gathered to make citation of seals of much value. The question of inscriptions is rather different, and here the trained Chinese eye undoubtedly should be the decisive test.

But if, as a study, this book is something of a disappointment, as a catalogue it is a worthy record of that part of Mrs. Moore's distinguished collection which she must hold most memorable. The collector has followed the older American tradition of Freer and Fenollosa in aiming at securing examples of the work of the greatest masters of the classic periods of T'ang and Sung. It is true that the Yüan and early Ming masters are not entirely omitted, but they are overshadowed by the work ascribed to earlier periods. It is these which make it remarkable among collections in West or East. The "Birds on a Willow Bank" is in the style which is to be expected of a picture attributed to Huang-ch'uan, who painted (in Mr. Waley's words) "in minutely applied opaque colours" in a highly realistic manner. The hills, however, in the background preserve the old "contour" tradition. The intensity of vision displayed here, as is often the case with realistic painting, makes a supra-real, romantic impression which is heightened by the rich depths of the heavy pigments, especially the metallic green and lapis blue. It is this which differentiates it in feeling from the many bird- and flower-paintings of the Ming period, and relates it rather to the Persian miniature school. The impression that it makes is deep.

Though the attribution of the "Court Ladies" to Chou Fang is a recent one by a modern scholar, it is clearly not made without reason. If we turn to the well-

known composition associated with the name of this artist, called "Listening to Music," which exists in several versions, we find not only a similar subject similarly treated, but that three of its five figures are closely paralleled in attitude in the present painting. And in both scrolls, as in another T'ang composition—the Dance scroll in the Berenson collection—a tree is prominently and unexpectedly introduced. Though, therefore, it is clear that Mrs. Moore's painting cannot actually be earlier than Sung, its connections with the T'ang period are close, and it is for this reason that the sweet colouring and soft contours seem rather inappropriate to the monumental composition. In this particular there is a parallel in the "Preparing Newly Woven Silk" in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which is actually attributed to the Sung emperor Hui Tsung, and is in gay and blonde colouring, startling at first sight after familiarity with monochrome reproductions. Mrs. Moore's picture is the weaker, but merits comparison with this famous picture.

The Mi Fei handscroll is one of the most elaborate compositions attributed to him. If any are genuine autographs, this has as good a claim as any other. It certainly appears to be a fresh, original picture and not a copy, and the inscription is on the same paper and in the same ink as the painting. The attribution of No. XII. to Mi's son, Mi Yu-jên, appears, however, to be no older than the seventeenth century; the only inscriptions on the painting itself are copies of three Yüan poems.

Though neither the Hui Tsung nor the Hsia Kuei ink landscape scrolls can be attributed with absolute conviction to the masters' own hands, they are both important pictures worthy of careful study and representative of the Sung styles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would be fair to congratulate any collection on owning these. There is also an early portrait (No. XIX.) which is distinctly impressive. The more famous head and shoulders of an Immortal, "frequently attributed to Wu Tao-tzü" (No. V.), is enigmatic rather than impressive. The authors' declaration that it is painted on T'ang silk does not, we feel, carry us very much further. Among the album pictures, No. VII., a snow landscape, given to the Southern Sung period, is fine, though apparently cut down, and several of the other leaves have distinguished compositions, if the handling is rather dry. The quality of the reproduction work is excellent.

BASIL GRAY.

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**Dawn Watch in China.** By Joy Homer. Pp. 288. Map of China. Illustrations. Collins. 12s. 6d.

Joy Homer has written a realistic account of the war between China and Japan. She traversed the extended battle front, and, after crossing the Yellow River, entered, with the Chinese guerilla forces, Japanese occupied Shansi. The book is a vivid chronicle, and portrays sympathetically the prolonged and desperate struggle that China is waging against Japan. The author tells of a long-suffering, courageous, and indomitable Yellow Kingdom—very different from the Boxer mobs of forty years ago—"The Old China falls bit by bit. So they go and put up a New China to take her place" (p. 65).

