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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

In the year which ended in December, 1943, the *expenses* of the Society were £120 more than the revenue.

In the year which ended in December, 1944, the *income* of the Society was £313 *greater* than the expenses.

One REASON was that we received £234 from the Inland Revenue as the result of members having signed covenants to pay their nominal subscriptions for seven years. This increase in revenue cost members NOTHING.

So far we have received just over 340 covenants out of a membership of over 1,640—that is 21 per cent.

The expenses of the Society are bound to increase in the near future: the Journal will again be published four times a year, the library is being restored, lecture and clerical expenses are rising.

This can ONLY be met if we increase our membership *and* if more members will sign covenants. REMEMBER that this does NOT cost you anything but it DOES help the Society's funds.

The Council again appeal for your help in the matter.

DEED OF COVENANT

I ....

of ....

hereby covenant with the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my lifetime whichever period shall be the shorter I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will after the deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of the said Society ***a net sum of one pound and five shillings*** such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this

.... day of .... 19.....

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said ....

In the presence of..

Address of Witness to your signature....................................

....

Occupation of Witness ....

NOTICES

The principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

- -

NOMINATION FORM.

....

....

....

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

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we recommend him/her for membership.*

Proposed...

Seconded..

His/Her connection with Asia is :

(Entrance fee, £1. Yearly subscription, £1 5s)

NOTICES

Members will see that the Society has moved its headquarters to 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, where it is now accommodated on the ground floor of the house belonging to The Palestine Exploration Fund.

This is about two minutes from the Portman Square 'bus stop and five minutes' walk due north from the Bond Street station on the Central London Underground railway.

The Council acknowledge with gratitude the following accessions to the library:

Eighty books on the History of India, especially the period of the East India Company, presented to the Society by Mrs. Tucker, in memory of her husband, Mr. A. L. P. Tucker, C.I.E., a former Member of Council.

The Life History of a Brahui, by D. Bray; *District Gazetteer of Almora; Census Returns for Baluchistan for 1911 and 1921,* presented by Lady Fowle.

The Persian and Turkish Tales of Petis de la Croix, 1718; Arabia Infelix, by Wyman Bury; *The Land of Uz,* by A. Mansur, presented by G. Stephenson.

An Introduction to the Kingdom of Iraq, presented by Dr. M. Hikmet.

The Quran, English translation by G. Sale.

The Princetown University Press inform us that *Sa'udi Arabia,* by K. S. Twitchell (reviewed in the JOURNAL for October, 1947) is obtainable in England from Geoffrey Cumberlege; Oxford University Press, Warwick Square, E.C.4.

GENERAL SIR ARTHUR WAUCHOPE, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.

Arthur Wauchope was not only a very distinguished soldier and administrator, but an outstanding personality, gay, gallant and generous, with a talent for friendship, widely and wisely travelled, with an informed love of the good and beautiful things of life—music, pictures, architecture, books.

His first contact with the area covered by the Central Asian Society was in 1916-18 when he commanded, first a battalion of his regiment, the Black Watch, and later a brigade, during the grim days of the attempts to relieve Townshend's force at Kut; in Maude's advance to Baghdad, and in the final stages of the war in Mesopotamia. Naturally, he was at this time fully occupied with military operations; but as always he took a lively interest in the history, the features natural and architectural, and the inhabitants of the land.

His main connection with and influence on the affairs of the Middle East came with his appointment as High Commissioner of Palestine and Transjordan in 1931, which post he held till ill-health compelled him to relinquish it in 1938. He brought to that troubled land qualities which should have led to the solution of any less intractable problem—unbounded energy (he was known as the Flying Scotsman from his habit of touring by air, something of a novelty in those days), resolution, common sense, persuasiveness, and a real love of the land which grew with the years he spent there. No estimate of his work will be attempted here. He perhaps came nearer success than anyone, and had his efforts to form a joint Arab-Jewish administration been better supported they might have brought to Palestine the peace he so earnestly sought for it. Had he left at the end of his first term of office in 1936, his administration would have been judged as outstandingly successful. He knew well the dangers ahead when he accepted a second term, and the strain it would impose on his bodily health, impaired by his many battle-wounds; but it was never his way to consider his reputation or his health when there was work to be done.

His last two years in Palestine were clouded by the Arab rebellion, when he was criticised for not taking strong measures early enough, and by the breakdown of his health, which compelled him to resign.

His friends will not forget his generous hospitality at all times and his wise and witty talk. He was the most charming of friends and companions, and will be greatly missed. His last years were spent largely in work for his regiment, of which he was Colonel from 1940 to 1946. In spite of his frail body, he maintained his interest in affairs and persons to the end. His last two winters were spent in India, and he showed the same unflagging zeal as ever in her architecture, art, and history.

Disregarding all doctors' warnings about the state of his heart, he continued to entertain and to visit his friends, and to interest himself in the affairs of the day up to the end, when death took him quickly as in battle, as he would have wished.

Arthur Wauchope was a fine soldier, a devoted public servant, and a kindly friend, a wise counsellor and a most gallant and upright character.

WAVELL.

MR. P. C. DAVEY

THE Aden Protectorate lost a valuable Political Officer in April, 1947, when Mr. P. C. Davey was killed by the Sheikh of the Ahmadi tribe, whom he had gone to arrest on account of his persistently aggressive and obstructive conduct towards the Government.

Political work in the Aden Protectorate is not easy. For nearly a century after the British acquisition of Aden in 1839 little attempt was made to establish close relations with the outlying tribes in the large area covered by Protectorate treaties, which in practice had not much reality. In recent years a more active and forward policy has been adopted with the object of pacifying the country and promoting the welfare of its people, not by annexation or direct rule, but by a system of indirect control through Political Officers advising and guiding the local Sultans and tribal chiefs. This policy has been welcomed by the more enlightened of the inhabitants, who realize the benefits of bringing order out of the anarchic conditions that have in the past prevailed in many parts of this large territory. Others, however, have resented interference with the depredations and exactions on which they have thriven, and the good intentions of the British authorities have often been met with opposition and sometimes with frustration.

In a difficult and backward country such as the Aden Protectorate success in promoting the new policy has necessarily depended to a very great degree on the personality and individual influence of Political Officers. Peter Davey excelled in these qualities. Simple in his tastes and loyal and persevering in his work, he combined strength of character with a charm of manner which attracted all who knew him. Popular with his colleagues, he gained also the affection and respect of the Arabs whose welfare he had deeply at heart, and his unremitting efforts for the amelioration of conditions in districts often wild and primitive were rewarded by a large measure of success. His death was a misfortune for the Protectorate, but the memory of his fine nature and of his devotion to the task to which he so wholeheartedly applied himself will endure and inspire those who are continuing the same good work.

B. REILLY.

BURMA'S ICY MOUNTAINS

BY F. KINGDON WARD, B.A. (CANTAB.), F.L.S.

Lecture given on November 5, 1947, Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides from the lecturer's photographs.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel it rather presumptuous on my part to introduce Mr. Kingdon Ward because he is so well known to you all. He made his first expedition into South-Eastern Tibet in 1909, and made his first acquaintance with the north-east frontier of Burma during the first world war, receiving a grant from the Royal Geographical Society for exploration in the area lying between Tibet and Burma.

Mr. Kingdon Ward has spent the whole of his period of exploration so far in those countries, dividing his interest between exploring untouched mountain ranges and discovering new and lovely plants, many of which are now acclimatized in England. He has described his discoveries in a number of books, whose titles range from *The Mystery Rivers of Tibet* to *Rhododendrons for Everyone.*

He has received the Victoria Medal of Honour in Horticulture, and the Livingstone Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. During the second World War Mr. Kingdon Ward's unique knowledge of the mountains of Northern Burma was of the greatest assistance to the military authorities, especially at the time of the evacuation of Burma under General Alexander.

It is about the Alps of Northern Burma that Mr. Ward is to speak this afternoon.

FOR a quarter of a century my profession has been that of a botanical explorer, or in good Anglo-Saxon a plant hunter. I expect most of us do a little amateur plant hunting in our holidays, on the Continent, or in Great Britain; I know I did, when I was young, before I became a professional. However, I now intend to talk about plant hunting in Asia.

It may be asked—What exactly does a plant hunter do? What sort of plants does he collect? How does he set about his job?—and *why*?

Have we not got quite enough plants of our own?

Well—have we?

Look about you in May, or June, and what do you see?

The noble horse chestnuts are in flower then! Could anything be more lovely?

But the horse chestnut comes from north-west India. It hasn't really been very long in this country. Queen Elizabeth the first could never have seen a horse chestnut in flower.

Beside horse chestnuts there are lilac and laburnum, irises, wallflowers, scores of plants. But after all, lilac comes from Persia, or from Peking; laburnum comes from South Europe; irises come from the Mediterranean, North Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia . . . and so it goes on.

I think it is greatly to our credit that we have assimilated these trees so completely that many people believe them to be English—in a sense the horse chestnut *is* English. I don't know how long residence is required to obtain naturalization in this country, but I think the horse chestnut has acquired British status. It is more English than the English. I yield to nobody in my love for English flowers, and my admiration. What could be more splendid than heather, like a luminous purple sea, or gorse, fringing cloth-of-gold over the downs? And again there is beauty of form—the silver-grey lace of the beech twigs against a turquoise winter sky, the brown tresses of birch trailing on the wind.

But after all, we crave bright colours just as much as other peoples do, and though there is no lack of them in the summer, there is little enough colour in the winter.

Perhaps now you begin to see the scope of the plant hunter's work.

I wonder whether you have ever considered why we decorate our churches and homes with holly and mistletoe at Christmas, identifying these alien plants with the Christian religion? Holly does not grow in Palestine; mistletoe, the famous golden bough of legend, has been associated with primitive religion since early prehistoric times. There is nothing specially Christian about either of these plants. The reason surely is because when the Christian religion was introduced into this country, and for centuries afterwards, these were the only colours in the land at Christmas. At a season of rejoicing we want to decorate our churches with bright colours—and none but these could be found. Nowadays, thanks to plant hunters, we have a wider choice, though we still give first place to holly and mistletoe, believing them to have some significance.

So if we enjoy an abundance and richness of colour at all seasons in this country, it is in no small measure due .to plant introductions from abroad, during the last 300 or 400 years. Moreover, the English contribution to horticulture is the rock garden, for which hundreds of new plants have been introduced during the present century—that is, in less than fifty years.

It may be objected that in these days of austerity and shortages we have no right to bother with flowers and gardening; horticulture you may say is a luxury trade—though I hope to show you that the plant hunter's life is not luxurious, whatever else it may be. I think that would be wrong. To put it at the lowest, our horticultural skill is a national asset and thousands of pounds' worth of plants are annually exported from this country, notably orchids. And on a higher plane—man does not live by bread alone, and even if he did his bread comes from the soil: *all* wealth ultimately comes from the soil.

But we need amusement and art and beauty, as well as bread, if we are to live a full life, and above all rest, leisure to enjoy life. To rest after the clang and din and stampede of modern mechanised life we turn, surely, to the peace and quiet of the garden, close to mother earth. Today thousands of people are turning to gardening, and finding unexpected balm in that gentle pursuit. So horticulture has its place in modern life, and plant hunting stimulates gardening.

I propose now to say something about a typical expedition to the Alps of Burma—the Burmese Oberland I call it. Recently this Society did me the great honour to elect me an honorary member, and I am glad to have this opportunity of showing my deep appreciation by describing briefly a journey to the sources of the Irrawaddy of which hitherto I have said nothing, partly owing to pressure of other business and partly owing to the war. This journey I made in 1937, just ten years ago.

Owing to events over which I had no control I made a late start, arriving in Rangoon in mid-June. The monsoon had broken. I proceeded by train at once to Myitkyina at the northern terminus of the railway, and in the last week in June plunged into the Kachin Hills, travelling due north towards the sources of the Irrawaddy. Near the end of July I reached Fort Hertz.

The heat was now turned full on and the atmosphere was wringing wet. What with flies, leeches and mud, swollen rivers, rain, and fever, life in the foothills was not just one long idyll. However, I had only another twelve marches to do before reaching the unexplored mountains.

We went on, with Nung coolies to carry the kit, and early in August reached the Nam Tawai, the most beautiful of the scores of rivers which make up the headwaters of the Irrawaddy.

Of course all the early summer alpine flowers, such as primulas, rhododendrons, poppies, irises, etc., were long since over. I determined to waste no more time travelling up the long winding valleys, but to climb straight up from the Tamai, hacking a path up one of the ridges which buttress the Tamai-Dablu watershed. The Dablu is the next river east of the Tamai, and the dividing range is here about 10,000 feet high. This is well below the alpine region proper, but probably the more interesting botanically for that very reason. It is quite unexplored.

With a dozen Nungs to carry the kit and an advance party of three to cut the path, we started straight up the steep flank of a spur. In three hours we reached the crest of the ridge. By the middle of the afternoon, when we made camp, we had ascended about 2,500 feet.

The difficulty along this ridge, as always, was shortage of water, even in the rainy season. The second day we made fair progress, up and down along the switchback crest of the spur; but when we halted we had climbed only another thousand feet, and there was not much change in the forest. When you get to know the trees you can estimate your altitude fairly well by the species met with. We were now about 7,500 feet above sea level. The third day we began with a very steep ascent, but the slope quickly eased off, and we continued up and down. When we camped we had caught up with the pathfinders. The weather was fair, and we got occasional views of a sea of ridges all covered with velvet-green jungle.

Next morning we reached a razor-backed ridge bare of trees, but so thickly did the rhododendrons grow here that we had to cut our way yard by yard. Progress was reduced to half a mile an hour, and I was able to botanize.

Presently we reached the base of a cliff which blocked our way along the ridge, and had to descend. It was a bitter disappointment to me to have to lose some of our hard-earned altitude. Actually we went down less than 500 feet through lush wet undergrowth and camped in the dim dripping forest under big-leafed trees at an altitude of about 8,000 feet.

Next morning I followed round the base of the cliff, and climbed sharply up to the crest of the main ridge at 9,000 feet. I was now on the Tamai-Dablu divide, whence I had a grand view eastwards towards the frontier of China. Right in front of me were the Gothic spires and fluted cliffs, the battlements and towers of a high rocky range, its precipices striped with snow. Between us and the range was the narrow Dablu river, 4,000 feet below; the mountains loomed vaguely through the frothing mist. I spent five days in this camp, out every day making interesting discoveries. There were many good plants, but few flowers. I barely reached 10,000 feet altitude however, which is well below the alpine region.

Returning to the Tamai valley, I decided to try to reach higher peaks further up the river. We therefore went north again to the village of Gawai, whence I determined to make another assault on the Dablu divide. With a fresh relay of Nung coolies we cut a path up the precipitous flank of a spur and followed its crest away from the Tamai river. The first day we climbed 3,000 feet and camped under an enormous sloping rock, which made a natural roof. The second day we climbed 2,000 feet, but found a very poor camping ground on the ridge.

On the third day we reached the crest of the ridge, and camped at 11,000 feet amongst rhododendrons and stunted silver firs. Movement here too was restricted, but there was a variety of terrain, cliffs, alluvial fans, the ridge itself, and one deep gash of a rock gulley. I found a greater variety of plants here than at the first place. It rained almost continuously and that solved the water problem for us.

It was mid-September when I returned to the Tamai.

The question now was: What next? I had a month before seeds would be ripe—and it was useless to collect them unripe! I might, of course, make one more ascent still further north; but that seemed rather unenterprising; though it is worth while noting that, though this was my third visit to north Burma, I had already found a fair number of species new to me, and new to Burma, and not a few new to science.

Then I remembered that some years previously I had caught sight of some snow peaks and glaciers at the source of the Adung river, as the Tamai is named further north. I determined to try to reach them.

We left Gawai with ten Nung coolies on September 16 and in a couple of days reached the confluence of the Seing-hku right up in the tip of Burma. The Seing-hku and the Adung together form the Nam Tamai. I had explored the former to its source in 1926, the latter to its source in 1931.

The snow peaks lay about midway between the two sources, on the main Lohit-Irrawaddy divide.

The Tamai just below the confluence is a brawling but still beautiful river. Small colonies of Nungs and Darus—a pygmy tribe—are widely scattered in the dense jungle. They believe in *nats*, or jungle spirits—what the R.A.F. call gremlins—and in a future life, for above the graves here we see bird figures on poles to represent the souls of the dead flying away to Paradise.

We had to cross the Tamai by a cane suspension bridge—just a utility affair.

The Darus are a primitive hunting tribe who use the crossbow for killing game, and harpoon fish in the swift rivers. We next had to cross the Adung river bv an even more utility bridge—a Daru rope bridge.

After seeing a Daru cross this bridge I became a firm believer in the Darwinian theory!

In 1931 we had gone four marches up the Adung river to the last village in Burma, a small Tibetan settlement at 6,000 feet altitude. I determined to make this village my base for the attack on the snow peaks.

After resting a few days at the Seing-hku confluence to get over a bout of fever we started up the Adung. On the second day we were met by a party of Tibetans, old friends of mine. Imagine my disappointment when they told me that the village where we had stayed seven years before no longer existed. We had to make our base camp then and there, two marches further from the snow peaks. We had a fine sunny day, and I dried my clothes. It was September 23. I wondered whether the fine weather was beginning.

The next day, when we started on our adventure, it was pouring with rain. The journey to my old base camp took us two days and it was tough going. I had sent a small party ahead to bridge the swollen torrents, and cut a track. They did not seem to have done very much, but when we reached the main obstacle—a big torrent—we found they had felled a tree on the bank and dropped it neatly across. They had then crossed over. Unfortunately by the time we got there it had been raining for thirty-six hours, the torrent was in spate, and a terrifying wave curled right over the middle of the bridge, threatening to sweep it away at any moment. It would have been sheer suicide to try to cross. Above the crash and roar of the flood one could hear a muffled rumble, like distant thunder, coming from the torrent. It was caused by the banging together of huge boulders in the torrent bed, deep down, and was one of the most weird and unnerving sounds I have ever heard. While trying to balance on the bridge I nearly fell off with fright. The coolies quite rightly refused to attempt it.

We camped by that torrent for five days. It was a dismal spot, the clouds hanging like smoke; the rank grass and dying bracken all beaten down; the leaves drifting down from the forlorn trees; and the grey sky weeping. And all the time the roar of furious waters.

On the third day the rain ceased, and it was remarkable how quickly the river responded. When I looked out next morning at dawn, the frail bridge was still there, and now the water was flowing *under* it. The terrible hollow rumbling sound like muffled drums had almost ceased. We crossed safely; and now began the scramble along the cliffs of the Adung gorge. Just here the Adung turns a corner. When we got round it we saw a breath-taking sight. The comparatively wide valley suddenly tilts upwards at nearly 30°, so that it is rather like looking up a long shallow flight of steps. But the steps are all smashed up, and the river comes galloping and roaring down the broken slope, slamming its way under, over, between glistening granite rocks as big as cottages and smooth as paving stones. The cliffs on either side flung back the savage echo. All that day we scrambled along the gorge, sometimes almost in the river, sometimes hundreds of feet above it, always in forest. We camped just below the confluence of the Gamlang river, and next morning ascended the cliffs and dropped down into the Gamlang gorge higher up. I decided to follow up the Gamlang, believing that we should find a way to the snow peaks here.

In the afternoon we had to cross the violent Gamlang by a tree trunk bridge, and I crawled across on all fours. Next day, September 30, we continued up the valley, over snow beds, and finally reached a point where the Gamlang divided into two equal branches. I decided to camp here, at 10,500 feet, and explore both branches. We pitched the tents under the great trees in the angle between the two rivers, and high above them. That same afternoon I started up the northern branch. There was no trail at all, and it was tough going through the dense undergrowth; I covered about a mile in two hours when I reached a more open part of the deep valley, lined with stark cliffs on both sides. Owing to the low cloud, however, and the closed in gorge, I could see nothing of the snow peaks and did not know whether I was close to them or still far away.

Next day I tried the other valley. There was a faint trail, but it soon petered out. After a couple of miles we came to a huge snow bed, and as the valley swung round in the wrong direction, away from the high peaks, I decided to stick to the other branch of the torrent. At the second attempt we made better progress up the gorge and eventually camped in a meadow to await fine weather. It continued to rain.

Meanwhile I reconnoitred further. Every mile or so the valley was interrupted by an escarpment, which stretched from cliff to cliff, completely blocking the view higher up; the stream came tumbling over the cliff in a spread-eagle manner.

Two days later I awoke early. The dawn sky was perfectly clear and long shadows striped the valley as the sun rose. I could see the tops of the cliffs, freckled with snow. We packed quickly and started gaily up the valley through the wet undergrowth. The way was hard and the porters would not go far because they had run short of food. We climbed one escarpment and camped again. I sent all the coolies down to their villages to get food; meanwhile I continued to reconnoitre. The fine weather lasted only a few hours and the view was blotted out in rain and cloud again. I knew we must be close to the snow peaks, but *how* close? And in which direction, and how did we get to them?

Four days later the coolies returned. On October 5 we had another brilliant dawn, and I had a glimpse of snow peaks at the head of the valley. We started early and climbed steadily for several hours. Above the next cliff we found ourselves on an open boggy moor filled with dwarf rhododendrons and ragged patches of forest. We waded knee deep up the icy cold stream, sank deep in the bogs, climbed the next escarpment, and found the gorge widening out as we approached the head of the valley. The cliffs receded here, but were higher than ever. Finally after cutting our way through a dense tanglewood of rhododendron we camped in the last patch of fir forest, and waited for the weather to clear. The altitude was about 12,000 feet. It was already winter here, in October, and I did not need to search for flowers—there were none, except an occasional patch of gentian, like a nugget of sapphires. But I was busy collecting seeds. The head of the valley was now only two or three miles distant. I found there vast mounds of gravel, the moraines of glaciers which had disappeared. There were also several live glaciers, one pretty big one. I must be within a mile or two of the peak I sought; so close to it that I could not see it.

Scrambling over the moraines I followed one up towards a gap in the ridge and got on to the glacier. It was deeply crevassed but it appeared just possible to reach the rocky ridge if I could ascend the glacier. Heavy mists now came down and made it dangerous to move about on an unknown glacier, so I returned to the moraines and made my way back to camp. That was the first defeat.

I decided to wait for finer weather and then carry a light camp up to the foot of the glacier and try again.

Next day I carried out another reconnaissance. Then, while returning to camp from the extreme head of the valley, I happened to look back.

At that instant the mist was torn aside like a veil and the whole head of the valley, with its clinging glaciers crawling down like white amœbæ, the dark cliffs with their shattered Gothic spires, the whole gigantic scene, was revealed in a flash. It was a terrifying revelation, but immensely grand. The head of the valley was surrounded by a semi-circle of cliffs, 3,000 to 4,000 feet high, which formed the south-western ridge of Ka Karpo. I was within three miles of the highest peak. If I could get astride that ridge, I had thought, then I might follow it to the summit. Alternatively, if I could reach the crest of the spur which formed the watershed between the Gamlang valley, in which we still were, and the Dandi valley, I should be even closer to the summit.

I now saw the futility of this idea. It would be utterly impossible to climb Ka Karpo from the south—there was no longer any doubt about that. Here was a fluted wall of ice-glazed rock at least 3,000 feet high between the head of the Gamlang valley and the summit.

On October 8 four of us carried a light camp up to the foot of the glacier, where my Kachin servant Marang and I spent the night. Before dark I had a good long look at the forbidding circle of cliffs through a field glass. Next morning I started the climb, *not* up the glacier as I had originally intended, but up a rather precipitous rock gulley on the opposite side of the valley, straight towards Ka Karpo. I had a well-laden rucksack on my back in case of unexpected developments, so that I made rather slow progress.

Reaching a broad platform which sloped up at the base of the final cliff, I made for the corner where the great south-west ridge of Ka Karpo divided, one branch forming the Gamlang-Dandi watershed.

Had I reached the crest here I would have been less than a mile from and perhaps 2,000 feet below the summit. But I could not make it. The last 1,000 feet or so proved far too difficult for me; sheer smooth rock, with awkward traverses; and of course I could not even see the mountain from under this wall.

So I descended to our tiny tent at the foot of the glacier; and as it was now pouring with rain, finding that the two men had arrived from the lower camp, I gave up the attempt and we went down the valley to our main camp, reached at dark. That was our second defeat.

I was now nearing the end of my food supply, and rather tired out. We spent another day in this camp, and it poured with rain throughout. The coolies were running short of food, and getting restless. Something would have to be done; I must come to a definite decision.

The Daru coolies, who were even colder than I was, wanted to go down immediately. I promised them we would start down the next day unless the weather improved. If, however, it turned out fine, we would stay one more day, make one last effort to get a close-up view of Ka Karpo, and go down the following day. The Daru coolies agreed.

I had, of course, given up all idea of climbing Ka Karpo: it was only a question of seeing it and deciding whether it would ever be possible to climb it from the south, and if so, what would be the best approach.

Everything—success or failure—now turned on next day's weather. I awoke in the night to see the sky miraculously powdered with stars, and the snow gleaming like silver in the moonlight. There was 15° of frost on the ground. Dawn broke, and the sky was like polished steel. It was October 12, 1937.

I have said that the cliffs on either side of the valley were smooth and sheer. Yet if we *could* reach the crest of the wall-like cliff right above us, we would overlook the next valley, that of the Dandi, which pours into the Adung next above the Gamlang river.

Now the Dandi too rises on Ka Karpo—I had decided against going up the Dandi gorge, and in favour of the Gamlang, only because the latter was the larger river and came first.

On the way back to our camp from the glacier one day I had noticed a breach in the cliff, as though made by a glacier, just above our camp, from which it was separated by a few hundred yards of thick scrub. If we could climb that gulley, we *might* be able to reach the top, some 2,000 feet above our camp. The first part at least looked easy; it was the upper part, which was out of sight, I was doubtful about. Still it was well worth trying.

With four of the Daru coolies, and Marang, we made an early start, cut a path through the scrub and began to climb over the great boulders. It was steep, and rather tiresome, but not difficult. In about two hours we were close to the top, where there was a well-marked gap in the ridge piled with a confused mass of gigantic boulders of all shapes. It was just here, a couple of hundred feet from the crest, one had to go carefully; there were wide spaces and deep caverns between the rocks, and we had to jump from rock to rock.

The last doubt vanished. One more crack to leap across, and we were astride the ridge. I leapt, and drew back appalled; the others were already there crouched together, on the last slab, peering over the edge of a precipice 3,000 feet deep.

Across the frightful chasm below us, with the swirling cloud drifting and forming and dissolving about it, was Ka Karpo, its icy cliffs dark against the snow. Far below us the white threads of the Dandi river drew together.

So I had at last succeeded in getting a close-up view of Ka Karpo, two miles away, and had in fact seen the whole south face. It would be impossible to climb it from the south, but the north face, to which there are several possible approaches, might prove accessible.

The icy cold wind off the glaciers presently drove us from the gap, and we descended leisurely to camp. On the way down I found some fine patches of gentian, which go on flowering into November, though frozen like crystallized sweets every night.

Next day we broke camp and started down. It had taken us five marches from the Adung river to the alpine camp, but we easily got down in two days.

The weather improved, and in a couple of days we reached the Tibetan settlement, and our base camp. The river which had held us up for two days on the outward journey now gave no trouble at all. So we retraced our steps down the Adung to the Seing-hku confluence, and thence down the Tamai valley to the Daru village of Gawai.

It was now November and the weather should have been fine. In fact it was, until we started up the mountain for my alpine camp on the ridge above the Tamai. Then came rain and snow. On the third day we reached my rather cold camp, and for several days it snowed on and off; but the clouds were rapidly thinning out. I spent the time collecting seeds of my previous finds.

On the last day the clouds broke up and vanished, the sun shone in a turquoise sky, and away to the north, just thirty miles distant, the whole Ka Karpo massif stood naked—all four peaks over 19,000 feet clearly visible. It was a wonderful sight and a fitting end to the search.

The rest is soon told. In the last fortnight of November I returned to my first camp on the Tamai-Dablu divide, and spent a week collecting seeds there.

That done, I descended to the Tamai once more, and early in December set out for Fort Hertz, where I rested for a week packing specimens. I had only the 215 miles back to Myitkyina to cover now, and was lucky enough to secure mules for the journey. Spending Christmas on the road, and making long double marches, I reached Myitkyina on New Year's Day, 1938, after a journey of about 800 miles on foot, made in the six months.

To sum up. I had now seen Ka Karpo from the south and from the east, and had walked more than halfway round the peaks.

I consider them invincible from the south, but it is possible a route might be found to the summit from the north, which could be reached by any of the following three routes:

1. Up the Lohit valley from Sadiya, thence to the Diphuk La, and so round the northern flank of Ka Karpo, along the Lohit-Irrawaddy watershed.

2. Up the Adung gorge to the northern source of the river, thence by a glacier valley on the north-east face to the summit.

3. Up the Nam Tamai, turning up the Seing-hku valley to the Diphuk La, thence as in (1).

I am sure Ka Karpo will be climbed some day by one or other of these routes. May or June would be the best month.

NEPAL

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR GEOFFREY BETHAM, K.B.E., C.I.E., M.C.

Lecture given on November 19, 1947, Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The **Chairman**: Sir Geoffrey Betham started life as a soldier. Afterwards he went into the Indian Political Service and served for a great many years in areas along the Afghanistan frontier. In 1938 he went as British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Nepal, where he spent six years. Therefore, not only has Sir Geoffrey considerable knowledge of the country, but, luckily for us, recent knowledge. In these ever-changing times one likes to hear from those who have been recently in a country. One never knows now what may happen in the course of a year or two. At any rate, this afternoon we are to have recent information in regard to Nepal.

IT is not possible in the limited time at one's disposal to give anything but a short sketch of Nepal, which is situated on the north-east frontier of India. It is an area roughly 500 miles long and about 150 miles broad, with Simla on the west, Sikkim and Darjeeling on the east, and the Himalayas as a background.

Great Britain has had the most friendly relationship with Nepal ever since 1815, when a treaty of peace and friendship was signed, from which time Nepal has lived up in a most remarkable way to the essential meaning of the two words " peace " and " friendship." In 1923 a second treaty was concluded between the British and Nepalese Governments which, among other things, guaranteed perpetual peace and friendship.

Nepal has often been referred to as a land of mystery, also as the Switzerland of Asia. To me, it is one of the most picturesque and beautiful countries in which I have ever lived. My wife and I spent six of the most happy and privileged years of our lives there and, during that time, we learnt the meaning of friendship in its real sense.

As Sir Adrian said, I have been in Nepal recently and so I propose to speak of recent times. I want, first, to tell you what the Government of Nepal and the Gurkhas did for us in the recent war. When the crisis connected with Munich occurred in 1938 His Highness Maharajah Sir Joodha Shumshere, who was Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, offered the services of eight of his own battalions under his own officers to assist in the internal defence of India, if necessary. It was not necessary in 1938, but on the very day war was declared in 1939 His Highness renewed his offer. It was then gratefully accepted and, during the month of March, 1940, that Nepalese contingent of eight battalions moved into India. Their Commander was His Highness's eldest son, Commanding-General Sir Bahadur Shumshere, and the two Brigade Commanders were nephews of His Highness, Major-General Sir Brahma Shumshere and Major-General Sir Ekraj Shumshere. In 1942 His Highness decided that he must recall these officers to Nepal for important and urgent duties there and accordingly they were recalled. The superior command then went to Lieut.-General Sir Krishna Shumshere, who is now a full General and was the Nepalese Minister at the Court of St. James's from 1935 until 1939. Two of His Highness's sons, Colonels Nir and Kiran, were promoted to the rank of Major-General and became Brigade Commanders. This contingent carried out its duties nobly: on the North-west Frontier, in the internal security scheme of India, and also in the extremely severe fighting which took place at Kohima and Imphal and, later, in Burma, for they actually moved across the frontier although the original undertaking was that they should not go outside the borders of India. However, they did go well into Burma and took part in the heavy fighting there. Apart from that there were the Regular Gurkha Units of the Indian Army, their complement being twenty battalions at the outbreak of war.

One day before France capitulated I received a telegram from H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India asking me to ask His Highness if he would permit the Regular Gurkha Battalions of the Indian Army to go overseas, such formal permission from the ruler of Nepal being always necessary, and also if His Highness would permit ten battalions to be added to make the number up to thirty. The next morning on the wireless at 7.20 a.m., the time one got the news in Nepal, we heard of the capitulation of France. Nevertheless, after breakfast, I had my audience with Maharajah Sir Joodha Shumshere and, naturally, we spoke about the black business of France capitulating. When that was over His Highness said: "Why, particularly, have you come to see me this morning?" I replied: "I have come, sir, to ask if the Gurkha battalions may go overseas. Also H.E. the Commander-in-Chief wants the Gurkha battalions increased from twenty to thirty." Without one second's hesitation the reply was: "Of course; why didn't you ask me that before?" That really was magnificent.

A few months later I received a second telegram from the Commander-in-Chief asking me to ask His Highness if he would add another ten battalions. It so happened that my wife and daughter had already gone to Calcutta for our daughter's wedding and I was leaving Kathmandu at 5 a.m. next morning. It also happened that there was a great festival that afternoon, known as the Indrajhatra, which is attended by all the nobility of Nepal and in which the Nepalese troops take part. His Majesty the King of Nepal and H.H. the Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief grace the occasion and take part in it. It was difficult to know how I was to find an opportunity of speaking to His Highness. However, as I was passing the King's Durbar Hall in the middle of Kathmandu, on my way to see the festival, I saw His Highness in his ceremonial carriage. I stopped my car, got out, and asked if I might speak to him for a moment. He replied, "Yes, certainly," and took me into the King's Durbar Hall. He asked, "What is it?" I said, "His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief requires another ten battalions." His Highness at once replied, "Yes, of course; that's splendid," and out I went to take my place on the balcony he so kindly placed at my disposal from where I might see the festival.

Time passed and I was requested to ask His Highness if we could have two Parachute Battalions. As usual he said " Yes " at once. Thus we had forty battalions of about 800 men in each and ten depots, consisting of 2,300 in each depot, also two Parachute Battalions. Then ten Garrison Battalions were raised to which elderly Gurkhas and a very few men who were not fit enough to take part in the really rigorous conditions of active service were drafted. Later several vulnerable point platoons were raised, with His Highness's agreement. Gurkhas were also enlisted in the Burma Military Police, the Burma Rifles, the Assam Rifles and the Kashmir Infantry. Then, to use His Highness's own words, " Gurkhas were going and getting themselves enlisted in every type of extraneous formation." That is quite apart from the regular enlistments. Probably when the figures come out it will be recorded that some 150,000 Regular Gurkhas enlisted during the recent war; but I assure you that the real number, including Armed Police and those who joined up in every type of extraneous formation, will be well over 200,000. Of those, ten got V.C.'s, a considerable number were awarded Military Crosses, and a very large number won Indian Orders of Merit and Indian Distinguished Service Medals. They fought in Eritrea and in Abyssinia; in Crete, and they went into Greece; they fought in Singapore and Malaya; they played a very great part in the rout of the Italians when Sir Archibald Wavell was in command. Many of them fought in the 4th Indian Division of General Montgomery's victorious army which started at El Alamein and went to Tunisia, on to Sicily and into Italy. The Gurkhas were in all that fighting and in the terrific and very unpleasant fighting in the jungles of Burma, where their part was literally second to none. What they did in the recent war is a great story, and what they did in the great war before that also. Moreover, they have always been with us in all our conflicts round the borders of India. They have maintained the highest traditions of loyalty and friendship, and they have displayed the most astounding gallantry. The Nepalese Government will only tolerate first-class service, and we got it. The Gurkhas have always been commanded by British officers. Those officers have given of the best that we expect of our British officers. They have not only given regard and affection to their Gurkha troops but they have looked after their welfare and everything to do with them well. In return they have won more affection and regard from the Gurkhas than we have received possibly from any other race.

I have been kindly lent twenty-five lantern slides by Mr. Kenneth Keymer, who visited Nepal shortly before I went there in April, 1938. Using them to illustrate my lecture I propose to try and give you a short thumbnail sketch of what I was privileged to see of Nepal. It will cover the main route from the railhead at Raxaul in North Bihar to Kathmandu, which is the capital in the centre of the valley of Nepal, a short description of the valley itself, and I will end up by telling you a little about the great Nepalese Terai which is roughly 500 miles long by twelve broad, forming the southern boundary or frontier of Nepal.

At Raxaul it is necessary to change from an Indian train to a Nepalese. My first picture shows you the Nepalese train. It carries passengers for sixteen miles through flat open country and richly cultivated rice fields, for Nepal grows much rice and the Gurkhas are basically rice eaters; through the headquarters of the province of Birgunj, which is under the charge of a Nepalese Governor, to the edge of the Terai. It will stop, as a rule, for about three-quarters of an hour at Birgunj for passes and passports to be examined, for none may penetrate to the valley without a pass, a passport, or a personal invitation from His Highness the Maharajah. At the edge of the Terai it will halt again, but only for a short time, at a station called Semra. There is a serviceable landing-ground at Semra which the Nepalese Government made in 1942. His Highness actually asked me to help to find and lay this out, and I did so, and it was used much during the latter half of 1942 and in 1943. I have not seen it or received any information about it since I retired in 1944, but I imagine that it is still in existence and may, conceivably, have been improved since I knew it. Here the train enters the Terai. It is a vast forest full of magnificent tall salwood trees, for the most part, and teeming with wild animals. During the war Nepal provided limitless railway sleepers and building material from their vast supply of salwood, which were invaluable. Twelve miles later it converges into a clearing in the forest at Amlekganj, which is the Nepalese railhead. Here passengers disentrain and continue their journey by motor-car, omnibus, or lorry. The road to be traversed is of macadam and is good. It runs along the course of a Rapti River over many an excellent bridge, first through a continuation of the forest, then through the foothills, which are known as Sawaliks, gradually climbing through what become miniature mountains, till, after twenty-seven miles, it runs through a long busy town called Bhimpedi, where it stops abruptly by a river-bed. By this time an altitude of some 3,000 feet has been reached. Across the river-bed appears a reasonably wide footpath leading up a stiff incline. From here the journey must be continued on foot, on a pony, or in a dandy, which is the Nepalese version of a sedan chair. Sturdy, extremely sturdy, Gurkha porters, some of whom are women, will carry luggage, but there is also an electrically run rope railway, capable of carrying individual loads up to 480 pounds, which stretches from Dhursingh, near Bhimpedi, to Kathmandu.

The distance a traveller now goes on foot, horseback, or in a dandy is twenty-one miles to a place called Thankot, from where he or she motors the final nine miles to Kathmandu.

You may well be asking yourself how the motors reach Thankot. They, and even motor lorries, iron road rollers, vast bronze statues, girders and angle irons, are carried over the passes by Gurkha porters. The organization is remarkable. I will explain it by giving you the example of how my own car, a 25 h.p. Vauxhall saloon, was carried in.

I drove it from Calcutta to Raxaul and thence through Birgunj to Semra, then through the Terai to Amlekganj and to Bhimpedi. Here it was taken over by the Nepalese porter establishment. Two salwood trees were felled, the branches lopped off and the trunks trimmed. Then, after the wheels and battery had been removed from the car, and the petrol drained off, it was lashed to the two tree trunks. Then shoulder-pieces were lashed to the trunks, fore and aft of the car. Ninety-six coolies carried it over the passes. I met it at Thankot, put on the wheels, put in the battery, poured in petrol, put my finger on the self-starter and away we went in to Kathmandu and on to the Legation. From this you may appreciate and work out for yourselves how they were able to organize great weight lifting and carrying.

The ride, walk, or dandy journey from Bhimpedi to Thankot was strenuous, interesting and very pleasant. First a climb of 2,500 feet to the Maharajah's Guest House at Sisagarhi, where there is a fort facing India over a great valley. In addition there is a small town of hotels, hostels and eating-houses, and also the Maharajah's Guest House, in which privileged guests and individuals are permitted to stay—a double-storeyed, comfortable and fully furnished house fitted with electricity; a dining-room and three bedrooms, each with its own bathroom; lovely hot baths and, when required, fires and even bed linen and blankets provided. It takes an hour and a half to reach it from Bhimpedi and the night is spent there.

In the morning, after breakfast, one climbs 600 feet to the top of the Sisagarhi Pass, from where, on fine clear days, the first view of the Himalayas lies spread out, or towering, before one. The great massifs of Daulagiri, Machhipucha, Ananpura, Gosainthan and Gauri Shankar, all over 20,000 feet. If one moves off the road for a short distance, to the right, Everest, that king of kings among the mountains of the world, becomes visible behind Gauri Shankar; supreme at 29,002 feet and yet in such great and royal competition with other monarchs that it appears to be shorter in stature than Gauri Shankar, for it is forty to fifty miles further away. Gauri Shankar scales only a paltry 24,000 feet or so.

The majestic view must be left to individual imagination. I assure you the glory of it is above mere words.

From Sisagarhi one looks over a great valley across which the rope railway swings in a stretch of 1,350 yards, with a drop of 2,500 feet. One also looks down upon the straggling village of Khulikhana and the Kuli River 2,500 feet below, and dismounts. The Ranas of Nepal, such as H.E. the Nepalese Ambassador, who has been so kind as to come here to-day, ride down. However steep this road may be at various points they never dismount, but I always did when facing long and steep descents. Down, down, down through wonderful scenery, wonderful flowers—orchids of many descriptions clustering in the niches of branches and in the trunks of trees—innumerable varieties of beautiful butterflies, to a bridge in the valley 2,500 feet below. There one mounts and rides through villages, over several suspension bridges, past fishermen casting their nets over the waters of the stream, between terraced fields, industriously cultivated by cheerful Gurkha men and women, past two- and three-storeyed houses painted, generally, magenta and white with carved eaves, doors and windows, with children playing, and ducks, geese and chickens scuttling about, for ten miles till one reaches the village of Chitlong with the Chandragiri Pass towering above one. It appears, at first sight, to be inaccessible; but the road zigzags, and the Tibetan pony, lent by His Highness the Maharajah, ascends it in no more than forty minutes. Generally there are many Gurkha porters taking a breather there and resting themselves with their loads propped up against the side of the hills.

From here is displayed a second and nearer view af the Himalayas, but also the panorama of the valley of Nepal—that place and word which mean so much to every Gurkha wherever he may be. To Britishers it is the centre of Nepal and the headquarters of the Government of Nepal. It represents the same to Gurkhas and to a vast number of Hindus, but yet it represents more. There before them lies the ancient and deeply sacred Pashupathinath and the holy waters of the Bagmatti River. Also Shyambunath and the sacred flame which has certainly been kept burning, night and day, for 2,000 years and possibly even longer. Then there are the ancient cities of Kathmandu itself, Bhatgaon, Patan, renowned for centuries upon centuries for the stupas built there when King Asoka visited Patan and after whose daughter, Lalita, a portion of Patan is named. Also Kirtipur. Then also for the innumerable temples of the valley, for I believe it holds over 3,000. It is a great sight and privileged indeed are those who have seen it.

As from Sisagarhi, one descends fully 2,500 feet. Now the path is graduated and adapted to the natural curves of the hill, but the old, almost perpendicular road, which is stepped, still exists. Till comparatively recent times all had to descend these steps. I have done so once but I prefer the new and easier road.

The descent takes about one and a half hours. Then the long straggling village of Thankot is reached. Pass through it and there, almost unbelievably, is a car. This carries you nine miles through amazingly terraced and cultivated fields to Kathmandu—a distance of nine miles. Over the bridges of Visnumathi and Dhobikulla, past the terminus of the rope railway, customs sheds and offices, round the statue of His Majesty the King and in to Kathmandu, the capital.

What is it like? A great city built round the house made out of one tree. A broad street, flood-lit at night, with a statue of His Highness Maharajah Sir Joodha in its midst. The ancient and extremely picturesque square with the King's Durbar Hall, known as the Hanuman Dhuka, beautiful pagodaed temples of ancient Nepalese origin, an awe-inspiring vast figure of the Hindu god Kali. The rest of the city consists of old-world narrow streets with three-storeyed houses. Bhatgaon, Patan and Kirtipur resemble Kathmandu in many ways, except that they have not the main wide flood-lit road which is the sole prerogative of Kathmandu. However, each has its square, its ancient temples, its old-world atmosphere of the Malla dynasty, which existed till Prithwi Narain, the Rajput King of the Gurkhas, became also the King of Nepal and the valley thereof, as well as the King of Eastern Nepal, in addition to the west, in the middle of the eighteenth century. I have mentioned the fact that at night the main street of Kathmandu is flood-lit. The whole of the valley of Nepal enjoys the benefit of electricity. Not only the palaces of His Majesty the King, His Highness the Maharajah, the palaces of the other Ranas who form the aristocracy of Nepal and the British Legation, but everywhere in the valley. Every shop and house has its electric fittings and light, not only in Kathmandu but in Bhatgavu, Patan, Kirtipur and in the many villages in the valley.

As the population is about half a million in the valley alone and as the rope railway is run by electricity and as there is also electricity as far as Birgunj and in very distant places in Nepal, the supply is not small. On the contrary it is great and is efficiently managed. It emanates from a high-altitude hydro-electric scheme located at a place call Sundrijal, where the waters of the Bhagmatti River are harnessed into a reservoir and then run down a steep incline in huge pipes to revolve turbines which produce the power.

Apart from enjoying the benefits of electricity the whole valley benefits from a plentiful supply of piped water, also harnessed in high-altitude reservoirs.

The King's palace, the Prime Minister's palace, the palaces of the aristocracy, the well laid out zoo, the military and civil hospitals, the high school, Chandra College, clock tower, the many large office buildings, the large bronze statues of past rulers, and others on horseback, Law Courts and the British Legation are on a big scale. Time precludes me from doing anything more than merely mentioning them. There is so much to say but no time to say it in. I must leave the valley and you to your imagination and to your reading, if you are interested, and I must turn to the Terai and to the big-game shooting there.

The Terai teems with big game—tiger, panther, the one-horned rhino, wild elephant, jungle horned game of various descriptions, and many kinds of snakes from the great python and king cobra downwards, and also with jungle fowl, black and grey partridge, snipe and peacock (which may not be shot).

Naturally such treasure is preserved and big-game shooting is reserved by the ruler for privileged persons.

We had the privilege of being present when His Highness invited Lord and Lady Linlithgow and their family to shoot in the winter of 1938. A magnificent camp was pitched at Bikna Thori and the sport was excellent. His Highness very kindly invited me again in 1941 and 1943.

In Nepal game is ringed. Young buffalo are tied up. Shikaris visit the " kills " early in the morning, either on young fast-moving elephants or on horseback. When there is a kill the place is marked and watched and word is sent back to camp either by helio or by gallopers.

Then the elephants move out from camp and " ring " the animal. Then the " guns " go out either on elephants or by car. When they get to the edge of the ring two or three elephants are taken into the ring by their mahouts (elephant men) and the tiger or panther is hunted out from his lair or lying-up place. The person detailed to shoot then shoots from the edge of the ring. It is all vastly exciting.

His Highness Maharajah Sir Joodha, who is a great and experienced shot, always went into the ring himself. He sometimes took me in with him. This was even more exciting.

My time is up and I must stop. To revert to the early part of my talk I am sure that all here are glad that after all that Nepal has done the status of the Legation has been raised to that of an Embassy and that His Excellency, who is with us to-day, is now the Nepalese Ambassador to the Court of St. James's instead of a Minister.

Sir EVELYN HOWELL: Is the climate of Kathmandu very cold in winter?

The LECTURER: Not excessively so. It falls to about 26 degrees with six or eight degrees of frost at night. It seldom snows for long though snow lies on the hills round the cup of the valley. Frequently at night there is a very cold mist which clears about 10 o'clock in the morning. There are fireplaces in all rooms and plenty of wood to burn!

CHINA TO-DAY—A FLYING VISIT

By AIR MARSHAL SIR JOHN BALDWIN, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.

Lecture given on October 22, 1947, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Air Marshal Sir John Baldwin began his career as a soldier in the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars. He then served in the Royal Flying Corps, which became the Royal Air Force, and was Commandant at Cranwell just before World War II. After commanding No. 3 Group of Bomber Command from 1939 to 1942 Sir John went out to India as Deputy Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief; and he took part in the Burma Campaigns of 1943 and 1944 in command of No. 3 Tactical Air Force. Since the war he has become interested in certain businesses with overseas connections. He has recently returned from an air trip to China, where he went to negotiate a bilateral agreement.

I RISE with trepidation to speak to you to-day, firstly, on account of my Chairman. Not the last time I met him, but the time before that, his greeting to me was: "Must it be you?" (Laughter). There was some justification for it, because prior to that I had been the owner of the taxi which had agreed to take Sir Adrian out to a far distant land. Unfortunately, we did not get him there; we dropped him in hostile territory and left him a long while there!

I hope you will all bear in mind three words in the heading of my lecture, "A Flying Visit," for I am no expert on China; I am merely giving a few impressions that I gathered during a visit lasting some four months at the beginning of 1947.

I went out to China as the leader of the British Mission which was to negotiate the bilateral agreement for the civil air lines of each country, so that British air liners could fly into China and beyond. That meant starting from scratch, because China was not one of the twenty-six nations that had agreed to the mutual exchange of the first two freedoms—*i.e.*, the right to fly peacefully across foreign territory without landing, and the right to land for non-traffic purposes. I have no doubt in my own mind that the reason why China had not signed either of those freedoms was because her northern neighbour will not take part in any international air conferences, and therefore China dared not sign. Added to the above difficulties was the very real stumbling-block of Hong-Kong's position in the midst of a network of air lines which China might rightly regard as her own national air routes. This was to prove a serious obstacle and the cause of most of the difficulties which arose during the negotiations. The Chinese are fully alive to the fact that air transport is the only thing which is likely to save communications in their country. The chief real money-making route to-day is the Shanghai-Hong-Kong Air Line, which is flying to the limit of its capacity. If we got this agreement through we were obviously going to run on that route Hong-Kong to Shanghai, and the Chinese would quite naturally do anything they could to keep us out. Another very paying air line is Hong-Kong to Canton. It would be possible at the moment to put as many aircraft over Chinese air lines as we have out there and not reach saturation. The Chinese were obviously going to do everything they could to keep us out of the Shanghai traffic. Though they receive no subsidy from their Government towards their air lines, the Chinese do make them pay; but their best chance of so doing is the Shanghai-Hong-Kong route. They feared that if we got in British efficiency might carry the majority of the traffic.

HONG-KONG AND CONFLICTING VIEWS

We spent two days in Hong-Kong in order that the Governor and his staff could brief our Mission with regard to the special requirements of the Colony, some of which might possibly clash with the views of the U.K. Government, from the point of view of safeguarding British international air rights. Hong-Kong is fully alive to the fact that the more she opens her arms to all the air lines desirous of flying in there, the better for Hong-Kong Colony: the Chinese have been given *carte blanche* to come in, with no title or agreement, which made it hard for us, because everybody was flying in there and yet we were not allowed to fly out.

At Hong-Kong the Mission was brought up to full strength by the addition of B.O.A.C.'s Far Eastern representative and the Colony's Director of Civil Aviation. Everybody was most helpful in giving the Mission information in regard to conditions in China and details with regard to certain people with whom they thought we might have to deal. Information was afforded the Mission not only by the Administrative Staff of the Colony but also by the heads of the various commercial houses with headquarters in Hong-Kong. In fact, I would go so far as to say that the eventual success of the Mission was largely due to the very thorough and helpful schooling we received in Hong-Kong and Shanghai, particularly from the industrial concerns.

After having been told all about the difficulties, I cannot say we left Hong-Kong in an optimistic frame of mind.

I would say that one of the reasons—and I stress this very much—why we received so much help and assistance while in Hong-Kong was that people there were glad of any indication that the United Kingdom Government was taking an interest in Chinese affairs. They felt they had been badly neglected. It was evident that there was a general resentment of what was considered to be failure on the part of the home Government to appreciate the value of British connections in the East, and also what had been achieved since the war in the endeavour to re-establish former relationships. I am certain that one of the reasons why we were welcomed with open arms was that the Mission was regarded as evidence of interest on the part of the home Government in affairs out there.

SHANGHAI

We stayed another two days in Shanghai in order to get further briefing from the Consul-General, Consul officials and the heads of the various commercial houses, the industrial magnates having very strong ideas as to what was needed in China to foster British interests. We had numerous meetings with these people, and there was the urgent necessity of seeing whether the facilities at Shanghai could be made adaptable for flying-boats. China had no air ports set apart for handling flying-boats, and as matters stood any British Air Corporation operating out there for the time being would be compelled to use flying-boats. We wanted to see how far facilities for handling flying-boats existed in the neighbourhood of Shanghai and, if possible, the facilities at civil air ports. The finding of flying-boat bases proved to be another big stumbling-block in the negotiations.

NANKING

From Shanghai we went to Nanking, where hotel accommodation is practically non-existent nowadays. The place is terribly overcrowded; such accommodation as used to be provided in the International Club is permanently occupied by ambassadors, ministers and junior members of their respective staffs. However, the Embassy staff kindly arranged to put up the complete Mission, and it is largely due to the advantage I obtained by living in the Embassy for these four months and talking to the various responsible representatives of other nationalities and hearing their opinions that I have dared to speak to-day upon conditions in China.