It is not all praise—there is no determination to cover up failures—"It is easy to grow sentimental over the Chinese; and then suddenly discover their faults—their inefficiency and carelessness, their childish optimism—and start right in to scorn them. Illogically. Not even give them credit for their virtues" (p. 82).

The great migration from the eastern seaboard to the western provinces has quickened into unexpected life the age-long immunity of centuries. The author gives a striking description of the battering into activity of the dormant-long-neglected western country, suddenly finding itself faced with modernity, and dragged unwillingly, and only half awake, into the pangs of China's birth-throes. "Seventy-seven universities have moved to the west. The story of these colleges and their strange trek has become legend" (p. 105).

The book is not a cursory review of conditions in the unoccupied area; it gives detailed and graphic description. Chiang Kai-shek receives deserved praise.

"Up to this moment, (I) had decided that Chiang Kai-shek was without doubt a good deal overrated; that he had made some bad blunders in the past

when dealing with the Communists; and that he was probably reaping the benefit of his wife's superior ability. Now my cherished theories collapsed in ruin. I remembered the bald statements of his closest friends and bitterest enemies that the Generalissimo in the past few years had built himself up from a clever soldier and scholar into a great man" (p. 73).

China is a land of contradictions. "Now, for the first time in China's long history, her armies were fighting side by side with her people" (p. 119). "The quiet perseverance of this race" combines with a "vast national complacency" (pp. 175 and 184).

There is no detailed description of the general education that is slowly spreading throughout the country, but the change that is being brought about by the war is apparent on every page.

The story of Jang Jin is one of the most lurid pictures of the bombing of a Chinese city. The narrative is too long to quote. It should be read in full for all the pathos and sublimity to be appreciated (pp. 142-149).

A quick saunter through occupied territory ends the dramatic story of the strife that is stirring the dry bones of China. There is a hurried visit to Japan, where the author spoke to groups who, owing to the rigid censorship, knew little of the "most unpleasant details of the China 'Incident'" (p. 276). Unbelief, then sympathy, followed her words, "backed up . . . with absolute proof" (p. 283). She tells of an internationally known Japanese, who begged her to "implore your people (Americans) to place a complete embargo on all war materials. . . . My people are . . . in no mood for conflict with the United States" (p. 285).

The author is to be congratulated on the lively account she has given of a great race in the throes of a new-birth.

A. F. ALGIE.

**East and West.** By René Guénon. Translated by William Massey. 8vo. Pp. vi+257. London: Luzac and Co. 1941. 6s.

From the very nature of the author's thesis it is inevitable that René Guénon's work, now made available to English readers, should be assessed very differently according to the viewpoint of the disciple or critic. There are those who will claim that it is the most important contribution to the mutual understanding of East and West which this generation has seen: others will dismiss the whole as unworthy of serious consideration. The fundamental concept, in the author's own words, is "that the West has nothing to teach the East, except in the purely material domain, in which the East can find no interest, having at her disposal things beside which material considerations scarcely count, things which she is not disposed to sacrifice in return for vain and futile contingencies." The first part of the book is devoted to the elaboration of this view and the general heading, "Western Illusions," covers four chapters—Civilization and Progress, the Superstition of Science, the Superstition of Life, Imaginary Terrors and Real Dangers. It may well be urged that the outbreak of war has added point to the author's contention that the civilization of the modern West is "progress" in a purely material sense, and has been accompanied inevitably by a corresponding intellectual regress. The restless search of science for an understanding of the material universe is interpreted as an indication of instability, against which is placed the stability of an immutable Eastern philosophy. By inference the Middle Ages in Europe were not the Dark Ages, but the zenith of intellectualism—indeed, the "so-called Renaissance" was the beginning of the intellectual decline.