START OF NEGOTIATIONS AND AMERICAN PACT

Negotiations started on the day after our arrival in Nanking, and that is about all they did. They proceeded as slowly as it is possible to imagine. The Americans had already concluded an agreement with the Chinese. This agreement did not strictly follow the lines of the *pro forma* upon which both the Americans and the British had already contracted to draw up all future bilateral agreements, and of course the Americans had no Hong-Kong issue involved in their negotiations. Frankly, the American agreement did somewhat complicate our negotiations. The Chinese wished to adopt it as their pattern and this did not suit our book. We wanted to follow the full pattern which we had applied with everybody else; we are the prime movers in endeavouring to get an international agreement upon which all nations will agree and which all will sign. Therefore we tried our hardest not to deviate one iota from our *pro forma*.

My only previous experience of dealing with the Chinese had been confined to military matters, when, as Deputy Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, India, I was responsible for arranging the establishment of their flying training bases in that country and, at a later date as A.O.C. in Burma, when I was responsible for the protection of "the Hump" ferry route. However, these contacts proved most valuable. The Chinese Air Force were exceedingly friendly and lent me aircraft. When I went to stay with them at Hang-chow, where there is a big training school, although they have a permanent posse of about a dozen American observers, belonging to the American group out there, which was supposed to be training the Chinese on military matters, it was interesting to find that they were following out, line by line, the British training as laid down in the Central Flying School in this country, and that both the Chinese Commandant and the Second-in-Command had been trained in England. It all appeared to be going very well, and even the senior of the American observers to whom I spoke appeared not to have any real "crab" about it, which was encouraging. Another helpful factor was that the General commanding the American Air Force in China had been my own Deputy Commander in Burma, and he also provided me with air transport, so that I was able to visit other localities as and when a hiatus in the negotiations permitted this. All the Chinese crews I flew with were very highly trained; they flew according to the rules and took no chances.

Conditions in China

The conditions prevailing in China had been in no way exaggerated by our Hong-Kong and Shanghai tutors. Prices were fantastic, and the exchange was soaring from day to day. There was a flourishing currency black market, Hong-Kong dollars being very much in demand. A hair cut in Nanking cost 6,000 Chinese dollars, and a stick of shaving soap cost 18,000 dollars. So you can imagine the amount of paper one had to carry about; but stringent efforts have been taken to control the black market. It is fair to add that owing to Shanghai being an international port on the coast one did not realize how stagnant the trade of China was until one got up-country and visited inland river ports such as Nanking and Hankow. I had never been to those ports previously, but one could imagine what the state of business must have been in the past by the miles of railway sidings and the huge area now covered by a derelict egg factory and no shipping to speak of. Now one Chinese steamer comes in during the week, if you are lucky; or one a fortnight. It was really most depressing to see what had happened. There is an embargo—no foreign flag allowed up the rivers.

My contacts in Nanking were, naturally, chiefly confined to the Foreign Ministry, the *Wei Cha Pu* and the Ministry of Communications, since all the civil air matters come under this latter Minister, through the Assistant Minister of Navigation. However, during the course of negotiations a Bureau of Civil Aeronautics was established, and it may well be that by now this Department has its own Assistant Minister, as there is no doubt that the Chinese are fully alive to the importance of air transport in their country.

Communications and Industry

I have already said that commerce was stagnant and there was frustration throughout the country. The Chinese have seen the value of the air, because otherwise communications are non-existent. In fact, even air communications were chaotic. All civilian aircraft had been grounded, in so far as passenger traffic was concerned, as a result of the disastrous series of accidents in Christmas week, 1946, and only a limited amount of freight was being carried by Chinese aircraft. The American Air Force was running a not inconsiderable network of ferry routes, normally for its own personnel—*i.e.*, Shanghai-Nanking, Peking-Nanking. Airfields were deteriorating and ground organization was non-existent except on those airfields occupied by the American Air Force. There was deterioration of such big fields as White Cloud at Canton, and there is no aerodrome control on any of the Chinese airfields other than those controlled by the Americans, so that air transport has still some way to go. I do not know how far they have come in under the new international scheme for point-to-point work. Even the British Embassy was devoid of any wireless communication.

Roads were practically non-existent, and on the so-called trunk route from Shanghai to Nanking it was only possible to make the journey by jeep if one took one's own bridging material with one. Admittedly, certain railways were functioning, and the rolling-stock on the main line was comparatively modern, clean and comfortable; but travel was precarious, and overcrowding even worse than in this country. It was normal to have to wait (approximately) ten days to a fortnight if one wished to book a berth on the Shanghai-Nanking night mail, and even when booked the Government might take priority overnight and start one at the bottom of the list again. Though this was the No. 1 train of the day it managed even as late as April to derail itself three nights running, through maintenance causes and not due to sabotage. You only needed to walk along the rails to see that.

I was amazed at the willingness of the Chinese to accept help in aviation matters, and their apparent desire that if we operated civil aircraft into China, we should take on some of the responsibility for intercommunication work and aerodrome control. In most cases they seem terribly sensitive as to Chinese sovereignty, but this is one of the ways in which they would be co-operative. Exchange is the difficulty. I felt that they would accept help in improving air control and incidentally the money-making aspect of their own civilian air lines.

To illustrate the frustration experienced by foreign manufacturers, I can only repeat the information given me by the manager of a large textile concern, who said that on account of the present prices ruling in China and the latest labour and wage regulations it was costing his firm more to make their goods in China than it would have done to manufacture them in England and transport them to China. If import had been allowed, that is; but of course there is an almost total embargo on the importation of foreign goods.

Difficulties of Interpretation

The negotiations dragged on. I had originally hoped that they would be completed in two months. First of all, I thought it was oriental bargaining and that they were purposely stalling negotiations and this is where I stand to be shot at for making an erroneous statement. But as I got to know the Chinese, and from the attitude which they eventually adopted, I began to wonder whether some of the initial difficulties were not due to the fact that even though the majority of the Chinese speak English, and there had seemed to be no reason why they did not understand, yet the Chinese mentality automatically deals with the Chinese characters, and those characters conjure up a picture and not a word, as when you and I talk together. Those pictures in the Chinese mind are not so definite as our words, and therefore a Chinaman has got to talk to a foreigner for some time to discover how he employs a particular character. That was the conclusion I came to. As I say, I may be quite wrong. But when the Chinese were explaining to me certain meanings of the characters, these seemed to me to be capable of two interpretations, and I realized that you might have to talk to your opposite number for some time in order to see how he personally understood the particular characters employed. I should like further enlightenment as to that, if possible, in the course of the discussion.

Low Power of Delegation

Another factor which certainly retarded negotiations was the low power of the Chinese delegation. They had little authority and were powerless to come to any major decision. I think this possibly sprang from the fact that the Chinese Government were obviously fearful of possible political repercussions should they appear to concede anything to a foreign power; they were fearful lest any decision might be construed as giving away one iota of Chinese sovereignty. If some such meaning could have been read into anything reported by the Press—and the Press reports during the negotiations were by no means accurate—they felt it would be a weapon for their opponents—that is, the younger element of the party—to use, and while I was in China, owing to the economic chaos, the younger element were quite noisy and were getting rather obstreperous. Added to the reason I have given, as far as the Ministry of Communications was concerned—and we had a very able Minister in Yu Ta Wei; I do not think he wanted to be dragged into any political crisis—I am certain there was the feeling that if they made any concession to any power they would have pressure brought upon them to give some concession elsewhere. So, I think purposely, the delegation was kept low powered, with a consequent hitch in the negotiations, so that everything would be reported high up and the final decision would be taken by the Wei Cha Pu and the Minister of Defence.

As an instance of how frightened the Chinese delegation were of political issues, or of coming to any decision, negotiations broke down completely because we were foolish enough to use the words " flying-boat bases." Apart from Shanghai, which was to be our terminus, we naturally wanted to have some intermediate landing places; due to the typhoon conditions which exist in Hong-Kong it was necessary to have some scattered points if a typhoon warning went out. We called them " flying-boat bases," which at once put the cat among the pigeons. The Chinese immediately visualized Britain coming back, and the equivalent of numerous Wei-hai-Weis all round the place, so the Ministry of Defence would not give any approval to this, and, in the end, the decision had to go to the Generalissimo. I am certain that if it had gone out in the Press that the British wished to establish a base all would have thought it meant another naval base, and an outcry would have come that the Central Government were giving away Chinese sovereignty. Those are some of the snags we found ourselves up against.

Party Changes

I have said that while I was in China the younger element in the party were getting very vocal and they were not at all happy with the dictatorship of the party. This came to a head eventually in the campaign against T. V. Soong, and in April of 1947 they were successful in obtaining his dismissal. I do not believe that alleviated matters, because the real source of the trouble was the economic collapse of the country, due to inflation, lack of transportation and the unsatisfactory situation with regard to the civil war against the Communists. No check has been devised so far on the vicious circle of rising prices, cost of living and therefore graft. If it had been met by a rise in wages the cost of living would have been raised still further, and therefore an attempt has been made to peg wages at a low standard. Soldiers' pay equals about 7s. 6d. a month; majors receive £4 5s. It is impossible to compete with life on those salaries. Hence graft was rife. I believe that to be the real reason for the revolt against the local leaders; that, and the unsatisfactory situation in the civil war.

Provincial Autonomy

As the economic situation grows worse, so does control of the provinces diminish. I would say that the provinces are rapidly slipping back into autonomy, and that the further away one gets from Nanking so less attention is paid to any decrees or fiats of the Central Government. When the aircraft of the technical mission that was following us out was given permission by the Central Government to land at White Cloud, the only really big airport just outside Canton, the aircraft was cleared and everything was done so far as the Central Government was concerned. The aircraft landed there, and immediately following that the local governor sent an armed party and arrested the crew and kept them for three days. It took a lot of high-power wangling to get the aircraft released. Then a few weeks later a little Moth aircraft, a British civil aircraft taking air exercises from Hong-Kong, strayed near the boundary between Macao and China and was promptly shot down. That was the doing of a Chinese army officer on the frontier who had had a bad time in Macao and was trying to get his own back! There was obviously a general tendency for the provinces to slip back and make their own rules and regulations, and of course that held good when I was up at Peiping. I do not know that you can altogether blame the provinces when they see what is going on in the Central Government area and they themselves are on the outer ring and running a better show. I do not think one could have imagined more having been done and a better state of affairs having been arrived at than we saw at Hang-chow. Admiral Chen Hung Lieh there is certainly an able administrator. The mayor also is very good. The whole city is being cleaned up and rehabilitated, with neon lights and everything modern, and life seems to be going on almost normally. The governor spends a tremendous amount of time going about the province visiting all the outlying districts. I am certain that people travelling up from Hang-chow to Nanking must get a very nasty taste as to what is happening outside their province.

I would suggest that the present unfortunate inefficiency of the Central Government springs from a lack of any real leaders possessing a sound knowledge of administration and finance. Admittedly, there are exceptions, such as the Mayor of Shanghai, and other able military administrators—for instance, the Minister of Communications, General Yu-Ta-Wei—and there are also, undoubtedly, younger members in the Ministries who, thanks to their education and experience in other countries, show great promise and have a real desire to get things done; but at the present moment they have little authority. I received the greatest assistance from the Assistant Minister, the Wei Cha Pu, Dr. George Yeh and the newly appointed head of Civil Aviation, Colonel Tai Yan Kuo.

I admit I cannot see the present Government being successful in their attempts to liquidate the Communists, although the Communists, in their turn, appear to suffer from the same lack of leadership. The Central Government is also lacking in a real plan of campaign; whereas I suggest that the Communists have an easier task and are, for the time being, proving more successful in their tactics. Their plan appears to be to discredit the Central Government by increasing the prevailing economic crisis, and they are carrying this out by a policy of guerrilla tactics, wrecking all communications, and thus isolating the coalfields and the Government forces in the various areas supposed to be under the control of the Central Government. During the time I was in the country they certainly appeared to be achieving great success in this direction.

The Central Government, for its part, tends to dissipate its efforts in an endeavour to protect its coalfields, safeguard the railways, and at the same time defeat the Communists in the field, any one of which efforts would be a major operation taxing the limited resources of the Central Government to their utmost. There was a time—I did not see it in operation—when the First Chinese Army was a force to be reckoned with. That was when it was American-trained and American-equipped. Now the equipment is worn out, supplies are non-existent, and I cannot give you much for the Chinese soldier of to-day. Reviewing events which have happened during the last month or so, I feel that that outlook is substantiated.

The Central Government control China south of the Yangtze and, in addition, most of South Manchuria, except that still in Soviet hands. The Communists certainly hold the rest of Manchuria, except for the narrow corridor from Mukden to Kirin, along which the railway used to run, but the railway has long since been totally destroyed. When he flew back to Nanking and made his pep talk on his thirty-sixth anniversary the Generalissimo alluded to the success the Central Government had had and the mopping up of the coastal belt of Shantung, but I believe I am right when I say he used words to this effect: North of the Great Wall we will not lightly yield one single inch. I feel that that statement backs up my contention that the Central Government is not at all happy as regards the position in the civil war. When I was in Peiping I was given as an estimate by an American military expert that to clear the Communists out of Manchuria would require ten fresh Chinese divisions, American trained and equipped. So I admit that I came away with a rather depressed feeling as to the ability of the present Government in any way to liquidate the Communists.

To my mind, another aspect which is quite peculiar to China—I am judging, perhaps, from my association with India—is that apart from the dearth of leaders round whom the Chinese might rally there is no alternative rallying-point that I can see. Religion seems to be practically dying out, except in Hanchow; nearly all the temples are derelict and practically falling to pieces. Such as are habitable are used as dormitories by the troops, with three tiers of bunks all round them. You see soldiers writing their letters on the altar where the peasants try to perform their religious rites. There is no leader, no religion, and there is no real spirit of nationality. The people have been disunited for so long that they have not the patriotism you might find elsewhere.

Results of the Japanese Invasion

I had been told, and I think there was a general feeling, that good might come out of evil, and owing to the fact that so many leaders and persons of authority were forced to flee from their home provinces and congregate in the west in the neighbourhood of Chungking and Kunming, with intermarrying and interchange of ideas amongst the inhabitants of each province, it was hoped that many of the old local barriers would be broken down and much might be done to unite China. This, however, I fear, was only a transitional state of affairs, and, for the reasons already mentioned, old barriers are again being erected, and provinces are rapidly returning to their previous semi-autonomous position. The people are getting a parochial outlook, and I can see no sign of Chinese unity.

The Chinaman himself, I find, is still as cheerful and as hospitable as ever. The depressing part about it all was that one felt that if he could settle his internal differences we could do so much to help him; there are such potential advantages available in China. There was nothing happening on the rivers. One or two tank-landing-craft have been given to the Chinese by the Americans and they are rapidly being driven to death. I would have thought they could have employed, with the utmost value on those internal rivers, about half the surplus stock which we and the Americans have.

British Prestige

One came away from China after four months there very pleased to be British. I would say that of all the nationalities out there the British merchant was still the most popular with the Chinese. One could see the reason for that. I gained the impression that whereas nearly every other nation had become exasperated by the numerous restrictions and frustrations, which made any attempt to indulge in commerce almost useless, the British representatives were refusing to be downhearted and were plodding along to the best of their ability, working more than an eight-hour day. They really are working; they are cheerful, and they refuse to give up. The Chinese have seen that. I congratulate our commercial houses in China on the care they exercise in the selection of their staffs in China. One was immensely struck with their efficiency.

Group Captain H. SMALLWOOD: Have we not been able to invoke the most-favoured-nation clause when it came to getting an agreement on the same lines as the Americans? In my many years in China we were very successful in invoking that on various occasions. It appears to me there was another possibility there; but there is a good reason, probably, why it was not invoked? I was immensely interested to hear the lecturer advocating the establishment of air lines between Shanghai and Hong-Kong, because thirty years ago when I went to China as Aeronautical Adviser to the Chinese Government it was the first thing I proposed. I think those proposals, if not burnt, are still sitting in the pigeon-holes in Peking.

The LECTURER: I do not think there is any difficulty about the most-favoured-nation clause. We could have got the same agreement as the Americans, but we did not want it. There was a certain part of that agreement, which I do not want to go into now, which gave the Americans three main routes into China in exchange for three main routes for the Chinese to America, not that the Chinese will ever use them. We want to start from Hong-Kong, go round to Tientsin, and to Shanghai, and that is what the Chinese do not want us to do. They would have given us the same as they have given the Americans, but we wanted a little more!

Colonel WATERS: In his lecture Sir John inferred, from the fact that the Chinese use their temples to house the soldiers and so on, that there was no religion left in the country. Exactly the same thought occurred to me forty years ago in Japan when I was attached to the Japanese Army. I was on manœuvres with the Japanese and was horrified to find that every evening the troops were billeted on religious premises, sometimes in the very temples—the horses were always left in the temple grounds—but at that time the Buddhist priests had no lack of interest in their temples; they were very keen on them. There was a real sort of deep religious feeling, which probably is still prevalent in the enormous mass of the Chinese.

Major AINGER: The lecturer spoke of the failure of the Central Government against the Communists in the north and also of the comparatively good situation in the southern provinces. Did he see signs or tendencies of a deliberate movement by the Central Government to concentrate its power in the south and leave the north?

The LECTURER: I should say there was every evidence to the contrary. I think it would be right to say that the Central Government were hoping to draw Manchuria in to assist in rebuilding China generally. It has been a very rude shock to them that none of that dream remained. Quite high officials among the Chinese technical advisers of the Chinese Air Force flew up to Manchuria to see what was left by the Russians in the way of factories, and it was still a very ardent desire of theirs to try to get back there. I do not think there is any idea of consolidating in the south and eventually being in a better position in years to come; they are striving all they can to get into Manchuria at any minute.

Sir A. MacFadyean: I should like to know from the lecturer whether he had the feeling that informed or well-to-do Chinese were coming to the conclusion that in their interests, as well as in the interests of most of Asia, Japan has to be encouraged to rebuild her own economy, and supply, as she used to do before the war, a large amount of merchandise which will be forthcoming to Asia?

The Lecturer: I did not see any sign of the Chinese showing interest in Japanese investments, nor did I hear any expression of opinion that the Japanese were necessary to that area of the East. I saw no sign of the Chinese wishing to be concerned with the Americans in a sort of limited company in Japan.

On the contrary, it was obvious that, apart from the technical difficulty, the Chinese are putting their cash into the air routes from Hong-Kong. We had no difficulty with the Chinese over the political position of Hong-Kong. I would have said that the general Chinese opinion is that Hong-Kong should be allowed to remain; it is the one stable thing they have, and any money the Chinese can get at at the present time is coming from Hong-Kong. Many prominent Chinese have already got their houses in Hong-Kong, and I would have said that one place they want to keep on the map is British Hong-Kong.

A Member: As to what Sir John said in regard to the stability of Hong-Kong, there is no doubt that Hong-Kong has it in its power to become an absolute air Clapham Junction of the Far East, but it cannot do so unless it has an up-to-date and modern air port. Can Sir John tell us how that is progressing? What are the chances of Hong-Kong having a really up-to-date air port in the future?

The Lecturer: Hong-Kong airfield has had a bad history up to date. Nobody is certain what type of aircraft they will use on the Far Eastern routes. To my mind, as an airman, Hong-Kong is an ideal site for an air port, though for long that was not thought to be so because it is rather near the Chinese frontier. That does not matter to-day: its importance is as a commercial air port; there is sufficient area for the construction of a Class B airfield. Canton is the only real opposite number to Hong-Kong as the Clapham Junction of the East. All the Chinese thoroughly believe that there is going to be big air traffic from Borneo and they are anxious to stake their claim out there, and on routes not only to Singapore but to Manila also, and it is now a race between Hong-Kong and Canton as to who wins: the dice is a little in favour of Hong-Kong. White Cloud is breaking up. The Deep Bay side should be well under way by now. If we can find the money to do it, it is ours for the asking. If we do that, not only will Hong-Kong be the Clapham Junction of the East, but for several years to come we shall be able to carry out at that airfield nearly all repairs for the Chinese Civil Air Force, and probably also for the Chinese Army Air Force. Who else will be in the position to have what I might call an air dockyard there? Norway is running an air line to China; Air France and the Americans also. In Hong-Kong we have a place where we could make a very fine air dockyard. Why we do not set about doing it I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN: We must thank Air Marshal Sir John Baldwin for all he has told us; it has been most interesting. What is so nice is that he has not dwelt too much on Chinese politics. If only the Powers-that-Be would devote their attention to the matters of which Sir John has been speaking we should all get on much better and the Chinese themselves would be very much happier. We thank you, Sir John, very much indeed.

KURDS AND THE KURDISH QUESTION

By COLONEL W. G. ELPHINSTON, M.C.

Lecture given on September 24, 1947, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Elphinston served with the Desert Mounted Corps in Palestine during the first World War, and his first connection with Kurdistan was when he went there as an Assistant Political Officer in a Kurdish area near Urfa in the years 1918 and 1919. He was subsequently a member of the British mission to the Iraqi Army from 1925 to 1928.

During the second World War he was in Middle East Intelligence, dealing with Kurdish affairs, and was also in touch with Kurdistan when in the Middle East section of the Political Intelligence Centre in Cairo.

Since the end of the war he has been research secretary for the Near and Middle East at Chatham House. So I am sure we are all satisfied that he knows more about the Kurds than most of us, and hope he will tell us a good deal of what he knows.

WHO ARE THE KURDS?

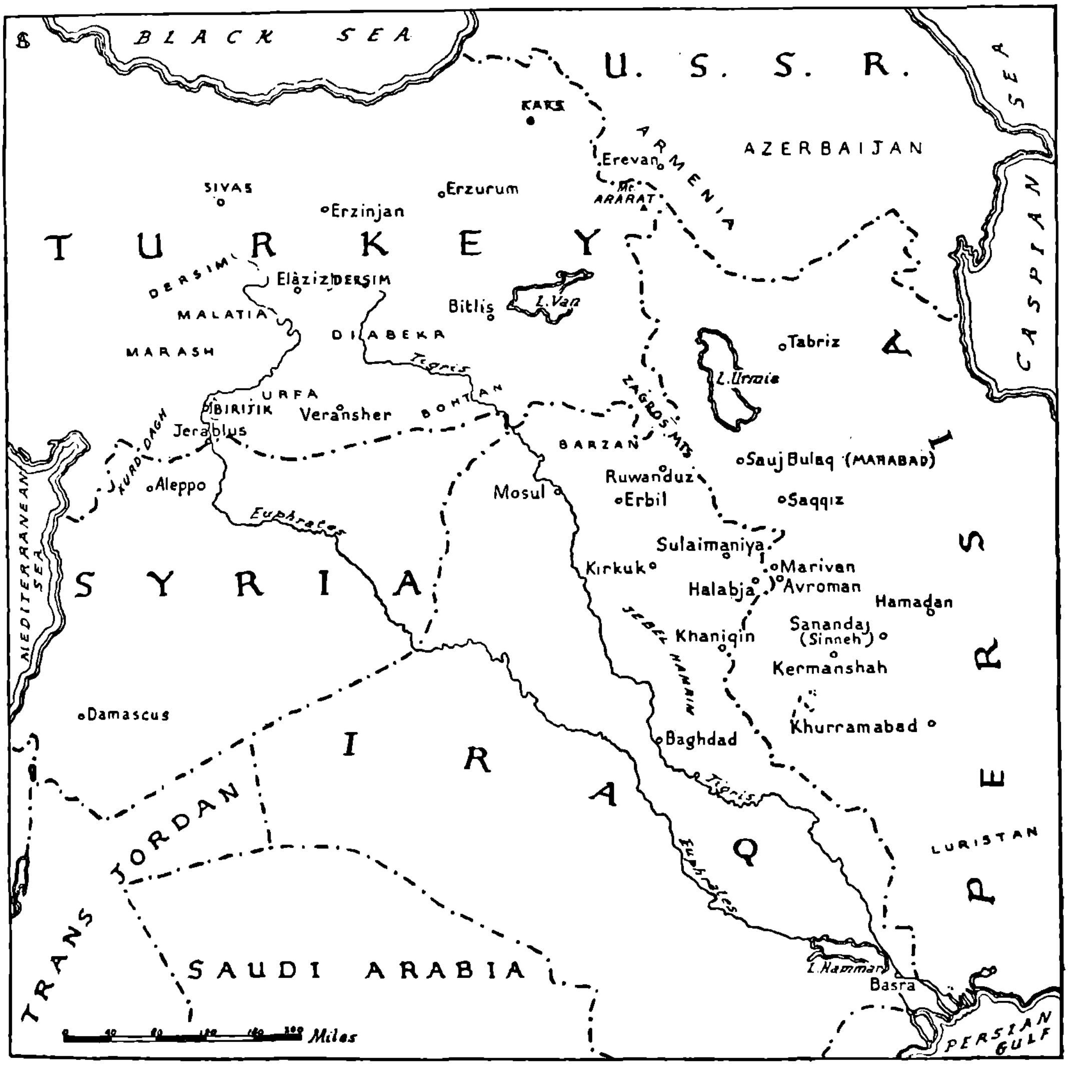
THE first questions I shall trv to answer, as briefly as possible, are Who are the Kurds? How and where do they live? The Kurds belong to the Aryan group. They have been described as the result of the impact of Iranian elements on indigenous racial stocks which occupied the mountainous mass east of the Euphrates. One of their earliest ancestral tribes, the Guti, is said to have been Turanian. In the north there has been an intermixture with Armenian-Caucasian elements and in the south the Kurds have intermarried with the Semitic Arabic-speaking people of the Fertile Crescent.

After the Turkish invasions other elements were superimposed but, despite all these contacts, the Kurds have retained their individual characteristics. They possess some trait which enables them to absorb the influences of their neighbours without losing their own separate identity. This I believe to be an important factor in studying the Kurdish problem; if they have been Kurds for 4,000 years are they not likely to remain Kurds for some considerable time to come?

The Kurds were originally mountaineers, as the majority still remain, relying on flocks and herds for their livelihood. Some of the tribes are nomad, some semi-nomad; others are settled, and these cultivate the land as well as keep sheep and goats. They are said to be rather better farmers than some of their neighbours. The original home of the Kurds was in the mountain mass between the Persian plateau and the Tigris basin. On the south-east they adjoin kindred mountain people, the Lurs and Bakhtiaris. After the Turkish and Mongol invasions of Armenia in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which invasions after passing through the north of Persia and avoiding the Kurdish mountains swept through Armenia to the north, decimating the population as they went, the Kurds moved into the vacuum thus created. They then spread north,

north-west and west until to-day they form an arc stretching from about Kirmanshah in the south-east, touching Kars and Erzerum on the north, and reaching to Birijik and beyond in the south-west. In their original home the Kurds form the majority of the population, but towards the north-west and west there is considerable admixture of other races—Turks, Arabs, etc.

Though the Kurds are mountaineers in origin there are now many Kurdish tribes living in the plains of south-east Turkey and north-east Syria. They came there for various reasons, some migrating under pressure of more powerful tribes who took their grazing lands, some in accord with Turkish policy. One tribe I know well, the Berazi, was moved from its mountain home to the banks of the Euphrates near Jerablus, by Sultan Murad IV about A.D. 1620 as part of his plan to protect Anatolia from Arab incursions.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Veranshar
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Jerablus
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Euphrates
SYRIA
Mosul
BARZAN
ZAGROS MTS
Ruwanduz
Erbil
L. Urmia
Tabriz
Sauj Bulaq (MAHABAD)
Saqqiz
Sulaimaniya
Kirkuk
Marivan
Halabja
Avroman
Hamadan
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KURDISH DISTRIBUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Kurds, on first acquaintance, seem taciturn and reserved. This is supposed to be the result of having spent much of their early youth alone watching their parents' flocks. On better acquaintance they reveal a real sense of humour, and their hospitality is embarrassingly lavish. As fighting men they are quick to take advantage of an opportunity, but are said to lack staying power. This I believe to be really due to a chronic lack of ammunition, also to the fact that when they have used up the food they carry with them they will just leave the battle-field and go home for more! In a modern army, with good administrative services, I believe the Kurds would be excellent soldiers. They are mainly Sunni Muslims although some are Shiah.

Does the Kurdish Problem Constitute a Danger to World Peace?

There has been a tendency recently to emphasize, perhaps to overemphasize, the danger of the Kurdish problem. An article in the American journal *Foreign Affairs,* of July, 1946, stressed the danger the Kurdish question might be if utilized, as then seemed possible, by Soviet Russia in a game of Power politics *vis-à-vis* Turkey and Persia.

Though the Kurds have caused anxiety to their respective governments in the recent past and might do so again if their problem is mishandled, there are to-day certain trends in world affairs which may minimize the danger of minority problems and particularly that of the Kurds. In fact I would go so far as to say that in certain circumstances the Kurds may prove to be a stabilizing influence rather than a danger to peace in the Middle East.

The Kurds as a "Cement" to Middle East Unity

The trend to which I refer as affecting world affairs to-day is a tendency towards integration into larger groups or unions of States rather than towards fragmentation into smaller entities. We already have the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Republics, and the British Commonwealth. Mr. Churchill and others are working for a united Europe. We hear of plans for a Union of Slav Peoples and in the Middle East we have a League of Arab States. Might it not be a logical development if this tendency proceeded one step further and resulted in a Middle East Union? Should such a Union include Turkey, Persia, Iraq, and Syria, would not the fact that each of these States includes in its population a considerable number of Kurds (members of the Islamic Society but neither Turks, Persians nor Arabs) help to unite rather than divide the countries in which they live?

The immediate reaction of some people to this suggestion will be to say that such a union is unlikely, if not impossible, owing to certain factors which make its achievement difficult. One of these factors is the attitude of the Arab States towards Turkey. They remember the days when they were part of the Turkish Empire. It is only a quarter of a century since they threw off the Turkish yoke. They realize that in a Middle East Union Turkey is bound to be a dominant partner. There are factors peculiar to individual Arab States. Syria, for instance, resents the loss of the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Iraq remembers that in 1924-25 Turkey claimed a huge slice of Northern Iraq and seemed ready to seize it by force. In Egypt, though there is a strong Turkish element in the ruling Pasha class and the King's sister is married to the Shah of Persia, any suggestions that have already been made regarding a Middle East Union have had a very bad Press.

The most obvious argument in favour of union is the fact that the united armies of Turkey, Persia and the Arab States would be stronger than any one alone, but this is subject to the criticism that, even so, they would be too weak to stand up against a major Power backed by modern heavy industry and by making a defensive union they might invite attack. A more cogent modern argument lies in the advantages to be gained from a planned economy in a large area.

It is possible that a Customs Union may shortly develop in the Arab world, and if this should be extended to include Turkey and Persia there is much to be said in its favour. I do not intend to carry this argument further, but assuming that a Middle East Union, if only a Customs Union, is just possible, I propose to examine the way in which the Kurds might fit into it. Before doing so I must go back into the past and trouble you with a little history.

Some Kurdish History

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes the Kurds as the oldest aristocracy in the world, and we have evidence in Sumerian inscriptions that the Kurds existed about 2000 B.C. They were mentioned by Xenophon, Herodotus and Strabo; but the earliest date of importance to us in this discussion is A.D. 1639, in which year the frontier was laid down between Turkey and Persia, which frontier set a limit to the conquests of Selim the Grim and Suleiman the Magnificent from the Safavi dynasty of Persia. This frontier, which remained almost unaltered until 1918, was fixed by a treaty negotiated by Sultan Murad IV of Turkey and Shah Abbas II of Persia; it divided the Kurdish population of what then became Eastern Turkey and Western Persia into two groups. The Kurds in Turkey were again subdivided after the First World War, so that at the present time there are in Turkey one and a half million Kurds; in Iraq 800,000; in Persia 600,000; in Syria 250,000, and in Soviet Armenia 20,000. These figures are approximate as it is difficult to get numbers based on a carefully taken census. The fear of conscription or a *per capita* tax is sufficient to send the young Kurd shinning up the mountain-side or out into the desert when there is any talk of counting heads.

When I say that the Kurds were divided in the seventeenth century and again more recently, I do not wish to give the impression that they were ever completely united under one Kurdish king. The Kurds lack, and always have lacked, cohesion and though they have characteristics which single them out from their neighbours, they have always been singularly divided among themselves. They are divided into tribes and tribal groups, each intensely jealous of any attempt by one of them to create any kind of hegemony.

There have been Kurdish kingdoms, such as that of the Ayyubi dynasty of Erbil and Tekrit which flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and produced as its most illustrious representative Salah-ud-Din El Ayyubi (Saladin of the Crusades), but these kingdoms never extended over the whole of Kurdistan.

After the settlement of 1639 and owing, it is said, to the help the Sunni-Aryan Kurds gave to the Sunni-Turanian Turks in their war against the Shiah-Aryan Persians, the Kurds received preferential treatment in Turkey. Selim the Grim created a cordon of semi-autonomous Kurdish princedoms, forming a bulwark between Turkey and Persia; in other words, between himself and any possible Persian aggression. It is interesting to note that at that time religious ties seem to have been stronger than ties of race, or was the alliance of Kurd with Turk due to a tendency, common amongst minorities, to welcome and aid a newcomer from far away against the government of the country in which they live, which always seems so unpleasantly close and so interfering?

KURDS IN TURKEY

For two hundred years following 1639 the Kurds seem, so far as we know, to have lived happily under Turkish rule, so that one is prompted to enquire why they should not continue to do so now. What caused the Kurds to rebel against the Turks in 1826 and what, in more recent times, has made the Kurdish tribesman in Turkey less contented with his lot?

In 1826 Sultan Mahmud II introduced certain reforms, one of which aimed at the extension of central civil administration into tribal areas and the consequent limitation of the powers of the patriarchal feudal chiefs. About this time the revolt of Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, against the Sultan of Turkey kept the Turkish Army, recently weakened by liquidation of the janissaries, occupied in the defence of Syria, and later of Turkey itself. Bedr Khan, the Prince of Bohtan, one of the semi-autonomous states, took advantage of this opportunity to strengthen his position—threatened by Sultan Mahmud's reforms—and set up an independent Kurdish Confederacy under his own rule which extended over an area which included Diabekr, Siverik, Veransher, Sairt, Sulaimaniya and Sauj Bulaq (Mahabad). His rule lasted until 1847, when the Turkish government, no longer threatened by Mohammed Ali, concentrated troops against Bedr Khan and quickly brought to an end his independent government.

After the revolt the Turkish government adopted a policy, common in the East, of bringing the outlying tribal chiefs and their families to live in the capital, where they could act as hostages for the good behaviour of their tribes. This may have succeeded to a certain extent, though further revolts did occur; but these young aristocrats, with little else to do, kept alive and nourished the spirit of Kurdish independence, which was still further strengthened when some members of these families escaped abroad and exchanged ideas with nationalists of other countries.

Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1891 tried with some success to rally the loyalty of certain Kurdish leaders to his throne by means of irregular cavalry regiments, called Hamidieh, which he formed and to the command of which he appointed certain Kurdish chiefs. One of these, Ibrahim Pasha Milli, the leader of a confederacy of Kurdish tribes, centred around Veransher, became so loyal to his sovereign that when the Young Turks revolted against the Sultan in 1908 he marched with 1,500 Kurdish horsemen to Damascus and held that city on behalf of Sultan Abdul Hamid. When the Young Turks gained the day, Ibrahim Pasha found himself opposed to the new government, who called out his blood-feud enemies, the Shammar tribe, to harry his withdrawal and he was killed on his way home. His son, Mahmud, whom I know very well, spent the next three years in prison. There is one point which might be of interest to you in regard to this Shammar-Milli feud: it looks as though it might be well on the way to being settled because Mahmud's brother, Khalil Ibrahim Pasha, is married to a Shammar princess, and his son Mohammed, who is heir to Mahmud, thus has a Shammar mother.

For a while it looked as if the policy of the Young Turks might harmonize with that of the Kurdish Nationalists, but this idea was soon found to be a delusion. At the end of the First World War, for various reasons, most of the Kurdish leaders were antagonistic to the Turkish government and were seeking autonomy if not actual independence, greatly encouraged in these aims by the talk of self-determination which was current at that time. Kurdish hopes of autonomy were crystallized in Articles 62-64 of the abortive Treaty of Sèvres.

My own impression, confirmed by other Britishers who then lived in Kurdish areas of Turkey, is that the mass of Kurdish tribal opinion was apathetic towards any talk of Kurdish independence or autonomy; they seemed to be quite content to go on living under Turkish rule.

What, then, was responsible for the three serious Kurdish revolts which took place in Turkey between the two World Wars? Though the Kurds do not appear to be very deeply religious, the influence of their sheikhs or religious leaders is very strong. Mustapha Kemal's abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey, together with the tribunals of the canon law, and various other measures he took to weaken the influence of the Church in the State, deeply offended the Kurdish sheikhs, and it was probably due to this that the first Kurdish revolt of 1925 was led by Sheikh Said of Piran. Many other influences were no doubt at work to cause this revolt, but religion was certainly one.

The next revolt, 1927-30 in the Ararat area, was far more serious, and two Turkish Army Corps, the IVth and VIth, were eventually concentrated to deal with it. A revolt of such dimensions must have some serious cause. There is no evidence that it was religious; the leader was Ihsan Nuri, a soldier. I do not believe that the Nationalistic feudal leaders could have produced a rebellion on such a scale unless they had been provided with some forceful arguments with which to appeal to tribal opinion. There was some bitterness over the severity with which Sheikh Said's revolt had been put down and the execution of the Sheikh, but that alone would not have been sufficient. A plausible reason is to be found in Turkish policy, which aimed at this time at an intensive Turkification of the people who lived in what remained to Turkey, an assimilation of all minorities, at least all Muslim minorities, into the Turkish nation.

Now, Kurds are not unlike Scots, Irish and Welsh in this regard. While the latter are proud to be British they would resent an attempt to force them to become English. So the Kurd, content to be a Turkish citizen in a general way, resents any attempt to deprive him of his separate identity as a Kurd. He is proud of being a Kurd and he asks to be allowed to teach his children his Kurdish language, to dress in Kurdish clothes if he wishes, to have books and papers printed in his own language.

The next Kurdish revolt took place in Dersim in 1937-39 and has been directly attributed to the publication of a Turkish Law in January, 1937, which was designed to enforce assimilation. Dersim, the centre of the Kurds who speak the Zaza dialect of Kurdish and are Shiahs and therefore uninterested in the abolition of the caliphate, had until 1937 been peaceful and the people had held aloof from the first two Kurdish rebellions. Now they rose in a revolt which imposed a serious strain on Turkish resources.

From the above evidence it would appear that the Turkish government policy had, in the first place, antagonized the Kurdish patriarchal feudal leaders; in the second place, it had led to the opposition of the religious leaders and, finally, the Kurdish people themselves had been aroused by the fear that they might lose their separate racial indentity.

It is hard to blame the Turkish government for all this, as their policy which led to this unfortunate result was based on arguments the validity of which few would question. Nor can one blame the Turks, once the revolts had started, for stamping them out with every means at their disposal, in order to restore law and order as quickly as possible. Those who have read Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* will recognize the normal reaction of a dominant minority which has lost the voluntary allegiance of its subjects. Having lost the creative charm which first held their subjects in discipleship, the dominant minority now resort to force. It may be queer to connect Selim the Grim with creative charm, but I suppose he must have had some. His hobby, we are told, was writing Persian poetry. This is a problem which certainly, according to Professor Toynbee, has faced every civilization and every universal state, and the Turks need not be very disappointed in not having found the answer. Indeed, in the whole course of history no one seems to have found the right answer: the only answer which seems so far to have been found is that force is not the right one. Looking around the world—Palestine, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Indo-China and China itself—you will see that others do not seem to have done very much better.

The three reasons I have given for the revolts seem the most obvious and tangible, but we should, I think, be wrong to attribute them to those reasons alone. Behind the revolts was something less definite, the spirit of nationalism which was spreading all over the world and from the infection of which the Kurds suffered in common with so many other peoples.

Until quite recently prospects of reconciliation between the Turkish government and their Kurdish subjects seemed poor: the problem seemed to be ignored in Turkey. Foreigners were told that there was no Kurdish problem, Kurds were referred to as "Mountain Turks." Now a change seems to have come over the situation. The Turkish Prime Minister, speaking to university students on March 28, 1947, referred to the Kurds in terms of praise. He praised their citizenship, and especially their loyal service in the army.* On December 30, 1946, the Grand National Assembly passed a law putting an end to the restrictive regulations which had been operative in Dersim (Tunçeli) since 1937.† Let us trust that this indicates real hope for the future and for a friendly settlement between these two courageous and likeable peoples who lived together on very good terms so long.

KURDS IN IRAQ

When the British occupied Iraq in 1918 the Kurds greeted us in friendly fashion and, on the whole, have remained our good friends ever since. They did not altogether approve, however, of the settlement which left them subject to an Arab government.

The most serious revolts in Iraq have stemmed from the ambitions of one man, Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimaniyya, whose religious prestige enabled him to maintain an armed rebellion for about twelve years. I remember in 1927, when he was a fugitive across the Persian border, we planned to limit his resources by protecting the nomad Kurdish tribes from the depredations of Sheikh Mahmud's tax-collectors. We discovered, however, that these same tribesmen who professed by day to be grateful for our protection were sending him by night the full quota demanded of them, so great was the religious awe in which he was held. The other serious Kurdish headache suffered by the Iraq government was due to their disputes with the leaders of the Barzan confederacy. The first conflicts in 1932 came from the endeavour of the Iraq government to recover taxes long overdue. After this Sheikh Ahmed of Barzan and his family were placed in forced residence in Sulaimaniyya. In 1943 famine conditions in Barzan gave Mullah Mustafa at first a reason to complain and then an argument with which to raise a revolt against the central government of Iraq.

In a brief survey such as this I am compelled to over-simplify, but I believe I am correct in suggesting that the reasons for friction between the Iraq government and the Kurds are: first, an instinctive dislike of being ruled by an Arab government. This objection is being overcome by introducing a Kurdish element into the central as well as into local administration. Secondly, the reasons are economic and depend on the distribution of resources, the regulation of the tobacco monopoly and other factors with which I have not time to deal here.

KURDS IN PERSIA

As the Kurdish National movement started in Turkey and Kurds in Persia have been separated from those in Turkey since 1639, or even before, it is not altogether unexpected that much less should have been heard of the Kurdish National movement in Persia than in Turkey. Most Kurdish activities in Persia appear to have resulted not from nationalistic aims so much as from the ambitions of individual chiefs.

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* *Tasvir*, March 29, 1947.

† *The Times*, December 31, 1946.

When Riza Shah came to power in 1920 he adopted a policy similar to that of the Turks after 1846, and brought the tribal leaders to the capital. This policy appears to have succeeded in so far as keeping the peace was concerned; but we are told that the tribesmen, robbed of their leaders, and suffering from somewhat callous treatment by Persian officials, developed a grievance which only needed an opportunity to explode in revolt such as was presented by the collapse of the Persian government in 1941, when the British and Russians entered the country.

This revolt illustrates a new tendency in Kurdish affairs. The education of the sons of tribal leaders in the capital had tended to make them lose contact with their tribes and tribal tradition. In addition, modern developments, education, health services, etc., have come to be regarded as more than luxuries by the tribesmen, who further realize that these amenities, being beyond the means of their feudal leaders, can only be supplied by the central government. All this has tended to weaken the authority of feudal leaders, and so it was not altogether surprising that this new revolt was led by a comparatively unknown man, Hamah Rashid, a chief of a sub-tribe of the Baneh Begzadeh.

The Kurds in Persia are now reported to be more nationalistic. This time the ideas have come from Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan rather than from Turkey. When frontiers were re-drawn after the First World War a small colony of 20,000 Kurds was left in Soviet Armenia. The Russians gave this small colony every encouragement to develop its national aims and ambitions. Kurdish was taught in primary and secondary schools and a Kurdish college was opened. As a result of this encouragement, the Kurdish community in Soviet Armenia became an important nucleus for Kurdish national feeling, the effects of which were felt as far away as Syria—I have even seen their pamphlets in Cairo. When the Russians first entered Persia in 1941 they were welcomed by the Kurds with some enthusiasm, but we are told that the Russians did not indulge in any nationalistic or Communist propaganda, contenting themselves with showing such Kurdish visitors as went into Soviet territory the better general conditions of life under a Soviet régime.

Nevertheless, during the period of Russian-sponsored Azerbaijan autonomy in 1945-46 an independent Kurdish republic was set up at Mahabad (Sauj Bulaq) of which Qazi Mohammed was elected president on January 22, 1946. This movement collapsed when Persian troops recently reoccupied Azerbaijan and Qazi Mohammed himself was arrested, sentenced to death and hanged on March 31, 1947.

KURDS IN SYRIA

Except for small colonies, one of about 40,000, in the Kurd Dagh, north-west of Aleppo, and another of 20,000 in Damascus, there should really be no Kurds in Syria. Those in the Jezireh who form the major part of the total 250,000 are the southern extremities of Kurdish tribes in Turkey which were lopped off by the frontier, agreed between the Turks and the French in 1921, confirmed by the Ankara agreement of 1929. The Syrian Kurdish community is best known through the existence there of the Hoybon committee (National Independence Committee) which was formed in 1927 to keep alive the national movement.

Salahieh, the Kurdish quarter of Damascus, is named after Salah-ud-Din el Ayyubi, whose tomb lies beside the great mosque of the Umayyads. The Kurds, perhaps in consequence of the reverence with which the memory of their most distinguished representative has always been regarded, are accepted as part of the community. The *émigrés* from Turkey are grateful for the asylum they received, and the leaders of Kurdish society have taken their fair share in public duties. There was recently a Prime Minister of Kurdish descent, Husni Berazi, and Kurdish delegates to the Syrian Parliament are useful and loyal citizens of the state. The Communist party in Syria is led by a Kurd, Khalid Baghdash. In Syria, perhaps, is real hope to be found that the Kurdish problem may be solved, not by autonomy nor by assimilation but by association, by a recognition by the Syrian government of the separate national consciousness of the Kurds, and by the Kurds that their loyal duty as citizens of the Republic is not incompatible with loyalty to their own traditions.

I would like to quote from a letter I have recently received from Damascus. Not long ago the President of the Republic, Shukri Quwatly, visited the Kurdish tribes in the Jezireh. Out of courtesy to him many speeches were made in Arabic. At last the President said to Hassan Hajo, the leading Kurdish Agha in those parts, " I have heard many speeches in Arabic; now let me hear one in your own language." A Kurdish poet who happened to be present made an oration in Kurdish which was subsequently translated into Arabic. Thus, says my correspondent, " the policy of the President makes of the Kurds his most loyal subjects."

The Solution of the Kurdish Problem

Cannot this solution be extended to the three other countries, Turkey, Iraq, Persia, where large Kurdish minorities exist? I believe it can, and I further believe that the more liberal policy in Turkey, to which allusion has already been made, is a sign that the Turkish government is working to this end.

In Iraq, too, that small but select society of Kurdish intellectuals, who are working for a just solution of the problem of their own people within the Iraq constitution, seem to be making headway and the Iraq government is preparing to meet their demands. Perhaps one day we shall have a government in office in Iraq long enough to implement these preparations in law. The only danger seems to be that some outside agency (as suggested by the American writer to whom I have already referred) may strive to exploit the grievances of the Kurds to their own advantage before the governments of these countries have completely gained or recovered the loyalty of their Kurdish subjects. Such a possibility is indicated by a telegram published in the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, U.S.A.) on August 27, 1947, from which the following is an extract:

"The Iranian Parliament is taking up the controversial Soviet oil agreement as Iranian and diplomatic officials report that 10,000 Barzani Kurdish tribesmen backed by the Red Army were assembled in Soviet Azerbaijan on the north-west frontier. . . . Some of the Kurds reported gathered on the Iranian frontier recently escaped into the Soviet Union after fighting a series of battles with Iraq, Iranian, and Turkish troops. Their leader is Mullah Mustafa Barzani. This particular band was estimated at 1,200 to 2,000 men at the time. . . . Loyal Kurdish tribesmen in the north-west reported to the army general staff recently that Soviet agents and Barzani tribesmen were active among Jalali tribesmen in Iran."

Would not the best short-term policy for these countries be to enquire into the various Kurdish grievances and take adequate steps to remove any that may prove to be genuine? I dare say this is being done. As a long-term policy might not a solution be found in a Middle East Union? I do not pretend that this alone would be sufficient argument for the adoption of such a plan, but if such a plan were adopted it might help in the solution of the Kurdish problem in the various countries in which it exists.

The fact that the Kurds are separated from each other by international frontiers tends to encourage them to become smugglers; again the ease with which Kurds wanted by Turkish justice can escape into Syria, Iraq or Persia and *vice versa* makes more difficult the settlement of local disturbances. In Iraq one knew how easy it was for Sheikh Mahmud to slip across the frontier into Persia when hard pressed. More recently the Mullah Mustafa of Barzan has done the same, and Hamah Rashid from Persia not long ago took sanctuary in Iraq. There are many other ways in which an artificial frontier dividing people of one race from another can lead to disorder and unrest. I know a Kurdish chief, of a tribe two-thirds of which is in Turkey and one third in Syria. He lives in Syria. Is it likely that he will abandon the sovereignty of his tribe, which his ancestors have held for 200 years, just because Franklin Bouillon chose a railway that runs through his tribal area as the frontier between Turkey and Syria?

Kurdish nationalist leaders ask now for a united Kurdistan, although I believe they well know that such a plan is quite impracticable. Geographical factors make a Kurdish State economically unsound, for the Kurdish area is divided by a backbone of high mountains; the Zagros range and its extension northwards to Ararat, compels those on the west of it to seek markets in Turkey, those on the east in Persia, those on the south in Iraq and Syria. History also indicates that no other trait is so strongly developed in the Kurdish people as lack of cohesion, unless it be resistance to assimilation.

We have seen how a world-wide trend, nationalism, aggravated, it is true, by other causes, led to friction between the Kurds on the one hand, and the Turkish government and Iraqi and Persian governments on the other. Is it not possible that in a more modern tendency towards integration a solution of this problem might be found? If a Customs and Passport Union of all the Middle East countries were set up, doing away with frontier control, the Kurds would be as much united as they ever have been since the dawn of history and, being united, their common racial background should tend to cement together the various countries in which they now live.

There are many ties which may prove stronger than those of race. We have seen how in the seventeenth century the Kurd was ready to ally himself with his co-religionist, the Sunni Turk, against his racial relation, the Aryan Persian. We have seen how Salah-ud-Din el Ayyubi could leave his Kurdish home on the Tigris under a religious impulse to free Egypt from the Shiah Fatimid Caliph, and Palestine from the Crusaders. To-day economic interests are becoming more and more important. Is it too much to expect that in a well-planned and flourishing economy embracing all the countries of the Middle East the Kurds (as well as many other important minorities) may forget their differences of race and religion and settle down as useful citizens of this larger union? If common economic interest is not sufficient, perhaps some other impulse will be found to unite the people of the Middle East behind a common leadership.

Sheltered in their mountain valleys the Kurds have remained a primitive people. Now civilization is making its impact felt upon them, through education, improved communications, trade and industry. It will be interesting to see how they will react to this challenge. Whatever their answer may be, I believe that a satisfactory solution to their problem is to be found in association with the other peoples of the Middle East rather than in assimilation or isolation.

The geographic situation of the Kurds created amongst them an attitude of independence, which history developed into a habit and which national character has made a tradition. I see no insoluble reason why this tradition of independence should be incompatible with free and fruitful association with the other members of the Islamic society and the non-Islamic minorities who dwell amongst them.

Sir G. Betham: What is the present policy of the Kurdish National Committee and what chance has it of success?

Colonel Elphinston: The Kurdish National Committee, the Hoybon, circulated, I believe, a memorandum recently to the United Nations demanding an independent united Kurdistan. At the same time, I think they well know that a united independent Kurdistan is not a practicable proposition. The Kurds are uncohesive, and I do not believe they would ever unite in one Kurdish State. Another compelling factor against a united Kurdish State is the geographical one already mentioned. I believe, despite this memorandum which has been circulated, the Hoybon would be content with the policy which now seems to be carried out in Syria.

Mr. Jafar Ali: Does the lecturer think the coming into being of the State of Pakistan will in any way tend to increase the Kurdish problem?

The Lecturer: I see someone here far more compenent to speak on that than I am (Mr. Saifullah Khandan, Counsellor at the Iraq Embassy), but from what I know I think there has been little contact between the

Kurds and India. I do not believe that in the tribal areas the Kurds have ever heard of Pakistan, though their leaders have. I do not expect any violent reaction among the Kurds to follow the creation of Pakistan.

Dr. G. M. Lees: I should like to add a few words on the Kurdish question from my personal point of view. I was one of a small group of enthusiasts who had to deal with Kurdistan, immediately after the first world war, under the guidance of Major Soane. Looking back, I can now see that our enthusiasms for the cause of Kurdish nationalism were at the expense of maturer judgment. It seemed to us then inequitable that Kurdistan should be placed under the dominion of an Arab state and we were not hesitant in expressing our disapproval. Now, after a lapse of years, I entirely agree with Colonel Elphinston that there can be no such thing as complete Kurdish independence. Kurdistan is a long belt of mountains so arranged geographically that there can be no communications and therefore no unity lengthwise. Each sector must connect with and trade with its adjacent sector of the plains on the south-west or the central plateau to the north-east. Each sector is also a separate linguistic unit—to such a degree that a Southern Kurd cannot even understand a Northern Kurd, which is a great handicap to unity. It is not as if there were a common written language, though differently spoken, as in China. For these reasons I agree with the lecturer that those of us who have a great liking for and a sympathy with the Kurds can serve them better by endeavouring to ensure that the governments among whom they are divided give them a better deal than by attempting to encourage their national hopes of independence. Given a fair deal they could, and I am sure will, develop a greater sense of citizenship; their grievances are not many nor difficult of appeasement—concessions in matters of language, schooling, and some degree of local administrative autonomy. I believe that in the present upset condition of the world we should render a disservice to them if we tried, even by expressing sympathy, to help them towards aspiring to complete independence and unity which for these geographical and other reasons cannot, as I now see it, be achieved.

The Chairman: On your behalf I thank Colonel Elphinston for the many interesting things he has told us; I am sure all present agree that we have listened to a most informative discourse.

NOTE ON THE KURDISH LANGUAGE

There is sufficient unity in the form and vocabulary of the Kurdish dialects to enable one to speak in general of the Kurdish language. The various dialects are related but they differ greatly in syntax, grammar and vocabulary. Of the ancient languages Kurdish seems to have most in common with the Avestic, the language of the sacred books of Iranian Mazdaeans, the Zoroastrians of the Parthian and Sassanian dynasties.

The Kurdish language is sometimes divided into Northern and Southern Kurdish, but other authorities divide it into three main dialects, Kurmanji, Mukri and Zaza. Sub-dialects include Babinan, Gorani, Baban and Soran.

These are all related to each other through Avestic as French, Italian and Spanish are through Latin and as Amharic and Tigrinya are related through Jaez, the classical language of Ethiopia. There is therefore no reason, from a linguistic point of view, why Kurds should not be as united as the Ethiopians. The arguments against union are more those of racial temperament, tradition and geography.

W. G. E.

LAND PROBLEMS IN TRANSJORDAN

By G. F. WALPOLE, O.B.E.

A lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, July 16, 1947, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Walpole to you, and I will just give you an idea of what he has been doing. In 1920 he went out as a civil engineer to Egypt. There he was engaged until 1936, and he was the first to discover the Kassala depression. In 1936 he was appointed Director of the Department of Lands and Surveys in Transjordan. The development of that country within the last few years, and a certain tendency that has appeared in certain areas for the nomadic tribes to settle down to an agricultural life, make the work of Mr. Walpole's department of particular importance. He has just arrived in England on leave this week, and it is on some of the problems connected with land settlement in Transjordan that he is going to lecture to-day.

IF you look at a map of Transjordan you see that Lake Tiberias, the River Jordan and the Dead Sea bound the country on the west and it stretches southward to the Gulf of Akaba. Much of that frontier is not precisely delimited; the land being of no value no one would go to the trouble and expense of delimitation. Akaba itself is a matter of contention; it has been developed as a port during the course of the war, when we thought we might lose Suez. It was never used but remained as a monument of what might have been. King Ibn Sa'oud at the time renounced any claim he might have had to Akaba but has now taken a different line.

When peace was declared after the war of 1914-18 and British troops were withdrawn from Transjordan the future of the country was, to say the least, obscure. In theory Transjordan was administered by the Arab Government in Damascus and administrative officials were appointed, but in practice the country was completely neglected and rapidly relapsed into a state of lawlessness and inter-tribal warfare. In July, 1920, the Arab Government in Damascus collapsed and Transjordan broke up into a number of small states; not until after March 27, 1921, when the British Government formally recognized the present King Abdullah ibn Hussein as ruler of Transjordan could it be said that there was any kind of central administration.

During the Turkish regime Transjordan was regarded by the Government as more of a liability than an asset, the administration, particularly with regard to land, had been very much neglected, and it was only when the Department of Lands and Surveys was formed in 1929 that land administration was placed on a firm basis.

The task that confronted this new department was indeed a formidable one. There were no maps, no surveyors, and the Land Registries were in a hopeless state of confusion.

In 1926 Sir Ernest Dowson was asked by the Transjordan Government to study the existing system of land tenure and land taxation in the country and to make recommendations as to the reforms and changes in the system of administration he considered necessary. In the body of his report the following pregnant paragraph appears:

"Throughout the length and breadth of the country there will hardly be found a handful of cases in which the Government can extract from the Land Register the name of the lawful possessor of any given parcel of miri land,* or in which the occupant of such land can establish therefrom his right to lawful possession. Continuously everywhere the possession of miri land is being disposed of, inherited and seized in disregard of law and the Land Registries and without payment of the fees prescribed."

The method of assessing and collecting Land Tax was equally confused and inequitable.

In principle agricultural land was liable to a tax of four per thousand per annum of the capital value of the land together with a tithe of the actual produce of the land. In practice, however, it was found that every district in Transjordan had a separate system of its own in assessing and collecting the Land Tax. In the northern district a lump sum, which was found after survey to have little relation to the area cultivated, was levied on each village; in the central district the tithe was compulsorily commuted for a money payment, and in the southern district after a revolt in 1892 the tax was distributed on the number of Dukhkhanas in existence (a Dukhkhana was a house from which smoke issued) quite regardless of the area of land cultivated. Furthermore in years of drought no tax remissions were allowed and the full fixed tax was collected, while if the full tax of one district could not be collected the difference was levied on other districts.

Clearly the first task to be undertaken was the re-assessment of Land Tax on an equitable basis not only in justice to the landowners but to ensure to the state a reliable source of revenue.

The fiscal survey, the pre-requisite for such a reform, was commenced in 1928 and completed in 1933. The work included the demarcation and survey of all village boundaries, the valuation of all cultivated land, and at the same time the opportunity was taken to settle by means of a Commission, to which legal powers were given, the many bitter disputes over village boundaries that had arisen ever since expanding cultivation had brought boundaries of adjoining villages into contact.

The disputes themselves were sometimes trivial, but many persons had lost their lives over them and no village would ever agree with another when their adjoining boundary was doubtful. However, once a boundary was fixed by the Commission and demarcated with angle irons over which there could be no further argument both villages accepted the decision and the dispute was quickly forgotten.

When the fiscal survey was completed, all the agricultural land of Transjordan had been surveyed on a scale of 1/10,000, the lands of each village were divided into blocks of approximately similar fertility and carefully valued for Land Tax, while all disputes over village boundaries were finally settled. A Land Tax Law was enacted and the assessment of the tax on each village placed on an equitable basis.

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* Crown lands with a heritable right of occupation by the cultivator.

THE SETTLEMENT OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN LAND

The foundation of land administration had been completed in its broader aspects; it now remained to complete the structure by the settlement of individual rights and the assessment of Land Tax on ownership as ascertained by a judicial investigation coupled with an accurate cadastral survey of property boundaries.

The Land Registries were of little value in determining individual rights; for decades sales had been concluded without official sanction as required by law, heirs neglected to register their inheritance, in fact the Ottoman Land Laws had been ignored and it was virtually impossible for the Government to ascertain the rightful owner of any parcel of land in many parts of the country; furthermore, action in the Civil Courts would be equally fruitless, bound as they were to apply a code of laws which were drafted on the assumption that records of land transactions would not fall into arrears.

The problem required drastic measures if a solution was to be found that would place land ownership on a sound basis throughout the whole country within a reasonable time.

A Land Settlement Law was enacted and the settlement of individual rights was commenced as soon as the fiscal survey was completed.

The terms of the Law were in general chiefly concerned with the administration of settlement, but in the body of the Law an article was included which gave the judge of the Land Settlement Court authority to hear evidence which would be inadmissible in a Civil Court bound by the Ottoman Land Laws.

The Law of Disposition dated A.H. 1331 (A.D. 1912) explicitly states that every kind of disposition must be made in the Land Registry and that Civil and Sharia Courts will not hear any case nor will the administrative authorities allow any dealings in lands for which no formal title-deed is produced.

Under Article 10 of the Land Settlement Law, however, the judge was given the widest powers to determine the real ownership. He could admit any document that proved a sale, he could hear verbal evidence to the same effect, and he could ignore a title-deed produced in support of a claim if it was clear that the actual occupier of the land was another who had been in undisputed occupation for a reasonable period.

One of the chief reasons for these unregistered sales was the fear that, if a sale was effected in the Land Registry, a third person could intervene and claim the right of prior purchase which he was entitled to under the Land Code.

The right of prior purchase is a relic of the times when the social structure was patriarchal or tribal and it was undesirable to have outsiders owning land which was either a family or tribal affair. This right, for which there were good reasons at the time, was now, under more modern conditions and with public security on a more stable basis, a real stumbling block to development and to the free sale of land. The purchasers were reluctant to obtain a title-deed and equally reluctant to improve their holdings with such insecurity of tenure. The Land Settlement Court under Article 10 was not bound by this right of prior purchase and a purchaser could now come forward, prove the sale and claim his property.

Another fruitful cause of disputes in ownership which the Civil Courts had been rightly reluctant to decide was the dead hand of unregistered inheritance. For generations many landowners had neglected this elementary precaution, and a condition had arisen that made it possible for a person to claim his share in land through a common ancestor although no effort had been made by his previous ancestors to assert their rights. Under the Settlement Law the judge would ignore such claims if the claimant had made no effort to assert his rights during the period of ten years from the commencement of adverse occupation.

Altogether the effect of Article 10 of the Land Settlement Law was that the judge had a free hand to decide on the rightful owner in disputed claims without being bound by a legal system which, through neglect by both the landowners and the Turkish Administration, had fallen into partial desuetude since the courts, who were bound by the terms of the Ottoman Land Code, were unwilling to give decisions which were clearly not in accordance with justice. There was nothing inherently wrong with the Turkish Land Code and, in fact, after settlement is completed and rights finally settled, all disputes in connection with land are once more decided by the application of these laws but with the one proviso that no objection can be heard by any Court as to the validity of the rights as shown in the Land Registry after settlement has been completed. Subsequent changes in ownership from sales or inheritance can be challenged in the Courts, but not the first title-deed issued after settlement.

Security of tenure is essential for the orderly progress of good farming. It seems hardly necessary to enunciate such a self-evident proposition, nevertheless a large area of the cultivable area of the country was held in a system of tenure known as musha'a—that is to say, the owner of a musha'a holding was not the owner of a specific parcel with fixed boundaries, but was the owner of an inherited share or shares in the cultivable land of the village.

At fixed periods varying between two and nine years, according to the particular custom of the village, the landowners divided the land between them in proportion to the number of shares held by each. Each landowner cultivated the parcels he was allotted for the period agreed to, in the knowledge that at the end of this period he would have to move on to other parcels after a fresh partition.

It is doubtful if a tenure more inimical to good farming could have been devised by any community; moreover the Land Code expressly forbids such a system of tenure, but for some reason the Ottoman administration had made no effort to break it and in fact had tacitly connived at it. Farming under such a system was more in the nature of a mining operation than the practice of good husbandry; the cultivator during his occupation took as much out of the soil as he could and put nothing back.

The more enlightened cultivators were well aware of the inherent disabilities of musha'a tenure, but the villagers as a whole were never able to agree among themselves and make a final partition. Perhaps it was just as well, as there is no doubt that any partition carried out among themselves, without the services of the Partition Officer exercising some control on the method, would have resulted in the perpetration of a multiplicity of small uneconomic parcels as every shareholder would have demanded his share in each block of the village.

The first objective of Land Settlement, therefore, was to break the musha'a system of communal ownership and carry out a permanent partition based on the shares of each owner as fixed after investigation and, if necessary, by a decision of the Settlement Court.

It was found, however, that the staff required for a fiscal survey would not be able to complete the settlement of individual rights within at least two generations unless it was considerably enlarged. But the world depression of the early thirties was as dominating in its effects in Transjordan as elsewhere, and unless money for additional staff could be found little progress could be expected.

As Transjordan was at this time a mandated territory an application could be and was made to the Colonial Development Fund for a free grant to accelerate Land Settlement, and a sum of £P. 30,000, which was later increased to £P. 50,000, was allotted in the form of annual grants of £P. 5,000.

These grants were of inestimable benefit in the acceleration of settlement; the engagement of additional staff paid from the Fund so accelerated the work that the settlement of individual rights became a possibility that could be looked forward to by the landowners of the whole country within their lifetime. The beneficial results of the grant were most striking in their effect and within a very short time the target of 400,000 dunums* of settled land per annum was reached and passed.

Progress was slow in the beginning. The people having suffered from insecurity of title for many years, due to the discrepancy between law and practice, were at first unable to appreciate the extent of the reform. However, with the practical results of the first few villages before them the landowners swiftly realized the benefits, social and economic, and co-operated whole-heartedly in all branches of the work. From this time settlement progressed with new impetus each year as additional staff were engaged and trained.

The partition of the first few villages held under musha'a was carried out with the full realization that a false step would quickly undermine the confidence of the landowners in the final result. Full allowance had to be made for prejudice against innovation and for minds imbued with the traditional usage of centuries. As a result a very unsatisfactory partition was perpetrated, but it was in accordance with the wishes of the landowners at the time.

As partition progressed, however, it was realized by the cultivators that the guidance of the Partition Officer was essential to achieve the best results. Nevertheless it is unfortunately a fact that the blocks containing the most fertile land in each village are invariably partitioned in long narrow strips, since every shareholder insists on having his rightful share in these areas.

* One dunum = 1,000 M^2, approximately a quarter of an acre.

The first village was a terrible example of bad partition. In spite of all arguments the shareholders insisted on having a parcel in every block, and as it was a big village there were many shareholders and many blocks. After seeing the results of better-shaped partition in other villages they realized their mistake and for years they have been agitating for a new partition. Eventually the Government gave way, a special law was passed to permit the work to be carried out, and a fresh partition is now in progress which will give each shareholder a maximum of three plots where he previously held up to as many as eighteen.

Not all the country was held in musha'a tenure; in the hill districts where fruit cultivation is paramount, individual rights were defined by boundaries, generally natural but sometimes artificial. One would imagine that such a condition would not require the application of the Land Settlement Law to the same extent as in musha'a lands, but it was soon found that disputes were far more numerous over ownership and boundaries than they were in musha'a villages where as a rule the chief cause of dispute could only be share ownership.

Settlement has been completed in approximately three-quarters of the country and it is now possible to assess with some accuracy the results of the reform.

Clearly the most important achievement has been the final settlement of long-standing disputes and the granting of secure title. The value of these results cannot be over-estimated. It is no longer possible for the landowner with influence to encroach on the rights of lesser men; disputes which had dragged on for years in the Civil Courts were settled swiftly and with despatch in the Settlement Courts. The cultivator is now in a position to develop his land and foster its fertility with the full assurance that, other things being equal, he will obtain the benefit of an increased yield and enhanced value.

There is no doubt that advantage is being taken of this new situation, not, it must be admitted, as quickly as one would wish, but in every settled village there are signs of development. Stones are being removed from the surface and either collected into heaps or used for building boundary walls, terracing of slopes is occasionally carried out and ancient terraces are being repaired, while in some places shallow drainage lines are being plugged with loose stone to reduce the velocity of floods.

The final partition of musha'a lands is another striking reform. The owner of a share in the land of the village has become the undisputed owner of a plot of land with boundaries demarcated and accurately surveyed.

Finally Land Tax is now assessed on the parcel. The fiscal survey had valued all cultivated lands, block by block, and assessed them for Land Tax. But this assessment for obvious reasons could not be distributed in accordance with ownership until settlement of rights had been decided. Therefore until settlement had been completed, parcel boundaries demarcated and the areas extracted from the cadastral plans, the collection of the tax was made each year through a village Tax Distribution Committee of Mukhtars of the village or Sheikhs of the tribe. Such a system was open to a certain amount of abuse and uncertainty, although the Land Tax Law made full provision for the hearing of the complaints of aggrieved taxpayers.

After settlement, the area of each parcel was extracted and the computation of its proportion of the tax assessed on the whole block was a matter of simple mathematics. This was made all the easier since the blocks in each village were especially demarcated to include land of approximately equal value throughout.

No longer is the assessment of land tax a matter of opinion, sometimes biased opinion; the tax on every parcel is now fixed and immutable.

One natural result of Land Settlement has been the break-up of the semi-feudal system that was still in existence in the musha'a lands. The final partition of shares into parcels has loosened the hold of the tribal sheikhs on their tribesmen.

The state as a landowner also derives positive advantages from Land Settlement. Crown lands including most of the forest areas were demarcated and registered in the name of the Government, there can now be no dispute as to ownership, and encroachments on state domain and damage to forests can be easily detected and offenders prosecuted; there can no longer be any evasion of the Forest Laws on the grounds of uncertain ownership and ill-defined boundaries.

If and when a separate Department of Forests is established in Transjordan with sufficient funds at its disposal, there will be large areas of forests and even larger areas of waste land awaiting its attention; 17 per cent. of all settled lands have been demarcated and registered as forest.

Settlement in the Ajlun Liwa, the northern province of Transjordan, was completed in 1938. This Liwa contains some 219 villages, most of which were musha'a and it is the richest and most densely populated province in the kingdom. Comparison of the two quinquennial periods before and after settlement shows that there has been an overall decrease in crimes of violence amounting to 29 per cent. in the period subsequent to settlement.

Statistics are notoriously susceptible to bias, but nevertheless a prima facie case would appear to have been made out in favour of Land Settlement as perhaps the primary contribution to this decrease in crime, since no other important economic or social reform has been carried out in the meantime. Furthermore police officers of experience have many times testified how much Land Settlement has lessened their responsibilities in keeping public security.

There are, however, some aspects of Land Settlement inevitable in the result but none the less unsatisfactory. The impact of the Laws of Inheritance is bound to have its effect on the successive ownership of land. Previous to settlement it was the common practice to deprive females of their share in the property of the deceased. This was particularly easy in lands under musha'a tenure and was in fact an accepted practice by females who in patriarchal times were content that the land should remain in the family.

Progress though slow is not altogether stationary in Transjordan: the education of girls is spreading and they are beginning to think for themselves; the old traditions are slowly but surely dying out and it is inevitable that women will begin to assert their rights. Efforts have already been made to forestall such demands, for it was suggested at the last meeting of the Legislative Assembly that a law should be passed limiting the inheritance of females in miri land to half that of males.

Multiplicity of heirs will result in serious fragmentation of property unless steps are taken to avoid it. In Iraq a law was passed in 1932 limiting the transfer of miri if the transfer was calculated to reduce the size of a holding to an uneconomic size.

There is no doubt that a similar law will be necessary in Transjordan in the near future if the danger of excessive fragmentation is to be avoided. Statistics kept by the department show that in villages settled previous to 1938 there has been an average reduction of 22 per cent. in the area of the holdings after ten years.

ACCUMULATION OF INDEBTEDNESS BY CULTIVATORS

One other result of settlement, which is better described as inevitable rather than unsatisfactory, is the ease with which a landowner can now mortgage his property. With an undisputed title as security, money-lenders and merchants are only too eager to find an outlet for their surplus capital and there is a slow but sure process of transfer of agricultural land from the ownership of indebted fellaheen to money-lenders, in some districts particularly, where the average rainfall is below 16 inches and crop failures are more frequent than in areas with a higher rainfall.

There is an Agricultural Bank in Transjordan, sponsored by the Government, the primary object of which is to issue loans to farmers at a reasonable rate of interest. Unfortunately its capital is extremely limited, being in the nature of £P. 130,000 and quite insufficient to tide the bulk of the farmers over hard times. Nothing less than half a million pounds is required for normal operations and in calamitous seasons like that of 1946-47, happily rare, a much higher sum would be required. On December 31, 1946, the registered indebtedness of the fellaheen amounted to £P. 681,000 compared with the sum of £P. 196,000 in 1939.

After due allowances are made for war inflation it is clear that the fellaheen are gradually building up an amount of indebtedness it is hardly likely will ever be cleared. The legal rate of interest is 9 per cent., but when mortgages are taken out with money-lenders the loan includes a heavy discount which it is believed varies between 30 per cent. and 100 per cent. No farmer can succeed in relieving himself of a loan with such an exorbitant rate of interest.

Measures have been taken to build up the capital of the Agricultural Bank to a more useful amount by allotting certain sums from Land Tax and Land Registry Fees each year; proposals have also been considered to increase the working capital by borrowing, but only a large scale operation beyond the present state of the finances of the country can have any effect in stopping the transfer of land from the poorer fellaheen into the hands of money-lenders.

LAND REGISTRY REFORMS

No immediate attempt was made to relieve the situation in the Land Registries so eloquently described by Sir Ernest Dowson in 1926. The facts being what they were even Hercules himself might be appalled. All that could be done, until settlement had provided accurate and indisputable details that could be incorporated in Immovable Property Registers, was to put the offices under the immediate control of the Department of Lands and Surveys and gradually introduce a staff trained in survey and with the ability to learn, absorb and administer the laws governing the registration of land.

As each village is settled, Schedules of Registration are sent to the Land Registry of the district and a Land Book is opened for the village. These Land Books are in the form of special binders containing loose leaf pages on which are entered all details of the parcel as found through the operations of settlement. Space is reserved for the serial number of the parcel and the block, the area, the name or names of the owners and on the back page all encumbrances are entered. When a change in ownership occurs through sale or inheritance the name of the former owner is crossed out in red and the name of the new owner entered below, the serial number and date of the transaction being quoted.

A single page is kept for every parcel and should any change in the boundaries of the parcel occur, for example by division into two parcels by a sale, the old page is withdrawn from the Register and two new pages inserted, one for each new parcel. The system briefly described above is an adaptation of the Torrens System, which has as its basis an accurate cadastral survey where every parcel is shown by boundaries that can be precisely identified on the ground.

The Register is a true representation of ownership in the village at all times. It contains no out-of-date records, while immediate reference can be made to any parcel and its status verified in respect of ownership, servitudes and encumbrances.

The Land Registries have now gained the complete confidence of landowners, so much so that since the inception of the system no case of unregistered disposition has come to light. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that only a short time previously Land Registries were generally ignored and unregistered dispositions were the rule rather than the exception. Statistics show even more clearly how advantage is being taken by the landowners of the facilities offered in the Land Registries. During the five years before Land Settlement was commenced the average number of transactions per annum was 704, while in 1946 the number of transactions amounted to 28,865.

STATE DOMAIN

At the time the Department of Lands and Surveys was formed in 1929 a very large area of the agricultural lands of the country was owned by the State. There was also a considerable extent of land within the dry farming areas which was owned by nobody, that is to say it was either uncultivated or was forest land, and, in view of the lack of claimants, could be taken over by the State and disposed of in the most appropriate manner. During settlement, this latter type of land was either registered as forest or grazing grounds or left in the name of the State for future development by the inhabitants of the village if they so desired.

The lands owned directly by the State were in the main divided into two categories: (1) Mudawara (*turned round,* hence *transferred*); (2) Mahlul (*vacant* land).

The mudawara lands of Transjordan were situated at the north end of the Jordan Valley, and before the Turkish Revolution in 1908 formed part of the estate of the Sultan Abd el Hamid. After the revolution these lands were taken over by the Ottoman Government as part of the State domain. The cultivators remained as tenants and paid a double tax in the form of tithe and rental tithe which amounted to 22½ per cent. of the crop.

The mahlul lands became the property of the State in accordance with Articles 77, 78 and 87 of the Land Code, which lays down that miri land that has been left uncultivated for three years without good reasons may be taken over by the state as mahlul. Under the Turkish regime an area of approximately two million dunums was declared mahlul in Transjordan. Included in this area were all villages adjoining the Hijaz railway, and it is presumed that it was a matter of policy rather than neglect of cultivation that gave rise to the change in status. Cultivators of these lands were also compelled to pay tithe and rental tithe.

As a major policy it was decided to sell at a nominal purchase price both these categories of State domain to the cultivators actually occupying the land. As regards mahlul lands it was undoubtedly the right decision, but in the case of the mudawara lands experience has shown that it would have been a better policy to retain these lands under the control of the State. The mudawara lands in the Jordan Valley were potentially an extremely valuable property with soil of high fertility and commanded by sufficient water to irrigate the whole area. The cultivators were in the main from the Ghazawieh tribe, semi-nomadic Bedowin, whose ideas of cultivation were primitive in the extreme. As a result of disposal these cultivators found themselves the owners of the most valuable agricultural property in the country, the area of which was more than they could cope with, lacking as they were in both the capital and sufficient acumen to cultivate the land to the best advantage. Speculators and merchants quickly realized the position and a good deal of the land soon passed into their possession.

If the State had retained possession of these lands, the Ghazawieh could have been allotted sufficient for their needs, and the balance might have been let to other cultivators with intelligence, skill and capital, while a good husbandry clause included in the leases would safeguard the State against inefficient cultivation.

In the event the State would benefit by increased production and additional revenue from the rentals. This undoubtedly would have been the best policy, but whether it would have been possible to apply it in the early stages of development of the Transjordan state is another question.

IRRIGATION

Up to 1946 Transjordan was the only state in the Near East where the control of water distribution was not vested in the Government. Egypt, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, all have laws controlling the distribution and use of water. Palestine also has recently published an ordinance designed for the same purpose.

A Water Law for Transjordan had been drafted in 1938, but successive Legislative Assemblies had refused to pass it. The death of the two principal opponents during 1946 and the clear necessity for such a measure as shown by the hopeless confusion into which water distribution had fallen, particularly in the mudawara lands I have just been discussing, persuaded the Legislative Assembly to pass the law last year.

The way is now open for a settlement of water rights on the same lines as that of Land Settlement, while the Government will have the authority to supervise and safeguard the use and distribution of the water itself.

AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN RELATION TO THE CULTIVABLE AREAS

The confusion into which Land Administration had fallen during the closing stages of the Turkish regime and the measures taken for reform have been very briefly described; the final and biggest problem, the number of persons the cultivable land of Transjordan can maintain, remains to be considered.

There is hardly any subject in connection with land over which controversy has raged more continuously in the Near East than the lot viable. The standard of living, the ability and energy of the cultivator, the type of agriculture, the rainfall or, in irrigated lands, the water available are all factors which each protagonist varies to suit the case he wishes to argue.

In Palestine, for obvious reasons, the Jews give figures that can only have been arrived at on the assumption that ample irrigation water is available or that rain of the right quantity will always come when it is wanted and the ability and energy of the cultivators is of the highest. To their credit it can be truly said that the latter factor may generally be assumed. In evidence given by the Jewish Agency in 1946 before the Anglo-American Commission it was stated that 1 dunum of irrigated land is equal to 4 to 5 dunums of dry farmed land and as a result of long experience the following areas were accepted by them as a basis for the settlement of a farmer : In the plains—

(*a*) 10 to 12 dunums of irrigated land for citrus or market garden in the neighbourhood of towns;
(*b*) 25 dunums of irrigated land for mixed farming;
(*c*) 100 dunums of unirrigated land for mixed farming.

In the hills a unit should be 50 dunums, of which 30 dunums should be of superior quality for fruit plantations and 20 dunums of lower quality for carobs and controlled grazing.

No allowance was made for the farm site or agricultural roads in the above estimates.

The Palestine Government, on the other hand, who possibly were more objective in their study of the problem, have produced figures which are described as " hypothetical data on which the problem of the lot viable as it exists to-day can be judged " :

> (*a*) A non-irrigated consolidated farm of 95 dunums in the hills with an average rainfall of not less than 24 inches;
>
> (*b*) A non-irrigated consolidated farm of 135 dunums in the lower lying districts with an average rainfall of not less than 18 inches;
>
> (*c*) A consolidated farm of 87 dunums in heavy land in the plains where limited irrigation facilities are available.

In each example allowance has been made for the farm site and roads and it is presumed that a few head of stock and fowls are also kept.

It is clear that the lot viable is measured by very different standards by the Jewish Agency and by the Palestine Government. Let us now try and apply another yard stick, also as the result of long experience, but developed in the light of nature and neither hypothetical nor with a background of necessity to get the largest number of persons on the smallest area of land.

During land settlement in the northern province of Transjordan a reasonably accurate agricultural population census was carried out by the Settlement Officers during their normal operations. This census covered areas which included variations both in climate and soil and from which statistics were secured that gave a fair picture of the number of persons maintained per unit area of cultivable land.

Unfortunately the outbreak of the war in 1939 automatically stopped this enumeration as the people refused to co-operate any longer, suspecting sinister designs in relation to conscription.

The villages covered were populated by small landowners working their own land; big landlords were conspicuous by their absence.

The statistics obtained showed that in the better class lands with a rainfall of between 20 and 26 inches the average area per landowner was between 56 and 78 dunums, while the average area per head of population was between 10 and 13 dunums. These lands produced chiefly wheat and barley, but summer crops of tomatoes, maize, melons and a certain quantity of olives were also cultivated.

In the eastern villages, where the rainfall is more uncertain in its distribution, with an average of between 8 and 18 inches per annum and with lighter and possibly less fertile soils, the average area per landowner was found to be 120 dunums and per head of population 24 dunums. Wheat is sometimes grown in these lands, but the more popular crop is barley, while there is no attempt to cultivate either summer crops or fruit trees.

The census did not cover any irrigated areas, but for my purpose I have adopted the figure of 6 dunums of intensively irrigated land as sufficient to maintain one person in the standard of living prevailing in the dry farming areas.

At the time these statistics were obtained the standard of living was sufficient to maintain the cultivators and their dependants in health and keep them supplied with the usual necessities of life within reason. The standard could not be described as high, but it was adequate, and if this standard of living is accepted as a basis, a close approximation of the numbers of agricultural population that can be maintained in Transjordan may be estimated. It would be tedious to give a detailed analysis of the cultivated and cultivable lands of the country, but an investigation based on the results of the census of agricultural population already described, and also based on the prevailing standards of living and agriculture, shows that in round figures Transjordan can support an agricultural population of 280,000.

During the war the Government initiated a system of rationing throughout the whole country, and the only population figures available are those derived from the returns sent in by the Governors of the district on which was based the issue of ration cards. It was clear at the commencement of the scheme in 1943 that the antipathy to enumeration common throughout the old Turkish Empire still existed, but now that minds have been cleared of suspicion the population co-operate with an eagerness that can well be described as exaggerated.

The latest returns made in the beginning of 1947 show that the number of persons living outside towns is 275,000. That these returns are excessive there is little doubt, and if the figure 275,000 is reduced by 20 per cent. to 220,000 we will probably be nearer the actual truth. This would give a density of 20 per square kilometre in the area covered by the fiscal survey, or 46 per square kilometre in the area actually cultivated, compared with 49 for Iraq and 53 for Syria. The natural rate of increase in Transjordan works out at about 24 per 1,000, which suggests that in another ten years, unless improved methods of agriculture are adopted, Transjordan will be carrying all she can maintain of an agricultural population.

Can the rate of productivity in Transjordan keep pace with the rate of increase of population? If the situation is tackled now and with vigour I think it can.

The mediæval system of farming, efficient enough to provide subsistence for a small semi-nomadic population, a system that only thought in terms of wheat alternating with fallow and sometimes summer crops if the winter rains were favourable, must give way to a more efficient use of the soil. No matter how ill suited the land was, either through the nature of its soil, its slope or its situation, food grains were the main and more often than not the only crop grown to provide the cultivator first of all with his food for the coming year, this is paramount in his mind, and secondly with the wherewithal to purchase tea, coffee, sugar and clothes for himself and his family.

To grow one's own food was a very natural desire in the time when communications were slow, difficult and liable to attack, but now, when it is possible to exchange one commodity for another through the normal channels of trade, the cultivator must insure his subsistence by spreading his risks through a diversification of his crops.

For the time being I do not recommend that animal husbandry should be extended—in fact if anything it should be reduced to numbers more commensurate with the available grazing—but the cultivation of the drought-resistant nut trees, the pistachio and the almond, together with vines, olives and carobs will not only provide changes in diet but will, because of the world-wide demand for these products, provide an insurance against droughts and the means of subsistence for a larger population.

The pistachio, the almond, the olive and the carob trees have always flourished in a wild state in the country. One can find scattered trees everywhere only existing because they are too inaccessible to the goat or *homo sapiens*. If they can grow in the rockiest and most unfertile soil, how much better would they do if properly cultivated and well cared for, not necessarily in the deep wheat-growing soils, but on the steep slopes or in pockets of soil among the rocks now producing an occasional grain crop.

In the race between expanding population and agricultural production in Transjordan agriculture starts off with some manifest advantages: first her soil, which is wonderfully fertile, and secondly her climate, characteristically Mediterranean, but in some respects verging towards the Continental. Admittedly the rainfall is not always what it should be, but if proper measures, well within the capacity of any farmer, are taken with the goal the conservation of all the rainfall on the land—measures which equally imply the conservation of the soil—the productivity of the country can be increased at least twofold.

Transjordan is pre-eminently agricultural in its economy, there are no industries of any importance and its natural resources are in the main its soil. It was stated in a report* submitted to the Middle East Supply Centre, Cairo, by one of the members of a Scientific Advisory Mission who toured the Middle East in 1943 that Jewish agriculture was four times more productive than Arab. He qualified this statement by mentioning that a good proportion of the Jewish holdings are situated on the better class land, but nevertheless if the agriculturalists of Transjordan make their targets something akin to Jewish production in similar conditions they will go a long way towards delaying for some considerable time a position which seems, at the moment, to be reaching towards an inevitable climax, when the produce of soil under the prevailing standards of cultivation can no longer keep pace with an expanding population.

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* *The Agricultural Development of the Middle East*, by Dr. B. A. Keen, D.Sc., F.R.S., Assistant Director of Rothamsted Agricultural Experimental Station.

THE MATERIAL BACKGROUND OF LIFE IN NORTHERN IRAQ

By D. LEATHERDALE

THE Mosul area is extremely mountainous in its northern and eastern marches, where the ranges of Kurdistan rise abruptly from the Tigris plain. Visible from Mosul under normal weather conditions is Ghara Dagh, 7,067 feet, while a figure of 7,648 feet is given for the highest point of the range north of Amadia. Further east, in the district of Rowanduz, heights of over 8,000 feet are common, and on the Iraqi-Iranian frontier are peaks which approach the 12,000 feet contour. Their importance cannot be over-estimated as a source of water, and to some extent they are also a barrier to the low winter temperatures of central Asia.

Geologically the region is of international significance, due to the intrusion of oil-bearing shales. Although the Mosul oil-field is famous, the main wells are at Kirkuk, a hundred miles away to the south-east. And as boring is being commenced at 'Ain Zalah to the north-west of Mosul, it may be that the field will increase in importance, with far-reaching effects upon the local economy.

Apart from this shale, which is localized in distribution and often far below the surface, the main rock formations are of sandstone and limestone. A variety of gypsum (Mosul marble) occurs as an outcrop in the sandstone of the steppe, and is of importance in the building trade.

BUILDING

In contrast to most methods of building in the Near East, where the use of sun-dried brick has been the rule for countless generations, in northern Iraq use is made of the local stone, especially limestone. This has given a characteristic architecture to the region. To use limestone blocks would result in the houses being far too hot during the summer, and therefore the *jess* method of construction has been evolved. Basically, this consists in embedding rock chips and small blocks in a mortar matrix of sand and lime—both easily obtainable. The resulting structure is an eyesore, but is sometimes improved by external and internal layers of plaster.

One would imagine that centuries of living in the same area would have given the present inhabitants a type of house admirably suited to the climate of northern Iraq; but this is far from being the case. *Jess* construction may be easy to work but it has no refinements. For example, no house is built with a damp-course, and consequently in winter it is very damp; walls flake, and heating is rendered wasteful; in summer the walls dry out, leaving gaps in the *jess,* and it is scarcely surprising to hear that many houses collapse after a few seasons of such treatment.

Another local stone is gypsum. Used in easily shaped blocks, this gives many buildings their sole ornamentation. Sometimes it may be used to face the building, but more commonly it provides jambs for doorways and windows. In the former case the keystone may be crudely carved with some stereotyped pattern. An equally common window-frame is a bicycle wheel embedded in the wall. The window is thus assured of a comely circular design, and is already provided with bars to prevent the entrance of thieves.

Roof construction gives a further example of the effects of evironment. The usual beams are unobtainable, owing to the lack of timber; so three other methods are employed. The most common, known as *jamali,* is a modification of normal dome building. The domes are flattened, so that the appearance from the interior is that of a flat roof with recurved edges at its junction with the walls. To add strength to the erection, large earthenware pots are often embedded in the *jess* at the corners. Some instances of this have recently been visible in Mosul where a new road has cut clean through existing houses. The *jamali* roof is heavy and is a further cause of houses collapsing, the walls being unable to counteract the outward thrust. No buttressing is used, even on the highest walls. A form of roof more frequently seen in the villages than in the towns consists of thin wooden trunks laid across the walls and covered with layers of brush, the whole being topped with compacted earth and perhaps a little *jess.* This sort of roof has to be rolled after rain to express the water. The third type of roofing requires steel beams for its support. Discarded railway lines are frequently used for this purpose. Between the beams are moulded segments, each having a concave section on the underside. The inter-beam sections are moulded in either *jess* or concrete. This type of roofing is becoming increasingly used; it is known locally as *aḳhdah shalman,* and is the most serviceable of the three, though even this roof is not impregnable to rain, and when used with *jess* is still liable to fall inwards.

There is little individuality in the treatment of house planning. The main requirements are a central courtyard (modified in more modern houses into a covered hall), living and storage rooms leading from the court, and a flat roof on which to sleep during the summer. The courtyard is paved with a small shrubbery in the middle. In the houses built recently on the perimeter of Mosul external gardens are becoming the rule, and perhaps it will not be long before the garden rather than the roof is chosen as the sleeping-place. In some of the larger houses we may see a *diwan,* or arched reception room open to the courtyard, though this classical feature of Islamic architecture is fast becoming archaic. A part of the house that is peculiar to Iraq is the *sirdab* or cellar, paved with gypsum and serving as a moderately cool refuge in the summer.

There is a uniform lack of ornamentation about the houses in this region. Apart from the doorways mentioned already, ornamental motives are only seen in two places, namely, on balcony struts or minarets. Many balconies on the older houses are supported by carved limestone or sandstone blocks which are rather beautiful in their massive proportions. On minarets elementary designs are executed in projecting brickwork, sometimes blue-glazed tiles being included. Mosul's minarets are dowdy in comparison with the brilliantly coloured minarets of Baghdad or the finely sculptured ones of Cairo.

The greater part of Mosul and the other towns of northern Iraq consists of a maze of narrow lanes with unbroken fronts of houses on either side. Very few windows look out towards the street, the walls are high to secure the privacy demanded by the laws of the predominant religion, and the only drain is the gutter running in the centre of the street. Apart from the material used for building, the scene is very similar to that which one associates with mediæval English towns. A glimpse of the map given in the guide-book *Mosul and its Neighbouring District* will give an indication of the complex lay-out of such " planning "—or rather lack of plan. Of recent years main roads have made their appearance, and a drastic method of construction has been adopted. The road is mapped, and then all buildings in its projected path are demolished. Under the circumstances this is no doubt the only approach to the problem. But the scene after the cutting of such a through road is amazing; bisected houses line the route, and even bisected rooms display their coloured tiling and violated privacy to the passer-by. It is unfortunate that there has been little advance in building style, and it is even more to be regretted that the most impressive monument of modern civilization is the ubiquitous use of corrugated iron sheeting.

Modern communications are few. Metalled roads connect Mosul with Baghdad via Erbil and Kirkuk; with Akkra; with Amadiah; with Zakho; and with Tel Kutchek on the Syrian frontier. All other roads are unsurfaced and in the main fit only for slower modes of transport such as mule and camel caravans. The only railway is that begun by the Germans before 1914, which connects Baghdad with Europe through Mosul and Tel Kutchek to Aleppo. A new railway at present under construction will link Mosul with Erbil, and it is expected that the completion of this line will greatly stimulate local trade. Iraqi Airways, subsidized by the British Overseas Airways Corporation, runs a service from Baghdad to Mosul, which is thus in aerial contact with world air routes.

In climate, northern Iraq is extreme, with summer temperatures rising above 110° F. and winter figures often below freezing. The rainfall, which occurs from October to May, is barely sufficient, and in 1947 has caused considerable pessimism among the agricultural population. Spring and autumn are the best times of year, and Mosul has earned the title of " Mother of Two Springs " (*Umm er-Rabi'ain* in Arabic).

CLOTHING

The type of clothes and materials adopted by a people is everywhere an indication of the local trade associations and limitations. In the materials used for clothing, northern Iraq does not differ from the rest of the Near East. Wool is generally used, and it forms one of the main exports from this district. Goat and camel-hair fabrics are common, especially among the western nomads who use these animals; cotton cloth woven from local and Indian cotton is extensively employed, as also, but to a lesser extent, are silk stuffs imported from Turkey, Iran and the Lebanon. Local weaving is an important trade in Mosul, though it does not hold to-day the position it did in earlier times. Materials now woven are of the more robust kind, such as towelling and cloth for outer garments. The art is kept alive and improved at the Mosul Technical School.

As in most of the East, we find that here the race or religion of the wearer is reflected in his mode of attire. The usual apparel of the Muslim consists of an ankle-length *galabiyeh* held in with a leathern belt at the waist, over which is worn the *'abaa* or cloak falling from the shoulders. The *'abaa* is made in two weights, one thick for the cold weather, and the other almost diaphanous for the summer. The yoke is invariably embroidered with gold thread. Headgear is normally the *ḳefiyyeh* held in place by an *aḳhḳhal* of black wool, derived from the rope for haltering camels in the desert. In this area, where the population is mainly Sunni Muslim, the *ḳefiyyeh* is ornamented with a black check, although the Yezidi has a red check and wears the *ḳefiyyeh* wrapped around his head as a loose turban. In the country most go barefoot. Various types of slipper are worn by the townsmen, one of a good quality vermilion leather finding particular favour in Mosul itself. Villagers use a slipper with the upper of coarse stringwork on a strong leather sole; in the mountains this is varied by making the sole from outworn rubber tyres. Shoes of European style are worn by all manner of persons, and it is no uncommon thing to see a man dressed in rags with a good pair of brown leather boots.

The garb of Assyrians and of Kurds is quite distinctive. They wear short jackets and wide trousers made from a narrow-width material in a variety of colours, blues and greens, sometimes of a vivid hue, being the most common. These materials are woven locally, mostly on the looms of the Suleimaniyeh district. Round the waist the Kurds wind a long, gaily coloured cummerbund, intertwined at the midline. The Assyrians simply use an overlapping strip of thin felt with a securing strap of leather. They differ also in their headgear: the Kurd has a be-tassled *ḳefiyyeh* loosely wound round the head, while the Assyrian has a thick conical cap of felt, ornamented on ceremonial occasions with a vulture's fluffy plume.

Apart from these local manners in dress, an increasing number of town-dwellers, officials, young men of the *effendi* class, and others who consider themselves to be progressive, are adopting European clothes. Many more are in process of metamorphosis, wearing a shirt or a jacket and otherwise dressed in the traditional style. The percentage of the population wearing European clothes is low compared with other Middle Eastern cities, and it is likely that the trend will cease in the course of time, when it becomes realized that adoption of Western fashions is not in itself a sign of westernization, and that European clothing was never intended for wear in such climates. Coupled with European clothes, a hat known as the *sirdar* is popular; a modification of the British Army service cap, its use is considered an assertive sign of independent thought.

Among womenfolk it is possible to differentiate roughly between those who live in the large towns and those who do not. The prevalent religion being Islam, and that of a particularly conservative nature in Mosul, it is the custom that all women go veiled, whether they be Muslim, Jew, or Christian. Therefore, although they may often be wearing elaborately gay dresses of a European style and exaggeratedly European shoes, whenever they proceed beyond the doors of their houses they cover themselves completely from head to foot in a thin black *'abaa,* the face being covered by a fold from the forehead, or sometimes by a separate insertion of thin material. Outside Mosul, the majority of women are not subject to this facial taboo. A brightly coloured gown is worn with a sash gathering it in at the waist; over the head may be a light shawl. In some localities, particularly where a Yezidi majority exists, vivid red and orange cloths are used, coloured locally with vegetable dyes. Ornaments are worn to a great extent, but naturally these are more often to be seen on the occasion of the various festivals. Common jewelry is thin gold or silver rings worn passing through a nostril; heavy silver anklets and bracelets, sometimes equipped with bells; elaborate waist-belts of finely embossed silver; earrings; and skull-caps of silver coins fastened the one to the other after the fashion of chain mail. There is indeed some reason to suppose that such a headdress and the wide silver belt are vestiges of the body armour worn in past ages.

It will thus be seen that the materials used for clothing are closely connected with the products of the country, and the manner of dress has been on the whole sensibly adapted to the climatic conditions. An obvious exception is the *'abaa* worn by women; one would imagine that a black covering is considerably hotter than a white one would be.

Northern Iraq is drained by the Tigris (Arabic *Dijlah*) which is the main river in the hydrography of the region. Flowing from Turkey to its junction with the Euphrates, it may be considered to bisect the north of Iraq laterally. Although the Euphrates is always connected by name with Iraq, it does not enter the northern provinces; the watershed between the two rivers lies in the fertile Jezireh, partly in Iraq and partly in the neighbouring Syria.

Four other rivers should also be mentioned, all tributaries or subtributaries of the Tigris. The Greater Zab, with its source in the Hakkiari area of Turkey, waters part of Kurdistan to the east of Mosul and enters the Tigris some forty miles to the south of the city. Its main branch is the Khazer. The Lesser Zab has its headwaters in the highlands east of Sulaimaniyeh and is confluent with the Tigris near the ruins of Nimrud, approximately one hundred miles south of Mosul. The fourth river is the Khabur, flowing in a south-westerly direction through Zakho to the Tigris, which it joins at the junction of the frontiers of Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

All these rivers, thanks to the snowy heights from which they rise, are perennial; and the area is also well supplied with wells. We have seen none that is artesian, the water-table being usually only some twenty to thirty feet below the surface of the plains. Water is raised by a chain of buckets operated by a mule, ox, or camel. Pump-operated wells are uncommon.

The region is thus amply supplied with water, although the arid stretches of country so frequently encountered would not in themselves indicate this.

Sulphur springs also exist in this area, of which three are well-known, one at Mosul just north of the city on the bank of the Tigris; another on the north-eastern flank of Jebel 'Ain es-Safarah, from which comes its name; and the third is several miles to the south of Mosul at Hammam Ali. The sulphurous content is not exploited commercially, although at Hammam Ali baths have been constructed and visitors come from far afield to heal themselves in the ill-smelling waters.

Food and Agriculture

Generally speaking, the north of Iraq is self-sufficient as regards food; so indeed are most areas where industry is small and western influence least felt. Tea, sugar and fruits are the principal items of diet that need to be imported.

A visit to the *sūḳ* of any town will show the staple diet. Wheat, fresh root and leaf vegetables, such as marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans, peas and the like are on sale. There is a general liking for the dried and salted seeds of plants. Mutton and goat's meat are plentiful, and certain soft fruits, such as apricots, plums and oranges, appear in their season. Fresh fish is obtainable, and of dairy produce one sees cheeses and the sour *leben* (of which T. E. Lawrence wrote, " It is nastily refreshing, and helps the bread go down "). Fresh milk is not used to any great extent.

Most of the local preparations and methods of cooking are those commonly found throughout the Middle East. Bread is baked in the usual round, flat loaf or in unleavened discs, both methods being of value in a hot country where a raised loaf would very quickly stale. Sweetmeats are displayed, but are not so popular as in Syria; manna, an insect excretion of a peculiarly sweet taste, is easily obtainable from Kurdistan, and Mosul is one of the main centres for its export. Coffee is perhaps the most popular drink, although sweet tea without milk has a great following. The *Chai-ḳhana* (tea-house) or the *Kahwa* (coffee-house) is the favourite resort of all and sundry; there the merchant transacts his business deals, the porter refreshes himself, and the student " cuts " a lecture. Alcoholic drinks, such as imported arrak, also find favour but not to such a great extent.

Products for which the north of Iraq is locally renowned and which feature among its exports are meat on the hoof, wheat and other cereals, Aleppo galls, and pistachio nuts. This province is one of the few great meat-producing areas in the Middle East. During the latter stages of the Second World War the British armies in Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon were wholly provisioned with sheep collected and sent by rail from Mosul. The area has likewise long been considered one of the granaries of the East, though most of the yield is consumed locally. Owing to present agricultural methods, only a single crop is grown each year. Aleppo galls are collected from oak trees in the mountain regions, and are exported as of old for the manufacture of ink, for which their tannin content is unrivalled. Compared with the export figures for sheep and grain, that for pistachio nuts is very small. Nevertheless the *fistuq* is of a far superior grade to that of Aleppo and other producing regions, and it is hoped that recently applied grafting methods will result in a greater yield to meet the constantly increasing demand.

To the west of the Tigris lies open steppe, in parts practically desert, but capable of some degree of cultivation, especially during the spring. North-west of Mosul in this country is the long ridge of Jebel Sinjar, part of it lying within the confines of the Syrian Jezireh. Of minor importance are the isolated blocks of the Jebel Maklub and Jebel Ain-es-Safarah.

In bygone days the Tigris plain was undoubtedly covered with alluvium: the rapid growth of the Shatt-el-Arab delta and the silting up of the Persian Gulf give a grim picture of the losses in surface soil which are still occurring. Erosion is the greatest enemy of Iraq, and too little is being done to prevent it. Barren hillsides and channelled steppe both bear witness to the soil which has been lost; and the phrase of archæologists which includes northern Iraq in " The Fertile Crescent " is fast becoming a misnomer.

With the exception of certain tracts of land farmed under progressive owners, most agriculture is performed under primitive conditions. Ploughing is carried to a depth of only some four inches (it has lately been considered that this is in itself one way of conserving moisture: see the Report to the M.E. Supply Centre in May, 1945, by B. A. Keen). Much seed is still broadcast by hand. In harvesting, machine reapers are used in some places, but it is not uncommon to see lines of men and women quartering fields with sickles, moving with beautiful rhythm as they sing. In like fashion, threshing and winnowing are frequently carried out by hand. Water for root crops and trees is provided by irrigation, while in the highlands rice is cultivated in permanently watered places. The Tartar destruction of irrigation canals in 1258 dealt a mortal blow at the ancient prosperity of the country, and turned Iraq into the waterless steppe which much of it is still to-day. The remains of ditches and field boundaries can be seen in the desert from the air. Mention should also be made of the presumed sinking of the water table, reducing surface water to the viable minimum. In the upland tracts water for irrigation is led off from the streams at a higher point on the gradient. In the plains the well is the only source, and weary animals plod around the well-head all day long, turning the cogged wheels.

On the north-eastern slopes we find viticulture carried out to a considerable extent, and various local wines are made, although none of them is worthy of export. The vines are not grown on terraces, so erosion is continuously occurring, an evil which could be remedied were the tiller's land-consciousness once aroused.

Most livestock is fed in nomadic fashion, various families trekking their animals over vast tracts of country in search of greenstuff, to the pecuniary advantage of the landowner and to the great disadvantage of the vegetation. For this reason alone, apart from the poor quality of the herbage, we cannot expect to see well-covered stock. They walk many miles a day in search of food. Not only does the practice mean beasts of poor quality; it also ensures that no vegetation can grow to a height of more than a few inches. Thus the barrenness of the land can be explained by three factors: the destruction and non-repair of irrigation channels, the sinking of the water table, and depredation by sheep and goats.

To these perhaps a fourth can be added—locusts. The locust has been a menace to growing crops ever since Assyrian times, and doubtless long before that. The chief culprit is the small Moroccan locust, which breeds in the steppe south of Jebel Sinjar and on the borders of Turkey. Wafted by the wind, the swarm covers areas on both sides of the Tigris, and crops are either completely destroyed or prematurely harvested to avoid a total loss. Although locust control is in the hands of the Iraq government, and in spite of expert advice, the application of measures is half-heartedly applied.

It would be possible for the agricultural turnover of northern Iraq to be immensely increased within two generations. Irrigation should be instituted on a large scale, and with it the re-afforestation of large areas. The presence of large numbers of mature trees assures a greater retention of surface water. But these two schemes combined would require an enormous initial outlay, a long-term investment which neither the Government nor groups of individual landowners are apparently prepared to risk at present. With these measures would have to be included control of the movement of livestock, control of surface erosion by means of terracing and contour planting, the control of pests and a revision of the fragmentation method of land inheritance. A system of co-operative marketing would help to produce the best results. A sample scheme of this kind is already flourishing in the Baka'a area in Lebanon.

In conclusion one must say that Iraq is a young country; only twenty-eight years have passed since it was liberated from Turkish domination, and but fifteen years since it became a nation in its own right. It is therefore only natural that it should suffer from growing pains, and it is in the interests of its peoples to absorb all that is good is western culture and to reject all that is inapplicable or bad. It is in this differentiation that patience is needed, both by Iraqis and by those who desire to help them.

INNER MONGOLIA DEVASTATED BY WAR

By K. G. SÖDERBOM

INNER Mongolia is a vast belt of land stretching from the Chinghan Mountains in the east, where the borders of Outer Mongolia, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia meet, with Outer Mongolia along its entire northern frontier and China along its southern frontier, and reaching Sinkiang Province in the west. This large country acts as a buffer between Outer Mongolia and China proper.

Most of these areas have been incorporated into the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, Ninghsia and a small part in the westernmost area into the province of Kansu. The Mongols are nomads, depending entirely on raising livestock as a means of living. There are also Inner Mongolian tribes in Manchuria and in Chinghai and Sinkiang, in the west.