The thoughtful reader will agree that Guénon's strictures on so much that we accept as progress are salutary and afford food for thought, but few will follow him the whole length of his arguments and deductions. To thus admire the static is to deny the obvious: change, whether it be called progress or regress, evolution or devolution, is universal, and it is hard to see the place of a static philosophy in a dynamic world. To say that "Western science is ignorant knowledge," that the moral accompaniment of Western material progress is merely a growth of "senti-

mentality" is to state opinions which it is difficult to substantiate, and the attempted substantiation produces some very naïve presentations of fact—such as the "invention" of the imaginary terror of the yellow peril (pp. 114-115). Apparently only the older Chinese and certain Hindus can really be considered as "the East"; for various reasons the Japanese (p. 115), the Malay, Judaism (p. 122) are not Oriental, whilst all those tinged with "modernism" have cut themselves off from the East. In forcing Western ideas on the East the villains of the piece are the English and Germans, little is said of the French.

The second half of the book is entitled "How the differences might be bridged." "It is for the West to approach the East, since it is the West that has gone astray, and her efforts to persuade the East to do the approaching will be in vain, for the East does not feel that it has any better reasons for changing to-day than it had during the last centuries" (p. 134). Orientals, since they regard preaching and proselytism as grossly vulgar breaches of the laws of hospitality (p. 135), cannot be missionaries; the understanding of East and West must be brought about by "the elect"—Westerners willing to steep themselves in Eastern learning and then to interpret it to their countrymen. It is emphasized that the objective study of Eastern philosophies by Western professors and "authorities" is the wrong approach.

Whatever one's opinions may be, the book is worth reading, though for most doubts will multiply rather than diminish! Perhaps the greatest doubt of all is whether the author himself has correctly interpreted the Oriental mind. Is it really possible to speak collectively for Islam and the Hindu world or to find common ground in Buddhism and the worship of Kali? Is he right in saying "Bolshevism cannot penetrate into India, because it is opposed to all the traditional institutions . . . the Hindus would make no difference between its destructive action and the destructive action that the English have long been trying to carry out by every sort of means"?

L. D. S.

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There are two outstanding books which will be reviewed in the next number of the Journal. The one is, *Wanderer Between Two Worlds*, by Professor Norman Bentwich, an autobiography which includes an account of the great disabilities and sufferings of the Jewish people on the European Continent during the last ten years and the measures taken to alleviate them. (Kegan Paul, 12s. 6d.) The other is the second edition of *Dutch East Indies*, by Professor A. Vanderbosch, the text of which has been revised and a chapter added on the political situation, vis-à-vis Japan. There are seven appendixes and a most valuable bibliography. (University of California Press, Cambridge University Press, 24s.)

Mr. Leigh Williams' *Green Prison* waits also for the next number for a review by Mr. W. A. Graham. It is an account of the little known northern border of Siam.



# OBITUARY

## ROBERT BYRON

THE death of Robert Byron, who is believed to have been killed by enemy action at sea, constitutes a great loss to the younger generation of his fellow-countrymen, among whom he had already made his mark. His work entitled *The Byzantine Achievement*, written when he was very young, superseded all previous works and immediately became the standard work on the subject.

He travelled far and wide and wrote *First Russia; then Tibet*. But a far more important work was his *Road to Oxiana*. In it he visited and described, as only a trained archæologist could have done, every ancient building of importance alike in Iran and Afghanistan. Personally, I owe much to this valuable book.

In this notice I would merely mention his brilliant *Birth of Western Painting*, in which he traces the Byzantine parentage of El Greco's art. I would, however, draw the attention of members of the Royal Central Asian Society more especially at this juncture to *Innocence and Design*. This was written in collaboration with his close friend and fellow-traveller Christopher Sykes under the pseudonym Richard Waughburton. In this brilliant satire an account is given of the barbarous cruelties practised on his subjects by the ruler of Media, whereas in neighbouring Iran all was well! In view of the revelation of the ex-Shah's behaviour to his generals and ministers, the truthfulness of the satire is manifest, while it is enriched by caricatures, which prove that Christopher Sykes has inherited the delightful skill of his most distinguished father.