Those directly affected by war are the banners (tribes) of Chahar and Suiyuan, indirectly those of Ninghsia. Owing to the closing of borders between Outer and Inner Mongolia, there has been no trade for over 25 years between them. Outer Mongolia was originally the main source of livestock for north China; all borderland towns throve on the Mongol trade. After the complete closure of Outer Mongolia 25 years ago, Inner Mongolia became the remaining source of livestock for north China. The gradual northerly advance of the farmers from China into Mongolia has deprived the Mongol of his best pasture lands, while the increasing demand for livestock has also contributed to the diminution of the herds of livestock all over Inner Mongolia.

Japanese occupation also affected the Mongol; the young men were forced to take up arms and the drain on livestock became greater through ever-increasing Japanese military needs. Russian and Outer Mongol armies swept down through Inner Mongolia during their swift campaign to destroy Japanese elements during the last stages of the Pacific war, causing tremendous losses to Inner Mongolia. Vast areas were denuded of livestock, temples and homesteads were burned.

Inner Mongolia has suffered quite as much from the war as China, if not more. China on the whole is an agricultural nation. The farmer may lose everything, his home, money and equipment, but he can never lose his land; returning to his farm he needs but little finance to start all over again. But the Mongol, having lost all his livestock, has nothing to make a new start with. Up to the autumn of 1947 Inner Mongolia had received no real aid from C.N.R.R.A. or U.N.R.R.A. The Mongols were given five million C.N.C., about 400 U.S. dollars, and the *promise* of two hospital units, one for the Ulan chab League and the other for the Ihhecho League. The Mongols themselves have no medical doctors, and so these hospital units will have to be run by the Chinese. There are about 200,000 people who are in need of help, including Chinese living in Mongolian areas, who have also failed to receive U.N.R.R.A. help.

The reason that no relief has been given by U.N.R.R.A. is that this organization was initially not sufficiently informed. On the part of C.N.R.R.A. the reason given for failure to help the Mongols has always been the lack of transportation and insufficient supplies. The last letter from C.N.R.R.A. to the Mongolian Delegation at Nanking simply said that no more equipment or supplies were available.

Many Mongols are suffering to-day; their temples were destroyed, even their tents, thousands were rendered homeless, losing everything they had. There are not only humanitarian but strong economic reasons why help should be extended to them.

On account of the lack of transportation, large stocks of wool, skins, hides and furs have accumulated in Mongolia. The Mongols in the past used to trade their stocks of these goods on a barter basis with Chinese and foreign merchants who in turn would transport them to the coast. In the interior at present (autumn, 1947) there are probably ten million pounds of valuable exportable wool available which, if brought to Tientsin, would help China economically, as China would benefit by getting foreign exchange. Export companies in Tientsin are only waiting for such cargoes to come down in order again to engage in commerce.

If the Inner Mongols were helped financially or given a fleet of vehicles with a suitable amount of petrol and lubricants to get them started, and then shown how to market their goods in Tientsin, their recovery would be rapid.

The Mongol breeds of cattle, sheep, horses and goats are poor, mainly because of poor pasturage and severe climatic conditions; these breeds could be improved and pastures could also be improved if only some livestock and seed were allocated to the Mongols.

Veterinary stations should be set up throughout Inner Mongolia; beside these stations medical work should be started to cleanse the people of disease. An agricultural experimental farm could provide fodder for the veterinary station's imported breeds of sheep and cattle. Other work could also be carried on, such as raising pigs and poultry, experimenting on growing more and better vegetables. To teach Mongols new ways of making a living is the prime object. Hand machines, for spinning and producing woollen articles of clothing and blanket weaving, could be introduced and taught to those who have become totally destitute and have no way of making a living.

It would take a lifetime to recover the elementary standard of living hitherto sustained. A Mongol Relief Committee should be formed and controlled by the Mongols of Inner Mongolia themselves. Finance would be necessary for a longer range programme, but the main outlay would be initial. Transportation will eventually pay for itself. Production will reward the effort of home industries and nothing need be attempted unless there is good chance of the project eventually paying for itself.

A rehabilitation programme carried out in the right spirit would help China to befriend the Mongols. In the past there has always been enmity between the Chinese and the Mongols, based on prejudices dating from the time of the Mongol Dynasty. The Mongol is no longer the warrior type, to-day he is just as much a pacifist as he was a fighter under Genghis Khan. By showing a little human kindness to these people who have no way of defending themselves China may once and for all win over their loyalty.

REVIEWS

Aden to the Hadhramaut. By D. van der Meulen. Pp. xvi+254. Illustrations. John Murray. 1947. 18s.

Col. van der Meulen has written a most interesting book on his journey from Aden through the little-known mountains of the western Aden Protectorate to the Hadhramaut, his visit to Bir Tamiz in the Awamir country, and his return to the coast at Mukalla. With him were Professor von Wissman, his companion of an earlier journey to the Hadhramaut, Dr. von Wasielewski, and von Wissman's wife. Van der Meulen, who visited the Hadhramaut on an official mission, studied to make himself proficient in Arabic, and he took with him a competent surveyor. Von Wissman's map of their first journey in 1931, and the work done by Philby during his journey from Nejran in 1936, are the only serious mapping done in the Hadhramaut to date. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain von Wissman's map of this last journey for publication with the book, but even so something better than the sketch provided, which would be inadequate in a tourist guide to any well-known resort, might have been compiled to illustrate a journey for which the author was awarded the Patron's gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1947. It is to be hoped that von Wissman's map will become available for publication in a later edition.

Van der Meulen describes the Hadhramaut as " the most picturesque and probably the most remarkable part of the whole Arab peninsula." It is certainly the part of Arabia which in recent years has been most often described in popular form, but travellers who have also seen the Hedjaz mountains, the Assir, or the Yemen would perhaps challenge this claim. The book is largely a day-to-day account of their journey, and one could have wished for more information about the tribes, their customs and mode of life, the vegetation, geology, and Himyaritic remains and inscriptions. Lacking the popular appeal of Miss Freya Stark's books, it does not include sufficient information to become a lasting work of reference. For instance, the pyramid monuments which van der Meulen found on the " jōl " to the south of Bir Tamiz occur eastward as far as the Jeddat el Harasis and are especially common to the north of Dhoffar. Inscriptions from some of them have been identified as being in the Tamudic type of script.

On the journey to Tamiz he was much concerned with the unpleasantness of the water, but had he travelled north into the sands he would have found just how evil-tasting water can be and yet be deemed drinkable. He mentions Bahr as-Safi, but it would be interesting to learn whether any of the Arabs he encountered used this name, since it appears to be unknown to them although appearing on most of the maps of this area.

Van der Meulen laments the recent corruption of the Hadhramaut architecture. Since his visit, the Āl Kāf family have erected several more houses in the " modern " style of incredible vulgarity, decorated with pink, green, and white on the outside. He pays a well-deserved tribute to Seiyid Abu Bekr Āl Kāf: " The Sulh Ingrams bears Ingrams' name because he had the power of Great Britain behind him and so could satisfy the longing for peace of the Sada and the Masakin, of the town dwellers, and of the greater part of the hungry Beduin. But Seiyid Abu Bekr bin Sheikh Āl Kāf showed the way to Ingrams, and pursued the necessary negotiations with sagacity and patient understanding. It was he who weaned the proud and stubborn warriors from their husūn and their far-flung jōls, and added treaty after treaty to the growing concert" (p. 241). Seiyid Abu Bekr scarificed his entire fortune to bring this about, and it is pleasant to find this just tribute to him.

Van der Meulen was amused by the dinner party which he attended in Mukalla, where "this gathering of disguised Englishmen at an evening party gave us the feeling that something was wrong somewhere." Since Ingrams' departure British officials have given up wearing Arab dress, a custom which more of the townsmen of the Hadhramaut resented than appreciated.

In this book a Dutchman of considerable colonial experience comments on British administration in the Hadhramaut with sympathy and understanding. He writes without exaggeration or affectation, clearly and well, handling his words so that the reader is never conscious that he is not writing in his own language. The photographs are numerous and good, and there is a useful glossary of Arab words and expressions at the end of the book.

W. P. T.

The Sudan: A Record of Progress, 1898-1947. Printed by the authority of the Sudan Government. Pp. 88. Price 6d.

"Whatever may be the case in Egypt," wrote the late Lord Cromer in 1908, "there can be no question that what the Sudanese now most of all require is not national government but good government. . . . The Sudan has been launched on the path which leads to moral and material progress. With reasonable prudence in the management of its affairs it should continue, year by year, to advance in prosperity." That these words, written nearly forty years ago (and only ten years after the battle of Omdurman), and aptly quoted at the beginning of this pamphlet, have been amply fulfilled is proved beyond doubt in the pages that follow.

This is a timely publication. Few people know much of the Sudan, or of the work that has been accomplished there during the last half-century. It is important that they should know. The question of the Sudan's future has been recently brought into prominence by the decision of the Egyptian Government to lay it, together with other matters affecting Anglo-Egyptian relations, before the Security Council of the United Nations. No one reading this Report could fail to agree with the British Government's view that the future of the Sudan must lie ultimately in the hands of its people, who have been so well prepared by the major partner of the Condominium to take over in due course their own destiny.

All the chapters are of interest, and the book is well illustrated with maps and diagrams. Space, however, allows reference being made only to certain matters that warrant special mention. First, the difference in progress between the Northern and Southern Sudan is emphasized and explained. Though much has been done of late years to bridge the gap, it is clear, on racial, religious and linguistic grounds, that a distinction between the two will always remain, and that their future status need not be identical.

The next concerns what is here called the "Sudanization" of the public service. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 laid down that Sudanese nationals should have preference in Government service over foreigners, and that nationals of Great Britain and Egypt should only be appointed if qualified Sudanese were not available. Since 1936 the number of Sudanese (of whom there were then over 3,000 in classified employment) in the senior division of the Civil Service has increased from 4 to 112, which is one-fifth of the non-Sudanese in that division. An even more arresting proof of future complete "Sudanization" is the recent decision not to recruit further foreigners to the public service on pensionable terms.

The development of male education, upon which "Sudanization" mainly depends, has been remarkable. The Gordon College, from its opening in 1902 always the apex of the educational system, is now a university college, and is well on the road to becoming a fully fledged university. Primary, and to a lesser extent secondary, boys' schools have considerably increased. Even so, when the present programme is completed in 1956, schooling will be available only to 56 per cent. of boys in the towns, and 29 per cent. of those in rural areas. Female education, on the other hand, has been much more slowly developed, largely owing to the suspicion latent in all Moslem lands of education leading to emancipation, and even now there are only sixty-nine Government girls' schools, which for a population of seven millions is decidedly meagre. The fact, however, that a girl student was admitted to the Gordon College in 1946 is an interesting sign of the times.

Finally, the chapter on Public Health deserves particular attention. Smallpox, of which in 1944 there were over 11,500 cases in Egypt alone, and many thousands in the countries of Central Africa, has been completely eradicated from the Sudan. Nor have there been any cases of typhus fever since 1944, or of yellow fever since 1940; and such prevalent diseases as bilharzia, malaria, and trachoma have been largely reduced.

A report such as this, published under Government auspices, is no doubt precluded from paying tribute to the officials responsible for the progress recorded; but no review of this booklet would be complete without a word of praise of the early pioneers, Sir Reginald Wingate and his staff of military and civil collaborators, who laid the foundations of what has proved to be so sound an administration, and of their successors in the Sudan Civil Service, than which there is no better in the world. The word "trusteeship" may not have been applied officially to the Condominium's relation to the Sudan, but that is the true relationship which has always been kept in mind by Great Britain. Whatever the claims of Egypt, we cannot give up our share of the trust until the Sudan is ready to stand on her own feet and is in a position to decide her own status in the world.

H. E. B

Nomad. By Robin Maugham. Chapman and Hall. 8s. 6d.

It is difficult to decide if Mr. Maugham wrote *Nomad* solely to interest and amuse, or whether he had a small axe to grind in the form of advocating a better policy on the part of Britons generally towards the peoples of the Middle East. Whatever his intentions may have been, the book is most interesting, very easy reading, and is definitely among those that one puts aside to read a second time; and it is seldom these days that one feels called upon to do that.

The book opens with a most realistic description of life in a hospital on the Suez Canal where the author is lying severely wounded after Knightsbridge, and from here he is sent to Syria on the Intelligence Staff, being unfit for further active service with his unit. Whilst in this country he realizes, with the German pressure towards Persia and Turkey, and the very far from satisfactory state of affairs on the Libyan front, that the occupation of the whole of North Arabia by the enemy is something more than a possibility, and he puts forward a scheme through his chief, which is, briefly, the training of suitable British officers who would raise guerilla bands of Arabs behind the German lines and harry their communications after the invasion had taken place.

This is sent to Glubb of Transjordan for his opinion, which was favourable to a certain extent, though this expert on Bedouin affairs pointed out the weak spots in it. These weak spots, of course, were that, unless an officer were very specially gifted, he could not possibly learn Arabic sufficiently well for a difficult task like this, where an ability to carry on fluent conversations with doubters is an essential, in less than twelve months; and, secondly, the Arab does not give his trust and friendship readily, and in this particular connection, where adherence to the British cause would mean a firing party if things went awry, one cannot conceive any man achieving much success in raising guerilla bands until he had been in close contact with the Arabs for at least three years. This scheme went home for approval, but before a decision was given the battle of Alamein made it out of date.

The scheme was then reconstructed with the idea of training suitable British officers for administrative posts in Arab lands, and though Mr. Maugham says little about the actual working of it, one gathers that this was put into operation with a number of officers attending courses. This reconstructed scheme was also vetted by Glubb, and his comments on it are, as might have been expected, most interesting, and in some ways enlightening, since he attributes many of our past troubles in Arabia to the inferior quality of British officers sent to serve there in the past. This inferior material, he says, was due to the Army's habit of discarding from weakness, and appointing to O.E.T.A. and other posts in war-time the officers whom a C.O. could spare best—otherwise the undesirables. There is possibly a considerable amount of truth in this, but it is a very moot point if the situation in Palestine to-day would have been very different if the Colonial Office had sent as administrators to the Promised Land the pick of the service, since the troubles there are due almost entirely to an impossible international situation, and are not the result of tactlessness or the mishandling of local situations.

It is difficult to understand where the authorities (and who it is that constitutes this mysterious assembly of those who decide things has always puzzled me) thought the resulting output of many trained administration officers was to be employed. Egypt had ceased to engage Britons in administrative posts in 1922 and was most unlikely to change her policy; the Colonial Office chooses its officials for posts in Aden and elsewhere in South Arabia, and to say the least has not been unsuccessful; the Sudan Government had its own private views about the very careful selection of its young entry from the prep. school upwards, and in the light of fifty years' experience was most unlikely to change its methods; very few officials are required by Transjordan, and anyone who goes there is " hand-picked " by Glubb, who is the last man in the world to be impressed by a " special pass " acquired at any training centre; and one way and another one wonders where and when all these hopeful young trained officers were to find employment when the war ended. When one learns from the author that in almost every one of the many villages of Syria in 1942 there was a British Political Officer—one from the British Security Mission, one from the Field Security Section, and the O.C.P. officer—one realizes that there were jobs in plenty during the war, and one wonders what in the name of Mohammed they were all doing. In the circumstances, and seeing what a mess our own country is in through a plethora of officials, one can only conclude we got out of the Syrian *impasse* very easily.

The last chapter of the book deals with Mr. Maugham's visit to Glubb after the war, and describes a camel trek he made to Mudawara, in the south of Transjordan, with members of the famous Arab Legion, living close to the desert soil as do the Bedouin. His descriptions of his camel, his food, and his bed are most amusing and interesting; but one is left in doubt if the author really enjoyed it, and whether he desires to get still closer to the Bedouin soil. In conclusion, I would say the book is most certainly one that those who are interested in Arab affairs should read, and, though on the publisher's " blurb " it is stated that he is an amateur in Arab affairs, one feels that he is of that doubtful type of amateur that one hears of in first-class tennis circles.

C. S. JARVIS.

Les Religions Arabes Préislamiques. Extrait de *L'Histoire Générale des Religions* (Aristide Quillet, editeur), par G. Ryckmans, membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain.

Professor Ryckmans' contribution to *L'Histoire Générale des Religions* has reached the society as a separate reprint. Professor Ryckmans, head of the Oriental Institute of Louvain University and editor of the South Arabian section of the corpus of Semitic Inscriptions, is so eminent an Orientalist that for this section of a valuable work recommendation becomes superfluous. With excellent illustrations, some of which I note were contributed by one of the members of the Royal Central Asian Society, Mr. Stewart Perowne, the extract occupies some twenty-nine or thirty pages, and into this short space is condensed a comprehensive review of all available material about the subject. This excellent treatise will be invaluable to students, not only on account of its documentation, but because it is an authoritative and scholarly bird's-eye view of the whole field of pre-Islamic cultures and religions.

E. S. D.

Baalbek Palmyra. Photographs by Hoyningen-Huene, with text by David M. Robinson. J. J. Augustin, New York. $7.50.

It is difficult to understand the motives which prompted the publishers to produce this book, for it is neither a good historical summary nor an exceptionally good photograph album. This is one of those books which perhaps the enthusiastic tourist would buy in the Rue Patriarche Hoyek in Beirut after his return from a first enthralling visit to Baalbek and Palmyra.

That the photographs are good there is no doubt, but we have seen them all before, or others as good and as similar. Surely the idea of publishing lavish photographs of such places is now rather outmoded. Mr. Hoyningen-Huene has provided us with photographs which are well taken, and he has played well on his light and shade technique, but it is a pity that his publishers saw fit to reproduce them in sepia and not in black and white. It is unfortunate also that they are from view points so familiar to those used to dealing with photographs of those ancient cities.

David Robinson, who has written the historical and descriptive text, was set a hard task, not because his subject was difficult—it could not be so to the Professor of Archæology at Johns Hopkins—but because he did not seem to have a clear vision of the class of reader for whom he was writing, and as a result the text is neither one thing nor the other. Robinson's assertion, in the first paragraph, that Baalbek was on the Damascus-Tyre caravan route makes one inclined to read on with caution. We are told neither of the prevalence of paganism up till the year 580 nor the lingering of Christianity until the middle of the eleventh century. There is no mention of the sway which the Burids or Ayyubids, or later Beibars, held over the city, all seemingly worthy of mention in however brief an historical sketch. Robinson's history of Palmyra is better, but similar gaps are in evidence.

As a guide to the ruins themselves the book cannot be said to be very enlightening. The plans, however, the bibliography and the dust jacket are the best part of the book, and in spite of what has been said it is worth a place on our shelves, even at its high price, if only to be taken down on occasions of happy reminiscences of the days when one could wander over the face of the Near East " without let or hindrance."

ERIC MACRO.

The Sand Kings of Oman. By Raymond O'Shea. Pp. 209. Sixteen photographs; 2 maps. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London. 1947. 12s. 6d.

The publication of *The Sand Kings of Oman* so soon after the long-awaited appearance of van der Meulen's *Aden to the Hadhramaut*, was rather an unfortunate step. O'Shea's book has been swallowed up by the Dutchman's long-established authority on Arabia and his excellent writing; O'Shea has neither of these qualifications. His style leaves much to be desired, and the information which he imparts is to a great extent inaccurate. He writes with an assumed air of authority, which to the experienced is tantamount to pomposity.

O'Shea was sent to Arabia in 1944 as an R.A.F. officer, seconded to the B.O.A.C., and his book gives an account of the life led by him and his companions in the remote station of Sharja on the Trucial Oman coast. He gives an account of a journey into the Eastern Rub'-al-Khali, where he claims to have discovered what he thinks may have been the " lost city" of " Ad." This latter would have been the most interesting part of the book had he been in a position to take along with him someone with good archæological experience of this type of site. As it stands, his discovery has merely opened the door for future explorers to investigate what might be a subject of great importance to Arabian experts. At the moment, therefore, like Philby's Wabar, it must remain on the map with a query next to it.

There is no doubt that the author has spent his off duty hours in an advantageous manner; he has gone to great pains to enlighten himself on matters of science appertaining to Trucial Oman, but apart from conveying this impression, he has revealed nothing new. His impertinent references to recognized authorities, his useless bibliographical appendix, his very inaccurate statistics on Arabian oil and the gross inaccuracies both in his maps and his reference to Philby's crossing of Ar Rimal, are amongst many factors which convey an unfavourable impression to the reader.

If the reader is interested to learn of the detailed life of a B.O.A.C. officer in Sharja during the war *The Sand Kings of Oman* will satisfy him; if he is looking for an authoritative, well-balanced book on this part of Arabia he will be disappointed.

E. M.

Tour of Duty. By Stewart Symes. Collins. 12s. 6d.

Sir Stewart Symes calls his book a " patchwork of reminiscences and opinions," and no reviewer could do better than that. Writing in retirement in the Union of South Africa, Sir Stewart recalls twenty years in Africa in the service of what was then very much the British Empire. As a District Governor and Chief Secretary in Palestine, Resident and C.-in-C. in Aden, Governor and C.-in-C. Tanganyika, and finally Governor-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Sir Stewart has had experience of administration in those territories whose problems are now acutely in the news, and this is a memoir, as the jacket explains, of practical experience illuminated by an " enquiring and reflective " mind.

It is apparent that of all the countries of his service it is the Sudan—that land " inhabited mostly by blacks and administered by blues "—that holds the writer's main interest, from his first appointment in 1906 as one of Sir Reginald Wingate's boys, and he has met anybody who is anybody in Anglo-Egyptian Sudanese history, from Kitchener to Wavell, and has useful observations to make on that history, as well as some entertaining sidelights on character and incident. He refers to Sir Reginald Wingate's " supreme qualifications " to organize the civil administration: " his military experience and knowledge of Egyptian affairs were associated with a strong attachment to the Sudanese people and an extraordinary political flair," and of the military pioneers in the Sudan he says, with effect, that they " laid foundations of public tranquillity and popular goodwill on which the structure of a civilized administration could be built securely." And further: " No one has disparaged their singleminded purpose or the success of their achievement. It can be said that they weaned a primitive people from savagery, created prosperity, and introduced to the Sudan the benefits of civilization."

As Sir Stewart says, to anyone, even only a visitor, in the Sudan the results of the devoted service of these pioneer administrators is apparent: " everywhere an Englishman is welcomed and made to feel he is an honoured guest," and there is popular recognition that the British elements in the administration are rendering valuable services to the country. The reviewer, stopping at a remote post on the borders of French territory at that period of the war when things looked at their worst, and depressed over the decline of more than the pound sterling, received a tribute to this same British administration from the old Sudanese official in charge. " Nothing to worry about," said he. " We all know the British Empire is the best of all; you will lead them all again." A heartening saying at that place and that time, and due, however remotely, to that high concept of government put into effect by British administration in the Sudan, from the time of Gordon and his crusade against the slave traffic, when, as Sir Stewart describes, selfish policies of national and personal advantage did not weigh against moral considerations, and British officials worked seven days a week to the scandal of " certain Anglican clerics."

Apropos of present political developments, Sir Stewart's observations on the brighter young Egyptians in 1906 are interesting. They had, he noted, " adopted foreign styles, spurned hard labour, acquired a working knowledge of revolutionary episodes on the Continent, and a prurient acquaintance with baser forms of European literature." Even more interesting is the historical disclosure that it was a wise policy of decentralization and employment of native agencies, combined with the inspiration of Gordon's life and death, impressed on the Sudanese as on following administrators, that turned the Sudan from a scene of carnage and chaos into a prosperous and friendly country, where, though Sir Stewart considers British tutelage is still required to maintain present standards of public services, " the existing system of State executives and native administrations may soon be welded into more important organs of provincial self-government."

This is not an easy book to find your way about in: there are chapters on Tanganyika, which are full of meat, sandwiched between accounts of Haile Selassie's coronation in Adis Ababa and the second Sudanese chapter, and there is a peroration on missionaries, with an important centrepiece. With the so-called development of the African, which is the result of the impact of Western ideas and civilization on primitive minds and habits, there is generally a decline of morale, and Sir Stewart reports that the resulting feckleness, inertia and misconduct noticed among Africans is definitely counteracted not by secular but by religious instruction. To the primitive mind the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, and it is obviously as necessary to fill the vacuum caused by the subversions of their traditional beliefs and codes of conduct, accompanied by rapid changes in their social and economic conditions, as it is, to give a nearer parallel, to fill the vacuum left in the German mind by the uprooting of Nazism.

With Africa the latest and most vital development area, notes on the conditions and potentialities of Tanganyika are of topical importance, and the modern historical background of Palestine is as useful as is the earlier one of Aden and the Hadhramaut Sir Stewart supplies, but of all his pen pictures of scenery or personalities, here is one of the most effective in the book, if the most unexpected, an account of travelling in Arabia: " To ride a well-paced camel along a desert track on a clear, windless night is an experience unique and unforgettable. The heat of the day is passed. The sun has set. The colours fade from the horizon. The camels . . . breathing and the shuffling rhythm of their steps are the only living sounds as the shroud of night descends. In twos and threes stars pierce the twilight and shine forth in dimensions and a brilliance unknown to the town-dweller. . . . One loses sense of an immediate environment, of space and time. Detached from earth, suspended in air, one rides gloriously into the high heavens."

EILEEN FORSYTH.

All Over the World. (Fifty years of travel.) By Colonel P. T. Etherton. Pp. 259. Illustrated. John Long. 1947. 18s.

A most interesting record of an amazing life; its sub-title might well be, " And one man in his time plays many parts."

Colonel Etherton's irrepressible wanderlust manifested itself at a very early age when, rejecting the idea of entering Sandhurst, he sought his fortune in Australia, and in that rough school learned how to look after himself, knowledge of priceless value in the varied conditions met with later.

From Kalgoorlie to the Yukon: " riding the rods " across Canada; sail half-way round the world before the mast; serving with Kitchener's Fighting Scouts on the High Veld; a cowboy in N. Dakota; soldiering in India, Flanders, Sinai, Mesopotamia; on political work in Central Asia; a Judge in China—surely few can equal the experiences of this remarkable man.

One misses the beautiful pieces of descriptive writing which occur in *The Last Strongholds*, but the story is constantly enlivened by touches of humour, and the short historical notes introduced from time to time, such as the prelude to the South African War, are most apposite.

In India, that wonderful school for soldiers, he served with the 39th Garhwal Rifles, and there gained his first experience of the great mountains, which he came to love so well, and in sixteen years accumulated the knowledge which was put to such good use in the flight over Everest in 1936.

The book is illustrated by some well-chosen photographs.

F. H.

Richard Hakluyt and His Successors. Issued to commemorate the centenary of the Hakluyt Society. Pp. 192 and lxviii. Maps, eight plates, list of members. Hakluyt Society. 1946.

There is high quality in this work—as is due in anything emanating from the Hakluyt Society—both in the individual contributions and in the sense in which they complement one another to make a satisfying whole. It achieves its purpose in a manner befitting the great man whose work the society seeks to honour, to perpetuate and to renew.

Richard Hakluyt, we are told, was one of the great Elizabethans and the greatest exponent of a widespread talent. He was a geographer, an economist, a historian, and a public advocate of colonization and discovery. He was concerned with the revival and then the advancement of national greatness by means of trade. The effort was to be made primarily and mainly by sea, although enterprise deep in the heart of Asia also played its part.

As the writers of the third chapter express it, the qualities which armed Hakluyt's propaganda for his vision of a commercial empire founded on sea-power included a feeling for form and style, editorial integrity and systematic plan, illuminated by an Elizabethan sense of glory.

Hakluyt's publications aided the approach to Asia through the Muscovy Company, the search for the North-West Passage, the North-East Passage, and the South-West Passage, through Magellan's Straits. He sought to persuade the Queen to support projects for colonization in North America. He was the permanent consultant of the East India Company. His *Voyages* became an item of the ship's stores, because they were of practical value to sailors.

After numerous writers and publishers, during the next two centuries, had made their individual contributions—of varying value and through differing media—to the records of voyages and discoveries, the Hakluyt Society was formed, in 1846, for the purpose of printing for distribution among its members the most rare and valuable voyages, travels, and geographical records. Its members include a number of libraries, university colleges, societies, and individuals on both sides of the Atlantic, but it is supremely indebted to the British Museum and to the Royal Geographical Society for support.

In the concluding chapter Edward Lynam, the President of the Society, reviews its development to the present time and suggests that the Society might with advantage be more widely known, and that it should increase its membership. He adds that, while it has published some 200 volumes, it has done little justice to the numerous records of travel in the Pacific Ocean, in Africa, and in Asiatic Russia. This last statement inescapably leads to the conclusion that the purposes for which the Royal Central Asian Society exists, as defined in its rules, imply that the two societies could and should take complementary steps for purposes analogous to those of Richard Hakluyt—to make available in a suitable form, appropriate to the very different conditions of to-day, details of voyages and discoveries in Asia, with a view to assisting the revival of the national greatness by means of trade and sea-power (as it was understood by the Elizabethans, after the defeat of the Armada; that is to say, by merchantment supported, when necessary for their lawful occasions, by the Queen's ships).

If any criticism may be ventured of a work of this quality it would be to suggest that the contributors have erred on the side of understatement in that they have not brought out, as vividly as the facts would justify, the greatness of the vision and the "Elizabethan sense of glory," which inspired Richard Hakluyt. Here, if anywhere, the past offers lessons for us in our present difficulties.

J. C. CURRY.

Hafiz. Twenty poems. Text and translations introduced and annotated by A. J. Arberry. Pp. 7 and 187. Cambridge University. 1947. 12s. 6d.

Pages from the Kitab Al-Luma' of Abu Nasr el Sarraj. From the Bankipore MS., with a Memoir of R. A. Nicholson by A. J. Arberry. Pp. 31 and 16. Luzac. 1947. 6s. 6d.

Two works by Professor Arberry have appeared within a few months of each other; the one for advanced students of Sufi history, the other rather perhaps for beginners.

The translations from Hafiz provide the most attractive possible introduction to Islamic mysticism. There is a great advantage in having the Ghazals in text and translation in one book. A script that is most legible, though it lacks the artistry of the Rosenzweig-Schwannau edition, is matched to verse renderings by fifteen English writers, including Dr. Arberry himself. This keeps the freshness that is usually lost where the style of one translator is the only medium of contact with the original. Even in this company few will dispute the verdict that the translations by Miss Gertrude Bell "are true poetry of a very high order and . . . probably the finest . . . renderings." But Dr. Arberry includes in his anthology several poems that she passed by, and it is of value to compare hers with other more literal versions. The introduction on the life of Hafiz and his poetry is not the least interesting part of the book.

The Gibb Trust has subsidized the publication of certain passages of the *Kitab al-Luma'* that were missing in the MSS. used for the edition of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, but which were later found to have survived in a text in the Bankipore collection. Dr. Arberry's work therefore completes that of Dr. Nicholson on this, one of the earliest accounts of the rise of Sufiism. Dr. Arberry has enhanced the value of the supplement by explanatory notes, and there is a Memoir of Dr. Nicholson for which all readers will be grateful. It always seemed strange that the greatest interpreter of Arab mysticism should never have been to Arabia, but in truth, to quote his own version of Jalal ud-Din Rumi, Dr. Nicholson lived with the subjects of his study "in a place beyond uttermost place, in a tract without shadow of trace, soul and body transcending" and that world of thought he reached, as Dr. Arberry shows, by a natural affinity of mind that was independent of differences in nation or country.

The Cruel Journey. By Ella K. Maillart. Heinemann. 18s. 1947.

"Civilized life is too far from life. And, let me tell you, I want to earn my bread in a way which satisfies me." Since Ella Maillart wrote this she has travelled far and wide through Asia, always seeking a new horizon, and, compatriot of J.-J. Rousseau as she is, looking for a tribe untouched by the evils of civilization, who have grown to manhood fearless and self-sufficient. In this last journey she had a third object; her companion, the owner of the small car in which they travelled and also of a diplomatic passport which helped them at many frontiers, took drugs and hoped to be cured by the hardships of the journey.

The year was 1939 in the months before war broke out. From Switzerland they drove through South-East Europe to Turkey, then took a coasting steamer to Erzeroum, where they regained the car and drove through Armenia, Azerbaijan and Northern Iran into Afghanistan; then, after following one of the great historic routes northward to Balkh and Mazar-i-Sherif, they turned south to Kabul, where the outbreak of war in Europe stopped all independent travel.

There is little ground which has not been covered by many travellers, and the author herself made the journey in reverse order some years previously, but seldom have such beautiful photographs been published of the mosques which are the glory of Iran; her descriptions of them are excellent. As always, her friendliness and gift of tongues gave her useful contacts on the road.

There is little to say of a journey made so recently, but before the war. Ella Maillart says she is tired of travel; she hopes to become an anthropologist. With her gift for accurate observation, her wide knowledge of Asia, her beautiful photography and a scientific training, she should accomplish much useful work. It may be hoped that she will not lose the humanity and understanding which make her books good reading.

M. N. K.

Modern Islam in India. By W. Cantwell Smith. Gollancz. 1946. Pp. 344. Notes. 15s.

This is a well-documented record containing a mass of detail about personalities, movements and events within the terms of its title. The writer has ideals which lead him to regard "capitalism" as evil and "British Imperialism" as a particular manifestation of it. He believes that "there is in history a basic process of ameliorative evaluation" and that "socialism is the next due social form in that process." He appears to believe that his work is "science" and that he employs "concepts which are operationally definable." He describes himself as "a socialist with pronounced ethical convictions." He is antagonistic towards the work of the British in India, and points to "the brilliant success of national autonomy in the Soviet Union."

His book may, therefore, be appreciated by those who agree with his basic assumptions; but to those who lay claim to a wider, if older, view of human nature—and so of history—it must appear to be a matter of regret that so much knowledge, talent and industry should be spoiled by the narrow prejudices which arise inevitably from the author's "ideology." For them, as for the present reviewer, it will seem that this is an illuminating case, because it shows how this particular ideology, as a kind of inverted religion, can reduce great creative imagination—in the sense of Dorothy Sayers's apt metaphor—to a scalene triangle.

It is impossible to resist pointing to the sometimes comical effect of his anachronistic use of such terms as "bourgeois," as for instance, when used in an interpretation of the thought of Indian Muslims of the nineteenth century (*cf.* the reference on p. 25 to Sir Sayyid Ahmad's belief in the needs of the "bourgeoisie").

In spite of the limitations imposed by the author's beliefs, there is much in the factual parts of his book, and often something in his interpretations, which should be of value to the student of Islamic affairs and also, in a less academic way, to those concerned with the government of Pakistan and India.

J. C. CURRY.

Some Ancient Cities of India. By Stuart Piggott, F.S.A. Pp. vi + 102. Plans. Oxford University Press. 1945.

In the preface the author states that this little book is for those interested in Indian history and architecture, who have no specialized knowledge and want a reliable background to their visits to ancient sites. He has limited the scope to include places representative of all periods of Indian history visited by himself. It is, of course, impossible in a book of one hundred pages to do more than outline the main features of the sites described so as to provide a basis for further study. The book is well produced, and has ample maps and sketches to assist the reader. The illustrations also are well chosen to amplify the text.

The places discussed include all the major historic sites of North-Western India from Mohenjo-Daro to Delhi, but there is a big gap between the Buddhist and Hindu remains of Ajanta and Ellora and the Muslim monuments of Delhi, and mediæval and later Hindu architecture is only represented by a short chapter on Mount Abu, which with its strong Jain tradition is hardly representative of the vast number of Hindu buildings and cities existing in even the limited area taken by the author for his study. It would have been interesting to hear how Hindu religious and secular architecture developed from the early days of Ellora and Ajanta, and how it was affected by the Muslim influences brought by the invaders. A chapter on even one of the major sites of Rajputana, such as Jaipur and Amber or Udaipur and Chitor, would have made this book just so much more useful to the visitor to India and have completed the picture which the author has painted for us. However, accepting the author's limitation referred to above, and realizing the difficulties of travelling in war-time India, we must be satisfied with this book as a foretaste of more to come, and hope that the author will be able to amplify it at a future date.

Chapter I is an historical introduction and sketches the outline of Indian history through the ages, giving in a very brief space a clearer picture than I have met before. The author shows how India has throughout its history always been at the mercy of invaders and how the only unity it has known has been at the hands of conquerors and tyrants. The cycle of disrupted anarchy of small ineffectual States, followed by their forcible amalgamation into empires of various sizes by a strong hand, has continued from earliest times. No one has lastingly united India, and to-day the centrifugal tendencies of Indian culture repeat the events of age-long history.

The chapter on Mohenjo-Daro, which contains also certain general remarks on Harappa, is clear, though brief. The author does not credit the Indus civilization with as great an age as do many other authorities. He makes no reference to the lower levels at Mohenjo-Daro, where excavation is impossible owing to flooding, and bases his calculations upon the reign of Sargon I of Akkad, whose date he gives as 2300 B.C. He also suggests that there were no links with Mesopotamia earlier than the time of Sargon I, whereas finds of pottery at Tell Asmar, Kish, and Susa have been interpreted as showing trade relationships between those places and the Indus valley some centuries earlier. The author has, of course, no space to substantiate his chronology, and, apart from this divergence from accepted dates, his description of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and their relations with the outside world, such as they were, is enough to whet the reader's appetite for further study, and to make one wish that funds and political conditions would permit further extensive excavations not only in the Indus valley but also in Persian and Baluchi Makran. Since the author wrote this book details have been published regarding the fortifications and citadels to which he refers and the discovery of which has so altered our view of the Indus culture.

The chapters on Buddhist sites—namely, Taxila, Sanchi, Ajanta, and Ellora—bring out not only the architectural aspect of the buildings but also the character of the builders and the mentality behind the construction. The author goes into sufficient detail to explain the characteristics of the shrines and temples without involving the reader in lengthy dissertations on architectural or religious principles. These chapters are indeed an ideal introduction for anyone wishing to visit these places, and they provide a clear résumé of facts for those who wish to refresh their memories.

The chapter on Muttra is particularly interesting in view of the author's own activities there and the conclusions he draws from his work. Thousands of people must have passed Muttra without realizing that the railway literally cuts through a site well over two thousand years old, and that the rusty sign on the railway station announcing the presence of the Curzon Museum of Archæology points the way to such an interesting collection of ancient sculpture. Here again is an echo of the turbulent past of India, and the statue of Kanishka with his Gilgit boots graphically links the traditional birthplace of Krishna with Central Asia, the homeland of so many of India's invaders.

Another unusual place visited and described by the author is Daulatabad, which, as he says, is " so little known to the intelligent public of India." This chapter gives a perfect illustration of that curious habit which seized so many of India's rulers—namely, the construction of a vast new capital and the wholesale transportation of a population to fill it. The author's own investigations and the map, which he drew himself in the absence of any official map or plan, show how much still remains in India for the keen enquirer into that country's past.

The author gives three chapters to Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri, which may seem undue weightage to places which are so largely Mogul; but the monuments discussed are of such pre-eminent beauty and importance that they deserve treatment at length.

The author maintains one's interest throughout, and his book, by its brevity and interest, is an excellent aperitif for further study, and makes one wish for an opportunity to revisit the places described.

J. E. F. G.

The Expansion of Europe into the Far East. By Sir John Pratt. Pp. 218. Sylvan Press. 10s. 6d.

The work of Sir John Pratt needs no introduction to members of the R.C.A.S., and there must be few who are able to write, as he can, with a continuous experience of Far Eastern affairs covering nearly half a century. In his new book, based on a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge, he deals mainly with the contacts of the European nations with China and with the effects, often highly unexpected by both parties, which those contacts produced. The interrelation of East and West is not only a fascinating subject but is also at present highly important, and in this book Sir John covers—too briefly, perhaps, for some readers—the period from the entry of the Portuguese on to the Chinese stage early in the sixteenth century and the re-entry of Russia on to the same stage, in 1945, after a time in the wings. The story thus covers nearly four and a half centuries. During this time, and especially during the nineteenth century, China became increasingly affected by the permutations and combinations of the policies of foreign powers. Sir John Pratt traces the results, as manifested in the Far East, of the policies of the European States, and also in the later stages of the United States and Japan, towards each other and towards the Far East itself.

In the earlier days of foreign contacts with China, and, in fact, until quite recent times, the misunderstanding between the products of two completely different cultures was, with some exceptions, almost complete. Too often neither side could see what the other was getting at. Both felt absolutely convinced of the superiority of their own view of life, and it is not a matter for wonder that difficulties constantly occurred. Rather is it remarkable that these difficulties could so often be composed, and the early foreign settlers had reason, in spite of all their troubles, to be thankful for the Chinese dislike of pressing matters to extremes.

In recent years this mutual lack of comprehension has no doubt diminished. The history of the first half of the twentieth century does not encourage Westerners, and in particular Europeans, to regard their culture as necessarily the last word in human wisdom. On the other side, the increasing acquaintance of the Chinese with foreign countries suggests to them that Western civilization does offer something besides those technical developments which, as has been widely recognized, must be adopted, or at any rate adapted, by any country which hopes to survive and flourish in the modern world. At the same time, the disappearance of the special position of foreigners in China has removed a long-felt grievance and, while the period of adjustment is likely to be uneasy, the prospects of improved understanding seem brighter than they have been for many years.

Another feature of Sino-foreign relations has been that the policy of foreign governments towards China has been influenced by the relations of those governments to each other and, in the present century, by their attitude towards Japan. Sir John Pratt examines the results of these shiftings of policy, which have been of special importance in connection with the constantly recurring problem of Manchuria. During the war it was hoped and believed by the Chinese that the defeat of Japan would leave them in undisputed control of Manchuria. But this was not to be. Under the Yalta Agreement the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union undertook that the former rights of Russia, prior to 1904, were to be restored, and thus, so far as Manchuria was concerned, the war settlement introduces new problems, or rather old problems in a new form. It is no wonder that many in the Far East regard with deep foreboding the perpetuation in the Manchurian region of the system of dual control, the danger of which has by now been sufficiently proved.

It would require a tougher conscience than most of us possess to read Sir John Pratt's study without an occasional twinge. Is it too much to hope that a happier era in Sino-foreign relations has begun? There is now in the West a great fund of goodwill towards China and the Chinese and a readiness, at any rate, to try to understand the Chinese point of view. What sometimes appears to be an excess of nationalism is accepted as the reaction from the time of "humiliation." Above all, there is a wide realization of the vital importance to world peace of China's recovery of that unity which, on the whole, she maintained for so many centuries.

Nor, when we read of China's present troubles, need we be too pessimistic. For years a Chinese " collapse " was discussed as a possibility, and some of the least attractive measures of foreign policy in China were taken as a kind of insurance against the expected disintegration of the country. Yet China, which has survived so many civilizations and empires, has survived also that Europe of fifty years ago which took so gloomy a view of her prospects. The best insurance in the Far East will be the recovery of China and her restoration as a peaceful, prosperous, and well-administered country.

In the Far East, as elsewhere, the past can be a guide to the future, if only in its lessons of what to avoid. The story told in Sir John Pratt's book explains the background against which China's present and future relations with Western countries have to be viewed.

H. S.

China Looks Forward. By Dr. Sun Fo. Pp. 260. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

It seems almost unfair to review a book with this title four years after its compilation, particularly as even then some of the dissertations were three or four years old. It would be extraordinary not to find events failing to fulfil forecasts made five or six years earlier, and it is therefore no reproach to Dr. Sun Fo that so few of his hopes have yet been realized while some have been absolutely negated. His enthusiasms lead him to excessive optimism in many respects, but throughout his book his ardent patriotism and his fervent longing to see China occupying her due position in the society of nations shine out in every chapter: rather than criticism he deserves sympathy in his disappointments.

Perhaps Dr. Sun Fo's greatest disappointment has been in respect of the U.S.S.R. His admiration for the Soviet Union, approaching idolatry, is frequently exemplified: she has " the most democratic constitution in the world "; and she is "the country which most nearly approaches the state of *Tatung*" (universal brotherhood), though he sees that Lenin's methods are unsuited to China, and refutes the theory of the class war. The United States of America and Britain, on the other hand, are " so-called democracies," though he modifies this view after Pearl Harbour. No praise is sufficient for the Soviet Union's achievements under her five-year plans. He is enthusiastic over the war-aid received from the U.S.S.R., though he renders but scant justice to that given by the United States of America and by Britain. On the other side of the picture, he is insistent that China must recover all her rights in Manchuria, and in particular that the South Manchurian Railway must be taken over as State property; he repudiates with scorn a suggestion by an American publicist that the north-eastern provinces should be given to the Soviet Union, saying that " our great friend, the Soviet Union, would not care to give it the slightest attention." All this admiration and enthusiasm is a measure of the disillusionment he must have experienced over the Yalta Agreement and its fruits; and his recent open adherence to Nanking's anti-Russian policy, and his denunciation of the Soviet Union, manifest his revulsion of feeling.

Another object of Dr. Sun Fo's enthusiasm is the theory of government evolved by his father, the San-min Chu-yi, or Three Principles of Democracy. This is "the fairest and most democratic doctrine formulated by man "; it " not only can deliver China, but also redeem the world," by bringing about the state of *Tatung* or universal brotherhood. None the less, while paying lip-service to universal disarmament, he calls for strong national defence for China: "We should have a first-class army; China must have an army of the first rank."

The reconstruction of China is to be based on the Min-sheng Chu-yi ("The People's Livelihood") and the Min-ch'üan Chu-yi ("The People's Rights"). Dr. Sun Fo translates Min-sheng Chu-yi as "Socialism," and his programme could be described by no less term. Private enterprise is not to be entirely ruled out; from the various references to it scattered throughout his lectures it appears that it is to be "tolerated" and that there is no intention of abolishing it "at once," but that it will be subject to strict regulation and control and apparently limited to light industry. For the rest, industry is to be the staple of China's economy, with agriculture in a subsidiary position; all means of production, including land, are to be nationalized; the Government will handle the exchange of merchandise; there is to be public distribution and sale of food, including a State monopoly of rice. Heavy industry is to be built up under two Five-Year Plans, and financed by loans to a total of two billion dollars (presumably $20,000,000,000) from the United States of America, and behind a protective tariff.

In spite of all Dr. Sun Fo's advocacy, it is to be feared that he may not see all this realized; but in the other half of the programme, the Min-ch'üan Chu-yi, some results are already to be seen. The period of tutelage under the Kuomintang must, he says, be speedily brought to an end and a constitutional régime, based primarily on local self-government, be inaugurated; then the Kuomintang will be just an ordinary political party. According to the press, China had 439,000 local representative bodies, at various levels, at the end of last June, and, according to official figures, 2,042 of a total of 3,045 delegates were returned in the recent national elections, thus giving the required quorum of two-thirds, and China looks forward to the meeting of the National Assembly on March 29.

One of the most valuable features of Dr. Sun's book is his lucid and detailed analysis and explanation of China's complicated constitutional machinery.

W. Stark Toller.

My Father in China. By James Burke. Pp. 288. Michael Joseph. 15s.

This book records the life-story of an American missionary in China over a period of nearly sixty years, as narrated by his son. The Reverend William Burke retired in 1937 after fifty years of service; a few months later came the news of the Japanese bombing of Sungkiang, the scene of his labours for forty years, and he immediately moved heaven and earth to get back to his people there, and, for all that is known, there he still is. He had, as he put it, devoted his life to the service of the people of China, and the story of his life is full of illustrations of his putting this resolution into effect, sometimes by means hardly in congruity with his cloth. He fights fires, invades a brothel to save a kidnapped child, rescues victims from the tortures of undisciplined soldiery, aids the escape of suspected revolutionists, persuades generals to save Sungkiang from looting, and even under Japanese rule contrives to carry on relief work and alleviate the sufferings of the people. And the Chinese showed in no half-hearted manner their gratitude for his devotion, erecting, in his lifetime, a memorial pavilion and steadfastly refusing to turn it over even to the memory of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

But this entrancing story is only a minor part of the book. Mr. Burke went to China in 1887, the year of the Tientsin massacres; he saw the Kolao iui riots on the Yangtze, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the hundred days of reform, the Battle of the Concessions, the Boxer rising, the Russo-Japanese war, the Chinese revolution of 1911, and all the revolutions and civil wars that flowed from it, and finally the *crescendo* of Japanese aggression. His term of service covers almost the whole history of modern China, and he is throughout able to introduce many interesting sidelights (*e.g.*, the state of the Chinese Navy at the Battle of the Yalu River), though it must be admitted that his comments on matters outside his personal experience are, according to his son's story, strongly coloured by typical prejudices. His description of European life in Shanghai savours of exaggeration, but the palm is taken by his uncompromising statement that "Britain forced opium importation on China."

And to say, in 1945, that the country's canals still are her only reputable highways gives China scant credit for her achievements in road construction.

The early chapters of the book give a graphic description of life in old China, together with a mass of incidental information on China's religions, customs and superstitions, but the real high light is Mr. Burke's relations with and comments on the Soong family, whom he had known throughout their life. Charlie Soon, the father of T. V. Soong and the three sisters, had been a college friend of Mr. Burke, and they remained on intimate terms until Soon's death. The marriage of Soong Chungling to Dr. Sun Yat-sen is shown to have been a bitter blow to her mother, and Mr. Burke's estimate of the Father of the Republic will surely appear the blackest heresy to the Chinese. He is equally outspoken on the subject of Chiang Kai-shek, particularly as regards his morals, but believes that he has been influenced by his wife, and says that " there were many, Christians and non-Christians, who would vouch for the generalissimo's sincerity " in his conversion.

The book would have been improved by an index and by more careful proofreading.

W. Stark Toller.

Quiet Skies on Salween. By Ellen Thorp. Pp. 175. Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

In *Quiet Skies on Salween* Mrs. Thorp has written a book both to buy and to keep.

A childhood spent thirty years ago in the Shan States, where her father was headmaster of the school for the sons of the princes, holidays spent on tour in ox-carts through the Shan hills, a seeing eye and a receptive ear have combined to give her a store of memories which she distils in simple phrases which yet call up scenes of a striking vividness. In her pages the bells tinkle from pagodas now reduced to rubble, and voices chatter and silk shirts rustle in a world so different from our own.

Those of us who have only known Burma under the clouds of war and the stress of reconstruction, and have yet come to love the country and its people, will have their memories sharpened and be enabled to feel more acutely what Burma has lost. Those who have never seen with a shock of pleasure the golden spire of the Shwe Dagon rising above the mists of the Rangoon river flats will feel in this book the sights, sounds, and smells of that land which, despite oil tanks and motor buses, is still touched with a rare beauty.

F. J. B.

Tibetan Venture. In the country of the Ngolo-Setas (Second Guibaut-Liotard Expedition). By André Guibaut. Translated by Lord Sudley. Pp. 206; 23 illustrations and maps. John Murray. 1947. 16s.

The first half of this book gives a simple and very good account of conditions as they were in 1940 at Tachenlu and as far as Luho, 120 miles to the north-west on the main road to Lhasa. Although the area does not lie within the present political limits of Tibet, the scene and the people are typically Tibetan. From Luho onwards, for seventy miles, Guibaut and Liotard, with their small retinue, entered country not previously traversed by any European. Here Liotard, unfortunately, was killed by robbers.

The object of the expedition being to break fresh ground, the author might well have added a third map showing the tracks of previous explorers in adjacent regions. It is not clear why the familiar name Golok is rendered as Ngolo.

The get-up of the book is good, but the illustrations on the whole are not more than fair. The translator is to be congratulated on his work.

B. J. G.

Mission to Tashkent. By Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey, C.I.E. Pp. 308, with 20 illustrations and two maps. Jonathan Cape, London. 15s.

Nearly thirty years have passed since Colonel Bailey was engaged in the unique adventures now related, but the interest which they arouse is still intense. A story based on the incidents referred to in this book has already appeared in an English periodical, but it was evidently thought impolitic to release the entire narrative before this, and the author's description, at first hand, of early Bolshevik methods in Turkestan comes opportunely just now, while the relations between the West and Russia are difficult to understand, and helps the reader to realize some of the psychological causes of our differences.

The period covered is during what the Russians term the "Intervention"—that is to say, while the German great spring offensive of 1918 was in full swing and the hope of the Allies was to get someone in Russia to continue to fight on our side. Agents of the Central Powers in Persia and Afghanistan had been causing anxiety, and the presence in Turkestan of hordes of prisoners of war, captured earlier on by the Russians, contributed grave potential danger. The actual state of affairs in Central Asia was anything but clear, and though "Dunsterforce" had been sent to Baku, and though the "East Persian cordon" had been strengthened, it was hoped, in addition, to persuade our Allies in Chinese Turkestan to control intrigue and to organize resistance to any hostile move there. It was primarily with this latter view in end that Bailey's small mission was sent to Kashgar. But Kashgar, though very pleasant to live in, was found to be ineffective as an observation post towards Russian Turkestan, where the position was quite obscure. It was believed that the Bolsheviks were in control, but no one knew quite what a Bolshevik was, much less his aims and objects. It was also essential to establish contact between the United States Consul-General and the British, so Tashkent was the next stage, and here Bailey not only made close contact with Mr. R. C. Tredwell of the U.S. Consular Service but learnt a great deal about the very confused state of affairs. He found there nearly 200,000 Austrian (in reality mostly Magyar) prisoners of war, without organization and under no proper control. There was also a very large Moslem population, anti-Bolshevik at heart, but scared into subjection by ruthless officials.

In Moscow there was deep suspicion of the Allies, so it was only to be expected that Allied nationals in Tashkent should be subjected to close surveillance and espionage, and realizing in good time that his arrest was imminent, Bailey made plans to disguise himself as an Austrian and disappear. Before he could put his plan into execution, however, both he and Tredwell were actually arrested, but the local authorities released them again soon after, pending receipt of telegraphic instructions from Moscow. By the time these had arrived Bailey had seized his chance, and was already concealed with friends in the guise of an Austrian soldier-cook, having decided it would be wisest to remain in Tashkent until the hot search had died down. When he eventually got away from the city he took to the mountains, where he found shelter, first with a bee-farmer, and afterwards (as an employee) at a meteorological station.

During this sojourn in the hills revolution and counter-revolution had been causing considerable alarm in Moscow, and when he made his way back again to Tashkent, Bailey found out a great deal about the Bolshevik anti-British propaganda, and also met certain Indian revolutionaries. He gives an interesting account of the Bolshevik difficulties, and also quotes their amusing version of our little campaign in Afghanistan in the spring of 1919. During his previous stay in Tashkent, Bailey had made friends with one Manditch, a Serb from Sarajevo, who had been mobilized in the Austrian Army while a student in Vienna. Having naturally pro-Slav tendencies, he deserted to the Russians, and eventually joined the Bolshevik counter-espionage service. Through Manditch, Bailey was enrolled in that service at a time when the local officials were extremely nervous about persistent rumours that British officers in Bokhara were drilling and organizing the Bokharan Army. Fifteen secret agents, commissioned to find out about this, had been caught and strangled, so Bailey (then *alias* Kastamuni) was sent along with Manditch to have a try. At Kagan, which is the railway station for Bokhara, Manditch was handed a telegram authorizing the apprehension of a "troublesome Colonel Bailey," which rather tickled "Kastamuni," who was just then being patted on the back by the same Bolsheviks for his bravery! At Kagan they encountered an interesting personality in the shape of Mohendra Pratap, an Indian revolutionary, who had, while in Berlin, been made "President of the Provisional Government of India."

While in Bokhara itself Manditch and Bailey had to be even more cautious than in Tashkent, for the Amir, though professing his readiness to help them, was much too frightened to connive at their departure, which they eventually managed for themselves. After many tense moments the pair set out on a hazardous journey to India through Persia, which entailed the traverse of steppe and desert as well as crossings of the Oxus and Murghab. Near the latter river, while approaching Sarakhs, on the Russo-Persian frontier, they had a skirmish with Bolsheviks, who made an unsuccessful attempt to catch them before they could gain asylum at Meshed under the British flag. So ended a mission of some twenty-three months' duration.

Though so many strange experiences and dangerous situations are described in this book, the narrative seems in places too sober for its almost unique material. To my mind it also lacks cohesion, but this is probably because the author was obliged to destroy his notes more than once, and they had to be rewritten from memory at a later date. It should be noted that the names of Colonel Bailey's plucky helpers are, perforce, fictitious.

It is interesting to know that a novel in Russian describing Bailey's adventures was published in 1934, under the title *Chelovyak-Menyayet-Kojhu*, or The Man who Changes his Skin, by Bruno Yasenski. In it Yasenski also mentions Major Blacker and Colonel Etherton, who were Bailey's part-time companions.

H. W. TOBIN.

Burma Pamphlets. No. 9, Burma Facts and Figures, illustrated by C. H. G. Moorhouse. No. 10, The Burma Petroleum Industry. Pp. 47 and 64. Longmans, Green and Co. 1946. 1s. 6d. each.

The first of these two useful booklets covers subjects ranging from climate and density of population to exports, imports, and agricultural development. No. 10 Pamphlet gives a survey and some historical description of the Burma oilfields. The figures in both booklets appear to be drawn entirely from statistical returns made before 1941, and give no estimate of the present position in the country.

Montgomery. A biography. By Alan Moorehead. Hamish Hamilton, Ltd. 12s. 6d.

This is the story of a genius in battle, of a hard taskmaster who yet had, hidden deep down, a capacity for affection, of an eccentric showman, of a master of men, and of a natural ascetic who was "a character in his own right."

It is not a story of great battles, for the remarkable series of continuous successes is only used to enhance the already vivid colouring of a portrait which is painted in striking colours. It is the story of the development of a remarkable character.

The background is, however, too sombre. Soldiers of a former generation will consider, and rightly so, that justice is not done to those who fought in the first World War, nor to those who prepared the way before Montgomery.

The Expeditionary Force of 1914 was the most highly trained army which had ever left our shores. The rapid fire of the soldiers of 1914 was mistaken by the Germans for machine-gun fire. Those same soldiers had but one desire, during their bewildering retreat from Mons, which was to turn and fight. Allenby, Chetwode, Plumer and Rawlinson, of that former war, had a different technique, but drove their soldiers equally hard, and demanded, and obtained, the seemingly impossible from them. Wavell, who made those remarkable bricks without straw during his astonishing campaigns, set the stage for Montgomery, without which there would have been no North African campaign as it developed.

Purely as a character sketch this book is so fascinating that, once begun, it is almost impossible to put it down before reaching the end.

The Boy in the Beret.—"The child was restless almost to the point of nervousness. He was for ever plunging into some new project. He was more than ordinarily impatient if he was thwarted, and he began to exhibit a passionate eagerness to be leader in all games."

"It was upon his father that all the boy's pent-up affection flowed. Here was the essence of patriarchal kindness and justice. Bernard worshipped him. Secretly he began to imitate him."

At St. Paul's.—"In a quite conscious and deliberate way he enjoyed the popularity and the schoolboy worship for the successful player. He played at his best with an audience. Better still he loved to order other people about just as much as he detested being ordered about himself."

He was described as a small boy with mousy hair and an undistinguished appearance, and that he developed there a streak of showmanship which he had not had before.

At Sandhurst.—Montgomery plunged into Sandhurst with the same enthusiasm with which he entered St. Paul's. He could play any game well. He fell foul of his instructors. He took part in beating up cadets whom he didn't like. After being passed over for promotion to sergeant he was full of angry pride. Then he began to work and little by little grew interested in the idea of soldiering. He passed out of Sandhurst marked "Excellent," and thirtieth out of 150 candidates. But this made no impression on his exasperated instructors. One of them had a final word: "You are quite useless. You will get nowhere in the Army."

The Army.—He was unsuited to life in the Army as it then was. He was not social. He was never any good at ceremonial parades. He nursed a lurking discontent with established authority, and was apt to argue with his superiors. He was no horseman. He was religious. He had developed an unblushing enthusiasm for the profession of making war. He was aggressively full of ideas, and wanted to put them into practice. He talked shop at mess. The one thing in his favour was that he excelled in sports, "and from the beginning he loved the work of the Army."

He was badly wounded in 1914, and, though given up for dead, just managed to survive, and woke up in hospital in England a Captain with a D.S.O.

At this stage there was a marked development in his character. "To his fundamentally simple mind there were few half-tones. He hated strongly and unforgivingly. Equally he loved steadily and deeply. Every new thing was reduced to its utter simplicity. Was it good or bad? Having taken a decision he stuck to it blindly, persistently, and, at times, bigotedly. . . . At twenty-eight he was developing the fixity of mind and purpose of a man ten years his senior, and he was far beyond his age in everything except experience. He formed no deep attachments outside himself, nothing that he could not cut away and forget. He was perfectly content without the society of women. He was apparently inspired by a series of abstract loyalties—to his regiment, to his country, to himself, and to his God."

After the war he was selected in 1920 to go to the Staff College at Camberley and laughed outright at the course prescribed there. Later, after eleven years' absence on the Staff, he returned to his regiment, but was not welcomed, for he had a trying habit of telling his brother officers that "they were hopelessly out of touch with the real business of soldiery."

Marriage.—"In 1925 Montgomery bluntly and simply decided that it was time to get married," and there began for him a period of happiness and content which he had never known before. To him the union was ideal and absolute bliss, but it was suddenly and cruelly broken by the death of his wife. Montgomery returned to an empty house and to his son. He shut himself up completely, and only recovered with great difficulty and very slowly from the shattering blow.

War.—Perhaps one of the most interesting portions of this book is the way in which the development of Montgomery's character in '40 and '41 grew to a striking similarity between him and Stonewall Jackson. The same piety, the same simplicity of purpose, the same ruthless weeding out of inefficient subordinates, the same belief that the soldier is everything in battle, the same trust in efficient subordinates, the same direction to act and get on with the job.

Then, in 1942, came Montgomery's great chance, North Africa and Alamein. From Alamein to the West. At Alamein: "There will be no retreat. We will stand here. This is where we fight. We remain dead or alive."

He developed his well-known technique. A clear and definite plan to his commanders; the explanation to his soldiers for what they were to fight; his small advanced headquarters; his chosen band of young liaison officers; his perpetual appearance amongst and talk to his soldiers; his flamboyant methods carried out with set purpose. All the deep affection which he had lavished on his wife was now given to his Army.

His remoteness from his commanders and their staffs was in curious contrast to his intimacy with his troops and with the chosen few of his small advanced headquarters and with De Guingand; with his trusted team, which he never changed. He was "Monty" purposely to his soldiers and to the public. An admired but feared Commander to the rest.

C.I.G.S. still in a Beret.—It was inevitable, after his great triumphs in war, that he would become C.I.G.S. But he had changed. He was, possibly, more mellowed and astonishingly more patient. Let us leave him, this remarkable character, as described by Sir James Grigg: "He is a man who not only became a greater man as his responsibilities grew . . . but a more agreeable one as well. I am positive he is not a self-advertiser. Everything he says and does is considered with a view to its effect on the troops under his command. They arrogate to themselves a part of the glamour which attaches to him."

J. S. S.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,
JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

SIR,

With reference to the article in the July/October number of the Journal entitled "The Strange Case of Dr. Joseph Wolff," it may be of interest to know that this remarkable man on his semi-official mission to Bukhara made his entry into the highly fanatical town of Meshed in Khorassan, dressed in full canonicals as a Church of England minister, seated on a white ass with palm branches in his hand. His advent caused tremendous excitement amongst the multitude, and gave rise to increasing embarrassment in this holy Muslim town.

It is said that the chief Mullahs decided to interfere as little as possible, but to hasten his departure as quickly as they could by facilitating arrangements for his journey onwards.

I do not think Dr. Wolff makes mention of this remarkable and courageous action in his book. The omission is doubtless due to his prudence; he may well have deemed it dubious how his quite unorthodox methods would have been viewed by the dignitaries of the Church of England, or by the many influential folk who had subscribed the money to further his mission. But when I lived in Meshed (1915-20) the episode was not entirely forgotten. Knowing the relentless fanaticism of the teeming multitudes at a Holy Shrine like Meshed, I have never ceased to be amazed at this man's action, and the success which attended it.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT F. C. GIBBS.

THE EDITOR,
JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

SIR,

In reply to a request for the source of some of the information in my lecture, I based my description of the existing Iraqi-Kuwait frontier on a memorandum (No. 5405) from the High Commissioner for Iraq to the Political Agent, Kuwait, dated April 19, 1923 (see Aitcheson, Vol. XI., p. 266). This document refers to a memorandum from the Political Agent at Kuwait covering a letter from the Shaikh dated Shaaban 17, 1341 (=April 4, 1923). In his letter the Shaikh claimed the frontier with Iraq to be as follows:

> From the intersection of the Wadi al-Auja into the Batin and thence northwards along the Batin to a point just south of the latitude of Safwan, thence eastwards passing south of Safwan wells, Jabal Sanam, and Umm Qasr, leaving them to Iraq and so on to the junction of the Khor Zubair with the Khor Abdullah.

The memorandum concluded by stating that the Shaikh would be informed that his claim to the above frontier was recognized in so far as H.M. Government were concerned.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the so-called "green line" of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of July 29, 1913, passed immediately to the south of Umm Qasr (see Article 7 of the said Convention). This line constituted the northern boundary of the sphere of influence of the Shaikh of Kuwait.

The question of Umm Qasr was reviewed in 1932 and 1942-3. On the first of these two occasions there was an exchange of letters between the interested parties, in which it was confirmed that the frontier line was to pass south of Umm Qasr, leaving it to Iraq. In 1942-3 the position was re-examined, when it was proposed to build a jetty to that place. Once more it was agreed that Umm Qasr was to remain in Iraq.

Yours faithfully,
LAURENCE LOCKHART.

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GENERAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C.

Secretary:

MISS R. O. WINGATE.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

In the year which ended in December, 1943, the *expenses* of the Society were £120 more than the revenue.

In the year which ended in December, 1944, the *income* of the Society was £313 *greater* than the expenses.

One REASON was that we received £234 from the Inland Revenue as the result of members having signed covenants to pay their nominal subscriptions for seven years. This increase in revenue cost members NOTHING.

So far we have received just over 400 covenants out of a membership of over 1,650—that is 25 per cent.

The expenses of the Society are bound to increase in the near future: the Journal will again be published four times a year, the library is being restored, lecture and clerical expenses are rising.

This can ONLY be met if we increase our membership ***and*** if more members will sign covenants. REMEMBER that this does NOT cost you anything but it DOES help the Society's funds.

The Council again appeal for your help in the matter.

DEED OF COVENANT

I ....

of ....

hereby covenant with the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my lifetime whichever period shall be the shorter I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will after the deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of the said Society *a net sum of one pound and five shillings* such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this

.... day of .... 19......

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said ....

In the presence of..

Address of Witness to your signature..

....

Occupation of Witness ....

NOTICES

THE principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

NOMINATION FORM.

....

....

....

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

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we recommend him/her for membership.*

Proposed ....

Seconded ....

His/Her connection with Asia is :

(Entrance fee, £1. Yearly subscription, £1 5s.)

NOTICES

Members who are not receiving their lecture cards are asked to send a postcard to 2, Hinde Street, W.1. A number of members' journals have been returned from the addresses last given by them, and the secretary would be grateful for the present addresses of members who left India last autumn and have not since written to the office.

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

The Organizing Committee for the Fourteenth Olympiad to be held in London this summer ask for volunteers to act as interpreters to the visiting teams.

The teams will be arriving probably in the week beginning July 25, and will be leaving at the end of the games, which finish on August 14.

Interpreters will not be paid for their services, but their expenses will be met. It will be a whole-time occupation, but should also be full of interest, as they accompany the teams.

The following Asiatic countries are competing: Pakistan, China, Korea, Persia, Palestine, Afghanistan (invited, not yet replied), Ceylon, Burma, and the Lebanon.

Those willing to serve should reply to the Olympiad Committee, 37, Upper Brook Street, W.1.

Among other periodicals recently received for the Library were: *Indian Information* for February, 1948, a number in memory of Mahatma Gandhi; *Eastern World* for March, 1948, with articles on the Kashmir situation and on Chinese Brigands; a Monograph from the West China Union Institute at Chengtu on *The Dog-Ancestor Myth in Asia,* by Chung Shih Liu; and Monographs from the Koninklijke Vereeniging Indisch Instituut, Amsterdam, 1947, on *The Topasses of Timor* and *De Inheemse Muziek en de Zending.*

SIR CLENDON DAUKES, C.I.E.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Clendon Daukes closed a distinguished career in the Indian Political Department by holding the post of His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Nepal. He was the first officer to be appointed to this post. The British Representative in Nepal had for over a hundred years been classed as " Resident." The word was misleading, and in 1923 the title was changed to " Envoy," while in Sir Clendon's day the head of the mission was advanced to the status of Minister Plenipotentiary and held his appointment direct from His Majesty the King. The loss of Sir Clendon will be much felt in Nepal, where his personality and influence were very great.

Sir Clendon Daukes, the son of an Indian civil servant, was educated at Haileybury, and after passing through Sandhurst, was appointed to the York and Lancaster Regiment; after a short period of service at home he went out to India and transferred to the Indian Army, joining the 39th Garhwal Rifles. He was a first-class linguist, and spoke French, German, Persian, Urdu and Pushtu all fluently. It was a pleasure to hear him speak his beautiful Urdu, a language which is often maltreated by European officers in India. It did not take the Indian Foreign Office long to avail themselves of such talent, and in 1903 he transferred to the Political Department. His early political service was in Baluchistan and Persia, and on his first leave he travelled home overland via north Persia, in those days an adventurous, not to say hazardous, route. He was essentially a frontier officer, and his service was entirely passed in such places as Chilas, Gilgit, Baluchistan and Persia. He joined the Royal Central Asian Society in 1908.

During the war of 1914-18 he rejoined for some time his old regiment, the 39th Royal Garhwal Rifles. In 1918-19 he served with the Mission in North-East Persia under General Malleson and was awarded the C.I.E. He then reverted to Political employ and served in Baluchistan, thus coming in for the Afghan War. He was eventually offered the high post of Agent to the Governor-General. This, for family reasons, he was obliged to refuse. In 1929 he was appointed to Nepal, where he remained until his retirement with a knighthood in 1935.

He was a well-known big game shot, and his service in various countries, and more especially in Nepal, gave him many opportunities to excel in this. In particular he obtained an astonishingly large specimen of the Kopet Dagh Urial, recorded by Rowland Ward as the record by several inches; in fact, forty-five inches is no poor measurement for the much larger species of wild sheep. This he did not actually shoot, but while in pursuit of it he was, to his disappointment, anticipated by a pack of wolves!

His other principal hobby was gardening, and in his various posts on the fringes of the Indian Empire he left behind him the results of his skill and enthusiasm. This interest he was able to take with him in his retirement to his beautiful Kentish home.

In 1915 he married Miss Dorothy Lavington-Evans. They had three sons.

CAPTAIN C. E. CORRY, M.B.E.

Captain Cyril Eugene Corry died at his home in Darlington after a short illness on November 18, 1947, within a few weeks of leaving Iraq after thirty years of service in that country. He was only fifty-three, and was about to take up a new appointment under the British military administration in North Africa.

Corry first arrived in Iraq towards the end of 1915 with the 14th Hussars, the " very welcome reinforcement " that joined General Townshend at Aziziya just after the battle of Ctesiphon, and served with his regiment until 1917, when he joined the Iraq Police. After a few months' experience as Station House Officer at Amara and Basra, in 1919 he was promoted to police commissioned rank as Assistant Commandant at Baghdad, where he did sterling work during the troubles of 1920, showing great courage and initiative. This was followed by two years in the Southern Desert with the Camel Corps and six years as Inspecting Officer of Police for the Muntafik Liwa; here he took an active part in the planning and execution of the strenuous and often hazardous operations for establishing Government authority in the Great Swamps of Southern Iraq, services for which he was made M.B.E. After spells of duty in Diyala, Kut, and Diwaniya, in 1933 he was transferred to the north as inspecting Officer for the *Liwas* of Mosul and Arbil, a post which he held until he retired from the service of the Iraqi Government in 1947.

In 1941 he was awarded the Lawrence Memorial Medal of the Royal Central Asian Society in recognition of his work in Iraq. The award followed closely on the publication of his book, *The Blood Feud*, based principally on his experiences in the Muntafik. The book makes no pretence to literary excellence, but reveals acute powers of observation and a profound understanding of the customs and mental processes of the Marsh Arabs; it is full of accurate and homely touches which will delight in particular those readers who have themselves had any dealings with these primitive people.

Corry was a loyal, hard-working, and highly efficient police officer. He was a keen polo player and a good shot with both rifle and gun. His duties brought him in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, and he won the trust and regard of intellectuals and tribesmen alike.

In 1924 he married Miss Anasthasia Vaos; and this notice would not be complete without a tribute to the generous and unaffected hospitality which he and his charming wife were at all times ready to offer to visitors to his districts, whether colleagues or strangers. He leaves a widow, two sons (of whom the elder served in No. 1 Commando during the war), and a small daughter.

C. J. E.

A SHORT TOUR OF SOUTHERN ARABIA, BRITISH SOMALILAND, AND THE NORTHERN SUDAN

By V. H. W. DOWSON

Lecture given on March 17, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Dowson, who is probably known to most of you already. He went to Iraq during the First World War and stayed there for thirty years, in order to develop date plantations in the country round Basra. I thought I had a good record in that I went to Poland for three weeks and stayed twenty years, but you, Mr. Dowson, beat me.

Members will know that Mr. Dowson served during the Second World War as Colonel in the Intelligence Department of the Baghdad Embassy, and that he gave us a lecture two years ago on his impressions of post-war Iraq.

He later returned to his work on dates, and he has recently visited Aden, the Hadhramaut, British Somaliland, and the Sudan, by request of the authorities, to give his expert advice on how the cultivation of date palms might be improved and developed. It is this tour that he will now describe.

I PROPOSE attempting to convey to you the impressions of a rapid traveller, who, in the four months September to December of last year, visited Aden, Makalla, the Hadhramaut, Salala, British Somaliland, and the Northern Sudan. My notes, inevitably, will not have the authority of the expert, but they may provoke the experts on these regions, some of whom I see here to-day, to give us their views in the discussion which I hope will follow.

My visits to the Aden Protectorate, British Somaliland, and the Sudan were made in response to requests by the governments concerned for advice on date-palm cultivation; and my visit to Salala was at the invitation of the Sultan of Masqat and 'Uman; but I am not in government service, so that what follows is only the expression of my personal opinion.

ADEN

I left Basra, the port of 'Iraq, on September 4, and nine days later reached Aden, that barren, jagged rock, where communities that are poles apart live out their cramped lives cheek by jowl.

There is little mingling. In the newer states of the Arab Near East the British and the local people entertain each other now and then; but in Aden it is not so, nor was it so even when living was cheap before the war. Now, when prices are as high as they are and salaries are almost the same as they were in 1939, entertaining, whether of others or of their own countrymen, for most officials has become difficult if not impossible. Some of His Majesty's senior colonial civil servants cannot even afford to belong to the club. This is indeed a sorry state of affairs.

The Indian community, mostly of traders and clerks, is considerable, and has received a large increase in recent months from amongst those who prefer to live in the shade of the Union Jack to trusting themselves to the protection of an Asoka wheel or of a star-and-crescent-spangled banner.

One may wonder if these immigrants have latterly been led to doubt the power of the triple cross to protect minorities, when they found that, in a British crown colony, where probably the proportion of the armed forces to the general public is greater than in any other, with the exception of Gibraltar, there could occur such bloodthirsty and such long-continued riots as those of December 2 to 5, in which over a hundred persons lost their lives, and in which whole blocks of Jewish business quarters, schools, and houses were gutted or demolished, with women and children perishing in the flames or overwhelmed by the falling masonry.

The Jewish community also has received a large increase in numbers during the past few years by reason of the exodus of Jews from the Yaman on their way to Palestine. Some of these got no further on their journey than Aden: some returned whence they came, but many remained in the crater, thereby further aggravating its already deplorable congestion.

In some respects Aden is a disappointing place. The traveller who reflects that this plot of seventy-five square miles has been a Crown colony for ten years, has been under British rule for over a century, has never had a local legislature, but has been blessed with a comparatively large number of British officials, might expect to find a town of beautiful public buildings and commodious dwellings. He would be disappointed: what he actually finds is government offices of an acute ugliness, and native quarters dirty, mean, and narrow. The Arab towns of Shibam and Saiyun and Tarim and Makalla are a delight to the eye: the Victorian town of Aden makes one weep. Perhaps it needed the builder of a Ben Ghazi to take advantage of Aden's magnificent mountains and to use them as a background to a city of glittering, soaring towers; but Aden has not had its Mussolini yet.

Let us turn from this mournful contemplation of the sins of the Victorians and the Edwardians to consider some of the work that is being done in the Aden hinterland. In that forbidding region, where feuds make travel unsafe, where in some places and on occasion people on their way from their houses to their fields have to seek the protection of trenches from their neighbours' bullets, and where few British officers penetrate, a remarkable agricultural development has recently taken place. The cultivator of the hinterland knows his job, but insecurity prevented him from practising it. Lack of cultivation produced dearth, and dearth produced more insecurity. Officers of the government were able to persuade many of the chiefs to make peace. Other chiefs, who were unresponsive to verbal persuasion, were subjected to that bloodless, but effective, bombing which is the speciality of the R.A.F. in Aden, where villages are destroyed on given dates after the dropping of warnings to their inhabitants to vacate them. Peace regained, however, was not enough to cause the land to flourish: the plough cattle had been eaten, the dams had been broken, the well gear had been burnt. The British Government provided money for agricultural loans, some hundreds of thousands of rupees in all, cattle were bought, seed was imported, dams and channels were constructed, and, by the end of 1947, probably some 30,000 acres of land were under cultivation again after having lain derelict for years, some, perhaps, for centuries. Such an area is large in this country of mountains, where the good soil is in small pockets and the water scarce. The work, however, is hardly more than begun; and at Abyan, thirty miles along the coast, north-east from Aden, a long dam is being made, and a scheme, which will bring a great area under cultivation, is being rapidly brought to completion. It is thought possible, even probable, that in a few years Aden will be exporting grain instead of importing it.

The man whose knowledge, vision, energy, pertinacity, and charm have been chiefly responsible for bringing these changes about is one of that not inconsiderable band of Britons who fall under the spell of the Arab, but this one belongs to a select, inner circle of it, that of those who, as well as being captivated by the Arab, can induce him to combine and to work.

Hadhramaut

Three hundred miles along the coast eastward from Aden lies Makalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti Sultanate of Shihr and Makalla, the headquarters of the British Agent in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the chief port for the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries.

That part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate that lies north of Makalla is a high, bare plateau cut up by valleys. The biggest valley of them all, indeed, the biggest valley in the whole of Arabia, is the astonishing Wadi Hadhramaut, which, under various names, makes a great arc, three hundred miles long, from its source, north-west of Makalla, to its mouth, east-north-east of that town, on the seashore at Saihut. The part I saw, the thirty-five miles from a point west of Shibam to Tarim, lies at an elevation of about 3,000 feet, but the almost sheer sides of the wadi rise 1,000 feet higher. The width in this part may be from five to eight miles.

The contrast between the flat valley and its immense, forbidding walls is impressive in the extreme; but perhaps what more than anything else makes the scene appear unreal is the quite fantastic palaces among the palms, to which one descends after the day's journey over the plateau. The old-style buildings, all of mud, but lime-plastered and dazzlingly white in the sun, and going up and up and up and, finally, unwilling it would seem to abandon this striving heavenwards, crowning themselves with a multitude of little pinnacles, have a Rackhamesque quality; while even the modern, Louis-Seize, Greek temples, which the Singapori millionaires delight to build, are so unexpected in that place, and, though they are hideous, yet they are so gay, that they also contribute forcibly to the illusion, not a little heightened by the women going about in Welsh witch hats, that the traveller has stepped into a fairy tale.

From Makalla to Saiyun is 100 miles direct, but by the motor road 160. More than 100 miles of this road were made, and paid for, by a prominent, enlightened, and public-spirited saiyid of the Hadhramaut. I know of no other instance in any country of a private individual building either so long or so difficult a road; but it was not only the engineering difficulties that were great: the political were greater. The fertile valley with its date gardens, its industrious villages, and three large towns was cut off from the sea by the barren uplands, the abode of the Badu. No one could go north from the coast or south from the valley without first obtaining the consent of the tribes whose country he must pass through; and if, as frequently happened, they were fighting each other, passage might be denied for a long time. A few years before the war, the Aden Government decided that this state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, that peace must be maintained, and that passage on the road and in the valley must be free. Their wishes were carried out by the Agent at Makalla, a dogged and fearless person to whom the countryside must ever remain in debt, chiefly with the aid of the saiyid already mentioned. These two remarkable men succeeded in making the tribal leaders agree to maintain peace by persuasion, by the expenditure on presents to the tribes of, it is said, if my memory serves me, Rs. 200,000 of the saiyid's money, and by an occasional punitive expedition by the R.A.F. The peace persists. The Badawin, however, as part of the price they receive to keep their side of the bargain, were confirmed as the only legal transport contractors between the valley and the coast. A hundred and sixty miles of camel transport is expensive, so imported articles in the valley are correspondingly dear: a four-gallon tin of petrol there costs a pound sterling.

For the past hundred years or so there has been emigration from the Hadhramaut valley to India, Malaya, and the East Indies, where the Hadhramautis, and especially the *sada*, or saiyids, who came, it is said, originally from Basra, in 'Iraq, and who now comprise most of the gentry, have engaged in trade, according to Van der Meulen not always honest, and where many of them have made fortunes. Most of the emigrants used to return to their homeland, or, at least, maintained families there, so that a large, continuous stream of money flowed to the valley from abroad, and paid, not only for its luxuries, but for its very grain. The overrunning of Malaya and the Indies by the Japanese during the war cut off these revenues and the power to buy food from abroad, with the consequence that a famine occurred, with the death of some thousands of people. The Aden Government organized a relief service and imported corn; and at one time the R.A.F., despite their heavy war duties, were flying it up from Aden to the valley at a rate of eighteen tons a day. The Aden Government also established centres where the destitute were received and fed, of whom there were at the height of the famine as many as 16,000. There are still over a hundred orphans of the famine housed at Saiyun and fed, not by the Sultan, but by the British taxpayer.

The Aden Government did not stop at importing grain, but were active in reviving what little corn cultivation there had been in and around the date gardens and in organizing a greatly increased production. One of the urgent tasks that confronted the British officers engaged on relief work was that of keeping the wells working, so that the crops and fodder could be grown and the date palms prevented from dying. Well cattle had been killed for food: well gear had been sold for the same purpose: the irrigator was too weak to work or dead. The officers took over abandoned wells and installed men and women to work them, whom they kept alive with imported rations until the land began to yield. One of these officers, endowed with unusual powers of persuasion, even succeeded in inducing some *sayidat*—that is to say, ladies of the nobility—to work in a well hoist, a thing never heard of in the Hadhramaut before.

SALALA

At the western end of the dominions of the Sultan of Masqat and ʻOman, where, for a stretch of thirty miles, the mountains recede from the shore and leave a plain over 200 square miles in area, and where the clouds hang low during the south-west monsoon, lies Salala, the capital of Dhufar, a ramshackle, rambling little town on the landward side of the belt of coconuts that, instead of date palms, line the shore, a happy shore, never too hot and never too cold. Here, on the white sand, rises the Sultan's dignified palace, not yet completed, but complete enough to bear witness to the good taste of its distinguished occupant who directed its construction, and to the skill of his Sikh engineer, who carried it out.

The plain is well watered by streams from springs in the hills led to the fields partly through underground channels; and it appears probable that a considerable increase in cultivation could be brought about. Sweet potatoes are already grown extensively, and, with coconuts and a little millet, provide the basic food of the people; but sugar cane, which has been tried and does well, should be profitable, and could probably be grown much more widely than it is.

The encircling Qara Mountains lead through higher and more barren ranges to the great sands, from which only Thomas, Philby, and Thesiger return; and none but the occasional wretched Indian pilgrim, misled by travel agents in Karachi, strangers to truth and bedfellows of imagination, ever tries to walk from Masqat to Dhufar, so that the only communication is by sea, by local craft, which find the coast treacherous and the approach to Salala in the monsoons difficult. Thanks to this seclusion, with soil, fortified by sardine manure, fertile enough for the people's needs but not so much so as to excite the cupidity of the rest of the world, thanks to the lack of newspapers, cinema, and radio, to the lack of all contact with the ferments in the world of Islam or with the struggles between civilization and barbarism that now convulse Europe, and thanks to the rule of a benevolent despot, who imposes taxes with a light hand, and manages without conscription or a constitution, Salala to-day has the air of Arcadia, of an eighteenth-century village deep in an English shire. Here are no resident members of the *corps diplomatique*, and here are no progress party or demands for cession, fission, or fusion.

BRITISH SOMALILAND

British Somaliland lies on the southern shore of the Gulf of Aden. Its area is about 68,000 square miles. It is thus larger than England and Wales but smaller than Great Britain. A range of mountains runs east and west more or less parallel with the seashore, leaving a flat, low, coastal plain, called the Guban, varying in width from almost nothing to forty miles. These mountains are from 4,000 to 6,000 feet high; and one *massif* exceeds 7,000 feet. Southward and eastward the land falls away in an immense plateau whose elevation is nowhere less than 1,000 feet.

After the barrenness of the mountains on the northern shore of the gulf, between Makalla and Saiyun, the comparative denseness of the scrub in Somaliland is striking. Here grow the African acacias in greater variety than anywhere else in the world: at least sixty-three good—that is to say, accepted—species of this genus are to be found.

The acacia jungle of the higher ground and the flat grasslands of the south are grazed by a vast population of stock. The exact number is not known, but there must be many millions of the black-headed, white, wool-less sheep and of the short-haired goats, while of camels there are probably over a million, perhaps over two millions. Horses, now the British Government have suppressed raiding, are hardly to be seen: there are probably not 500 of them in the whole country.

In all the arid and semi-arid countries bordering the Gulf of Aden and the lower end of the Red Sea, soil erosion is widespread, continuous, and on an immense scale. The soil is being washed off the high land, where it is useful, into the sea, where it is useless; indeed, worse than useless, for it chokes up the harbours and roadsteads. Some attention is being paid to this matter in British Somaliland and to determining what proportion of the whole erosion is due to overstocking and what to natural causes that would continue to operate even if the country were free of stock.

Politically Somaliland is an exceedingly interesting place: an iron-age population has skipped the intervening ages, and is now confronted with a world of air travel, radar, Dorothy Lamour, and Tovarish Molotov. The war, with its two Somaliland campaigns, that of the British retreat and that of the British return, with the demand by both British and Italian armies for labour, and its wholesale release when the war ended, has given a large number of young tribesmen a taste of town life and a disinclination to return to the hard and primitive conditions of the tribe, where, for months at a time, their only food would be camel's milk. In parenthesis, it may be mentioned that this milk, in common with that of mares and elephants, is rich in ascorbic acid, or vitamin C, and, therefore, can maintain health for a longer period than can that of cows, sheep, and goats.

The old Somaliland had no towns, save for the three little so-called ports, and hardly any other permanent settlements except a few fishing villages along the coast: now a dozen townships have sprung up in the interior. In Europe the city had its origin in prehistory: it has grown slowly and matured: it has a life of its own; but these mushroom-like growths in Somaliland, crowded with unemployed youth, have no tradition, no corporate consciousness, and no substance. The herdsman, when he seeks work, whether as a coolie, a servant, a driver, or whatever it may be, leaves his family and his womenfolk behind him on the plains or on the mountains to mind the cattle. His work is now in, or based on, one of the towns. Here he hires a sleeping place in an already crowded *gurgi,* the hemispherical hut of acacia-bark matting, and buys his food ready-cooked in the bazaar. He has no home and no tribal life. One of the results of this way of living has been a spectacular increase in prostitution, a profession quite unknown in the land in former years except in the three ports. Another result has been a notable increase in *qat* eating.

The uneducated young man in the town, who can neither read nor write, for there is no secondary school in the country and only one primary one, with only scant employment compared with what was available during the war, unwilling to return to his tribe, is restless and discontented. In Somaliland, as, indeed, in this other Eden, this sceptred isle, discontented people usually try to change their government. Accordingly, the Somali has begun to talk of self-determination; but it is to be remembered that the Somali's independent spirit is no new thing: the tribes have ever had a passionate love for their country and have ever resented foreign penetration.

Despite all this one might have imagined that the Somalis would have united in begging us not to leave them, for surely never was a country more benevolently ruled! There is hardly any direct taxation: most of what revenue is raised in the country is provided by the customs, but for every pound so collected the British taxpayer adds two; there is no poll tax or hut tax as in East Africa, there is not even any census of man or beast in case it should offend local susceptibilities; no land but here and there an insignificant patch is alienated, so as not to interfere with the grazing grounds; Arab, or other, immigration is not allowed; and when a pack of rascals try to murder a District Commissioner and do actually murder his watchman, the House of Lords won't let them be hanged. Here, indeed, is a change from the good old days when Langton Prendergast Walsh used to capture princesses and hold them to ransom until raided camels had been returned, and used to blow up persons who meddled with the Dubar pipeline.

The vast majority of the population are nomads and certainly could not be considered politically conscious: it is only a small minority that is finding its voice; and this minority is not of one mind: the smaller party want a self-governing union of all the Somalilands, while the other want the self-government without the union. There is some propaganda from Ethiopia for union with that country, but—and it is, perhaps, hardly surprising—it achieves little success.

A start has been made in British Somaliland with the political education of the chiefs by the calling of a nominated advisory council, of which two meetings have so far been held; and the public airing of views and of the Government's replies is considered to have increased mutual understanding.

The Somali, descended from Hamites, who crossed the Red Sea at a remote period, and speaking a language of the same linguistic cluster as Dankali and Galla, is a fine-looking man, tall, slim, a great walker, and a great warrior. The Arabs enslaved his neighbours, but they could not make a slave of the Somali. Discipline, however, irks him, so that he has not been a success as a regular soldier. Age often seems to sit lightly upon him, so that one may find quite old men still erect and with their faces hardly wrinkled. The camel lads of the 'Isa and Gadabursi, at the western end of the protectorate, have often beautifully chiselled features and a charming expression of grave innocence.

Somali men in the tribes wear the *taub*, the sheet or cotton toga that goes round the waist and over the shoulder, but in the west, especially amongst the 'Isa, it is often reduced to a loin-cloth. In this outfit are no pockets, but, as the Somali has no money, and as he sticks his tooth-brush in his mouth, his comb in his hair, and hangs his arms over his spear, which he carries over his shoulders, he probably does not feel their loss. In the towns the Somali nowadays wears a shirt and the tubular *sarong*, which probably reached Somaliland through Aden from Malaya and Java; but whatever he wears the Somali looks well groomed: he is never scruffy.

A Somali who had killed a man used to wear an ostrich feather in his hair. The jeep in which the Agricultural Department took me round the country bore such an emblem in the bonnet, but I did not discover whether it had been earned in the customary manner.

The great plains covered by flat-topped acacia trees, the bare, pale sands at dawn, the *Delonix* in bloom on the Shaikh Pass were all memorable things, but the memory that the traveller in Somaliland will treasure longest is that of the grace of the Somali women. One falls immediately under the charm of their fluid movements, the effortless ease with which they sit, or stand, or walk, and of the languid dexterity with which they cook, with which they flick off a grain of millet fallen on the hand, with which they arrange the embers beneath the pot. A queen might envy their deportment, and a movie star pay a king's ransom to be taught how to acquire it.

A dress more becoming for these tall, straight-backed women than what they wear would be hard to devise. Eight yards of thin cotton cloth, gaily coloured, tightly gathered at the waist, and falling to the ankles, make a skirt full and yielding, which billows to the wearer's walk. A square of material of contrasting colour, knotted by two corners on the right shoulder and drawn in at the waist, forms a bodice and an overskirt, and leaves the left shoulder, not the right as Larousse says, bare.

Maidens leave their hair uncovered: matrons cover theirs with a scarf. The style of hairdressing, something like that of the Sudani girls, a central parting and a hundred little plaits beginning level with the ears, is charming.

NORTHERN PROVINCE, SUDAN

From British Somaliland I now wish to take you to the Sudan.

The Northern Province, whose southern boundary lies a little north of Khartoum, that pleasant, orderly, shady city, where the Niles meet, and whose northern boundary is Egypt, is rather bigger than France. It occupies about a quarter of the Sudanese condominium; but nearly all of this vast expanse is desert. The only cultivated part is a strip, a little more than a quarter of a mile wide, on either side of the Nile, and amounting in total area to no more than about 500 square miles. Here, in this rainless tract (Khartoum has only six inches of rain a year and Wadi Halfa none), live two-thirds of a million people, of whom more than half are cultivators.

Their crops are millet, pulses, and the date palm. The last is the fifth most valuable crop in the whole Sudan.

These cultivators, on the great S-bend of the Nile, which makes up this river's course in the Northern Province, are Nubians or Berberines of non-Arab origin, who, unlike the Berbers of French North-West Africa, for example, have, nevertheless, enthusiastically identified themselves with things Arab. They preserve, however, not only their own language, although they nearly all speak Arabic in addition, but also a multitude of non-Arab customs, such as many, if not most, of those observed at marriage, the scarring of the cheeks, and female infibulation that curious rite practised from Kordofan, through Somaliland to the Indian Ocean.

On the whole, the country is poor, for, though the soil is rich and the Nile runs through it, the water, except where there are pumps, has to be raised laboriously and expensively with oxen by the heavy water wheel, whose friction losses must be enormous. When the Nile is low the bank often cannot be commanded by one hoist, and then the water has to be raised in two stages, and, sometimes, even in three. Furthermore, transport is less easy than might have been expected: on the river cataracts provide serious obstacles; the railway accompanies the river for only half its course through the province, and the roads are bad.

Throughout the whole of that stretch of country, from Khartoum to Wadi Halfa, the date palm flourishes, and it continues to flourish down to the mouth of the Nile, another 900 miles northward. In a straight line, the distance from Khartoum to the sea is, of course, less than the 1,800 miles by river: it is only 1,100, but this is still an exceedingly long way in a north-south direction for the cultivation of a particular fruit tree to extend. The gardens are by no means continuous, but it is unusual for a traveller to be out of sight of a date palm anywhere on the river bank below Khartoum. Above this town the summer rains of the tropics prevent the profitable cultivation of this crop, and below Cairo the humidity and comparative coolness of the summer allow of the production of only fresh dates: keeping varieties are not found except between these two capitals. The peculiarity of the Sudani dates is that they are dry and hard. How far the desiccation and hardness are due to the great dryness of the air, how far to insufficient irrigation, and how far to variety has not yet been determined, but experiments to this end are desirable, because a softer date, if it could be produced, would command a wider market and a higher price than do those now grown.

The Government in recent years has actively encouraged date planting on the land of the various pump schemes. The Government develops bare and unirrigated land in places where the soil and levels are suitable, installs large pumps, makes the main channels, and parcels it out to tenants, of whom there is usually a long waiting list. A very large addition to the area cultivated could be brought about by these methods, were it not that the Northern Province, so I am informed, with its 5,000 water wheels and 152 pumps, has already almost reached the limit of the amount of water it is permitted to draw from the Nile by the Sudan's agreement with Egypt. It would be interesting to know if, in the Egyptian proposals for the uniting of the Sudan to Egypt, there is any statement of an intention to allow the Northern Province more water than it now receives. Those Sudani cultivators, however, with whom I discussed the matter appeared to think their water supply would be cut rather than increased.

Some of the pumps are still run on wood fuel, hacked from the sparse acacia scrub of the wadis, tributaries of the Nile. It seems undesirable that this practice should be allowed to continue, in these days of oil, when it is considered that the Northern Province suffers from soil erosion.

The Northern Province dwelling of the people is the square mud enclosure with the one- or two-storied mud house in the corner, that is common from the Atlantic to India. Most are self-coloured, but at Merowe the mud is washed with red ochre, so that the buildings have somewhat the sombre and dignified appearance of the castles of Southern Morocco, while north of Delgo they are gayer with yellow ochre, and at Dongola there are some which are partly blue. Over the entrances china plates are let in to the mud plaster and arranged to form a not unpleasing ornamentation. The number of plates increases, and the pattern becomes more complicated, the further one goes north, so that, by the time the Halfa district is reached, some houses carry a whole dinner service over the door.

Buildings here, as elsewhere, are protected from the evil eye by the skulls of domestic animals. I was told that a bull's skull gives better protection than that of a horse or a donkey, but a stuffed crocodile over the door also serves the same purpose and it not uncommon. I asked the commander of the stern wheeler in which I travelled why he did not set up the baby crocodile's skin he had in his box in a prominent position in the ship to protect it; but he told me it was not necessary as the ship contained so much iron. The belief in the efficacy of this metal as a protection against the evil eye is, of course, widespread. In England the commonest relic of the belief is the custom of hanging a horseshoe over the door. It was interesting to note that the Somali, as well as the Arab, keeps at a distance, and does not intermarry with, the tribe that works in this dangerous and magical metal.

It was somewhat reminiscent of Mussolini's African empire to find the civilian officials in the Northern Sudan in uniforms, with stripes on their shoulders to show their grade and flashes in their topees to show their department. On the whole, however, the Sudan is, perhaps, more characterized by lack of dress than by excess of it, although that happy state of nature is changing, owing to propaganda and to the pre-war cheapness of imported Japanese piece-goods, if a comparison between the pictorial records of travellers in the past and what may be seen to-day is to be trusted. The use of the *rahat,* or apron of leather thongs, which was all a young lady's apparel in Cailliaud's day, 125 years ago, as far north as Dongola, is now confined to regions farther south, except by very small girls. Even since Budge made his sketches, fifty years ago, the country appears to have become much more dressy.

The Northern Province says good-bye to its servants when they reach the age of fifty or, occasionally, of fifty-five. What a waste of experience! In an Arabic-speaking country, perhaps everywhere in Africa and the Orient, the voice of age is respected, and to the administrator grey hair is an advantage. Moreover, as it takes sixty years to learn Arabic, it is a pity to pension off a man when he is only halfway through his irregular verbs.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have finished. These notes, I regret, are as disconnected as a handful of pearls, though, I hasten to add, I do not presume to carry the simile further. What I had hoped to employ as a thread to hold them together was a matter I had proposed leaving to the last, that of strategy, a consideration of the advantages or disadvantages the possession of Aden, Somaliland, and the Sudan gives us in the scheme of imperial defence in these post-war days; but I quickly realized that I knew too little about it to attempt it. Perhaps there is someone here this afternoon who would care to introduce it.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES: Somaliland was a great gum-producing country; did the lecturer see anything there of gum-growing and tapping?

The LECTURER: I did not see anything of it in Somaliland. The Sudan also has produced gum, but the trade is not flourishing. The country I saw was the west; I did not go into the higher mountains on the east, where the gum trees grow, but I was told that the market was not what it had been and that the people who collect the gum are exploited by unscrupulous merchants on the coast who take their gum from them at a much lower price than the market price, so that the people get discouraged and do not go collecting the gum. I think the Government is interested in trying to improve the trade, but at present there is not very much doing.

Mrs. GREGORY: Could the lecturer tell us anything about the Somaliland Camel Corps, whether it has, as I understand, been disbanded?

The LECTURER: Yes, it has been disbanded but a number of those previously serving in it are now serving in the new body known as the Somaliland Scouts; it is really the same organization under a different name.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: Could the lecturer give any indication of the political situation in the Sudan as regards Egypt. Do the Sudanese want to come under the Egyptian Government or would they prefer to be under a government of their own when the British go?

The LECTURER: In the short time I was in the country I was very busy dealing with dates all the time and talking to cultivators. I did not meet any of the political people, so that I really could not answer the question. The only discussions in which I took part which had any political bearing concerned water. I spoke to some of the cultivators about Dongola of what they thought would happen if they were joined with Egypt. Would the Egyptians give them more water? One of the troubles of the Northern Province at present is that it does not get sufficient water; there is a good deal of land that could be cultivated if only the people could get the water. I understand that the agreement between the Sudan and Egypt for the use of the waters of the Nile allows only a certain amount of water and that amount has now practically been reached, so that the new scheme for cultivation cannot be sanctioned. I was talking to cultivators and asked them: Supposing you united with Egypt, do you think you would get more water? They replied that they thought they would get less. Beyond that I had no political talk with the Sudanese.

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

THE INDIAN ARMY BEFORE AND AFTER 1947

By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DASHWOOD STRETTELL, K.C.I.E., C.B.

(Colonel of the P.A.V.O. Cavalry, F.F.)

Being the report of a meeting held on January 28, 1948. In the Chair: Lt.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G.

The CHAIRMAN: You all know General Sir Dashwood Strettell. No man can tell you more about India than he can. He has been there for over forty years, and has had many appointments, regimental and staff, serving first on the N.W. Frontier and then on the General Staff of both Northern and Southern Commands, so that he has seen things from different angles. His last appointment was as Director of Demobilization and Reconstruction from the autumn of 1941 for three years—a very important position in view of what has happened since. He is going to tell the story of the Indian Army, and I am sure we will all learn a great many most interesting things.

IT is with some diffidence that I address an audience so well acquainted with India on the subject I have chosen. I therefore crave your indulgence if I give a few personal details which have encouraged me in my effort. There can be few British families who have a longer connection with India since 1780 than mine. My great-grandfather was Advocate-General, Bengal, about 1815. My grandfather and father were in the Indian Army. In the nineteenth century over twenty of my near relations, uncles and cousins, served in India, mostly in the Army, but also in the Forests, etc. My brother and son served in the British Service in India. My wife was an officer in the Indian Army, and I have served in it for forty-four years, and I am still, as far as I know, Colonel of my regiment. In order to try to paint the background I will first say a few words about the main religious faiths of that army; recent tragic events must make us all realize how great a part religion, and alas fanaticism, plays in the hearts of these people. I will then describe the characteristics of the main classes from which the army was recruited. After that I will rapidly sketch the history of the Indian Army from its beginning to this day, give you an outline of the North-West Frontier policy and finally a few words on the future. You will realize that I have a great deal to get through in a short time. The three main religions are Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. In the time at my disposal I can only attempt to give you a brief outline of the tenets of these faiths, and in doing so I must acknowledge the assistance I have got from *Martial India*, by Yeats-Brown. From this book I have borrowed extensively, and also from Sir William Slim's broadcast.

Modern Hinduism derives from the Code of Manu (A.D. 200), which divided the people into four classes, priests (Brahmins), warriors (Rajputs) and merchants (Vaisyar): all these three belonged to the master people, while the fourth class, the Sudras, were the servants. It is interesting to note that the Sudras were the original inhabitants, non-aryans, now termed the "Scheduled Classes," but generally known as the "Untouchables." This is the class whose case Mr. Gandhi for many years so eloquently pleaded, and whom the present Constituent Assembly has "officially" relieved of all its disabilities. From the above four classes have sprung hundreds of castes and sub-castes. Generally, the Hindu believes that every human being is subject to the law whereby the deeds of an individual shape his destiny, and the belief in re-incarnation is held by nine-tenths of the community. Thus for the Hindu there is no escape from the chain of existence, except by becoming a Great Saint. He must work out his individual salvation through a long succession of "lives" on earth. His place in the social scale, while alive, has been chosen by the Gods who govern human destiny, but his place in his next existence depends on his behaviour on earth in his present one. In this life he may rise to be a millionaire, even a Rajah, but he cannot thereby expect to sit at table with a Brahman. Hinduism does not exactly deny democracy, but removes it to another plane: it asserts that we are not equal in this world, but that we are all God's children and that we shall all have "wings"—when we deserve them. From this very sketchy and inadequate attempt to describe the Hindu religion you will recognize that it is really impossible to give a simple description of it. There are so many and varying tenets of faith which a Hindu may or may not believe and yet remain an orthodox member of the community. Almost the only thing that he *must* do is to respect the cow, which in practice means he must not eat beef. Although when a short description of its theories is attempted, the Hindu system appears nebulous, yet to the individual it is an entirely positive creed. People may tell you that it no longer influences the masses. That is not true. Outwardly it may appear to have lost its grip on the urban educated classes, but the faith of the masses is untouched and fanaticism is easily aroused. Let us turn to Islam. There is nothing complex about it. No effort of the imagination has to be made to grasp the basic idea summed up in the creed of a single sentence: "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Prophet of God." In his life Muhammad had been shocked by the idolatry of the people of Mecca, his birthplace. In A.D. 610 he had a revelation and decided to preach to them, to wean them from idolatry and to lead them to the worship of one God. He disclaimed any divinity, and affirmed he was the medium through which God revealed His commands, just as He had done aforetime through Abraham, Moses and Jesus, all of whom Muhammad acknowledged as prophets while he claimed that he was the last of the prophets. Islam is a brotherhood, and so it is eminently, in theory, democratic. Intoxicants are forbidden and the flesh of the pig is unclean, while meat of any kind can only be eaten if the animal has been slain in a particular way. Prayers must be said five times a day. It is a militant, proselytizing religion, of which about ninety-four million believers live in the Indian peninsula. The Sikhs are a relatively small community of some seven million, who mostly live in the Southern and Eastern Punjab and contiguous Indian States. No man is a Sikh until he is baptized. Theoretically anyone can become a Sikh. Once admitted he adopts the title of "Singh" or "Lion" and maintains five distinguishing marks. He never cuts his hair, he wears an iron bracelet on his wrist, a wooden comb in his hair, a pair of short drawers and a knife called a

" Kirpan." Until the nineteen-twenties this knife was only a dagger, or even a token, but since then it has become a real sword. Guru, or teacher, Nanak founded the Sikh religion about A.D. 1500 as a reformed sect of the Hindu religion, as a revolt against the caste system, idolatry and the excessive power of the Brahman priesthood. Nine Gurus followed Nanak, and the last, Govind Singh (1675-1706), formed his followers into a religious and militant fraternity known as the Khalsa, principally as a revolt against the tyranny of the Moguls. No Sikh will smoke, even the smell of a cigarette is disagreeable to him, but they are permitted liquor. Originally these tenets were probably laid down to distinguish the Sikh from the Moslem, who does exactly the reverse.