To conclude, Robert Byron was a dauntless, erudite man, who won distinction in more than one field and his services would have been especially valuable in the post to which he had been appointed. *Sed diis aliter visum.*

P. M. SYKES.

A correspondent writes:

To those who did not know Robert Byron personally, the strange variety of subjects on which he could write with self-confidence and fluency must have appeared enigmatic. Even in youth he brought to each new subject that came his way—and they ranged from El Greco to the seventh Nicene Council—an air of mastery and experience, often very provoking to the laborious expert. The explanation was that his subjects were not part of a background of omnivorous education but separate and wholly personal revelations. These revelations were sudden and unpredictable, but so sincere that he could not help communicating the excitement of what seemed to him his own discoveries to his readers and still more to his listeners. His theory, for instance, that the diagonal and lopsided human figures of El Greco were due to a Byzantine tradition acquired in his Cretan youth was not a new one, but Byron wrote as if

he believed it to be new. He was not a scholar and he was inclined to despise scholars, though they were the drab excavators on whose foundations his many edifices together with the glamour which was so essential to all his generation had to depend. His own rôle was that of the impresario, or, as he once expressed it, "to make a thing like Sassanian architecture intelligible to an average luncheon party." Already as an undergraduate he showed his aptitude for this rôle by organizing at Oxford an exhibition of Victorian art. This had not yet been *discovered* by the giddy world in 1924, and the promoters of the exhibition described it as the only truly Christian period of British art. The proctors, scenting irreverence, forbade the exhibition, thereby showing how impossible it is to stifle genius this way.

Shortly before going down, a visit to Greece brought Byron under the spell of that country, but characteristically it was the opposite of Parian marble and classical perfection, with their distasteful school associations, which won him. Scarcely anything earlier than the extreme Byzantine decadence of the age of Turkish rule would do. There followed other visits, culminating with a few months of the rigours of Mount Athos, from which he built up his theory of Byzantine survivals in modern civilization.

Analogies with Mount Athos sent him further afield and impelled him a few years later to investigate the monasteries of Tibet, but Islamic architecture had still no message for him. He once dismissed the subject, remarking, "Anybody can cover a wall with surface decoration." Then in 1933 he came across Cohn-Wiener's *Turan*, with its splendid photographs of Timurid buildings in Turkestan, and henceforward the Persian dome was his new quarry. It was again characteristic of him that *late* Persian architecture should have attracted him most. In all matters he regarded the primitive as a tiresome modern obsession. I think it was equally characteristic of Byron that when Cohn-Wiener was forced to leave his country he helped to procure him a librarianship in India.

It was at this stage that Samarkand obtained a mystical significance in Byron's life. Considering how delusive are all visions evoked by names when they are realized, it was fitting that Samarkand should remain a vision to the last. The lords of Samarkand require more than a neutral attitude towards their ideology among the visitors whom they select, and Byron in Russia had shown himself, as always, outspoken, commonsensical and wholly indisposed towards propaganda. *The Road to Oxiana* halted short of the Oxus, but in a year's hard travel the author had added Persia and Afghanistan to his range of experience, and that is enough for many people. Within a year or two he made another attempt on Samarkand by the devious route of the Turkestan-Siberia railway, but, despairing of circumventing officialdom this way, he went on to China instead, exploring Lake Baikal on the way. Returning members of the Shanghai colony, transmitted across Asia like registered parcels, were round-eyed with apprehension when an unmistakable Englishman boarded the dining car at Vierkhné-Udinsk.

There followed a winter in Peking. Byron sat solitary in a large

mandarin house writing about Balkh and Herat and the princes of the House of Timur. To Chinese influences he was curiously impervious. The Chinese had no architecture and their art was two-dimensional, and that seemed to sum up the situation. In England he was soon plunged into the preservation of Georgian London and, towards the outbreak of war, Federal Union. His practical and energetic side was leading him away from æsthetic theory into politics, for which his loyal fighting temperament suited him. Who can say what this portended? Adventurous in deed as in thought, his mysterious end rounded off the pattern of his life.