I will now try and describe shortly the characteristics of the more important classes enlisted in the army. Let us start with the Sikhs. In peacetime their fine physique, their athletic prowess, their cleanliness and smart turnout, all attract the British, but they are not easy to command as they revel in intrigue and require a very firm hand. But in war, put them in a hot corner and they live up to their title of " Lion." In a hospital a Sikh will moan dreadfully over a trifling wound, but in a fight he will go on till his last breath with his battle cry of " Khalsaji Ke jai " as he falls. In modern war he is potentially good material as he has a decided mechanical turn of mind. In a higher sphere the Sikh is a good organizer. Yeats-Brown writes that he has met only two races who equally enjoy fighting, the Sikh and the Gurkha. With that I will turn to the Rajput, who is a high-class Hindu with a military tradition dating back to the dawn of history. The pure-bred Rajput lives in and around the deserts of Rajputana, where he was driven by the Moslem invaders, and he is, for a Hindu, singularly free from caste prejudices, having married Rajput women for centuries. A large branch of this class live in the United Provinces, where they have married frequently with local women. Though a Rajpüt is so high caste that he raises the woman he marries to his own level, such marriages have had their effect, and the Oudh Rajput is generally darker in colour than his brother from Rajputana and very much more hidebound by caste prejudices. The Dogras are Rajputs who were driven into the valleys and hills of the Himalayas just as their brothers were into the deserts of Rajputana. The Dogras are perhaps the most charming of all Indian soldiers. They might be described as perfect gentlemen. They are easy to deal with, take well to discipline, have little tendency to intrigue, are smart, industrious and excessively clean. They are modest, quiet and unassuming, so much so that they might disappoint a newcomer searching for good material for recruitment, but in war they display unflinching courage and that grand attribute that they are at their best when things are going wrong. Despite their high birth they are rather given to caste prejudice. Garwhalis have racial affinities with their neighbours the Gurkhas, as well as with the Aryan races. They are a hill people, taller than the average Gurkha, but tough and keen on soldiering, smart in turnout and have proved good soldiers. They are rather priest-ridden. Mahrattas come from the Western Ghats of Bombay. They are descendants of the race which ruled half India, and their Princes still rule some of the most important states of Central India. They are sturdy, self-reliant, democratic and not overburdened with caste prejudice. For some reason, possibly because they were "Down-country," the Mahratta regiments were not looked on by British officers to be as popular to serve in as some others. They have lacked propaganda and advertisement, but they are still as magnificent fighting men as they have proved themselves ever since the days of their hero Sivaji, 1627-80. I remember General Wauchope telling me that an exploit of one of the Mahratta battalions in repelling a Turkish attack north of Tekrit in Mesopotamia in 1918 was one of the finest efforts he had seen in war. The Gurkha is a peasant from the mountains of Nepal, an independent Hindu kingdom of 5½ million inhabitants in the Eastern Himalayas. At the end of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas extended their territory west and into the "Doon." They then clashed with the British and were defeated in 1816 after fierce fighting. In peacetime twenty thousand Gurkhas were enlisted in the Indian Army, but during the late war some hundred thousand were enlisted, and in addition several battalions of their own troops served under us in India. Since 1816 Nepal has been a most trusted ally, coming to our assistance in time of trouble. The name of Gurkha is world famous. One of their regiments, the 5th Royal Gurkhas F.F., earned more Victoria Crosses in the late war than any other regiment in any of our armies. They are tough, brave to a fault, bloodthirsty experts in jungle and mountain warfare, not very intelligent, but very smart in turnout. They are most suited to plain infantry work or parachute duties, but are unlikely to make exceptional mechanized troops. Owing to the policy of their rulers, they are very priest-ridden and subject to caste rules. They like their rum.

As the tide of British conquest flowed north the enlistment of Madrassis became less and less. Owing to the lack of opportunity for fighting, due to the localization in Presidency armies, British officers became loth to serve in Madras units, and, when posted to them, the keenest at once applied for transfer to more fortunate units. The exception to this was the Madras sappers and miners, who served everywhere, and were always looked on as a first-class unit. The material in Madras, however, is as excellent as it was in the days of Clive, when the Madrassi helped to lay the foundations of the Indian Empire. It was Sir Arthur Wellesley who wrote: "I cannot write in too strong praise of the conduct of the troops. The Sepoys astonished me. They have manifested bravery and discipline in action, which are the characteristic qualities of the best soldiers." And he was no mean judge. In the late war the prejudice against the Madrassi was, despite some of our individual efforts, a long time in being overcome, and, when the man-power question necessitated their enlistment, great difficulties regarding language were experienced, as the Madrassi does not understand Urdu, the *lingua franca* of the Indian Army. However, large numbers of them were eventually enlisted and proved themselves worthy of their forbears. A magnificent example of this was given by a Madrassi battery fighting in the Middle East at Bir Hakim, where, though overrun several times, they helped to knock out fifty-seven German tanks, and their major, a Madrassi, a few days later took some mechanized vehicles and, penetrating the German lines, recaptured and withdrew one of his abandoned guns! The Jats are Hindus who come from Rohtak, the area north of Delhi, and the United Provinces east of Delhi. They are the stock from which the Sikhs came. They are quiet, unassuming men of exceptional physique and good courage. From the Lucknow area come the Hindustani Pathans, who still keep touch with their connections in the north, and if they go through Kohat Pass are even now welcomed as relations. From Rohtak come the Hindustani Muhammadans, descendants of the invaders, and the Rangars, converted Hindus, while from the south come the Deccani Muhammadans. All these classes made good cavalrymen in the days of horses, but have never done so well in the infantry, while the Deccani was always difficult to enlist, as he hates serving far from home even in peacetime. We now come to the Punjabi Muhammadan who has been described as the backbone of the Indian Army. They certainly have always recruited well both in peace and war, and head the list both numerically and proportionately. There are many branches of this class, living as they do all over the Punjab, differing in appearance, speech and even in origin, as each tribe roughly represents a separate wave of invasion. They have, however, in common, Islam, also an intense love of their land and stubborn courage. As a rule they are very good looking, proud, inclined to be lazy and not keen on education, religious and liable to be aroused fanatically in times of communal trouble. The Pathan, who lives on the North-West Frontier, is always a Moslem, and although slack in religious practice he is very much under the influence of his priests, or mullahs, and, when roused, is very fanatical. Many are light in colour and European in cast of countenance. Still more are Semitic like the Arab. They are tall, very strong physically, full of adventure, intelligent and have a strong sense of humour. They are experts in raids, guerilla tactics and mountain warfare. As soldiers they lack discipline, which is due to their intense democratic ideas fostered by their tribal customs. Outside the Army they have a blood feud complex, but this is in abeyance while serving. They are always inclined to be treacherous. They are wanderers by nature and go all over the world, have a distinct commercial bent and are good mechanical engineers.

I have tried to tell you about the main classes from which the Indian Army was formed, and you will realize that their very diversity entailed enormous difficulties in recruiting, organizing and maintaining. Race, religion and language introduce complications in administrative problems. Take rations for instance. Some eat wheat, some rice. Some are strict vegetarians, some are meat eaters, and, of the latter, pork to the Muslims and beef to the Hindus are defilement; while for certain classes the animal must be killed in a certain way. You will probably ask which class made the best soldiers. I would answer this question with the words of Sir William Slim: "It is a mistake to ask any officer of the Indian Army which of the many races makes the best soldier. He will invariably reply that, while other classes no doubt have their points for loyalty, discipline, attractiveness and all-round merit, the particular men he happens to command are indubitably superior to any other! Not only will he say it but he will believe it." Civilians, too, think their own province superior to all others. Before going any further I would like to mention a body of troops which did not belong to the Indian Army, but which existed, called the State Forces. These were paid, equipped and enlisted by the various Indian Princes. They varied in efficiency, and their general training was supervised by a General and staff of British officers and advisers. Certain categories, earmarked for Imperial service, had special allowances from the Indian Government, and were placed at the disposal of that Government in time of war. The remainder were more like armed police. By the end of the war some 250,000 subjects of Indian States were under arms. Sixteen battalions served abroad besides several transport, signal and technical units.

Again acknowledging great assistance from *Martial India*, I must now tell you a little history. With the death of Akbar the Great in 1605 the Mogul Empire commenced to decline. Corruption among officials increased, and the civil administration fell into such confusion that trade could only be carried on under escort. Akbar's great-grandson, Aurangzeb, a bigot and a usurper, became involved in civil war, and when he died in 1707 it was evident that there could not be trade in India without backing by troops, and also that the successor to the Mogul Empire might be anyone who could raise disciplined troops and pay them. In the midst of the anarchy of warring rulers and warrior bands the Honourable East India Company's Service was compelled to undertake responsibilities and military operations on a large scale, and this process was hastened by the French effort to drive out their European rivals. The Indian Army had its origin in typical British improvisation, made to meet local and temporary requirements. Technically, the beginning was the armed guards for the factories and officials, but the Army's real ancestors are the sepoys of South India, who fought under Clive and Wellesley, drawn from races who had, in turn, been conquerors of Hindustan, who had fought each other and the British, and who finally served as volunteers under the British. The first British unit to land in India, the 1st Dorsets, whose motto is *Primus in Indus*, did so in 1754, but at that time British soldiers could ill be spared from Europe, and the experiment of raising native units and training them on European lines was begun by both the English and the French. Clive was actually the first to raise a regular battalion, and it is interesting to note that it was commanded and officered by Indians, but had some British officers and N.C.O.s as advisory staff—in some ways similar to those who, until lately, carried out those duties in Indian State Forces. In time the British replaced the Indians as officers, and the status and prospects of the Indians were thereby much reduced. As a result of all this, during the next century, there were in India three types of units: the King's Regiments, H.E.I.C.S. European Regiments and H.E.I.C.S. Indian units. In 1757 Clive, at Plassey, was outnumbered by more than fifteen to one. The success of his daring attack proved what is a commonplace now, that Indian troops led by officers they trust can hold their own with anyone. By this victory Clive laid the foundation of the British Empire in India, but for fifty years, officering native armies, the French stirred up trouble, and thereby hastened the pace at which British power was forced to advance across the Peninsula. It was Lord Wellesley who first adopted a definite forward policy, and he broke Tipoo Sahib, the Moslem ruler of Mysore, and the great Mahratta Confederacy of Central India. The implication of this policy, which finally could have no boundary but the Himalayas and the sea, was very unpoular with the cautious Board of Directors in London and even with the Cabinet. After Wellesley's retirement definite efforts were made to call a halt, but inexorable facts made them of no avail. In connection with this gradual absorption of the Indian Peninsula the following tale may interest you. On the North-West Frontier there is a distinguished local religious ruler called the Wali of Swat. I was talking to him one day, and asked him how it was that every year he managed to absorb a new bit of territory under his sway. His reply was: "Sahib, you know that despite the fact I cannot read, I am a student of history, and I am told that two hundred years ago a people landed in India and captured Madras, and, using local troops, then proceeded to capture Bengal, and then Central India, and so on till they have taken all India. They were the British, and I am humbly following their excellent example." Between 1790 and 1857 the Indian Army extinguished French influence, defeated Tipoo in Mysore, took the Carnatic, entered Nepal (1816), broke the strength of the Mahrattas, twice invaded Burma (1824), and Afghanistan (1840), twice fought the Sikhs (1846), and fought in Sind and Gwalior. Such a catalogue of conquest entailed a great increase in territory under control. In all this fighting the Indian troops were invariably three times the strength of the British. Indeed, at the time of the Mutiny there were 39,000 British troops as against 311,000 Indian, of which 137,000 were in Bengal. What is often forgotten, by British and Indian alike, is that peace in India was imposed by the Indian Army. The British never conquered India themselves: they could not have done so. They conquered it by and with its inhabitants. The direction was British, but the nerves and muscles of the arm of the law were largely Indian. In 1857 came the Mutiny. There had been an accumulation of small grievances over a long period. The Army in the past had had plenty of opportunities for promotion and loot, but now that peace had come these had ended, and it looked as if the money-lender, backed by the law, would be able to extort his interest. The foreigners might attempt to impose their creed while, as mentioned before, the power and prestige of the Indian officers had decreased. In addition, there was general discontent in the Ganges basin, where the deposition of the King of Oudh had alarmed every landlord and disturbed the peasants, while soothsayers had predicted the end of British rule after a century. The actual spark which set fire to the outbreak was the affair of the greased cartridge, the drill of which entailed biting the base, which was greased with a fat containing animal products. I have no time to go through the details of the fighting, which was severe and gave opportunities for many brave acts. There are, however, several facts in connection with the Mutiny and results which are interesting. Many Indians, from Rajah to peasant, stood by the British, and there were countless individual cases where British were succoured and shielded at great personal risk. Madras and Bombay stood firm, as did Afghanistan, Nepal, the Nizam and Patiala. The Indian troops, who fought bravely for us, were mainly composed of those raised in the north, and many of them from the lately conquered Punjab, together with our own faithful allies the Gurkhas.

The suppression ended the fiction of the Mogul rule and consolidated British power. But the most important result of the Mutiny was a drastic change in the social relation between Indians and British. In the early part of the nineteenth century the recollection of the chaos which had preceded British rule was still fresh. The British were not numerous enough to form a purely British society, while the six months' sea voyage tended to make India a second home to the British; indeed, intermarriage with upper-class Indians was fairly common. Most of you who have read Kincaid's *British Social Life in India* will realize what friendly social terms existed between the two races prior to 1857. After the Mutiny the British withdrew into their shell. Moslems were particularly shunned as being representative of the Mogul Empire, the restoration of which had been one of the main aims of the Mutiny, and from that time grew up the social estrangement between the British and Indians which lasted until late years, and which was the cause of many unpleasant incidents in private and public life, and of social exclusion which embittered Indian feelings so much in the last fifty years. On November 1, 1858, was issued Queen Victoria's proclamation, when the British Government assumed charge from the out-of-date H.E.I.C.S., and which placed Indians on an equality with British subjects, but for many years this was more in theory than in practice. The Commission which sat on the Army recommended that, for security's sake, trained Indian troops should not exceed the British troops in India by more than three to one, and Indian artillery was limited to mountain and light units. This proportion was roughly kept in all military stations till after the Great War. There were many changes in the Army as the result of the Mutiny. The European regiments were transferred to the British Army, and many of the Indian units, especially in Bengal, were disbanded and replaced by units recruited from the more recently acquired Punjab and Frontier. The drift of recruitment to the North-West continued until the bulk of the Army was drawn from that area. This tendency was due firstly, to the distrust of the classes which had been mixed up in the Mutiny; secondly, to the confidence in those which had stood by us; and, thirdly, to the organization in Presidency Armies, which were reluctant to serve outside their own area except for actual field service. All this tended to make a distinction, cultivated by many, of the term " Martial Classes," and in time these came, in the minds of most, to be limited to the classes in the north. It was strange how this distinction arose as, after all, we had conquered India in the first instance mainly by the help of units raised in the south. At all times the Madras sappers and miners were universally acknowledged to be a first-class unit, while the Mahratta infantry proved in the first Great War that these men still retained the fighting instinct which had, at one time, made them rulers of all Central India. Practical experience in the late war has quite exploded the myth that Northern India had the *monopoly* of martial races. The result of the Presidency Army organization did, however, have a distinct effect on the efficiency of their units. The lure of the Frontier and possibilities of active service there led to the keenest British officers applying, on joining, for direct appointment to Punjab units, while those who failed to get these applied for appointment to the famous Punjab

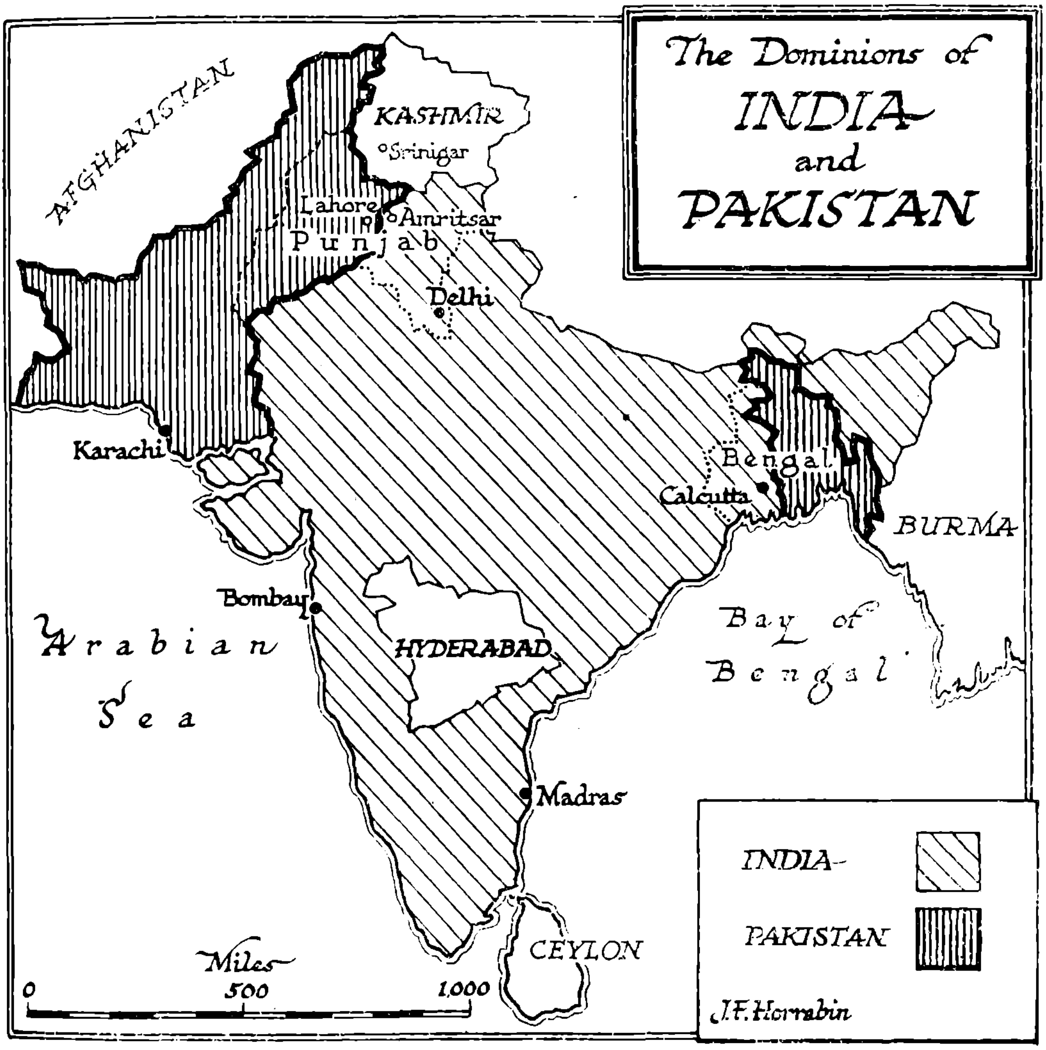
Frontier Force, or to Gurkha battalions, the appointment to which lay in the personal hands of the Commander-in-Chief in India. By the end of the last century this had become most marked. Another legacy of the Mutiny was the tendency for units to be given a mixed constitution. Such units were normally organized in separate companies and squadrons of Hindus and Moslems, with the idea that they would be less susceptible to religious prejudice and intolerance, while such an organization would tend to security against seditious tendencies. There have, however, in addition to the block of Gurkha battalions, always been certain units composed of one class, almost invariably Hindu. Although there had been for some time a Commander-in-Chief in India, it was not until 1895 that the Presidency Armies were amalgamated into the Indian Army, and the Presidency nomenclature was changed to that of " Command " instead of Army. Despite the improvement in organization, location of units was still based on schemes necessitated by the claims of " internal security." Units were located in station commands, sometimes in single unit stations, and in the event of expeditions units were hurriedly collected from all over the country into brigades, and then commanders and staffs nominated for the occasion. A bad result of this system was that only the Punjab and Frontier units had war experience in their normal duties. When Lord Kitchener came out as Chief in 1900, with a mandate to reorganize the Indian Army, he saw the weakness of this lack of war organization and at once, and at considerable expense, he carried out a large scheme of reorganization into brigades and mobile divisions composed roughly of one-third British and two-thirds Indian troops. It was thanks to him that in 1914 India was able to send divisions to France, without whose help we could with difficulty have held the line at the beginning of the war; while without Indian troops we could not have carried out our campaigns in Asia and Africa at all. After the first Great War there were the usual economies in the Army and several units were disbanded—*e.g.*, the Indian Cavalry reduced from forty-one regiments, raised on the silladar or yeomanry system, to twenty-one regular regiments. Between the two wars there was a considerable increase in efficiency : the human material was, as before, excellent. The sepoy was generally of the yeoman farmer class owning and, when not soldiering, working his own land, while the profession was followed from father to son. It was at last recognized by the authorities, what had long been recognized by regimental commanders, that education was vital to the modern soldier. This had been adopted, with some reluctance, by A.H.Q., as they were nervous lest education might lead the soldier to become politically minded. Regimental education, previously financed entirely from unit funds, was now assisted by Government, enabling considerable improvement not only to help the men themselves to qualify for promotion, but children's schools in unit lines were encouraged. An Indian Wing of the Army School of Education came into being so as to train instructors for units. The fund raised in commemoration of the Silver Jubilee was utilized to start three K.G.R.I.M. schools at Jhelum, Jullundur and Ajmere for soldiers' sons, where they were educated very cheaply or, in the case of sons of men killed on service, for nothing. The boys were nominated by units with a view to enlistment in the unit in the case of those who did not attain the standard set for commissions. The Indianization of the Army was made an accepted policy—*i.e.*, the replacement gradually of the British officers by specially trained Indians. Before this a few Indians had qualified at Sandhurst, but this was only possible for those with means, and to enable the scheme to come to fruition the Indian Military Academy was opened at Dehra Dun. Originally the Indianization of only eight units was authorized, the idea presumably being to test the method out. In a few years it was obvious to most of us that the " Eight Unit " scheme was out of date, and at a big Committee held in Simla a few months before the beginning of the late war, I pressed strongly for a large increase in the scope of the scheme. The Army upper hierarchy did not view my action with great favour. However, when war broke out the matter settled itself. It would have been better if it had been settled several years previously, and then we should have avoided the serious shortage of regimental officers of medium service which I shall allude to later. By the middle thirties many British officers began to press for mechanization of the Indian Army. There was, of course, considerable controversy over this. The old-fashioned officers shook their heads and said that the Indian soldier would never be a satisfactory mechanical soldier, much less would he be able to maintain his machines satisfactorily. However, many of us, especially in the Cavalry, utilized our regimental funds to get men trained for what, to us, was obviously their future rôle. In 1937 the Chatfield Commission investigated the whole question, and made definite recommendations for mechanizing the Army, much of the cost of equipment to be borne by the British Government. However, war broke out before any of the programme had been put into effect, so that with the exception of one or two armoured car units the Indian Army entered the Great War with only a small amount of mechanized transport. With this great exception the Army was trained to a higher grade than it had ever been before. By 1945 the fighting troops and services of India numbered nearly 2¼ millions, and it must be remembered they were all volunteers, the greatest volunteer army in history, while to equip it had strained the resources of the whole Empire. One remarkable corps which was raised, about which little has been said in England, was the W.A.C.(I.). In 1942 the shortage of clerks had risen to 18,000, and as my own Directorate of Demobilization and Reconstruction was in its infancy, I was asked to organize a Women's Auxiliary Corps and control it for the first six months. After considerable trouble in the legal aspect I got it launched in April, 1942, and was told by senior Finance and Civil officials that in any case it would be a flop, and that I would not get five hundred in all, and no Indians. In five months' time I had raised nearly two thousand, including two hundred Indians! and it eventually reached over ten thousand. It carried out exactly similar duties to those carried out by the A.T.S. in the British Army.

The scale of production in material and equipment made in India, and supplied to the Forces there and abroad, has never been fully recognized by those who live outside India. Compared with the paucity of means at the outset of the struggle the output was colossal. It was not only in numbers or equipment that the Indian Army was great, but in achievement also—and it was there when especially needed. Indian formations were the spearhead of Wavell's victories in the Western Desert. They were the majority in Eritrea and Abyssinia in 1941. In the same year they played a leading part in Iraq, Syria and Persia in a campaign to secure strategical security in the Middle East and to quell German-inspired risings and even invasions. Little has been told of this, but it had a very vital influence on the general strategy of the war. In our fighting retreat in Burma Indian troops fought magnificently, four divisions fought in North Africa and Italy, and General Slim has paid tribute to the gallantry of the Indian and Gurkha troops which preponderated in the successful advance of the Fourteenth Army. It was in the Burma campaign that the idea that Indians could not maintain mechanized vehicles received its quietus. The armoured units entered the campaign with already worn-out vehicles, took them over the stupendous country in all kinds of weather, and then went on to Malaya and Java. To give you an idea of the variety of theatres in which this army fought I will quote the " Odyssey " of my own regiment, the P.A.V.O. Cavalry F.F. They fought under Wavell, and earned fame in breaking out at Mekili, when surrounded, with the rest of their brigade. Still part of a motor brigade, they were overrun at Bir Hakim, where they helped to knock out fifty-seven tanks. They fought back to Alamein in Auchinleck's retreat. They returned to India and were converted into an armoured regiment, and took part in the whole of the advance in Burma. They were again converted, into tanks, landed in Malaya with the rest of our forces, and finally went to Java.

As it affects the past, present and future, I must touch on the problem of the North-West Frontier. From Chitral in the north to Baluchistan in the south lies an area inhabited by tribesmen. In Baluchistan, owing to a system of tribal chieftains, but also because here the Afghan and Indian administrative borders coincide, control is not difficult. Similarly, in the extreme north are three Indian States, Chitral, Dir and Swat, ruled by Indian princelets who have fair control. South of these states—north and south of the Kabul river—and as far as Baluchistan, is a large area, between the Afghan frontier and the Indian administrative border, called the " tribal area," where our suzerainty was acknowledged and treaties governing relations existed, and as long as they behaved themselves with regard to our administered territory the tribes governed themselves. The Sikh policy was to maintain troops along the border and punish raid by counter raid. This came to be called the " close border " policy. When we took over in 1846 we followed the same policy, and the famous Punjab Frontier Force was raised and held the border, with the exception of Peshawar, where special arrangements were made in view of the Afghan threat and the necessity of guarding the Khyber in strength. Lord Curzon, who separated the Frontier Provinces from the Punjab Government, initiated a policy of tribal militia corps with British officers, the idea being to utilize the fighting instincts of the tribesmen and give them employment in controlling the area. After the first Great War considerable risings took place in Waziristan, and when these had been quashed the policy was adopted of locating regular garrisons in a few strategically placed cantonments in that area, and connecting these with good modern roads, while the tribesmen were enlisted in irregular corps under the Political Department. It cannot truthfully be said that any policy has been completely successful. From 1846 till now have been sporadic raiding and numerous expeditions. The whole problem is economic. Sufficient crops cannot be grown in the area to support, even in a small degree, the tribal people. Their whole history has been to exist by raiding into the fertile plains, by kidnapping fat Hindu merchants for purposes of ransom, or by levying toll on the large caravans which go through the various passes into India. Some means must be found to provide the people with food and the men with employment. We have attempted these jobs, indirectly, by contracts for roads, etc., in the area, and, directly, in subsidies to the various sections of the tribes, and by enlistment of some hundreds of scouts. No system of " Danegelt " is ever really satisfactory, there is always a demand for increases; but what is the solution? The tribes are definitely a potentially dangerous threat. They can muster some 500,000 fighting men with nearly as many rifles. They are adepts at raiding and guerilla warfare; they are brave, physically fit and treacherous; while their miserable villages are of no strategic importance to a punitive force. Military operations as carried out by us, especially of late years, have been hampered by the growing realization that these men are our fellow-subjects, and that punishment should be leniently carried out—an impossible military task. My own view has always been that we should, at all costs, have largely extended our road system so as to enable, if necessary, rapid penetration by troops while, at the same time, we should have endeavoured to develop the country—in fact, to carry out the policy which brought the Highlands into order. It would have cost money, but it would have been worth it. Since August, 1947, the tribes come under the Pakistan Government, and, on the grounds of expense and religious feeling, it was inconceivable to my mind that that Government would continue to maintain troops in the area. Indeed, we have already heard that they have withdrawn troops and handed over control to local levies. This, in fact, means a reversion to the " close border " policy, and the consequent difficulties arising from raids. That difficulty must arise as, whether the hillmen have a few rich Hindu money-lenders as an attraction, or whether they are wholly Moslem, the tribes must raid in order to live; while it is more than doubtful if Pakistan can buy any respite by paying subsidies from her bankrupt till. The incursion of tribesmen into Kashmir shows unpleasant possibilities for the future. The future looks pretty grim. Economically there seems to be little prospect of a solution, while militarily a more ruthless use of the air than we could authorize might have temporary results, but that is not a pleasant thought.

With the political situation so confused it requires some boldness to predict the future; however, I will try and suggest to you some of the problems confronting Pakistan or India, or both. As I told you, the outbreak of the world war caught India in a difficult situation as regards officering her units with her own nationals. Those officers who had been trained at Sandhurst were few in numbers, but by the end of the war a few had risen to the rank of brigadier and several had held headquarter staff appointments with success. The Indian Military Academy cadets were, as I have explained, a drop in the ocean to supply officers and to replace casualties, and suitable candidates for the enlarged academy were difficult to find. The gaps were, to a large extent, filled temporarily by gentlemen of the British mercantile community. By the end of the war many of these emergency Indian officers had done good work, but by the nature of things they are very young and have little experience of administration or peacetime training of men, which latter you will realize is no easy job, even for a man who has led troops in war. In both armies of the new Dominions, there are only a few Indians fit for the higher positions, but that is a difficulty that time will overcome. What is serious, very serious, as General Slim pointed out, is the shortage of the officers of middle service, say from ten to twenty years, to replace the ordinary British regimental officer—that is to say in general, men who, though unlikely, most of them, to rise to the highest positions, are an essential part of any army; officers imbued with a high spirit of duty who will, as the old regimental officer did, identify themselves with their men and, what is more important, always think of their men first; officers who are happy in carrying out their duty and who do not look on their profession *only* as one in which they will gain big monetary rewards. To my mind this is the greatest military problem of both Dominions—*i.e.*, to get the type in sufficient quantity. No army by itself can produce them. They can, as Sir William Slim says, only come from a high standard of integrity and ability in the general life of their country. The division of the old army into two parts, a necessity due to political changes, has caused many headaches. The original idea to divide up the ordnance factories has, fortunately, been abandoned and the factories stay in India, who provides funds for Pakistan to erect her own; but in the meantime Pakistan is entirely dependent on India for ordnance stores, ammunition, guns, etc. Nearly all administrative and technical units were mixed in composition, and will require practically to be reconstructed. The provision of fighting units for Pakistan has been very difficult: there were no wholly Moslem units, so in order to give Pakistan her share of one third to one quarter of the Army it meant breaking up the units with mixed composition. It is obvious this will cause unsettled conditions in these units for some time. This breaking with the past has been a sad affair to the British officers concerned, steeped as they were in great traditions. I am not so sure that the Indian officers in these units feel this so much. Few of them have served long in the units. New transfers, due to partition, have little interest in unit tradition; while there is a tendency to desire rather to create new traditions than to dwell on the past, wrapped up as it is so much with British rule. Nationally, and in the long run, these may be correct, but it is unfortunate for the present. India, which has many "one class" units, does not suffer so much in this way in the transition stage as Pakistan does.

Let us now look at the larger military picture. India has a fairly simple problem. The problem of internal security, as we know it, should no longer exist, and it is hoped that any situation will be dealt with by the police. It is hoped that it will not be necessary to provide frontier protection against Pakistan, though this may have to be done temporarily. Invasion from the north is covered by Pakistan; invasion from the sea is unlikely for some time. Consequently the Indian Army can be limited to such highly trained brigades and divisions as are considered necessary to back up her Government's foreign policy or deal with the unlikely case of invasion from overseas. In the division she has got more than twice the strength of Pakistan in Troops, Navy and Air Force. Pakistan, on the other hand, has a more difficult situation to face. There is always a possible threat of "major" invasion from the north. There is always a definite problem on the North-West Frontier which, say what the Moslem League can, must necessitate a grouping of sufficient troops to deal with raids. At present she will have to furnish troops on the inter-Dominion Frontier. She has no factories for guns, ammunition, etc., until she has built them, which will take time, and has no surplus stores to replace or maintain herself, which renders her tanks and aeroplanes pretty unserviceable. In East Bengal she has a large population, many of whom showed misdirected courage in seditious enterprises in the past, but from whom no troops have been enlisted for a hundred years, and it is unlikely she could raise and train troops from there to be efficient for


The Dominions of
INDIA
and
PAKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
Srinigar
Lahore
Amritsar
Punjab
Delhi
Karachi
Bengal
Calcutta
BURMA
Bombay
HYDERABAD
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Madras
CEYLON
Miles
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1,000
INDIA
PAKISTAN
J.F. Horrabin

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many years. Her officer problem is even worse than that of India, as Moslems generally are less well educated than the others. It is true that Pakistan possesses in the north, generally, the most physically strong peoples from which to recruit, and for the moment proportionately the larger reserve of demobilized men. It must be remembered, however, that in modern war physical development of the individual is not so necessary in a mechanized army as in the one which marched on its feet. A good, well-educated city man, who has his heart in the right place, is as efficient in an aeroplane or armoured vehicle as a larger man of ruder muscle, and he might be easier to fit in; while technicians are more easily obtained from cities than from the pure agriculturists. For these reasons the more highly industrialized India has perhaps more scope for enlistment in a modern army than the less educated, less industrialized Pakistan. I have, as far as possible, kept off politics, but I must end on that note. From every point of view, except a purely communal one, the division into two Dominions was tragic. It was forced on the British Government by the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Jinnah. It necessitated the division of the Punjab, which we all feared would mean the terrific communal tragedy that has taken place. A United India, based on the modified Cabinet Mission plan, would have given security for minorities, kept Bengal and the Punjab undivided, saved duplication of administration, and simplified provision for defence of all kinds. Alas, it was not to be! Massacre has been the result, and, what is perhaps worse, the rousing of a bitterness between the two Dominions which will take years to assuage; and as long as such bitterness exists and division is maintained, the way of an " aggressor " is simplified.

The CHAIRMAN : I have one question myself. What is the arrangement about the Gurkhas?

LECTURER : Under the new arrangements eight battalions, the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 10th regiments, are going to be placed under the British Army, and the remainder are going to India. Previously the rule had been laid down that no Indian should command Gurkhas, but that has been waived now and the Gurkha battalions will be commanded by Indians. I am not certain how it will work. One extraordinary thing is that the 5th Royal Gurkhas have not been taken into the British Army. It was the only Royal Regiment, and had more V.C.s than any other. I should have thought it would have been posted to the British Army, but other reasons prevailed to prevent this being done. These Gurkha battalions will be located in Malaya. I have not heard anything, one way or another, as to how they will feel about it, but I should doubt whether the Gurkha is keen to go to Malaya. In peacetime he lived in India. If he had family troubles—this was the usual reason for asking and granting leave—he could hop off home. But if it is a question of going to the Commanding Officer and getting a passage to Madras or Calcutta so as to attend the funeral of his father, you can imagine that sometimes he will not have much chance of getting leave. So I am not sure the Gurkha will be any too keen on going to this show. I don't think I have anything more to say.

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

"THE NEW DOMINION"

By MAJOR N. L. D. McLEAN, D.S.O.

CHINESE TURKESTAN or Sinkiang, as it is known to-day, is the westernmost province of China. With its 700,000 square miles of territory it is larger than France, Germany, and Great Britain put together, but has a population of only five million. The Chinese, numbering less than half a million or about 10 per cent. of the population, to-day hold the province. The people of Sinkiang are drawn from fourteen different races, but 80 per cent. of them are Moslems of Turkish stock. The Moslem Turks of Sinkiang can be divided into two main groups—the settled and the nomadic. The settled are the Uighurs, generally known as Turkis, and the Uzbeks and Tartars. They live in the oases around the Takla Makan desert and in the towns of northern Sinkiang. They are mainly peasants, small landowners, artisans, and small tradesmen. They number about three and a half million and are similar by race, language, and tradition to the Uzbeks living in the Uzbek S.S.R. The nomadic Turks are the Qazak and Kirghiz tribes, who number under a million. The Qazaks wander over the bare windswept steppes of Northern Sinkiang and along the wooded slopes of the Altai. The Kirghiz inhabit the Tien Shan or "Heavenly Mountains," and the Pamir. Both live off the produce of their vast herds of sheep, camels and horses. They, too, are closely connected with the Qazak and Kirghiz peoples living within the U.S.S.R.

There are considerable mineral resources in Sinkiang, including gold, iron, and other mineral deposits in the Altai mountains, and oil at Wu Su and probably elsewhere. As yet these minerals remain unexploited on a commercial scale and to-day the real wealth of the province is in livestock. With the exception of tea and sugar the province is self-supporting in foodstuffs. The main exports are livestock, gold, raw silk and wool, rugs and woollen felts, furs and skins, and a small quantity of *charas* (hashish).

The strategic importance of Sinkiang is considerable, since India, Russia, and China, three of the greatest empires of the world, meet on its frontiers. Sinkiang is the key to the back door of China—the Kansu corridor—down which in the past have come so many barbarian invaders. It is at the same time the natural political and economic extension to the Soviet Central Asian Republics, and inasmuch as there is a certain amount of discontent in these republics, it is an important extension. The Soviets also realize that any other great power which controls air bases in Sinkiang would be able to strike at the inaccessible industrial areas of Soviet Asia. To India, Sinkiang acts as a buffer which prevents Russia from having a land frontier with Tibet or Kashmir. Should the Soviets assert themselves in Sinkiang they will gain control of the five million Moslems living there and thus be able to influence the twelve million

Tungans or Chinese Moslems of North-West China. This would produce yet another threat to the independence of China as well as increasing Soviet prestige in the Moslem world as a whole. It would also allow the Soviets a territorial base for the political penetration of Tibet and north-west Kashmir. The Governments of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Great Britain, therefore, have a considerable interest in the preservation in Sinkiang of the power of a friendly Chinese Government.

After the Chinese revolution of 1911 Sinkiang was ruled for seventeen years by an able and autocratic governor. He maintained the territorial and political independence of the province until his assassination in 1928. After his death, for which some suspicion attached to the Soviets, there followed five confused and bloody years of civil wars. Fear of the Japanese, who were then advancing deep into Northern China, was one of the main causes for Soviet intervention in Sinkiang in the early thirties. In 1933 the Soviets gave moral and material support to Sheng Shi Tsai, a local Chinese military commander. By the end of 1934 he was in control of practically the whole province, and through him the Soviets ruled the province until 1942. Sheng Shi Tsai himself was not a communist, but merely worked with the Soviets in order to strengthen his own personal rule. His power was based on his Chinese troops and the Soviets. Most of his troops were Chinese who had been driven from Manchuria by the Japanese in 1932. They had fled to Russia, where they had remained until the Soviets had re-armed and sent them into Sinkiang to join Sheng Shi Tsai. Between 1934 and 1937 Sheng strengthened his personal position and with Soviet help succeeded in liquidating most of the right-wing nationalist and Islamic leaders. When once he had done this his use for the Soviets was diminished, but as he himself was a Chinese from Manchuria his troops were loyal to him rather than to the Soviets, and the Soviets were forced to allow him to remain in power. The Japanese attack on China in 1937 so increased Soviet fears that they tightened their hold on the political and economic life of the province. From 1937 onwards they were undermining Sheng Shi Tsai's position with the intention of replacing him by one of their own trained Uzbek or Turki agents.

In 1942, when the Soviets were hard-pressed by the Germans, the Chinese Central Government persuaded Sheng Shi Tsai to transfer his allegiance to itself. Sheng Shi Tsai believed he could come to an agreement with Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, and between 1942 and 1944 he pushed the Soviets out of Sinkiang. The Soviet regiment stationed in Hami, a town dominating the main route to Central China, was withdrawn. The "Sovtorg"—the trade agencies through which the Soviets controlled the economic life of the country, were closed. Soviet advisers, military, political, and police, disappeared. Pro-Soviet natives or Communists were either put in prison or disposed of in other ways, and by 1944 Soviet influence was liquidated or had been driven underground. The British and American Governments opened Consulates in Urumchi, and it seemed as if Sinkiang had become, in fact as well as in name, an integral part of the Chinese Republic.

By 1944, however, when the tide of war on the Western Front was running in favour of the Soviets, they turned their eyes once more to the East, and their attitude towards China and Japan stiffened. In Sinkiang this resulted in a revolt which broke out in February, 1944, among the Qazaks of the Altai mountains in North-West Sinkiang. The reasons for the revolt are not clear, but it seems that one of the main causes was that the Qazaks had been angered by the attempts of the Provincial Government to settle Chinese refugees from Hunan on their pastures. Anyway the Qazaks are always ready to revolt if they think there is any chance of easy loot.

The revolt in February, 1944, of the Qazaks of the Altai was followed by a second revolt in Ili in November. By the end of 1944 Altai, Chugachak, and Ili, the three most northern districts of Sinkiang, were in rebel hands. The rebels set up an independent "Republic of Eastern Turkistan" with its administrative headquarters in Ili. The President was Ali Khan Tura, an old-fashioned and somewhat uneducated Moslem of high repute. At the beginning they concentrated on popularizing the Islamic way of life. They preached a "Jehad" or Holy War and called for a united front of all true Moslems against the infidel Chinese. However, they soon abandoned this and started preaching and encouraging a Socialist form of Turki nationalism, at the same time attacking Islam and the Mullahs. I myself saw, in a 1946 publication of a Tashkent weekly journal, a centre page article praising Yaqub Beg as one of the great heroes of the Turki peoples in their struggle for national liberation. Yaqub Beg was a reactionary leader of the late nineteenth century, who had started life as a dancing boy in the tea houses of Ferghana and had ended by founding and ruling an independent khanate of Turkistan.

From the winter of 1944 until summer 1945 the situation remained static. In the north the rebels made no attempt at a large-scale advance and merely held on to the three northern districts, while in the south there were large-scale raids into Sinkiang from the Soviet Union. Three of these raids were into the Chinese Pamirs and based, I was told, on Qizil Rabat, a military post in Soviet Tajikistan. The raiders crossed the frontier in bands of 200 to 300 strong, armed with mortars, machine-guns, and rifles. After two or three days pillaging the countryside they returned to the Soviet Union with the loot.

It was during this phase in the summer of 1945 that Etherington-Smith, the Consul-General Designate to Kashgar, and myself made the journey from Kashgar to Sinkiang. We passed through the Gilgit Agency, staying on the way with the Mir of the small mountain state of Hunza. Day after day we travelled along the narrow winding paths leading over the black crumbling Karakoram mountains. At last we crossed the Chinese frontier and rode on to the windswept Pamir plateau, which stands at a height of 10,000 feet above sea level. We were met by a frontier patrol of Turki soldiers under a Chinese corporal. They were mounted on yaks and as they came galloping towards us the shaggy manes and queer movements of their mounts made a weird impression.

They escorted us for the several days' journey to Tashkurghan, the administrative headquarters of the Chinese Pamirs. The Amban, or

District Magistrate, entertained us extremely well. He was a charming, old-fashioned gentleman and Confucian scholar. He was not a rich man, for his salary was less than that which I paid my servant, but he must have had other means of obtaining money because almost every meal during the week we spent as his guest was a banquet, with music, and Tajik and Turki dancing girls. He provided all the entertainment that a traveller could wish, to refresh him after the fatigue of a long and tiring journey. This reception was a great contrast to the one given in 1942 to the outgoing British Consul, when the local people were not allowed to sell him food and a boy was shot, it is said, for selling firewood to some of his men. In that year Soviet influence in Sinkiang was strong, while when we passed through in 1945 Chinese influence was strong.

The Chinese officials in the Pamirs were very pro-British and behaved in a friendly way towards us. The attitude to the natives of many of the Chinese officials in Sinkiang was rather aloof. They were not interested in the local people; practically none of them spoke the local language and almost all of them regarded the locals as barbarians. They disliked the dangers and discomforts of service in Sinkiang and their main interest seemed to be to return to the civilization and comparative safety of life within the Great Wall of China. We continued our journey by the usual summer route, crossing three passes of over 15,000 feet, Chichiklik, Kashka Su, and on to Kashgar, the largest city in Sinkiang, where we maintain a Consulate General to protect our Indian trading interests. Just after we arrived at Kashgar in the autumn of 1945 the rebels made their big "push." This "push" was co-ordinated with the revolt in Persian Azerbaijan. In Sinkiang the attack was well organized and planned. The rebel plan seems to have been to push forward groups of cavalry to seize strategic points, where they intended to organize operational and supply centres for a general rising of the native Turki population against the Chinese. The rebels were armed with rifles, machine-guns, and mortars, and were dressed in semi-Russian style clothes, the normal dress of most of the inhabitants of Central Asia. In the south a thousand rebels divided into five columns pushed through the passes leading from Russia on to the Chinese Pamirs. They soon drove out the Chinese garrison, consisting of about one battalion. Those of the Chinese who were able fled either to Kashgar or to India. Those who could not escape were captured by the rebels and executed. In the north the rebels advanced from Ili, their capital. One group pushed eastwards and were not halted by the Chinese until they reached Manas, a town within one hundred miles of Urumchi. On one occasion, during the attack on Wusu, there was an aerial bombardment in which bombs were dropped on the Chinese positions. The capture of towns by the rebels was often followed by a massacre of the Chinese inhabitants in which the Qazaks carried out horrible atrocities in true Central Asian style. Another group of rebels pushed south from Ili over the Tian Shan mountains and cut the road between Kashgar and Urumchi. By the end of November, 1945, the rebels were not only in control of the three northern districts but were also threatening Urumchi. Small groups of rebels were raiding even further east in order to cut the road between Urumchi and Central China.

In the south they had seized the whole of the Pamirs, closing both routes to India for nearly a year, advanced almost to Kashgar and besieged Yarkand. If the native Turki population at that time had joined in the rising, the Chinese would have been unable to hold Sinkiang, but the native Turkis, although they did not like Chinese rule, were certainly not prepared to risk their necks or property in order to restore Soviet rule under which they had been equally oppressed during the preceding ten years. The Soviet Consulates and agents must have sent, as is so often the case, back to Moscow an exaggerated account of the revolutionary situation in Sinkiang. In fact the local Turkis failed to rise and waited to see in whose favour the fighting would go. By the end of 1945 the rebel advance had lost much of its momentum and both sides settled down to prepare for the next round. However, conditions were so disturbed that the routes leading out of Sinkiang still remained closed and I was unable to leave until the spring of 1946.

Perhaps the easiest way to convey an idea of what conditions in Sinkiang at this time were like is for me to describe my own life in Kashgar. In the town of Kashgar there are at present only two groups of foreigners, one centred in the Soviet Consulate General, the other in the British Consulate General. In the past there were Swedish missionaries, but during Sheng Shi Tsai's regime they were forced to leave the country. My life in Kashgar was, I suppose, typical of any Britisher's life in an isolated place where the Soviets and ourselves maintain Consulates. We often went to parties at the Soviet Consulate. In their own house they were very good hosts; they provided great quantities of badly cooked rich greasy food and plenty of 54 per cent. proof vodka. By the end of the evening everyone was drunk and so the parties were usually a success. When the Soviets came to the British Consulate they used to sit around in pairs, refuse to drink or talk, and as guests were awkward and boring. When they discovered that I was a Scotsman they used immediately to question me at some length about Scottish nationalism. Several times during the evening they would return to the subject and explain to me how in Scotland we were being oppressed by the brutal British capitalists. Our relations with the Soviets at this time were cordial but not over friendly.

Our relations with the Chinese were considerably better, although the British record in Sinkiang, from the Chinese point of view, has not been blameless. The Chinese consider that in the past we had always fomented Moslem revolts in Sinkiang in order to extend our influence into Sinkiang in the interests of India. In 1868 when the first independent republic was set up in Sinkiang by Yakub Beg it was recognized with almost indecent haste by the Government of India, and only later by the Tsar of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey. In the Moslem and Tungan revolts of 1937 British subjects of Indian nationality, domiciled in Sinkiang, often played a prominent part. It is also true to say that almost every Moslem rebellion during the last fifty years—and there have been many—has been pro-British in character. The result has been that the Chinese officials are still suspicious of us, but in 1945 this suspicion was gradually diminishing.

Most of my time, however, was spent with the loyal Turkis, who are a friendly and hospitable people. They have slit eyes but their noses are larger and their beards thicker than is usual with the Central Asian Turks, and are only slightly Mongoloid in their general appearance. This is probably due to the fact that when the Uighur Turks invaded Sinkiang in the ninth century A.D. they intermarried to a great extent with the original Aryan inhabitants of the Tarim basin. To-day the Turkis live a comparatively easy life. Almost every man has his own house and a plentiful if dull diet. The main dishes are bread, suyuqash, a mixture between Irish stew and Scotch broth, pilau of mutton cooked with rice in fat and oil, "kebabs" of grilled meat and various kinds of noodles. Cheese and all forms of sour milk also form an important part of their diet. In summer there are abundant fruits, of which the most famous are melons and grapes. To-day the bulk of the land in the oases is owned by peasant proprietors, for most of the large landowners and indeed almost everyone of any importance in the province has been liquidated by one side or another during the rebellions of the last twenty-five years. To-day there does not seem to be much social discontent, either in the country districts or in the towns where the population is connected with the land, through relatives or by themselves owning a plot of land.

One of the first things I noticed in the towns of Sinkiang was the reluctance of the people in talking to foreigners. They remember the time when anyone with British contacts, or known to be friendly with British subjects was persecuted, put in prison, or driven out of the country. This persecution reached its peak in the years immediately following 1937. But even when I was in Sinkiang in 1946 there were many who were frightened to be seen talking in the street to British subjects for fear lest when the Soviets re-assert their influence they will again be subjected to persecution. The Chinese police, who were friendly with us, are well organized, and it is interesting to note that to-day they employ against the Soviets the very same tactics which the Soviets themselves taught the local Turkis to use against us. The tactics vary from mild devices such as teaching small school children to run around members of the Soviet Consulate throwing stones, and calling them "Qizil Jahangirler," "Red Imperialists," or shouting similar insults, to physical violence and even assassinations. The Kuomintang have organized an efficient system to spread their anti-Communist propaganda but strangely enough are only having moderate success.

I used to go on hunting expeditions where I met the nomadic Kirghiz as well as some of the wealthier Turkis who were also fond of sport. By day we hunted hares, pheasants, and duck with goshawks, or mounted on our shaggy Qalmaq ponies chased gazelle with the "Qara Qush" or black eagle. The nights were spent crowded into the smoky huts of the peasants, or in the round felt tents of the nomads. We would sit drinking tea flavoured with pepper, roasting "kebabs" of gazelle meat and discussing the day's sport, the weather, and sometimes politics.

When away from the watchful eyes of the police the Turkis would talk freely on almost any subject. They would criticize the Chinese rule and local officials. They often asked me if the British really supported the Chinese Government. This was a problem which continually worried them, since they were not sure whether they could be loyal to the Chinese and at the same time receive British support, or whether they should angle for British support independent of the Chinese. The British supported the Chinese Provincial Government, which is the legal government of the country operating under the orders of Nanking, but at the same time we made it clear that we disapproved of the corruption of some of the Chinese officials and their policy of discrimination against British subjects.

During the time when Soviet influence in Sinkiang was strong the drinking of alcohol was encouraged, the women were not allowed to veil and the mosques were closed or turned into social clubs. There was in fact a general campaign against Islam. To-day under Chinese influence the mosques have been re-opened, the women are once more wearing veils, the drinking of alcohol has been discouraged, and the Chinese Government are encouraging the Mullahs to increase their influence over the local population.

Another interesting result of the return of the Chinese Government's influence in Sinkiang is that cultivation of opium has again been started. Under the Soviets this was suppressed, but to-day many people, if they have sufficient money, smoke opium; those who cannot afford it smoke charas, which can be bought very cheaply in the bazaars. So far as I could make out, nearly 75 per cent. of the population in the town of Kashgar smoked charas, including the women, who often used to put it in their bread.

In the early spring of 1946 the road to Urumchi and Central China was opened so I was able to travel with Etherington Smith, the incoming Consul General, and Michael Gillett, the outgoing Consul General, who were on their way to Urumchi to pay their respects to the new Governor, General Chang Che Chung. General Chang is very close to the Generalissimo, and is among the inner circle of his friends. He arrived in Urumchi in 1945 and immediately started a " cleaning-up campaign " : a campaign which was viewed with mixed feelings by some of the Chinese officials of the Provincial Government.

At this time the Chinese, although they had strengthend their position by increasing their garrison in Sinkiang to nearly 100,000 men, did not feel strong enough to risk a showdown with the Soviets. They therefore decided to negotiate with the Sinkiang rebels, whose delegates arrived from Ili in Urumchi while we were staying there. The Chinese, in order to aid them in their negotiations, brought by air to Urumchi several right-wing Turki leaders who had been living in Chungking for several years as refugees from Sheng Shi Tsai. Seven months of uneasy negotiations followed. The rebels' delegates would often agree to the Chinese terms, go back to Ili, where they would consult their leaders or the Soviet Advisers, then return to Urumchi and denounce their agreement, so that negotiations were slow and unfruitful.

An agreement was eventually signed in June, 1946. In this agreement the rebels recognized Chinese suzerainty and the right of the Chinese Government to protect the frontiers of Sinkiang. In return the Chinese gave the rebels a certain degree of local autonomy, which included the right to raise and officer six native regiments. The Chinese also agreed that there should be a general election, in which the local population would be allowed to elect the district councils and fifteen out of twenty members of the Provincial Government. The agreement allowed free trade between Sinkiang and all neighbouring countries. This last concession favours Russia as communications between Sinkiang and Russia are much easier and shorter than those between Sinkiang and India. Under conditions of free trade Russia would undoubtedly be able to undersell Indian and Chinese goods. The Chinese kept their part of the agreement and free elections were held in the autumn of 1946. The elected members, who were mainly Turkis, took their place in the Provincial Government. The " Ili " rebels then used the position which they had gained in the Provincial Government to increase their influence over the rest of the Province. They failed, however, to keep their part of the agreement and so far no Chinese Government troops have entered the three northern districts of Sinkiang, which still remain in rebel hands and under Soviet control. In the south, however, the Chinese cleared the rebels out of the Pamirs and opened both routes to India.

Both the Ili rebels and more moderate leaders in Sinkiang styled themselves " Nationalists." Among the Nationalists there are a number of independent and right-wing leaders but there are also many who are in reality Communists. Under pressure from Communist elements, supported by the Soviets, the Nationalists organized a violent anti-Chinese campaign. It took a more or less democratic form of strikes, demonstrations, and propaganda in newspapers and pamphlets. The Nationalists applied political pressure to remove pro-Chinese or anti-Soviet officials in the administration. The control of the campaign gradually passed completely into the hands of the extremists, who look towards the Soviet Union to help them in their Nationalist cause, and, since many of them are Communists, in their Communist cause as well. Between 1943 and 1945 the Soviet Consulates were quiet, but since 1946 they have been very active. They organize cinema performances, propaganda shows and plays, book shops and, indeed, are helping the Nationalist movement in every way they can. By 1947 the Chinese, although their troops in Sinkiang numbered 100,000 men, were politically on the retreat.

To-day the extreme group of the Nationalists is pressing for immediate autonomy for Sinkiang. This group, which until recently was in the Provincial Government, has now gone into opposition and returned to its base in Ili, where it is probably preparing a second push on the lines of the last attempt in the autumn of 1945. It is supported by the rebel troops and administration in Ili, and in other parts of Sinkiang by many of the junior civil police and military officials who, regretting the loss of the power and privileges they enjoyed under the regime of Sheng Shi Tsai, are still pro-Soviet. They are also followed by many of the schoolmasters, doctors, mechanics, and of the " lower middle class " so far as it exists in Sinkiang. Their propaganda lays stress on the " National " and cultural connection between the Turks of Sinkiang and the Turks of the neighbouring Soviet Socialist Republics. It points out that autonomy for

Sinkiang will mean immediate freedom from the corrupt Chinese rule, and will eventually lead to the introduction of modern Soviet " Culture " in the form of cheap cigarettes, flashy clothes, strong vodka, cinemas, and " Socialist " inventions, such as the machine tractor and the combined harvester. Their propaganda appeals to the pleasure-loving and materialistic side of the Turki character and has had considerable success especially among the younger people in the towns.

The right-wing group of the Nationalists is headed by the more conservative leaders and the Mullahs (Moslem priests), who have not forgotten their persecution in the past by the Soviets, and to-day are alarmed at the increase of Soviet influence in the Nationalist movement. This group is Conservative and Islamic in character, but its political activities are as yet unco-ordinated. They rely on the religious and traditional feelings of a proud but backward people, and have considerable support from the peasants and some of the nomads, the wealthier townspeople and the older generation of all classes. The Chinese are encouraging its growth, with the result that the " Nationalists " have now split into two definite factions, the right-wing pro-Chinese Islamic group and the left-wing pro-Soviet " Nationalist " group.

To-day these are the two main political forces at work in Sinkiang. Without outside interference the Islamic movement is probably the stronger of the two, but the future of Sinkiang will be decided by the degree of pressure which the Chinese Central Government or the Soviet Government can bring to bear. The Soviets are geographically and economically in a more favourable position to do this than the Chinese, so it seems therefore that unless the anti-Soviet forces in Sinkiang can be strengthened from outside, the Province will once again pass under Soviet control.

The CHAIRMAN : Are many of the Chinese troops Chinese?

Major McLEAN : I could not say exactly, but a number of them are Moslems from Kansu—the famous Tungan Cavalry—a certain number are local native troops officered by Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN : They have American equipment?

The LECTURER : When I was there I saw American trucks, and in and around Urumchi at least one division with some American equipment.

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE : Did the lecturer see anything of the Tungans? I remember when I was in the Province they were acting differently from the Turki Moslems; there were two very distinct tendencies.

The LECTURER : They still are two different communities. At the present the Tungans are a very small group. During the last fifteen years the Tungans became, in one way and another, so unpopular that most of them were driven out or otherwise liquidated: although the number is much smaller than it used to be, there are still, I believe, about 100,000 in the Province. The Tungans whom I met seemed to belong to small communities living in the towns, and most of the Tungan peasants seem to have disappeared. The Tungan and the local Turki are two distinct parties; sometimes they combine, but usually they manage to quarrel among themselves.

Mr. **Bourke Burrowes**: Does the lecturer expect the Soviet Government to force matters in the near future and make a *coup* in Sinkiang?

The **Lecturer**: I have been away from Sinkiang for some time, but in my opinion the Soviet Government will probably not make a *coup* but will keep up a steady pressure, and inasmuch as the Chinese Central Government may not be able to keep up an equal pressure the Province will automatically slip into Russian hands without it being necessary to send in the Red Army.

Miss **Wentworth Kelly**: What were the markings on the planes of the rebels if any were shot down?

The **Lecturer**: The Chinese claimed that they had Russian markings on them. Aeroplanes were also used, I believe, in the border incident of June, 1947, but whose planes they were it is difficult to say.

Admiral Sir **Howard Kelly**: I was much interested in what Major McLean, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Turkey during the war, had to say on the question of Pan-Turanianism. It is interesting to note the way in which the Turks have spread their hold over Central Asia and all round the coast of the Black Sea, so much so that during the war a friend in Turkey told me that the reason why the Russians were behaving rather peculiarly in the Crimea, which the Russian Army eventually evacuated, was that there was an idea that the inhabitants, who were practically all Turks, should be massacred so as to leave a nice open space for the Russian population after the war. Does Major McLean think that in the event of war there would be any prospect of any sort of united action: supposing Russia attacked Turkey, which is always within the bounds of possibility, whether these various Turki tribes, which extend over the whole of Central Asia along the southern borders of the Soviet dominions, would be likely to raise revolts and render any appreciable assistance to the Turks in the event of such a war? No doubt you know that the Turkish Government does not favour the Pan-Turanian movement. In fact, there was a lot of trouble during the latter years of the war when the young students and others were trying to work up that movement; this Pan-Turanianism was flatly squashed by the Turkish Government, who did not wish this subject raised. In any case, the Turks have always been delighted when they got rid of the outlying provinces, and I do not think they have any desire to take them under their wing again. They found them an intolerable nuisance, and have no desire to have them again to bring worries to their national life in the event of war. But I would like to know whether the lecturer thinks there is any possibility of a disorganizing movement which would be of practical assistance to the Turks.

The **Lecturer**: I think there is a possibility of an organized movement on those lines, but we must remember that there are 19,000,000 Turks in the Soviet Union. I do not say they are content, but they are at the moment obedient to the Soviets. A Pan-Turanian movement, unless the Republican Turks of Turkey could produce more material support for it than the Russians, might react not in Turkish but in Soviet interest.

Mr. H. **Barlow**: I was particularly interested in the lecture, because when I was in Kaṣhgar in 1934 and 1936 a process was going on which was more or less parallel to that which is now going on in Turkestan. The Russians were at that time trying their hardest to establish their influence, and they succeeded in 1942, and the stage which they were then in was, roughly, similar to their present stage: they were seeking to exploit the undoubted corruption and inefficiencies of the Chinese ruler. It was the old story. I was interested to hear that for some reason the Qazaks had caused a revolt in the north. In 1934 it had been at Hami, where the Chinese inveigled the local ruler of Urumchi and then ill-treated him. The same thing occurred—the confusion of the revolution, and the same inability of the rebels to combine their strategy; the same activity on the part of the Soviet Consuls in trying to spread Soviet propaganda; the same diversity of tactics, at one moment the one party appealing for the help of the mullahs and the other appealing on semi-Communist lines. I suggest that the danger of Turkestan going under Communist influence is not so great as it might appear. My chief reason for saying that is the character of the local people. The Turkis do not make good Communists, they are far too individual; they are perhaps too lazy, though that is not quite just. I was interested to hear Major McLean say that when they were expected to rise against the tyranny of the Chinese ruler they did nothing. I have a strong feeling that when the time comes for them to be expected to rise against China they will again do nothing, and China may be relied upon: although Chinese influence may decline again, the Chinese will come back. They will always come back and, in the end, the local Turkis will welcome them against the greater tyrannies of Soviet rule.

Mr. AMEER ALI: Is the Soviet side of the Pan-Turanian movement as violently anti-religious, anti-Islamic, as it always was?

The LECTURER: I think so. In the early stages of the recent rebellion in Sinkiang the Soviets put up a show of co-operation with Islam, but when they had got power they abandoned their pro-Islamic policy.

AMIR ALI: Does that appeal to the younger generation?

The LECTURER: My own impression of the younger generation in Sinkiang is that they are not very religious. I think, except in the towns and villages of the oases, where the influence of the mullahs is stronger, religion in Central Asia, certainly in Sinkiang, sits very lightly on the local Turks, especially among the Qazaks and Kirghiz.

Mr. AMEER ALI: What is most interesting is the lecturer's picture of the way the Chinese influence is returning and the way they are back on the Pamirs. They were there 1,800 years ago. The first customs station and small outpost was on the Pamirs. In Ptolemy's *Geography,* I believe written about A.D. 150, Ptolemy says the first outpost of the west, or Chinese Silk Road, was there, and the Chinese Empire has been back and forward there ever since those days. It it interesting to see the process going on, perhaps for the second time in twenty-five years.

The LECTURER: It is true the Chinese always come back to Sinkiang, but I think I am right in saying that in the last 2,000 years the Chinese have only held Sinkiang under direct rule for a total period of 400 years.

Mr. AMEER ALI: Quite often the cities have been under Turki rule. Even when the Chinese have a puppet government they do not seem to have learned anything; the same old corruption goes on as 1,800 years ago. People get tired of them, fling them out, and have a local ruler or get in somebody else.

Mr. WATSON : The lecturer said that Mongolian troops were used, and then I think he talked of Hami.

The LECTURER : There was a Regular Red Army Regiment at Hami, which was withdrawn in 1943.

Mr. WATSON : When it was withdrawn it went to Mongolia?

The LECTURER : Yes, I think so. The rebellion in the Altai in 1944 was, I believe, helped by the Mongolian Government with, it is believed, troops and arms; probably Qazaks or Mongolian levies armed with rifles.

Mr. WATSON : Therefore, it was not an invasion of China. The other point is about the religion, which has already been discussed by other speakers. It struck me as a little out of date that the pro-Soviet wing of the rebels should be so hostile to Islam. Antagonism to religion is a little antiquated in Tashkent and Samarkand.

The LECTURER : Probably it may be that in Sinkiang Islam is so bound up with the private ownership of the land that the Soviets feel they cannot come to terms with it; they feel they are not able to woo Islam away from the present social system of land tenure so they wish first to destroy its influence and then build up a new version of it, rather on the lines of their methods with the Orthodox Church.

Mr. WATSON : It would be necessary to have a breach with the mullahs before putting in anything new.

Mr. HOME : At one time one used to hear about a regular lorry service between Urumchi and Ili, which carried considerable traffic across the frontier. Has that been re-instituted. On the other side, Hami-Lanchow, would there not be an aeroplane service?

The LECTURER : Between Ili and Urumchi there are good communications. In the time when the Soviet influence was strong between 1934 and 1942 there was constant traffic. This has now been stopped, because when the Chinese re-asserted their political influence in 1943 they closed the frontier. Between Urumchi, Hami, and Lanchow there is a good road. When I was there the Chinese were building a new road branching from Anshi to Dun Huang and on to Sinkiang—I saw the beginning of it—how that road is progressing I do not know. When the construction of it is completed it will give advantages to the Chinese. Should hostile troops occupy the key town of Hami, the Chinese would be able to reinforce their garrison in Sinkiang by moving troops along the Southern Oases of the Takla Makan.

A MEMBER : Do you know how life for the ordinary Turki-in-the-street in Sinkiang compares with that of his opposite number in Russia? I do not mean the one with political aspirations.

The LECTURER : It is difficult to say. I talked with several students or police officers who had been to Tashkent and Alma Ata. They were impressed by the beauties and amenities of these two towns, and described in glowing terms the cinemas, swimming pools, cafés in the streets, and so on. But it is not difficult for buildings in the Soviet towns to be superior to the dirty ramshackle mud towns of Sinkiang.

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE: Can the lecturer say what is the position in Sinkiang now? Are the Chinese there actually in control officially?

The LECTURER: My information may be a little out of date. But I believe the Chinese have about 100,000 troops in the Province. They have handed over the administration of the Province to the elected representatives of the local people. The rebels still hold the three northern districts, and politically were gaining ground in the rest of the Province through their representatives in the Provincial Government. The Chinese political control is weakening, but they still have military control of three-quarters of the Province. Whether there have been any changes in the last four months I am unable to say, but the tendency would be, I should think, for the Chinese to withdraw their troops to Kansu or elsewhere in Central China to aid them in their general struggle against the Communists.

H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE: Is there any evidence of American interest in Sinkiang? Is American support in any way evident?

The LECTURER: The Americans have opened a Consulate in Urumchi. When I was in Urumchi the Americans were, as part of their policy towards China, trying to find a settlement of the internal struggle in Sinkiang and China. As a whole they were working rather more hard than the British who, while maintaining a correct attitude, were not trying to force an agreement between the two parties. The American support of the Kuomintang in Sinkiang is material rather than moral. The Government and Kuomintang officials ride about in American jeeps, often wear American uniforms, and arrive in American planes.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: Are there any signs of a Chinese Communist movement in Sinkiang as opposed to the Kuomintang?

The LECTURER: I saw no signs of that nor did I hear of any signs. There must be a certain amount of Communist influence operating among the Chinese of Sinkiang, even if it is merely an insurance against the day when the Soviets take over the Province.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I voice the feeling of you all when I thank Major McLean for an exceedingly interesting lecture on an extraordinarily important part of the world, where three empires meet, or met until one of them seceded. We thank you very much, Major McLean.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF ROAD TRAVEL IN CHINA

By COLONEL F. H. A. STABLES

Lecture given on February 18, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The **Chairman**: Briefly, Colonel Stables was commissioned in the Fifth Gurkha Rifles in 1918, and between 1930 and 1939 he was attached to the British Embassy in China and Japan as a language officer, and in 1943 he was Senior Intelligence Officer in the Burma Corps, and came on to Chungking after the evacuation of Burma, until 1945, when he went to Hong Kong.

Very often when I have to introduce people I have not had the pleasure of meeting them previously, but in this case I not only met Colonel Stables but used his information very freely. I have found people usually put their prejudices first and then get down to facts: well, with Colonel Stables he stuck to facts, and I do not think he had any prejudices. He travelled a great deal in China: his talk is about surface communications, which exist but which are very difficult to use.

TRAVEL on the road in China, I think, is extremely fascinating, because you never know what is round the next corner. It may be a bridge that is washed out, or a seething market which you have got to force the car bodily through; there may be a line of conscripts, half-starved and bound together, trudging along for miles towards the front. There may even be a theatre performance, and I remember on one occasion I found myself in a dense throng and the car stalled, and looking up on the left-hand side I found a theatre performance going on on the top of a shop—and the car was unfortunately stalled in the front row of the stalls! You may, on the other hand, meet three bedraggled soldiers trying by force of arms to get a hitch-hike along the road to their destination. Again, you may wind up a long hill and find at the top a little archway over the pass, and through it see the most wonderful view of the road ahead rocketing over ridge after ridge, in the bold fashion in which the Chinese engineers build their roads.

All the time the traffic goes by you: in the north, the country carts, drawn by the long-legged mules, over-full of cotton bales; in the south, the same sort of carts, only drawn by men, and, of course, further south again you see people just carrying things on poles or baskets; that is the sort of picture you get on the motor roads nowadays.

The expansion of motor roads in China is of comparatively recent date. In 1930, for example, when I was in Peking, you could motor down to Tientsin and could take a very rough road up to Jehol, the old hunting-park of the Emperors, a most dreadful old mule-track road, but you could not get to the next Province as there were no through-roads. Granted that the mule-cart roads were fairly practicable for very powerful motors, but they were a great strain on them.

In the next Province, Shansi, there were some extremely good roads running right down to the Yellow River bend, but you could only reach them by putting your car on the railway to Tatung or Taiyuan. Somebody did try to motor to Shihchiachuang in a British truck, and he got through, but at frightful expense to its inside! To sum up, you could, in the north-east quadrant of China, get about on the cart-roads if you were prepared to ruin your car.

From 1933 to 1937 there was an enormous expansion of roads and railways in China, especially in Central China, as a result of the anti-Communist campaigns. The Central Government built roads through Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan. Shortly after that, when the Central Government took over Szechuan, Kweichow, and Yunnan they connected the roads which the provincial governments had made in those Provinces, and these roads then formed the basis of the national road system. Naturally, the Japanese War starting in 1937 led to a final unification of all these roads into a national system. It should be borne in mind that the Chinese are very careful not to parallel railways with roads: as the railway is constructed so the parallel road is destroyed or abandoned, but, of course, they are very careful to provide feeder roads which lead to these railways.

I would like now to describe the various road systems that by about 1942 had been formed in China. Firstly, the north-western system: one of the most important roads was that which brought Russian aid to China. It comes right along from Sinkiang down to Lanchow and from there to a very windy and cold place called Huachialing, where it forks; the northern road leading down to Sian, thence over the Tsinling mountains to the plains of Honan. The other fork at Huachialing passes through Tienshui, the present railhead of the Lunghai railway, thence to Paocheng and on into Szechuan via Kwangyuan and Mienyang to Chengtu and Chungking. Not only did this road supply Russian aid, but it also brought oil from the oilfields at Hsing Hsing Hsia. This road brought also from the north the raw cotton which was so badly needed in the south, and brought back from Szechuan cloth, rice, salt, and sugar.

The next system is the south-west system. I am not going to deal to any great extent with it, because many people have already lectured on the Burma Road, but starting from Szechuan there are three roads to Yunnan: the main route Chungking to Kweiyang 450 kilometres and thence another 560 kilometres to Kunming. A second route started on the Yangtze at Luchow, traversed a 10,000-foot pass before it joined the first road at Kuching, some 80 kilometres east of Kunming. The third route, some 1,200 kilometres in length, starts at Chengtu, passes Loshan, and then skirts the foot of Omei Shan; then it runs up the left bank of the Tatu River to Fulin; a little further on it crosses the river and climbs over the Pusa Kang into the Province of Hsikang. The road then runs south through Hsichang; the Yangtze is crossed by motor ferry, and the road then continues south through Yunnan till it meets the Burma Road 230 kilometres west of Kunming.

The south-eastern starts from Kueiyang eastward. The main road runs to the railhead of the Hunan-Kwangsi-Kweichow railway, which is gradually being advanced from the east towards Kueiyang. In 1943 the railhead was at Chin-Ch'eng-Chiang. The south-eastern road system extends all over East China; from Leiyang in Hunan, and Kukong in Kwangtung, roads run east to Chian and Kanhsien in Kiangsi Province.

From the latter two roads run north-east to Chienyang in Fukien and thence on to Chekiang Province. Until the Hengyang-Kukong section of the railway was cut in 1944 by the Japanese you could travel from Kunming right to the east of China by car with a comparatively short railway journey intervening. In the coastal area the Chinese had destroyed the coastal roads to a depth of about one hundred miles inland.

The present situation is very much the same as it was during the war. The Communists occupy pretty well the same area that the Japanese occupied in the middle period of the war: that is, they occupy the north-east quadrant of China proper, and I cannot tell you much about the roads in that part for that reason, but please bear in mind that that area is chiefly plain, and you can get about in a car to most places by the country roads. In the south and west of China you cannot use country roads because there are no country carts, and therefore you must keep to the proper motor roads.

Now I would like to talk a little about road travel conditions. I have a great admiration for the Chinese road engineer: he has little funds, he has to compete with great difficulties, and a government which never gives him enough money. I am afraid the fatal characteristic of the Chinese—lack of maintenance—comes to the fore very much; the idea that if you build a road well, the road is built and you need not do any more to it, and, of course, that means in a few years there is no road. Generally speaking, the metalled surface is thin and narrow and, except on the old main Burma Road, which had been specially widened, one car has to get over on to the verge to let the other car pass. There are kilometre-stones all the way along the main roads, but you have got to be rather careful because the kilometre-stone does not show the distance from A and the distance from B, but only the distance from one end of the road to the other, and where roads pass over provincial borders you may be confronted suddenly with a different series of kilometre-stones numbering in the opposite direction. This is disconcerting to one's calculations of distance and petrol, especially when the latter is like liquid gold.

In the south-east system they have five-kilometre boards which show the distance to and from the towns on the road. The roads are fairly well road-signed—in fact, rather too generously, one might put it, and you are inclined to find massive warnings about zigzags and dangerous corners all put in the wrong spot. One sometimes felt the road sub-engineer had been handed out so many of these things and he put them just anywhere. There was one delightful sign that always tickled me, a large exclamation mark put up at some frightful hill or awful corner!

Another pleasant thing which might be copied elsewhere, I think, is that in the south and the west and the north-west, where these terrific hills are, you find at the bottom of the passes a notice giving the distance in kilometres to the top of the pass and to the foot of the pass the other side, and also the name of the pass and the height above sea-level. One often met at the bottom of these hills a funny little shop or grass hut which sold wheel chocks for those vehicles which were in doubt of making the grade.

The weakest point of all, I think, in the road communications of

China is the bridging. Bridges in nearly all cases are made of wood, and here this question of maintenance crops up; they do not maintain them, and the bridge falls to pieces sooner or later. There is only one golden rule when approaching a bridge in China, and that is, go dead slow: either the bridge has gone or the planks have gone rotten, or you may find the approach ramp has sunk about six inches, and that generally means your front springs go if you take it at speed. Other bridges are made with cross-planks, and with repeated traffic the nails stick up and then you have no tyres left. In some cases longitudinal planks are laid on top rather like rails, and if you are not careful you miss these planks and go into the side planks or into the holes. Another dreadful thing sometimes happens: these long planks may be loose at both ends, and under pressure of the front wheels the back end of the plank lifts up and spikes into your rear wheel, bursting the tyres, pushing back the rear axle and disembowelling the driving shaft, and there you are!

Where there are no bridges there are ferries. On the road from Chungking to Paochi on the north-western road there are four large rivers which you have to get over by ferry, and I must say these ferries are extremely efficient; most of them carried two or three lorries at a time, plus a jeep or a small car, and they were paddled or punted across by gangs of coolies, and the thing that surprised me was that it was the only service you never had to pay for. At Chungking and other places they ran a most efficient motor ferry service across the river—an extremely fast river, running about ten knots—and these motor ferries were driven by natural gas, which is obtainable in parts of Szechuan, and I met the same sort of thing further up the higher reaches of the Yangtze. On the road from Canton to Hongkong there are at least five ferries to get over, and this means, I think, that this road will never compete with the railway until these ferries are replaced by bridges. Until they get steel and iron to build proper bridges you are up against trouble every time the rains come and the bridges are put out of action all over the country.

With regard to the speeds at which one can travel, 2½-ton trucks can average about fifteen miles an hour, 30-cwt. trucks about eighteen, and jeeps and cars, provided they have good springing, about twenty miles an hour. When you get up into Shansi there is a much better surface and you can travel at thirty miles an hour. I have only once been at sixty miles an hour, and that was in Hainan Island, on a little five-mile stretch of road which runs from Yulin to Sama, which came into prominence a little while ago because the Chinese detained some B.O.A.C. planes there which had landed in an emergency. That road had been made of concrete by the Japs, and I do not recommend anybody to travel at sixty miles an hour anywhere else in China.

One good thing has happened in the last few years or so, and that is all horse-drawn and man-drawn carts on these through roads have got to have rubber tyres, and the only people who transgressed this law were the military, who, I am afraid, nearly always did. One other thing has happened: towards the end of 1945 they changed the rule of the road in China from the left to the right, and I think that is a great blow to our motor trade there.

There has been considerable improvement in the welfare of travellers on the main motor roads. The China Travel Service have organized a series of guest houses and hostels, and you will find them quite clean, including the beds, and I must say I never met any unwelcome insects in the rooms I stayed in. The China Travel Service lease beauty spots such as old temples, which they have taken over to run. There is a particular one at a place called Miaot'aitzu, between Paochi and Paocheng, on the north-west road. It is up near a pass in the Tsinteng mountains in lovely wooded country and is a most delightful place to stay a week-end in. Of course, if you get on the side roads and the small provincial roads you may not find such places. Some Provinces have similar chains of hostels, some are good and some are bad, but on the whole they are not quite so well run as those of the China Travel Service. When travelling in China it is still advisable to get to your destination before dark, otherwise there may be difficulty in finding a place to put up for the night.

I would like now to talk about the Chinese point of view on travel and roads. As I have said before, lack of maintenance is a failure which perhaps they always will have, and going with this lack of maintenance of roads and cars is their delight in improvisation. I think that is one thing they do like doing. If the road is blocked, well, the Chinese will get another way round quicker than anybody else; if the petrol system won't work, well, somebody stands on the dashboard and pours the petrol in! I remember going along in Kansu on a Russian truck which broke a front spring, the driver dashed into the nearest cottage and came back with a grin on his face with two pairs of slippers, which he tied over the front axle to replace the broken springs, and off we went again, quite happily. If you live near a road in China, especially one that is liable to get muddy and boggy, you may also lose your doors; and I remember a time in Ninghsia, in the north, when a military lorry got stuck in the mud and the troops in it went running off to nearby houses, pulled the doors off, came back and put them under the truck, got it out of the morass, and, of course, did not bother to send the doors back to the wretched householders! City streets are widened without compensation to the shops on the side. In some cases the citizens of these cities have got out of it by by-passing the main road round the city walls, and I think that is a very good idea. There is also a system of labour on the road, and I am not at all certain how much compensation the villagers get for having to maintain the roads: I have a feeling they do not get very much, but I am not prepared to say they do not get anything.

There is also a funny feeling in China that "the road is mine and I can do anything I like with it!" There is very little consideration for other people. Drivers of lorries which have stuck put road chocks or huge stones to stop them running backwards, and will very carefully leave those enormous stones in the middle of the road for other people to run over; bus drivers are likely to stop right in the middle of the road to carry out repairs. Nearly always the bus driver will have his hand out to point to you to get on to the verge or off the road because he thinks you are taking up too much of the space. The local people have no compunction about ploughing up the road. Water channels are a great problem, and at certain times of the year a series of water channels are dug across the road to let the water through to the farmer's fields on the other side; and I do not know what can be done about it until proper culverts are made. Paper-makers paste papers all along the road, cloth-dyers spread their cloth out; crops dry in the road or are sometimes laid out to be threshed by the traffic passing over.

One cannot leave the road without mentioning the buses and lorries running on it. The bus-driver is a very big man nowadays: he is no longer called a " driver," he is called a " chauffeur," and you must be very tactful about this or there will be a lot of trouble. Most buses have three men as crew: the driver, the mechanic, and the man with the wooden chock who stops the bus going backwards when it stalls. The driver, who is very autocratic, stops the bus when he wants and keeps it waiting as long as he wants for his dinner, and pays no attention to the passengers unless he wants them to get out and shove the bus up the hill. There is a lot of graft: when you start off from the bus station the bus is crammed full of people, but a little way outside the city there will be a little man standing at the side of the road and he is the driver's passenger and perquisite, and he gets in and squeezes himself into the boot of the car, and just before the end of the day's run out he pops and disappears and you do not see him until the next morning, when he gets on again. The drivers also, like the crews of ships on the China coast, have to carry their own bit of wares or merchandise to sell the other end. Travelling in a bus one day between Sining and Lanchow I heard a very peculiar noise and I thought the pistons were going to seize up, so I mentioned this to the driver and he said, " Oh, that is all right," and he lifted up a little lid at the side and there were fourteen ducks in the tool-box! The buses are very overcrowded, and there are more people crammed in than you could imagine; the sitting space is frightfully cramped, and not only do the buses usually carry a large and leaking drum of petrol at the back of the driver's seat, but the driver smokes all the time and throws his matches about.

In 1943 I reckoned my petrol cost me a pound a mile to travel, and I am not at all sure whether that has changed very much now. China cannot afford to import a great deal of petrol, but there are some local sources for fuel, such as Hsing hsing hsia in the west of Kansu, where the Chinese oil wells are, but their production is not very much and it is rather poor petrol. There are two areas where there are signs of oil wells, one is at a place called Kiang Yu, near Mienyang in North Szechuan, and there are rumours of traces on the Yellow River, up in the Communist area.

There are other materials which can be used: there is charcoal, which in the south, south-east and south-west is readily available, but as you know charcoal does not give much power and these large lorries have great difficulty in getting over the enormous hills when running on charcoal; I have seen on the Kunming-Burma road lorries literally being wedged up the hills because they cannot get up any other way. They rev up, let the clutch in, jump forward a yard, and then the man with the chock runs up and puts it under. There is vegetable oil, from which they make a very smelly petrol substitute, and also alcohol. This was used extensively during the war. It is produced chiefly in Szechuan, Yunnan, Hsikang, and Kweichow from sugar cane. It was very satisfactory but not very good for the insides of one's engine, I believe, after a time. One of the nuisances of motor travel is the space and weight in one's vehicle taken up by drums of fuel. Fuel supply points may be 500 miles apart. One may have to change over from alcohol to petrol or *vice versa* midway. Bad fuel and bad roads cause low mileage to the gallon.

It is very sad—I saw Russian trucks in China, and I saw American trucks, but never a British truck. I asked the Chinese drivers how they liked these Russian trucks, which had been running then for about six years—that is a very long life for a truck in China; the Chinese drivers swore by them and said they were very powerful and did not go wrong very much. I must say they seemed to be built very, very solidly and for the type of country over which they were running. I imagine they had been built for Russian Turkestan, where the conditions were very much the same. They did not go very fast, but they lasted a long time: a good deal longer than I think American trucks would last. On the other hand, spare parts were available for American trucks in most small towns in all parts of the country. It strikes me as very sad that British cars and trucks are not represented at all. I think the fault is our manufacturers will not produce the type of truck which will pay in China, and the recipe for this is to build a $2\frac{1}{2}$-ton truck designed to carry 7 tons of load over bad roads, plus thirty passengers as a top load!

Group Captain SMALLWOOD: May I ask the speaker if he knows anything about the roads leading up from Kalgan on to the borders of Shansi and Mongolia? I used to go up there to shoot. I imagine it is under Communist control now, but it used to be possible to get there in three days.

Colonel STABLES: As far as I know those roads do exist still. Of course, the great advantage of the country up where you mention is that it does not matter very much if you do get a bit off the road. The only trouble was the Nankow Pass; I tried to get up that in a baby Austin in 1933, but there were just stone steps up it and the car could not climb them, but trucks are running up there now. I was up in the north-west bend of the Yellow River in 1944 and there were trucks running all over that area.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: What type of car has the Army got?

Colonel STABLES: Dodge, Chevrolet, Ford, and there were enormous stocks when I left in 1945. I think the Generalissimo's Army had salted away enormous stocks of trucks which never saw the light of day; you saw them in car parks and hidden away in caves and odd places, and I imagine they are still in use.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to thank the lecturer on behalf of all of us for this interesting and amusing lecture. I think it has brought back all sorts of recollections which seemed very real when he talked about them again, and it has been a great pleasure to hear him.

THE FAR EAST AND THE PHILIPPINES IN 1947

By AIR MARSHAL SIR JOHN BALDWIN, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.L.

Lecture given on March 10, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Air Marshal Sir John Baldwin should not need any introduction to this audience, as he lectured to us after his visit to China last summer. During the recent war he served first in India and then in command of No. 3 Tactical Air Force in the Burma Campaigns of 1943 and 1944, and so he had every opportunity to learn the general position in the Far East at the time of the Japanese collapse.

Since the war he has become connected with some businesses that have interests in China and the Far East. He was in China in 1947 helping to make a new agreement between this country and China on the development of air lines there; and to-day he will tell us what he has seen in a recent trip still further East.

THIS talk follows much the same lines as my previous one to the Society last year. I think it best to confine my remarks largely to conditions in the Philippine Islands, but if time permits there are one or two observations I should like to make with regard to present conditions in Hong-Kong, Siam, and Burma.

On this occasion I left the United Kingdom in the first week of November, 1947, by B.O.A.C. to Hong-Kong. Actually I set out with a mission detailed to go to Siam to make a bilateral agreement with the Siamese Government. Unfortunately, we were not able to fly on from Hong-Kong to Siam, owing to the fact that the night before we arrived the Siamese had staged a *coup d'état*. Thus there was no Government with whom to negotiate. But before leaving England we had taken a brief to enter into a similar bilateral agreement with the Philippine Government if things went well in Siam. After consultation with our Ambassador in Hong-Kong we decided to go straight on to the Philippines in the hope that the situation in Siam would clear up and that we could later go there and enter into negotiations.

You will realize that Siam is situated right on the old main trunk routes and is, therefore, very important. At first sight, perhaps, the Philippines did not appear so important but, as I will endeavour to show, they have a considerable bearing on our aviation plans.

My first contact with any matters or organization Philippino was when I boarded a Skymaster operated by Philippine Air Lines to fly from Hong-Kong to Manila.

The trip, which took place in exceptionally good weather, occupied four and a half hours from Hong-Kong to Macardi Airport, which is about half an hour's drive from the centre of Manila City.

These aircraft are extremely well-found, and are operated by mixed crews composed of Filipinos and Americans, the captains of the larger aircraft being generally Americans at the present moment, with probably a Filipino co-pilot. The crew drill is excellent, and I cannot speak too highly of the efficiency of all members.

We made a landfall approximately forty-five minutes from Manila and continued down the coastal cultivated belt to the city, arriving there just after dark. The ground arrangements for the reception of passengers at Macardi leave much to be desired at the present moment. This is due to the fact that Macardi is not scheduled to remain the international airport and therefore everything is of a temporary nature, and undoubtedly some of the delay which took place was due to the very stringent regulations in force because of the cholera epidemics then raging in other countries.

The city of Manila has made great strides towards rehabilitation, in spite of having been devastated during the war. I gather that little damage was done when the city was occupied by the Japanese, since they met with very little resistance from the American armed forces then in the country. Almost all the destruction took place during the battle for liberation. Of the old city of Intramuros, where the majority of the ancient Spanish buildings were situated, little remains except the city walls, and up to date not much has been done with regard to the restoration of this area except in so far as one or two of the churches are concerned.

The commercial centre and the docks and certain parts of the more outlying residential areas were also very seriously damaged, and here really magnificent progress has been made towards reconstruction, and apparently there is not the same shortage of material to contend with as is the case in European devastated areas.

I did not see any evidence of rebuilding in brick or stone. Everywhere reinforced concrete was the material employed.

The only hotel in Manila is the Government-owned Manila Hotel, which, like every other building in the neighbourhood, was completely gutted, having been fought for room by room. When I arrived, approximately half of the hotel had been rebuilt and was functioning, and almost every day an additional room was being added to the available accommodation. The prices charged are very high and thus form a good source of revenue to the Government. I paid £5 a day for my room without any food or extras, and it had been somewhat hastily reconditioned with temporary materials which proved to be anything but waterproof when typhoons hit the city.

The harbour, which consists of two separate bays forming the North and South Harbours, is most extensive. The inter-island shipping is chiefly confined to the North Harbour, whereas the main ocean-going liners are accommodated in the South Harbour, and here the majority of the quays and warehouses have been reinstated, but the anchorage itself is still somewhat restricted, owing to the fact that there are well over 100 wrecks still littered about in the harbour area, although certain attempts have been made to concentrate them in specific areas. There appears to be a hitch in the arrangements to clear the harbour, as, because of the price demanded by the Government for the scrap, no salvage company has so far been willing to undertake the removal of the remaining wrecks.

I should like to digress for a minute here to allude to the very efficient

Meteorological Service which exists for the whole of this area—by this I mean the area stretching from China to well south of Manila—which is covered by a first-class typhoon reporting system, the track of each typhoon being accurately plotted together with details as to its force and probable direction. There is, therefore, little likelihood of any city or area being caught unaware of a typhoon's approach. Not only are specific signals hoisted, but there is a code of siren blasts going up to ten which is used in conjunction with the visual warning, and all the latest information is of course published in the papers alongside a reproduction of the typhoon signal code. Each typhoon is allotted a code name, and, owing to the trouble they cause, it seems to have been appropriate to give them female names in alphabetical order. The ladies of this species who visited the city while I was there were Flora, Gwen, and Hilda, Flora being the most furious. Hilda was the only one who did not run true to form, and for no apparent reason it elected to reverse just after passing Manila and became once again attracted to the city. They certainly succeed in putting an end to any form of outdoor amusement and make communication, if not always hazardous, certainly uncomfortable. As far as I am concerned, any typhoon over the strength of six I find decidedly frightening, and Flora succeeded in making my room a shambles.

Communications are generally speaking bad. The Republic consists of some 7,000 islands of which quite a number are uninhabitated, in certain cases forming valuable reserves of timber; and therefore, naturally, up-to-date inter-island shipping has played a big part in the communication system, and this has now been to some extent superseded by a network of inter-island air lines. Those to the more important towns are serviced by Skymasters and Dakotas, whereas Catalina amphibians are being used on some of the subsidiary lines to smaller places.

Roads are exceptionally bad, particularly in the city of Manila, and little has been done to repair surfaces which were torn up in the shelling; in fact, I could see no signs of any attempt to remetal. The usual method appeared to be to pass a bulldozer over the road and level off the worst of the bumps, this practice being carried out even on the city roads. No attempts seemed to have been made to reduce the dust menace, even by tar spraying.

On the main island of Luzon there is, of course, the Manila railroad, but the less said about this, I think, the better. After seeing it I can only say that I hastily unloaded such shares as I did hold.

It is extraordinary that in a city and port of the size of Manila no attempt has been made to put the railway communications through to the quays, and therefore everything has to be trucked from the port, either to the railway, but more often to its destination.

The tramway system in the city was destroyed during the war, and there has been no attempt to reinstate it. I gather most of the rolling stock was used to form barricades and that little of it now remains. This system has been superseded by fleets of buses, quite a large percentage of which are of the jeep type, dangerously driven and fantastically overloaded. Taxis are particularly numerous and motor-car ownership must approach the density per head of population of that in the United States.

All five bridges over the river which intersects the city were also demolished in the war and have been temporarily replaced by Bailey type bridges carrying a two-way stream of traffic, whereas I think I am right in saying that in every case the pre-war bridges could accommodate a four-line traffic stream. This all adds considerably to the traffic congestion in the city, and it was quite a common occurrence during rush hours to have to wait twenty to forty minutes to get across the river.

Due to the lack of efficient communications, it was perhaps not surprising to find that in at least one island isolated parties of Japanese were still holding out, and the local forces only succeeded in liquidating what was reported to be the last of these Japanese outfits during the early part of December.

However, with all these drawbacks business appears to be flourishing, and there is quite a large British commercial colony although naturally the American interest predominates. The British appear to have almost a complete monopoly of the accountancy business and are decidedly well represented in the Insurance and Banking activities. I came across an interesting sidelight as far as Banking activities were concerned, in that one of the largest American Banks was quite unable to induce the right type of young American to volunteer for service overseas and had recruited some thirty young Britishers.

The resources of the country appear to be almost unlimited and it is hard to discover any commodity which one or other of the islands does not possess. There are immense forests of commercial hardwood and mineral resources of every kind, including coal and oil. Although the coal is of the soft type it is not lignite, and is used for smelting.

The climate is eminently suitable for the production of sugar; cocoanut palms flourish as well as most other tropical crops, and at the present moment the Republic is an exporter of rice.

The compulsory switch over to rice attempted by the Japanese is perhaps the main reason for the present state of civil war which is being waged in the main island of Luzon, and which gives rise to quite a considerable casualty list each week, although little appears about it in foreign newspapers. While the Japanese were in occupation of these islands, they endeavoured to force the pre-war sugar plantations to switch over to the cultivation of rice as they had ample supplies of sugar, but were distinctly short of rice. The destruction of the refineries and this radical change gave rise to a certain amount of unemployment and grave dissatisfaction amongst the inhabitants of the plain district between Manila and the mountains, which is largely inhabited by the Huks. As the Huks were the most dissatisfied and discontented party under the Japanese regime, it is obvious that they were the most fertile ground for subversive action against the Japanese, and it was therefore from their ranks that the underground army was largely recruited and considerable supplies of modern type weapons were smuggled in to them by air and other means. For various reasons the Huks have remained disgruntled and appear to think that the present Government has neglected their interests. Having been trained in guerilla tactics, they have resorted to using these against the Government and have even maintained a certain nucleus of their original war-time formations and are certainly led by some of their war-time commanders who still enjoy their official ranks.

There did not appear to be any immediate prospect of this rebellion being suppressed, as the Philippine military organization is not as yet very efficient, since there is a clause in their agreement with the U.S. whereby the Americans maintain large forces in the island for strategical defensive reasons and therefore the Philippine Government has had no worries about defence, and naturally the Americans are loth to take any action with regard to internal trouble, so until some form of efficient military administration is evolved the Huks will, I expect, remain a thorn in the Government's side.

My reason for visiting the Philippines was to negotiate a bilateral agreement on behalf of civil aviation, and although at first sight Manila might appear to be of small importance with regard to our Commonwealth routes, we have considerable interest in running airlines, not only to Manila, but via the Philippines from Hong-Kong to Australia, and from Hong-Kong to North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore.

There were already three Philippine air lines operating into Hong-Kong when I arrived out there, and it was therefore essential that we should get the position regularized and stake out our claim to reciprocal rights into the Philippine Islands.

On the whole I found them willing negotiators, although at the outset they appeared to have very little idea as to what their real needs and intentions with regard to air routes were.

It was unfortunate that, owing to an upset of my original plans, I arrived in the Philippines somewhat earlier than had been intended, and found them in the midst of their elections, which monopolized the complete attention of those in authority, and are by no means conducted according to British ideas. In fact, almost every form of bribery and corruption is likely to have been utilized by one side or the other, and quite definitely in many cases ballot boxes were substituted, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that there were a number of instances of intimidation. It is easy to see how difficult it must be to run a straightforward election in a country where even normal individuals maintain private armies. If your house is situated in a residential district, it is essential that you have an adequate armed guard not supplied by the Police or any regular force, but directly hired by the individual and equipped with a semi-military uniform and certainly a sub-machinegun, if no heavier armament. In certain cases these guards reach quite considerable strength.

The whole build-up of life in the Philippines is a strange mixture of contrasts. Here is a nation which has been in close contact with Dutch, British, Spanish, or American ideas over a period of years, and yet shows little trace of their influence. As an instance, due to the length of time during which the Spanish were in control of the islands, by far the greater majority of the people are professing Roman Catholics, yet the laws of the land appear to permit of a man's Common Law wife having equal status with his official wife, and I understand that the children of both these unions have equal civil rights.

On the whole the negotiations proceeded smoothly, and on the only occasion when a breakdown appeared imminent and I requested an interview with the President, I found him most approachable once the necessity for this interview had been established, and any delays which had previously arisen were, I feel certain, due to the fact that no subordinate has really any power to accept responsibility, or any wish to come to a decision, until such time as the President has expressed his approval of a proposition.

The agreement was initialled within a fortnight, once this Presidential interview had taken place.

It might be of interest to note that in addition to all the other blessings that have been poured upon these islands, Manila possesses far and away the best hill station that I think I have ever seen, and it was up here at Baguio, in the pine forests round the mining country, that my interview with the President took place, as there is little doubt that he was suffering from severe election nostalgia, and had withdrawn from Manila after the first week of the election upsets.

On the completion of the negotiations I returned to Hong-Kong by Philippine Air Lines and was able to spend a few days there before resuming my journey homewards. I was amazed at the progress towards general reinstatement that had taken place in the last six months, and to me it was most encouraging to see how air-minded the colony has now become. Hong-Kong Airways had at last commenced to function and already showed signs of being a most paying concern. The traffic between Hong-Kong and Shanghai was increasing very satisfactorily, and I personally believe that we shall find that the traffic from Hong-Kong to Manila will be equally good, although I know there is a danger that this traffic may be somewhat "one-way," since, great air travellers though the Chinese are, it appears to be a general plan for a Chinaman returning to his native land to do so by sea, accompanied by the greatest possible amount of baggage which can be wangled through the Customs; but when he eventually leaves China again, he comes back by air with nothing but what he stands up in, plus the dollars in his Bank.

In spite of the present difficulty of trade with China, there is a general atmosphere of hustle and prosperity in Hong-Kong, and the airport here is now a focal centre for many international companies operating the Far Eastern routes. If only satisfactory financial arrangements can be made to develop the new airfield at Deep Bay at the earliest possible moment, I feel there is no doubt Hong-Kong will become the premier airport of the East and will completely overshadow its potential rival at Canton where the Americans constructed a very fine war-time airfield which, however, has been allowed to fall into decay due to the present conditions prevailing in China.

SIAM

In the original plan, the intention had been for me to remain at Bangkok on the way out in order to conclude a bilateral agreement with the Siamese Government, as Siam occupies a strategic position on certain of our Commonwealth trunk air routes. Unfortunately, owing to a *coup d'état,* there was no Government with whom to negotiate, and therefore I proceeded straight to the Philippines in the hopes that the Siamese situation would have cleared up by the time I was ready to return. Unfortunately this was not the case and there was still no responsible Government with whom to negotiate.

Recent events appear to substantiate the opinion I then formed that the General Elections which were due to be held in January would support the individuals who had seized power, and that in spite of certain indications to the contrary, there would be no civil war.

A possible source of conflagration was that in the country there are still remains of the large Free Thai Army recruited by the Allies during the war to operate against the Japanese Occupation Forces directly the Allies were ready to move into Siam. Not only were large quantities of up-to-date arms flown in to these Resistance Groups, but they were also provided with instructors. The majority of these Groups are still in possession of their arms and the real brain of the previous Administration, Pridit, who had the code name of " Ruth " during the war, was a very popular leader of the Free Thai Army and it was quite possible that many of them would have rallied to him had he elected to stage a counter stroke against the usurpers. It would appear, however, that this is not his intention, and that there is every chance of the present Government being allowed to settle down and eventually win diplomatic recognition.

The average Siamese appears to take little interest in politics and is much more concerned with the general day to day business of life, somewhat naturally perhaps since Siam appears to be better placed than many of its neighbours with regard to commercial activities. For its necessities it is comparatively self-supporting, has a good credit balance, and possesses a large surplus quantity of rice for export to the hungry buyers on its doorstep. In spite of the sudden coup engineered by a small political clique, the country appeared quiet, satisfied and very uninterested in the political battle.

It should be noted that Bangkok is situated in a most favourable strategic position with regard to air routes, and is likely to become a very important air junction. The only near competitor would possibly be Rangoon, and in present circumstances I think Bangkok has the advantage.

From here the routes to Australia via Singapore and to China diverge and any direct route from India to the Far East north of Rangoon would be faced with a crossing of the Hump.

BURMA

I said that I did not think Rangoon could be regarded as a serious competitor to Bangkok as an airport at the present time. My stay here was very short, but what I saw was depressing and I feel that the commercial activities of Burma are handicapped by the uncertainty of this country's future policy, where at the moment the intense urge to demonstrate their new-found spirit of nationalism seems to monopolise the minds of their Ministers to the detriment of all future planning, except for the very patent desire to get rid of any traces of British influence.

I wondered how their enthusiasm for demonstrating their independence would overcome the ruling given that all flags flown in the country were to remain at half-mast until the burial of the martyred ministers, and yet this burial was not to take place until after Independence Day. I have not as yet heard whether flags were allowed to fly at peak, even for a period.

INDIA

Nor did I spend a long enough time in India on this occasion to be able to form any clear picture of what is happening there. It was depressing to arrive in Calcutta on December 22, which would normally have been a hub of seasonal gaiety, and find it comparatively dead and no difficulty in obtaining hotel accommodation.

I met and had a lengthy discussion with an old friend who is a member of one of the leading Sikh families, as a result of which I was left even more depressed since, much as I admire the Sikhs, I could not help feeling that they are exploiting the present situation for their own political gain. It is certain that should they be able to make use of the Indians to liquidate Pakistan, they themselves would at a later date be quite capable of trying to wrest control from the Indians.

It did appear that former concerns such as I.N.A. were already experiencing difficulties through the loss of British technical supervision, and it was also very obvious that the Pakistan authorities had no intention of allowing the present controlling interest in Trans-Continental Air Routes to remain in the hands of the Indian Companies, and are actively organizing their own air services.

Group Captain SMALLWOOD: When Sir John spoke to us last summer he said he had met with considerable difficulty in getting the Chinese to agree to our flying from Hong-Kong to Shanghai. That difficulty has apparently been overcome. Would it be possible in Hong-Kong, which is now so flourishing, to float a sort of aviation loan to build an airfield there, without calling on our sorely tried Treasury to provide some of the money necessary for such a purpose? My other question is somewhat frivolous, but I should like to know whether the beautiful polo ground in Manila is still in existence? It was one of the most lovely in the world.

Air Marshal Sir JOHN BALDWIN: The Americans erected their huts all over that polo ground and it has since been sold by the Polo Club to the Manila Corporation, and at a very good price.

As to the Hong Kong-Shanghai route, we went outside the terms of reference when signing the agreement, and agreed with the Chinese that if they developed the route it would be only fair that they should have time to deploy their aircraft on to other routes once we came in and took up a certain portion of the traffic. Therefore, for the first year after the coming into operation of the agreement we would only take up so many seats per month in each direction, on the Hong Kong-Shanghai route. We also had the route Singapore-Shanghai and also the B.O.A.C. running inland and to Shanghai. Thus we had alternatives. There has been no trouble arising out of that agreement; we both have ample traffic and I think I am justified in saying that at the end of the year when we are both co-operating on the Hong Kong-Shanghai route it will be found that the traffic has increased and that we shall not have taken any from the Chinese.

I would not like to reply to the question about a local loan. Speaking without authority, I think the idea is that the Colony has done a certain amount in order to improve matters; they have investigated certain potential sites and have spent several million dollars in so doing. The figure given us was $8,000,000, to start with. They argue that it is an international route and what are we going to do to help them along? That is only right when it comes to a question of the development of airfields. Moreover, we have helped elsewhere; for instance in Tanganyika and Kenya. Hong-Kong is, therefore, justified in asking what we are prepared to do to help in that regard. There is, of course, the time factor. If we do not get these airfields going, someone else is going to do so. At the moment the currency difficulty is against the Americans sending anyone to Hong-Kong with a view to the development of the airfields, so that we have a breathing space. My feeling is that the quicker we go ahead with the construction of an airfield in Hong-Kong, the better.

Colonel AMPS: Is it now accepted that the Deep Bay site is adequately up to international standards for International Airways?

The LECTURER: Yes, absolutely adequate to deal with anything up to what the Ministry of Civil Aviation call Type "B" airlines; that is everything except the Atlantic type of aircraft; I cannot see that type of aircraft being used on that route in the East. Deep Bay is absolutely fit to deal with anything we shall get in the Far East; it will adequately accommodate all the airlines likely to need that airfield for many years to come.

Colonel ROUTH: To what extent do Americans still remain in key positions? I understand that in 1923 the picture was very different from that which the lecturer has described. In 1923 living was good and cheap and everything was run by the Americans. They could not in those days find Filipinos who would stand up to the administrative responsibility. How do they do it now?

The LECTURER: You have put your finger on the point: there are very few Filipinos who will stand up to administrative responsibility. The Americans have, on the face of it, gone altogether. The administration is supposed to be run by the Filipinos, but for some years to come the Americans will be responsible for seeing that there is adequate external defence of the Philippines; that is all the Americans have really got in hand now. Under cover there is strong American influence still there. For example, Unilever, a big firm, had subsidiary branches under their local head office, but when the Philippines were American they came under New York. Now the Philippines are independent the subsidiary branches come under head office in England; they did not like that, and the Americans are still trying to put contracts over to America. On the face of it there are no Americans in any official position in the

Administration, but men like Sorreano have American advisers on the finance side and under cover the Americans are fairly strong. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to turn to the British for advice, though so far as official administration goes the Filipinos are fully qualified. They are a strange mixture, being frightfully backward in many ways and yet even the bath attendant at the swimming bath has been to the University and is a fully-qualified chartered accountant able to read the most abstruse books on British accountancy. The Filipinos are quite capable of building roads, but the telephone service has been largely put in by the Americans and I gather that army personnel are maintaining the telephone service. The electricity service was financed largely owing to the fact that the Americans during the war of liberation had a floating power station there. They have American technicians, but officially no Americans are in control of any service.

Colonel ROUTH: In the past the British had a Club into which the Americans were glad to get when they could. In those days the British stock was very high; they had the accounting; all the shipping and most of the jobs that carried any money were run by the British because the American youngster changed his job so often that there was no continuity. It seemed to me that in those days although the Government was American and although we could not buy land and they could, our financial position was very much stronger than theirs was ever likely to be. It sounds as though we are shaping in the same direction again.