G. R. R.

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### COLONEL CECIL ALEXANDER BOYLE, C.I.E., D.S.O.

BOYLE died on July 1, having been born in 1888.

He might be described as one of those who had been born with a silver spoon in his mouth; by this it is not meant as heir to riches, gold and silver, but to those greater riches of brains and intellect, health and strength, which he used to good purpose all his life. He also was given another great gift, that of acquiring languages. School life came easily to him and he passed into Sandhurst without difficulty. His bent for languages showed itself early in life, and before going to Sandhurst he came in touch with a Japanese in London and, encouraged by his father, he eagerly started to study that language, and kept it up for five years.

In 1907 he passed high out of Sandhurst, and after a year with the Cameronians at Cawnpore he was posted to his regiment, Probyn's Horse, then called the 11th Bengal Lancers. Though entering with zest into all regimental activities, he spent most of his leisure time in language study, and during the next year or two he raced through all the obligatory exams and soon began qualifying in the higher standards of Pashto and Persian in addition to Urdu and Punjabi.

Unlike other subalterns, instead of going to the Hills for his hot-weather leave he often went to Calcutta to cram for and take a language exam. His language qualifications being so exceptional, he soon found himself as a Junior Captain officiating for a G.S.O.I. as Secretary of the Board of Examiners with a magnificent house and staff of servants in Calcutta. He achieved this in spite of a very bad riding accident early in 1910, which sent him home on sick leave for ten months and started his deafness, which was to be a handicap all his life.

The following year he joined the N.W.F. Militia, and then ensued some of the happiest years of his life in contact with the fine rough men of the Frontier and where he showed his great soldierly qualities, both in action and in administration.

In October, 1914, he was wounded in both knees in an action at Walai, China, for which he was mentioned. From 1917 to 1922 he was in Iraq, where he raised and trained the Iraq and Kurdish levies, ending by being Inspector-General of 7,000 men as a Brevet Major. During this

time he was again mentioned in despatches, and won the D.S.O. in 1921 in an action during the Arab rebellion.

In 1922 he returned to India and regimental duty, which normally would have been dull and flat after the exciting and exacting life he had been leading, but instead he did the wisest thing of his life—he got married. It is said that some marriages are contracted in heaven; if this is so, then this marriage was contracted in heaven. A more devoted couple could not exist and they have been an inspiration to each other all their lives.

1924 saw the beginning of Boyle's staff career and he achieved his then dearest ambition, being appointed to the Middle East and Russian Section of the Intelligence Branch of the General Staff A.H.Q., Simla.

All this time he had been spending his leisure in studying languages, and in January, 1923, he collected his second Degree of Honour and Gold Medal for Arabic, having obtained his first for Urdu about 1915. As he tried to work for the Staff College exam on the recommendation of his C.O. at the same time it is, perhaps, not surprising that he failed to pass in February, 1923. He collected his third Gold Medal by passing the Degree of Honour Exam in Persian—the first officer ever to gain such a distinction.

In August, 1930, he achieved his final ambition, being appointed to the Secretaryship of the Board of Examiners as Adviser in Languages to the Government of India—a post he held until his retirement in 1938.

On retirement he felt keenly the apparent lack of scope for his particular attainments, but when the creation of the Home Guard offered him his chance he seized it with both hands and threw himself heart and soul into the task of raising and organizing the 1st Ayrshire Battalion.

He suffered two serious handicaps in life: the deafness which resulted from his riding accident and the lameness caused by his wound, which did not receive proper attention. Had it not been for these disabilities he would have risen high; his confidential reports were consistently full of praise of his exceptional qualifications, drive, enthusiasm and charm.

When his last illness laid its hand on him he scorned to give in, and while enough strength was left him he carried on without flinching. He died in harness and faced death as he had always lived, a great gentleman and a gallant soldier.

EGLINTON AND WINTON.

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The death of Sir John Hewett, G.C.S.I., K.B.E., C.I.E., leaves another gap in the ranks of the Society's veteran members. An appreciation of his work in India will be in the next number of the Journal.

## CORRESPONDENCE

SIR,

I have no qualification to air my views on education problems in the East, but a conversation which I had with a British missionary in Teheran in 1929, when I was H.M. Minister there, bears on the subject of Dr. Stamp's interesting lecture and the discussion which followed. (ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL, July, 1941, pp. 295-314.)

This young man had arrived in Teheran on his way to Isfahan, where he was to be attached to the Anglican College as a teacher. He came to see me and, after some general conversation, I asked if he had made any study of the great religions which all emanated from Asia—Hinduism, Buddhism, Muhammedanism. He said, No, why should he?

I suggested that what he was proposing to do, then, was to teach Persian Muslims an Anglicized form of the other great religion which had come from Asia—Christianity—without having any knowledge himself of Asia's vast contribution to the world of religious and philosophical teaching. I said surely if he hoped to convert Persian Muslims into Christians he must first know something about the Muslim religion, how it had come to Persia, how far the Persians were good Muslims, and so forth.

It had never occurred to him—or presumably to his teachers in England—that one of the various forms of Protestant Christianity practised in northern Europe might not be easily intelligible to Persian Muslims in Isfahan, or that in order to make it intelligible he needed first to broaden his own mind.

R. H. C.

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TRANSLITERATION: "Colloquial Persian," by L. P. Elwell-Sutton

*To the Editor, "Royal Central Asian Journal"*

SIR,

Transliteration is a thorny question, but the first reaction to Mr. Elwell-Sutton's manual of a person who has already acquired a knowledge of colloquial Persian is one of antipathy to the method of transliteration which he has adopted. It may be simple and consistent, as the author claims, but its accuracy seems to be a rather variable quality. The vowel sounds differ widely, as he himself says, from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker, so that any method of representing them in Latin characters must be largely conventional. But the impression his method leaves on one is that it is a little more cumbersome than need be, and it is very much open to doubt whether it is actually an improvement on other systems which have already served several generations of students. Moreover, it is hard to see any justification for presenting both "ghain" and "qaf" by the symbol *gh*. The Persian pronunciation of these two consonants differs considerably, and, although "qaf" may in some cases be given a slightly heavier sound than in others (e.g., aqa=Mr.), it rarely, if ever, approximates to the very guttural Arabic "ghain" sound. Words like qadr, qabul and qadim are apt to stick in the throat if pronounced *ghadr*, *ghabul*, and *ghadim*.

Anyone beginning the study of Persian for the first time, and desiring merely to acquire as quickly as possible a working knowledge of the spoken tongue, will, of course, soon realize that the Latin characters are merely symbols or mnemonics, for which the appropriate sounds must be found by listening to the spoken word. From this point of view Mr. Elwell-Sutton's simplified spelling may have some advantage. Certainly his presentation of the idiosyncrasies of the Persian parts of speech is very thorough, even if it tends to be rather complex. Generally speaking, Persian Grammar is basically simple, but its treatment in this book gives one the

impression that it is somewhat complicated, and this feeling is perhaps accentuated by the numerous cross references which appear in the earlier lessons.

Another point which might perhaps have been emphasized with advantage is that for several years past there has been a strong movement to exclude from the language as many words as possible which are of Arabic origin. This tendency, however, seems to have been completely overlooked in the book now under review.

To sum up, it should be added that the exercises which follow each lesson, together with the chapter on conversations and the vocabularies, are admirable, and the student who has mastered these, be he either a potential resident or merely a temporary visitor to the country, will find that he has acquired an excellent foundation on which to build up a good working knowledge of the language.

B. K. N. W.

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*(Continued from the Notices on page 399)*

Sir ALFRED WATSON, who very strongly supported the appeal Lord Winterton made that a much fuller use of the man power of the whole Empire should be used, quite irrespective of whether it be British, Asiatic or African, spoke more especially about India. "I have not the least doubt that if you give India the tools, India will produce the goods." Lord HAILEY in his summing-up also agreed with the main thesis of Lord Winterton's lecture.

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