The LECTURER: I would subscribe to that. We have a very strong direction from our Legation and our Consular service; we have some first-class individuals at the head of our business who are go-getters. I would say the British stock is very high indeed; I believe it is preferred to the American.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, Sir John, I would like to thank you on behalf of all present for your interesting lecture, much of which was very cheering.

A RECENT VISIT TO HUNZA-NAGIR

By AIR-COMMODORE F. W. LONG, C.B.

DURING a recent tour of duty in India it was my good fortune to be able to take advantage in May, 1947, of an invitation from the Political Agent, Gilgit, to accompany him on one of his bi-annual tours of the Hunza-Nagir country, which lies North of Gilgit and extends to the Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) frontier.

Gilgit town lies some 200 miles up the Indus from the plains on the north bank of the Gilgit River, and was the H.Q. of the Gilgit Agency. It was the northernmost point of British administration in India.

From about November to May access to the country, except by air (there is a small landing ground at Gilgit), is practically cut off by the snows, and even during the summer the journey from Srinagar or Abbotabad takes some two to three weeks over an indifferent road. I was fortunate in being able to fly to Gilgit; without this saving in time the trip would for me have been impossible.

The flight up the Indus Valley must surely be one of the most magnificent in the world. After leaving the plains the great river is confined in its gorge, which is flanked by mountains of increasing height, culminating in the great massif of Nanga Parbat (26,629), the fourth highest mountain in the world, which, incidentally, has claimed more victims in attempts to surmount it than any other Himalayan mountain. It is a spectacle not easily to be forgotten with its face of 17,000 feet of ice, snow and glaciers.

Continuing up the gorge, the Kailas Range comes into view, with its great ice wall and its fine peak of Haramosh (24,400). The Indus here turns east, and the remainder of the route to Gilgit lies up the Gilgit River.

The mountain system here is interesting in that it is the meeting place of the three great mountain barriers of India—the Himalayas, the Karakoram and the Hindu Kush. From the air on a clear day all three are clearly seen, and a grand array it is. As far as the eye can see, the great mountains stretch with scores of peaks of well over 20,000 feet in view.

On arrival at Gilgit I was met by the Political Agent, and we set off on ponies to his house, where I enjoyed the charming hospitality of himself and his family for two days, during which the necessary arrangements were made for our 200 mile trip.

The Hunza Valley lies between the Karakoram on the north and the westernmost end of the Himalayas on the south. It is one of the centuries-old trade routes from Chinese Turkestan into India, and has had a chequered history. In the last century the men of Hunza and Nagir were continually at enmity, and their main preoccupation was raiding one another across the valley. This pastime was supplemented by flouting the authority of the Kashmiri Government and murdering their soldiers and officials as opportunity offered.

In 1891 the Government of India decided to take a hand and put a stop once and for all to these tiresome habits. An expedition was accordingly despatched, and after a particularly arduous winter campaign, during which no less than three V.C.s were awarded for one particular action, the country was pacified. The turbulent Mir of Hunza fled north across the frontier and escaped, and in a remarkably short time the people settled down peaceably. From that day to this there has been no trouble of any sort, and the country is a splendid example of our genius for letting a country run itself, with occasional contact through British officers. The Hunza and Nagir peoples are fortunate in having good and intelligent rulers in their respective Mirs, and the relationship between these rulers and ourselves has been one of mutual trust and respect.

The route from Gilgit to Baltit, the capital of Hunza, follows the valley of the Hunza River, and the scenery through which it passes is wild and magnificent in the extreme. We had arranged the journey in stages of about twenty miles a day. This may sound unambitious, but the rough and precipitous nature of the track seldom allows of the ponies getting out of a walk—in fact, in many places one has to dismount and lead.

The first stage to Nomal is not particularly impressive. None of the great snows can be seen, the country is barren and the valley somewhat restricted and hot; but Nomal dak bungalow is situated just outside the village in pleasant green cultivation, with a clear mountain stream running close by.

The next day we had a longish march of some twenty-eight miles to Minapin. Not long after leaving Nomal the track turned easterly at Chalt, which we reached just before midday. As one rounds the bend in the river to Chalt there comes into view the first vision of the superb summit of Mount Rakaposhi (25,550) towering up head and shoulders above all else, glittering in the sunlight against the deep blue of the sky. This glorious, but little known, mountain is accepted by those who have been privileged to see it as being one of the finest mountain spectacles in the world, rivalling the view of Kinchinjunga from Darjeeling. From Chalt all the way to Baltit, Rakaposhi is almost continually in view, and one has ample opportunity of studying its formation from close quarters, since at one stage of the journey it is only some five to six miles distant as the crow flies.

The view looking across the valley is directly opposite the north face of Rakaposhi, and I for one will never forget the beauty of the scene as the sun gradually sank, turning the snows and glaciers from dazzling white through an almost limitless variety of shades to the final eclipse of the flaming summit as night eventually conquered.

There was a half-moon that night, and by good chance I awoke about 3 a.m. (we were sleeping in the open), and was able to see this lovely mountain in all the cold austerity of moonlight, and again as the first rays of the dawn sun touched the peaks with new fire. I shall not ask to see anything better—in fact, I doubt if it can be bettered.

Shortly after our visit an Anglo-Swiss expedition arrived with the object of climbing Rakaposhi. They did not succeed, so that great mountain still remains inviolate. From what I saw of it, I should say that it is likely so to remain for a long time, not only because of its intrinsic difficulty, but also because of its remoteness from the nearest rail or road head.

So far the route had been comparatively straightforward to someone like myself who was unversed in travel in such country. My companion had casually enquired whether I had a good head for heights, so I had a sneaking feeling that such a natural gift, which I knew I did not possess to any marked degree, would come in useful. My forebodings were not ill-founded, for shortly after leaving Minapin the " road " negotiates several stretches known as " peris." This innocent-sounding word is a euphemism for sections of the route where the track has had to be hacked out of the mountainside high up above the river bed owing to the cliffs running right down to the river. The gradients are extremely steep, the width extremely narrow (about 4 to 5 feet on a main route, less in side valleys) and the height above the river anything up to 1,000 or more feet. To add to one's feeling of uncertainty the edge of the track is left quite natural, so that it is really nice and crumbly. I admit that it was with no joyous feeling that I negotiated these " peris "; I regret to have to record that in some of the very worst places I dismounted and walked. The instinct to apply one's leg to the pony to make him hug the mountain face is strong, and is as strongly resisted by the pony, for the simple reason that he has no wish to get hit by a rock tumbling down from above. One's progress therefore, until one gets used to it to some degree, is inclined to be somewhat crabwise. However, my pony (a Badakhshani stallion) was an old hand at the game, and treated the whole thing with complete indifference. He was, incidentally, a beautiful little polo pony and a joy to ride. I never quite got to the stage of sharing the pony's indifference, but I did get used to the game a bit, and was able sometimes to look over the side down the yawning abyss to the river far, far below. Accidents do now and again happen due to falling debris frightening an animal, but the danger is more apparent than real. Some twelve years ago, however, a huge landslide did take place, and a sizeable village was overwhelmed and completely obliterated. The unstable appearance of the mountain face at this spot certainly gave one the impression that another such landslide was due at any moment, and I was quite relieved that it didn't happen whilst we were plodding along the track.

Our next day's march was to bring us to Baltit, where we were to stay two nights as guests of the Mir of Hunza. The day's journey was delightful, through glorious country well dotted with prosperous villages set in acres of cultivation and orchards, with the Rakaposhi range at one end of the valley and the fantastic pinnacles of the Karakoram at the other. This was my first view of the Karakoram, but unfortunately much cloud hung over them and most of the highest peaks were shrouded. However, one could distinguish enough to marvel at the artistry achieved by the forces of Nature on her gigantic scale. Every conceivable and inconceivable shape was there—spires, minarets, columns, cathedrals, medieval castles. It called to mind a drawing of Arthur Rackham's come to life. We were to have better opportunities in the next few days of seeing more of this unique range, a great part of which is as yet unexplored, and which contains probably the greatest glaciers in the world.

The contrast between the geological formation of the two mountain systems is here most clearly evident. Turn one way and you see the serene beauty of the Himalayas as epitomized in Rakaposhi. Turn the other and you look upon the stark grandeur of the appalling crags and precipices of the Karakoram, many of which are too steep for any snow to lodge. Both are of equal height, and you can take your choice of which you prefer. I found it impossible to decide. It was rather like asking oneself if one preferred Debussy's "Clair de Lune" to Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries."

We arrived at Baltit in the late afternoon and went to the Mir's house, which is situated on a hill at a little distance from the town. We were made very comfortable in his guest house, and it was not long before we had removed the travel stains and had a change of clothing. Whilst I was dressing, I heard a shout from my companion telling me to come outside quickly. I dashed out, and was just in time to see and hear an enormous avalanche crashing down the side of the huge 25,000-foot mountain just opposite. It was an awesome sight, and brought home to one most vividly the dangers that exist for those who essay to climb the high peaks in this part of the world. I was lucky in securing a photograph.

I found the Mir to be a most charming host. He is a thoughtful and intelligent man of, I should say, about forty, who undoubtedly has the welfare of his people most fervently at heart. He is, naturally, jealous of his independence, and was perturbed lest the impending withdrawal of the British from India should result in any attempt on the part of Kashmir to wrest this independence from him.

His genuine respect, admiration and liking for Britain and all her works was most pleasant, as was in fact that of all the people we met. He spoke English fluently, and listened each evening with close attention to the B.B.C. news.

At Baltit there was not very much to see except the old Palace, now unoccupied, which was the former house of the Mirs. It is perched up on a hill on the opposite side of the valley in a commanding position tactically. It has been denuded of some of its furnishings, but it is interesting architecturally. It is built almost entirely of wood on a ledge of rock, and access to it by the uninvited would be very difficult.

We enjoyed our day and a half's stay at Baltit very much. I for one said goodbye with real feelings of regret.

The next morning we were on our way to Nagir, some ten to twelve miles up the Nagir River. On leaving Baltit it was necessary, or at any rate convenient, to mount a yak to negotiate the very steep descent to the river. This was my first experience of this form of locomotion, which I found to be surprisingly comfortable and reassuring. The steep declivities which these remarkable animals can negotiate is truly astonishing, but their speed on the flat is in direct inverse ratio to that accomplishment—at least so I found when my companion and I had a short race to the point where we dismounted and took to our ponies again.

Nagir we reached after rather a warm march through a somewhat narrow valley in the early afternoon, and were invited to the Mir's house for tea and dinner. A much younger man than the Mir of Hunza, he again impressed one as being an enlightened ruler, albeit not with the same strong personality as his opposite number. He was most eager to look after us, and it was with pleasurable anticipation that I looked forward to a visit to the Hopar glacier, which he had organized for us the following morning. The prospect from the bungalow at Nagir was one of the most lovely of our trip. At the head of the valley to the south-east rose the summits of the Kailas range, one of which in particular, with the attractive name of Ganenesh (Golden Mountain), riveted attention. Its name is derived from the fact that there is a stream of yellow-coloured rock running down nearly the whole of the face of the mountain. This rock is apparently too steep and smooth for snow to lodge in any quantity, with the result that in the rays of the evening sun it stands out like a vein of gold.

Looking the other way to the north, several snowy summits and pinnacles of the Karakoram towered thousands of feet above us into the faultless sky, a few small alto-cumulus clouds drifting slowly over them, softening their grim and stark contours. We watched the light fade over this splendid scene until it was time for us to go and have our evening meal with the Mir. We stayed on for a short time afterwards, talking to him about his country, its people and economy, and then took our leave and turned in for the night.

The small village of Hopar stands at the junction of two of the glaciers running down from the lofty Kailas range, the Barpu and the Bualtar. Thither we set off the next morning, and after a delightful march we reached the tongue of land beyond Hopar from which a good view of both the glaciers is possible and beyond which one cannot go. We were accompanied by a veritable retinue of villagers, whose ranks had been continually swelled since setting out from Nagir. Our progress was made more delightful and Arcadian by a flautist who marched at the head of the procession playing the most attractive airs on his flute without ceasing. I marvelled at his lung capacity and endurance, since much of the going was decidedly steep and rough and the altitude was between nine and ten thousand feet. I found the whole thing quite enchanting. It made the cares and tribulations of civilized life as we know it seem very remote and unimportant.

I had never before had a close view of a Himalayan glacier. Perhaps I was not prepared for the discoloration caused by moraines, and had expected a glittering river of ice. River of ice it certainly was, with gigantic blocks and hummocks as big as houses, with bottomless fissures between, but the moraine had at this level near the glaciers' snouts made them dirty and not very attractive, and it was not until one looked towards the source up the valley that one could see them in their pristine freshness at the higher altitudes. We had a good pair of glasses with us, and were thus able to study the incredible ice formations.

The Mir, who accompanied us, had brought a large and somewhat ancient telescope. This was duly balanced on a mound of rocks, and we were invited to study the ibex high up on the opposite mountain at about 15,000 feet, I should say, at a distance of some three miles. The Mir's men were able to see them with their naked eye, or so they said, but even with the help of the telescope I was not quite certain that the tiny speck I did see was an ibex or a rock. However, I've no doubt it must have been an ibex if these keen-eyed hillmen said so.

The journey back along the south bank of the river was a good deal easier, and we made Gulmit the first night, where we put up at a house which had kindly been put at our disposal by the local Ranee, whom, of course, we did not see. It was comfortably appointed, with furnishings predominantly of red plush, overlooked by a large photograph of Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth.

The grandeur of the scenery from the southern bank of the river was not quite so impressive, but the country was more cultivated and green, long stretches of the route passing through fields and orchards. It must be a wonderful sight when all the blossom is out, but we were too late for that and a little too early for the best of the spring flowers, although there were many wild irises and roses in bloom.

We decided to go right through Gulmit to Nomal the next day, some twenty-eight miles, so we were up and about early and on the road by seven. The route we were on crosses the river and joins the north track just west of Chalt, so from there on we were going back in our outward tracks.

I have purposely left till near the end any description of the people we had seen on our journey. They were, I thought, quite delightful—typical mountain people blessed with the humour and sturdy physique that life in such surroundings always breeds. They turned out in their scores at every village through which we passed, and invariably met us on entering with their local band, about four to eight strong, playing their ageless tribal songs on a weird variety of drums and wind instruments. When first heard the noise thus produced is frankly cacophonous, but it does grow on one, till finally the ear becomes attuned and is able to suffer it without revolt and even with something akin to affection. The tunes are, of course, not extensive in number, and all are repetitive, but I often recall with nostalgia these bandsmen and their infectious enthusiasm.

In features the fair skins and hair and blue eyes met with are quite startling. The children in particular are often most attractive, and some of them might easily be mistaken for Western European or English. The women congregated on the housetops as we passed and welcomed us by their tribal method of salaaming, which consists of holding out the hands, cupped, with palms uppermost, and slowly rotating them from the wrist. A most engaging custom I thought it.

Practically every village boasts its polo ground, for polo is to them what soccer is to England. It is a more robust class of game than that played at home, with a minimum of penalties and a maximum of danger and physical endurance both for man and pony. It is fascinating to watch, and the local enthusiasm it evokes is tremendous, particularly among the bands, who play continually throughout the game. The ponies are so used to this musical accompaniment that they do not give of their best if called upon to play unaccompanied. Whether or not polo originated in this part of the world is debatable, but the fact remains that it has been practised in Hunza for many centuries and is their national game.

During the whole of our trip I never heard the melancholy word " baksheesh," which was most refreshing after India. I formed the impression that here was a happy and industrious agricultural people, contented with their lot in this remote valley untouched as yet by the blight of modern civilization. Long may they thus continue to live in peace and sufficiency in their clean little villages with their beautifully walled cultivated fields, and overlooked only by the great snows that are their ageless heritage.

The recent accession of Kashmir to India naturally caused a political convulsion in the Gilgit Agency. All the rulers decided at once to throw in their lot with Pakistan and to have nothing to do with India. Serious revolts and consequent massacres were only prevented by the cool action of one or two of the few remaining British officers in the Gilgit Scouts, whose experiences were graphically described in a special article in *The Times* recently.

The present state of affairs is no doubt somewhat confused, but it is to be hoped that stability will soon be reached in these regions which are of such great strategic importance to India as a whole.

NANGA PARBAT TO LHASA: THE ADVENTURES OF TWO AUSTRIAN CLIMBERS

By LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. TOBIN, D.S.O.

THIS story is that of an old mountaineering friend who, unfortunately, is not in a position to tell it you himself. He has sent it to me from Lhasa, where he is likely to remain for an indefinite time, and has told me to make whatever use of it I choose.

Now, though mountaineering may be looked on, more or less, as a by-product of our Society, it seems to me advisable to preface this paper with a few words about Nanga Parbat, that superb but vicious mountain who has again and again brought death and disaster to her would-be conquerors.

I do so because it is there, in the late summer of 1939, that I shall introduce to you Peter Aufschnaiter, whose wanderings in Tibet are really the main theme of this lecture. Some of you who have looked on the " naked goddess " from Kashmir may take exception to the stigma of vice being attached to her; but her record for the last fifty-two years more than justifies the charge. The first chapter was written in 1895 when that eminent climber Mummery led a small, lightly equipped party to examine the Diamirai, the north-west face. Mummery and two Gurkhas were lost, presumably overwhelmed by an avalanche. For nearly forty years the goddess remained inviolate, but in 1932 a series of assaults began. They were all made by German climbers, with their national determination, which not infrequently turns into reckless desperation. All these attempts were made from the Rakhiot or north-east side. . . . It has been said of Nanga Parbat by a great Himalayan climber (I think it was Bruce, who had been there with Mummery) that " she lulls to a sense of security then strikes." She struck for the second time in 1934 when four climbers and six porters perished, all but one in storms high up in the mountain, and for the third time in 1937 when seven climbers and nine porters were buried in the night while in Camp IV by an avalanche of unprecedented size and impetus. Camp IV had been used before and was thought safe, but there had been exceptionally heavy snow falls in the winter and spring which increased the downward pressure. Avalanches are, of course, more frequent in daytime after the sun has begun to take effect. Bodies of both disasters were recovered in 1938 by a special expedition under Paul Bauer.

I would like now to tell you something of this Peter, who has been a close friend of mine for nearly twenty years. He comes from St. Johann in Tyrol, of sound peasant stock and is an outstanding mountaineer. As one of Paul Bauer's team which made history in Kangchenjunga in 1929 and 1931, he proved his worth, not only as a climber, but in his dealings with the Sherpa and Bhotia porters, whose language he set himself to learn. He was a member of the Deutsche, Osterreichein Alpinverein, and his Himalayan experience and sound judgment led to his selection as leader of the 1939 reconnaissance. Concerning this I shall say little beyond the conclusion arrived at. This was that the Diamir flank, to which they had this time turned their attention, is forbidding and discouraging in aspect and technically more difficult than the Rakhiot side. But though not a whit less dangerous it is a shorter distance to the summit and is thought to offer slightly greater chances of success. This is because with favourable conditions a less extended route to the higher camps could be made by skilled mountaineers cutting steps and fixing pitons. So during the actual assault climbers would be under avalanche fire for less time.

However, the relative demerits of the two approaches have yet to be tested, for, after descending, Peter and his comrades learnt that war had been declared and that the prisoner-of-war camp at Dehra Dun was to be their abode, as it turned out for the next four and a half years.

It is very interesting to know that high up on the face at about 20,000 feet an unmistakable fuel log was found, which can only have been left there by Mummery forty-five years earlier.

Part II.—Escape to Lhasa

Before setting out with Peter on what I call his Tibetan Odyssey I ask forbearance, from the more erudite on the subject, of my pronunciation of place names and official titles. I know very little Tibetan. I am told that the suffix " pön " roughly denotes " head of." For instance, Garpöns in the Gartok district, and Dzongpön, Dzong being a fortress. " Lamyig " means, literally, " road letter," and it entitles the bearer to requisition transport and food in reasonable quantity. The lamyig is for use on the " tazam " or staging routes.

Aufschnaiter mentions Garpöns, plural. This is because, as with most official posts in Tibet, there are two of them. Often, but not invariably, one is lay, the other clerical. The reason for duplication is doubtless to keep a check, the one on the other.

May I explain now that the Nanga Parbat part of the story was by way of being a preface and is in my own words, so I have been using the third person. But the Tibetan Odyssey is taken almost entirely from Peter Aufschnaiter's own typescript, so I am going to use, as he does, " we," denoting himself and Harrer, except where I have put in an explanation.

Escape to Lhasa, 1944-45

By Peter Aufschnaiter

In April, 1944, seven of us escaped from the internment camp at Dehra Dun and two got away by railway, while Harrer, Kopp, Sattler, Treipel, and I made for Tibet via Nelang (11,000 feet). Sattler was affected by the altitude and returned to Dehra Dun. Our first four marches had been made by night, up the valley of the Bhagirathi, a main tributary of the Ganges, which we had to cross northwards at a point a few miles below Gangotri. From Nelang, which is about fifty miles west-north-west of Trisul, we set our course north-west for the Sutlej, which we reached at a point about 100 miles south of Hanle after completely losing ourselves in a maze of mountains. The local Jöngpons were distinctly embarrassed by our presence, but helped us with food, and sent us under escort as far as the Shipki pass. Just east of Shipki stands Riwo Pargyal, sacred to Tibetans, its 22,200 feet towering directly up from the Sutlej. Those of you who have read *Peaks and Lamas* by Marco Pallis will remember the dramatic account of the climbers' battle with the ogre of the mountain. From Shipki with its "Simla, 200 miles," under the circumstances a reassuring omen, we marched down the beautifully engineered but unfrequented Hindustan-Tibet road to the iron suspension bridge spanning the Sutlej. Here, on June 17th, Treipel turned back to India, Harrer and Kopp went off to investigate the Spiti Valley, in which Schmaderer was killed in 1945 after his second escape,* and I recrossed the Sutlej by a wooden bridge higher up and turned north over the Budbud La. On this pass, which rises to nearly 18,000 feet, I met several caravans of yaks carrying wool. A few days later I was joined by Harrer and Kopp, and we journeyed on together towards the Indus. On the way we met many nomads with thousands of sheep, and the wide plains we traversed were showing the first green and were pasturing herds of kiang, the wild ass. Farther north we crossed a range into Ladakh, and came down to the Indus at Trashigong. Here again the officials did not rejoice at our arrival, but they took no effective steps to stop us from going on to Gartok, where negotiations began in a friendly atmosphere. The Garpöns agreed to provide us with a lamyig to the border of the district at Gyabnak, where we were to turn south for Nepal, and also surprised us with welcome presents of dried meat, sampa, and butter. We had to wait eleven days in Gartok before we set off, on July 14th, accompanied by a servant and three baggage yaks. Between Gartok and Lake Mansarowar were occasional Tazam houses and many nomad settlements with innumerable yaks. We were not allowed to make the " sacred journey " around Mount Kailas, the Hindu Olympus, but wandered along the lake shore where the dominating feature of the scenery was Gurla Mandhata, towering with huge precipices and ice-falls, a sheer 10,000 feet above the turquoise-blue lake. With a party of traders from Garhwal we continued our eastern journey. Having crossed several streams which united to become the Tsangpo, already a surprisingly wide river, our party arrived at Gyabnak, the terminal of our lamyig, on August 8th. Gyabnak, a single building on the Tsangpo, is the headquarters of the chief local administrative official, styled the Bong Pa Chikyap, another delightful sounding Tibetan title. My friends from Lhasa tell me that it should really only be used in the Holy City, where it means more or less Lord Chamberlain. The functions of the Chikyap are rather akin to that of a Chief of the Staff with a finger in every pie. After a few days of waiting here a messenger arrived to summon us to Tradün, where two Lhasa officials of high standing were said to be awaiting us.

On August 12th we reached Tradün, and after lengthy discussions with

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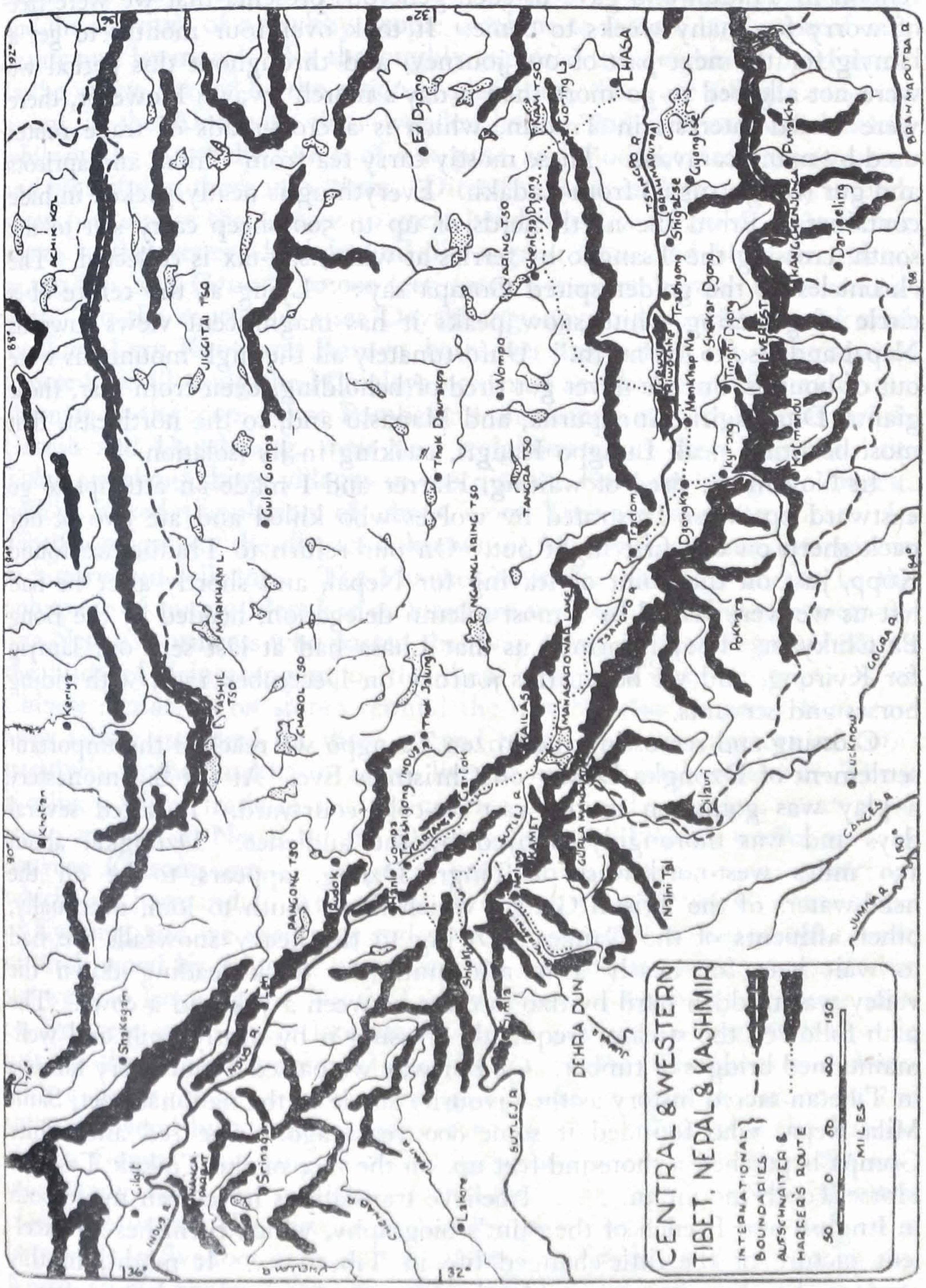
* While the Nanga Parbat reconnaissance was in progress Schmaderer had made the first ascent of the 24,165 feet Tent Peak in Northern Sikkim. This is one of the outliers of Kangchenjunga and had been considered almost impregnable.


CENTRAL & WESTERN TIBET, NEPAL & KASHMIR
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
AUFSCHNAITER & HARRER'S ROUTE
0 50 100 150
MILES
LHASA
Shigatse
Gyangtse
Darjeeling
EVEREST
KANGCHENJUNGA
Punakha
BRAHMAPUTRA R.
TSANGPO R.
Kathmandu
Kyirong
Tingri Dzong
Shekar Dzong
Tradum
Dzongka
Pokhara
Lucknow
GOGRA R.
GANGES R.
JUMNA R.
Naini Tal
DEHRA DUN
SUTLEJ R.
KAILAS
KAMET
GURLA MANDHATA
Gartok
Tashigong
Leh
Srinagar
INDUS R.
Gilgit
Shipki
PANGONG TSO
Rudok
Lahore
JHELUM R.
Thok Daurakpa
Thok Jalung
Wonpo
Kerrya
Gulo Gompa
Saka Dzong
Shaksgam
NANGA PARBAT
92°
88°
84°
80°
36°
32°

the officials, agreed to send our application for permission to remain in Tibet to their Government; this was asked for on the grounds of Tibet's neutrality. Pending the arrival of a reply the officials arranged for us to remain in Tradün and gave us such generous presents that we were free of worry for many weeks to come. It took over four months to get a lamyig for the next part of our journey, and throughout this period we were not allowed to go more than a day's march away. However, there were varied interests in Tradün, which is a cross-roads of trade routes used by many caravans. These mostly carry tea from China, and apricots and gur (rough sugar) from Ladakh. Everything is neatly packed in hide containers. From the north herds of up to 500 sheep carry salt to the south, crossing the Tsangpo by ferries at which salt-tax is collected. The chronicles of the golden-spired Gompa say: "Lying at the centre of a circle of gleaming white snow peaks it has magnificent views towards Nepal and also to the north." Unfortunately all the high mountains were out of bounds, but we never got tired of beholding, even from afar, those giants, Dhaulagiri, Annapurna, and Manaslu and, to the north-east, that most beautiful peak Lungpo Kangri, striking in its isolation.

In November, tired of waiting, Harrer and I made an attempt to go eastward but were frustrated by wolves who killed and ate two of our pack sheep on our first night out. On our return to Tradün we found Kopp, just on the point of leaving for Nepal, and shortly after he had left us we were visited by a most solemn delegation, headed by the Bong Pa Chikyap. They informed us that Lhasa had at last sent our lamyig for Kyirong, and we began this journey on December 17th, with riding horses and servants.

Crossing and recrossing the frozen Tsangpo we reached the important settlement of Dzongka Dzong on Christmas Eve. At the big monastery a play was going on in the vast ice-cold courtyard. It lasted several days and was thoroughly enjoyed by the audience. Dzongka, about 150 miles west-north-west of Tingri Dzong, appears to be on the head-waters of the Trisuli Ganga, which flows south to join, eventually, other affluents of the Ganges. Owing to the heavy snowfalls we had to wait here for nearly a month, until the track leading down the valley was trodden hard by dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). The path followed the stream, frequently crossing it by neatly built and well-maintained bridges of timber. On our way we passed a monastery famous in Tibetan sacred history as the favourite abode of the national poet, Saint Mila Repa, who founded it some 800 years ago. The red and white Gompa is perched a thousand feet up, on the face of the Trakak Taso, or Horse Tooth mountain. . . . I believe translations have been made both in English and French of the saint's biography, which furnishes an excellent picture of the little-changed life in Tibet. . . . It might, in this country, be thought almost blasphemous to name a racehorse after a great saint, but I have a painful recollection of putting, and losing, my shirt at the Darjeeling pony races on a namesake of Mila Repa, which was owned by a Tibetan of high rank, who ought to have known better. . . . And so ought I!

It was on January 25th that we arrived at Kyirong and the Dzong authorities were expecting us to go on to Nepal. But they allowed us, after a little persuasion, to remain with them, and we stayed for ten long but pleasant months, until November, 1945. Kyirong means "village of happiness," and we found this was no misnomer, for topography, climate, and the activities of a healthy people combine to form a landscape of rare beauty and harmony. We thoroughly explored the neighbouring district. In the valley, shaped by the action of glaciation, there are villages as lovely as any in the Alps with their wooden houses and well-cultivated fields, while on the slopes the forests of oak, pine, and rhododendron are as varied and beautiful as those in Sikkim. Directly above, and on all sides, superb snow peaks raise their heads to great heights. Riwo Pamba, 22,500 feet, stands in the western background like a great altar, and Sherkam Kang, 24,500 feet, and Ganesh, 22,000 feet, form a massive bastion to the south-west. To the south-east rises Dayabhang, 23,750 feet, with its splendid satellites, Leru Kang and Rasuva, both over 22,000 feet. It is interesting to note how all along the Himalaya names of Sanskrit and Tibetan origin alternate on the map. Riwo Pamba and Sherkam Kang are Tibetan, while Ganesh and Dayabhang, their near neighbours, are from the Sanskrit. There are about thirty villages in the district, Kyirong being the largest, with a mixed population of about 1,000 Tibetans and Nepalese. In Tibetan geography the district is known as Mangyul, a name interwoven in history and folk lore. The Phawa Gompa in Kyirong, said to be the only piece of purely Nepalese architecture in Tibet, was built in memory of a Nepalese princess who passed that way many centuries ago to become the bride of Sringtsangampo, the then king of Tibet. Inscriptions in Chinese characters on stones remind the traveller that an army from far-away China marched on these rugged paths, and the memory of comparatively recent Gurkha invasions lives in mind as well as record. There is a lively barter trade of salt against rice, and in the autumn some 1,500 sheep are sent to Nepal for the Dasehra festival. Pilgrim traffic goes on between Kyirong and the Nepalese province of Dzum, on the border of which is Khatmandu. At first we were restricted to within a few miles of Kyirong, and we used to spend much of our time ski-ing on skis made of birch wood by the local carpenter, but in June we were informed that we were to leave by the Ninth Tibetan Month (October) and from then on we were given more latitude. One of the first excursions we made was up the densely forested Kama Valley, where Ganesh comes down with a tremendous ice-face which gives birth to a short glacier whose snout is several hundred feet below the tree line. Hard by is the famous Pamba Gompa consisting of four temples one above the other, the top-most being 3,000 feet in altitude from the valley bottom. Among other places we visited the district of Lande, where butter is produced on a large scale in five-foot-high churns, worked in shifts, four men to a churn. Nearly all our explorations were made with the object of planning a route for our projected escape to Lhasa, for we had no intention of going to Nepal. We failed to find a practical route across the ranges to the east, though we had heard of a pass leading directly to the district of Pungrong which would have enabled us to avoid returning to Dzongka.

We actually slipped off on November 8th, working our way up-stream by night, and turning eastward from Dzongka, which we by-passed, into Pungrong. A lot of snow had fallen and fuel was scarce, but at Trakchen, headquarters of the district, though the officials fought shy of us, we could buy everything we wanted, including a yak. We took the opportunity of sketching the magnificent panorama of the Pungrong range with Gosainthan and Lapchi Kang in the background. From Trakchen a long march took us to Menkhap Me, and next day we had a glorious view of Mount Everest and Cho Oyu, and the peaks between them, the whole forming a long gigantic mountain wall rising above the vast and desolate Tingri maidan, strewn with numerous ruins. In the midday light the yellow band and the couloir below the summit of Everest were clearly visible. From Menkhap Me we steered for the north, on a course which we held for about 150 miles, till we reached the Tsangpo once again at Trashigang. We crossed by an iron chain bridge to Riwoche, an important place of pilgrimage with temples and a sixty-foot chorten.

From there we continued north to the Pe La, and at the village of Zang Zang Gewu, on the far side of the pass, made friendly contact with the inhabitants, among them a near relative of the late sirdar Narsang, who died on his way back from Bauer's second expedition to Kanchenjunga. Through his good offices we completed our food reserves and kit, and exchanged our grumpy Pungrong yak for a tall, strong animal before setting out into the desolate province of Changthang. We did not dare to ask him for information about the route to Lhasa, but we had reached the limit of our maps. When we prepared them in the internment camp we never dreamt we would get so far north.

We left Gewu, which is on the tazam road, on December 2nd, with our new yak going like a train, and climbed to the Drong La. From there it was to be thirty-four gruelling days to the Guring La, eighty miles from Lhasa.

The scenery was as bleak and desolate as anything we had ever seen. The wide, flat, dreary plateau was covered with snow—the fine weather broke, and arctic weather set in with snowfalls and strong north winds. Average day temperatures were at least 36° F. below freezing point, and Harrer developed frost-bite. We were informed that " to the east, there are many passes, but no khampas " (khampa is the local word for robber), while " to the north, there are many khampas, but no passes," and as we marched north we found this to be true. Being, of course, unarmed, we had some narrow escapes.*

The nomad inhabitants who often sheltered us at nights in their tents were friendly and hospitable. Their chief occupation during the winter months seemed to be cooking and eating meat at all hours of the day in every form. For the most part they eat wild animals rather than sheep.

When we asked our way to Lhasa people were still inclined to point us on to China, but prices had been much higher than we had expected, and there was no question of going to China. Even Lhasa was a doubtful proposition.

Part of the way we travelled with a yak caravan returning from Kailas, and at a settlement called Trazang we met an official. After laborious perusal of our two-year-old lamyig he seemed to be satisfied and arranged a guide for us. We left him next day and went on in snowdrift and strong wind to Nyatshang, where we should have liked to spend New Year, but we ran into a high official travelling with several hundred loads, and he offered to take us on with him and let us use the Government transport for a small fee. From the Dam La we had our first view of the Nyenchhenthanglha Peak, one of the mighty landmarks of the Tibetan uplands, and in Lhölam our gallant yak, who by now was completely exhausted, was stolen from us in the night.

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* My friends from Lhasa say that Aufschnaiter's translation of khampa is of doubtful accuracy. But I have left it.

On January 4th we traversed the Guring La, where we joined a much-used route from the western gold-fields and descended to the plain on which Lhasa stands. Here we said farewell to that endless inhospitable land—the Changthang Nyinje mepa, the "pitiless," it is called in Tibetan legend. From it we have brought many memories of strange adventure, and the kindness of quiet, stolid people.

On January 15th, 1946, twenty-one months after leaving Dehra Dun, we arrived in Lhasa, our sheepskin coats in tatters, almost barefoot, with one tola of gold sewn into my rags, one and a half rupees in our pockets, and all our belongings on a donkey.

You will, I expect, want to know how the two wanderers fared and are faring since their arrival at the Holy City of Tibet. The hospitality and friendliness which they had met with all through their 2,000 and more miles' journey continued in full measure. They were fed, clothed, and cared for, and through the British Political Agent in Sikkim, from whom I had enquired some six months after their escape, I got into touch with Peter. Harrer was for many weeks under treatment at the British mission hospital. Aufschnaiter had at first a job as head mali (gardener) at one of the big monasteries a few miles away from Lhasa. Then he was, and still is, employed in survey and construction work at a power station, the first in the country. He tells me that survey work in the city itself is somewhat odoriferous. When I got into touch with him he was living comfortably in the house of Tsarong Shape, who had had a high position and power under the late Dalai Lama. Peter has an office of his own with three or four clerks. The British Trade Agent, Richardson, tells me that he leads an austere life. Harrer has gone in for trade and does brisk business with the many and cosmopolitan visitors to Lhasa. Neither of them is in the least anxious to get back to Austria or Bavaria. Peter's mother writes to me from the Tyrol, where she runs a small hotel, and she has told him he is far better off where he is.

MOUNTAIN CLIMBING IN SOUTH TURKEY

By E. H. PECK

Being some notes of a lecture illustrated by lantern slides given to young people on January 14, 1948. In the Chair: Brigadier-General Spencer Weston, D.S.O., M.C.

EXCEPT for a few coastal plains, of which the greatest is the Cilician plain, Turkey is a mountainous country. Approaching it from north or south, mountains rise steeply from the sea along the Black Sea littoral, and again along the south coast all the way from Izmir (Smyrna) to Adana. Most of Central Turkey is a high plateau, and at first sight the landscape appears barren, but when you have seen the reflected lights from shadow and sunshine across the bare hills, the beauty of this steppe countryside grows on you, and for travel you will find this land one of the pleasantest in the world.

Mountain climbing can be enjoyed in many parts of Turkey, but I shall confine myself to describing some trips I made myself in the mountainous areas of the Taurus, of which the summits rise to some 12,000 ft. above sea level, and in particular the Ala Dag, which lies between the upper reaches of the River Seyhan (ancient Sarus) and the Gürgün Su.

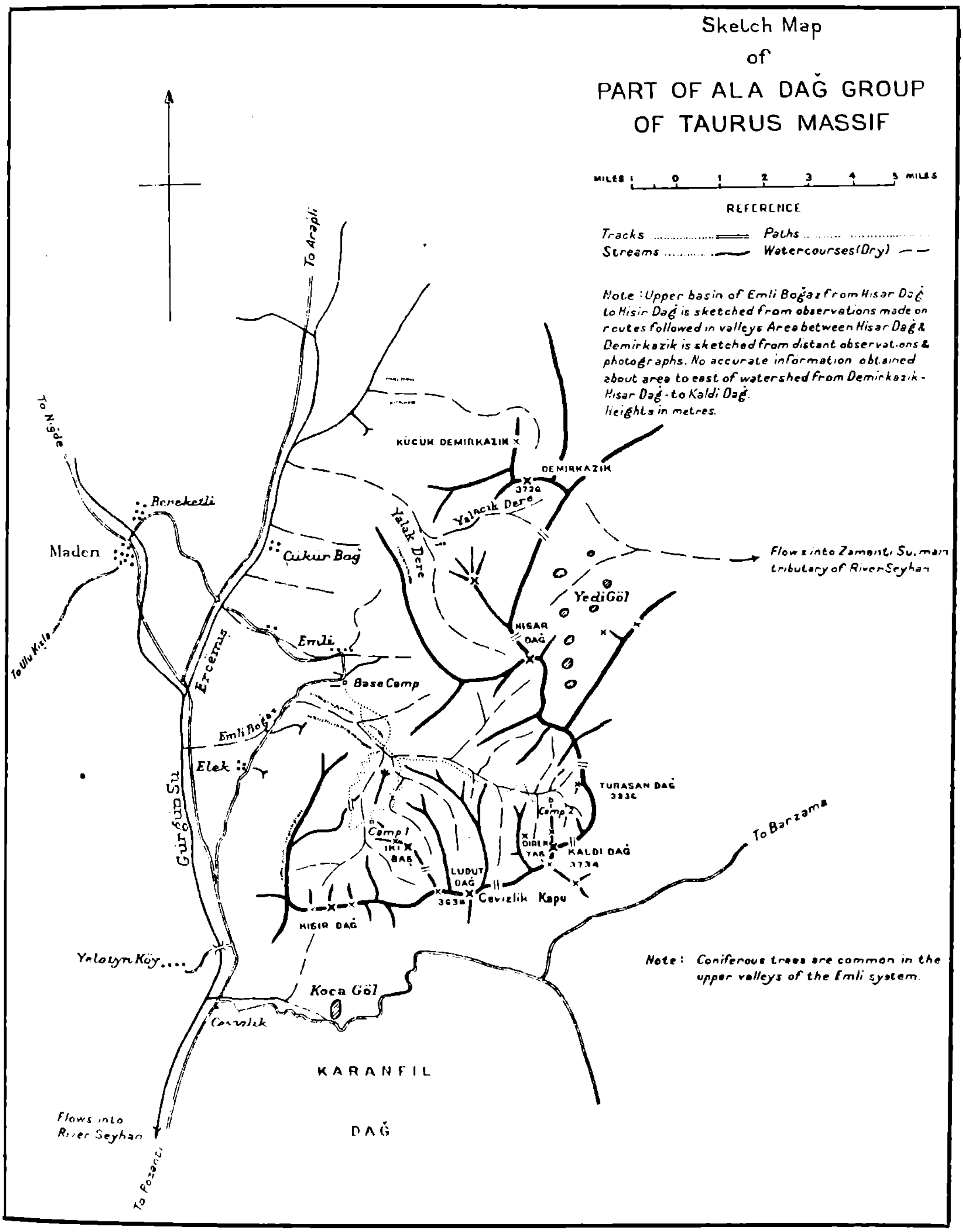
The historical route of access from the Anatolian plain to Cilicia and the Syrian coast is down the Gürgün Su valley, but the modern railway, which was built during the 1914-18 war, runs in deep-cut gorges and it does not follow the ancient road through the Cilician Gates that was used by many travellers, including Alexander the Great, St. Paul, and Ibrahim Pasha. That route comes up from Tarsus and crosses at a strategically very important point in the main Taurus mountain. It is not, however, the most impressive of the passes. There are numerous other square-cut gaps in the hills which are much more spectacular gorges, but they lead nowhere, whereas the Cilician Gates carries the main road from south to north. A modern road, built in 1942-43, runs through the Gates where the cliffs still hold monuments to ancient travellers.

An interesting ancient track leads over the Bulgar Dag from the lead and silver mines of Bulgar Maden to Tarsus. It was of some importance in former times when the mines were being exploited, but modern workings are lower in the valley.

Our two expeditions to the Ala Dag started with the train journey by express from Ankara to Pozanti (the ancient Podandus), and the summer resort of Bürecek. The railway passes some fine mountain scenery, but more interesting from the point of view of a climber is the remoter Ala Dag of which only a glimpse is caught from the train.

From Pozanti and Bürecek our route lay up the old track northwards through open valleys dotted with juniper trees. Some day and a half's easy journey brought us to the hamlet of Emli at the foot of the Ala Dag where we chose as our base an old shrine over a stream. Mustafa Emli, a local landowner, was our host and he came up from the hamlet to welcome us in the most hospitable way. The peak of Demir Kazik stood boldly out to the east.

The Ala Dag (see map) lies in a curve, enclosing a delightful high-level lake plateau at 10,000 ft. Some German expeditions had visited the area before the war, and given names to a number of points in the ranges,


Sketch Map
of
PART OF ALA DAǦ GROUP
OF TAURUS MASSIF
MILES 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
REFERENCE
Tracks
Paths
Streams
Watercourses (Dry)
Note: Upper basin of Emli Boğaz from Hisar Dağ to Hisir Dağ is sketched from observations made on routes followed in valleys. Area between Hisar Dağ & Demirkazik is sketched from distant observations & photographs. No accurate information obtained about area to east of watershed from Demirkazik - Hisar Dağ - to Kaldi Dağ. Heights in metres.
To Arapli
To Niğde
KÜÇÜK DEMIRKAZIK
DEMIRKAZIK
3726
Yalacik Dere
Yalak Dere
Flows into Zamanti Su, main tributary of River Seyhan
Bürneketli
Maden
Çukur Bağ
Yedi Göl
HISAR DAĞ
Emli
Base Camp
Ecemiş
Tekellu Kale
Emli Boğazı
Elek
TURASAN DAĞ
3336
Camp
To Barzama
Camp I
IKI X BAŞ
DIRENYAR
KALDI DAĞ
3734
LUDUT DAĞ
3638
Cevizlik Kapu
HISIR DAĞ
Gürgün Su
Yaloğun Köy
Note: Coniferous trees are common in the upper valleys of the Emli system.
Koca Göl
Cevizlik
KARANFIL
DAĞ
Flows into River Seyhan
To Pozanti

some of which had to be retained as the peaks in question were otherwise nameless, but where possible we preferred to use a local name or to give a Turkish name.

Demir Kazik was our first climb on both occasions. The peak is approached up a snow couloir leading to a notch between a sheer pinnacle and the summit, which was reached after an interesting rock climb. The summit gave us a good idea of the topography of the range.

On returning to our base we found that our pack-horses could not manage the trek to the Yedi Göl. So taking two days' food on our backs we crossed a pass to the Yedi Göl, a group of seven little lakes in the grassy plateau which we had seen from the summit of Demir Kazik. It was a delightful spot, the lakes being formed by melting snow and the green turf studded with blue gentians.

On one side of the little plateau by the lakes stood a rock tower which the Germans had seen and named before us, Klagenfurker Turn. We climbed this, and from its summit obtained an excellent view of the surrounding peaks and the remote ridges of Anti-Taurus to the east. Several other easy peaks in this region were climbed before we moved over to the highest and southernmost peaks of the Ala Dag.

The most suitable camp site was at Sirmalik, an upland pasture where ibex still exist. From there we made two ascents of Kaldi Dag, the highest peak in the range. In a neighbouring valley there is the curious phenomenon of the Gecepinar or " Night Spring," which flows only at night, beginning at sunset and ceasing shortly after sunrise.

The approach to Sirmalik lies through a forest of pines, an exceptional feature in this normally unwooded region.

One of the German expeditions in 1938 had climbed the north face of Kaldi Dag. Our routes lay up the west and east faces. The climb was not difficult, but on a new route there is always more fun owing to one's ignorance of whether it will or will not prove feasible. The summit is on the southern periphery of the range. Clouds from the Cilician plain rise to about 8,000 ft. on a level with and below the climber; and we had only one mist all the time we were there.

As far as equipment goes, we used rope, and, on rare occasions, an ice axe. The climbing is not up to Alpine standards, but the unfamiliar peaks give a flavour of the unknown which added the zest of pioneering to our expeditions. There is no real glacier, although traces of one exist, and there are numerous névés.

Fuller accounts of these two expeditions will be found in the *Alpine Journals* for May, 1944, and May, 1945, vol. liv., pp. 235, " The Ala Dag " by R. A. Hodgkin and vol. lv., pp. 270, " A Further Expedition to the Ala Dag " by E. H. Peck.

REVIEWS

Lord Wavell (1883-1941). A military biography. By Major-General R. J. Collins. Pp. 488. Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton. 1948. 30s.

General Collins must have taken many calculated risks in his successful career, but never a bigger chance than when he entertained the request to write the biography of a great soldier who is still alive. But the decision to do so has been fully justified, for this military biography is valuable for many reasons.

It gives the history, in a connected form, of nine campaigns, the first four of which were, as Field-Marshal Smuts writes in his foreword, " the first rays of sunlight to pierce the gloom of these early years of war." It is a good story, and though the reader is in the happy position of knowing the end, he is filled with a fascinated wonder as to how the great leader can ever emerge from the complication of having five different campaigns on his hands at the same time. It is a book which should be in the hands of every cadet who aspires to be an officer, and of every officer who aspires to command, for it brings out so clearly how much planning and forethought is required to stage a campaign; how truly the administrative tail wags the fighting dog, and, most of all, it stresses the attributes of the true leader.

The book is a long one, and consequently it is permissible to remark that the thrill of events which followed each other in such kaleidoscopic fashion from 1940 onwards did actually run away with the author. It might possibly have helped the story if strict chronological order had been given place in separate chapters for each of the nine campaigns in which Lord Wavell was engaged in the Middle East.

The author, in his preface, writes that the scale of the maps is of necessity small owing to the vast area over which Lord Wavell's troops had to fight. All the same, it is a pity that there is not one general map in a pocket at the end of the book. This would be a great help to the reader.

These indeed are but minor criticisms which do not detract from the value of the biography. For, after all, the only reviewer who really matters is the reading public. The fact that the first edition has been sold out immediately is the best criticism of the worth of General Collins' devoted and successful work. That it will continue to be widely read is certain.

History has emphasized how often England has asked her great Captains to make bricks without straw; and how often she has only been saved by their superhuman efforts and the devotion of her soldiers. This book will have served a double purpose if the price which unpreparedness has to pay is brought home not only to the politician but to the voter. It is probable that, in future years when the history of this war in the Middle East, based on all available documents, has been written, there will be much discussion as to whether intervention in Greece was justified. The author has added an interesting appendix—" The Pros and Cons of Intervention in Greece." That very wise soldier and statesman, Field-Marshal Smuts has given his views in no uncertain terms. . . . " The revelations of Nuremberg have at last cleared up the far-reaching significance of that move to Greece. We have now on record the confession of the Chief of the German General Staff that the six weeks Germany lost in Greece delayed the campaign against Russia for that all-important period and with the winter coming on the delay finally rendered the capture of Moscow an impossibility, and thereby lost Germany the war. The set-back in North Africa was brilliantly retrieved by the Eighth Army, but the time lost for Germany by our carrying out our promise to Greece was never recovered, with results which more than justified Wavell's move. Such is the moral factor in war—such the ironic spirit of history."

The great attraction of this book lies in the study of Wavell's character. Against the background of campaigns conducted over a wide area, and of conflicting political and military interests, there is the picture of a " Mr. Steadfast," who truly was " the master of his fate and the captain of his soul." By intense loyalty to his superiors and an almost excessive fidelity to those under him he gained and held an admiration, trust and respect which ever stood him in good stead. His balanced temperament was never unduly elated by success, and was undismayed by disaster. His moral and physical courage were so well known that one of his bravest Generals said that he always felt braver when the Chief was near.

His particular idiosyncrasies only endeared him to those he commanded, and his quaint humour was a constant, though often unexpected delight. General Collins regrets that André Maurois did not meet Wavell instead of Colonel Bramble. The writer ventures to submit that it would be delightful, and in keeping with his particular sense of humour if the Field-Marshal himself wrote, "Les Silences du Maréchal Wavell."

One of his most marked characteristics was his admiration for and love of the soldier. He was quite at his best with them. "The good General cares for his soldiers and lovingly treats them as his children. Therefore they will follow him through dark valleys and be beside him in death." This was the secret of his success as a leader, which rightly places him amongst the great Captains.

J. S. S.

Meet the Arab. By John Van Ess. Pp. 228. Illustrated. The John Day Co., New York, 1943; Museum Press, London, 1947. 12s. 6d.

The Rev. John Van Ess, whose residence in 'Iraq is not far short of half a century, has the right, in the opinion of all who have known both him and the country, to the title of "Grand Old Man of 'Iraq." His understanding of the country is only equalled by his affection for it, an affection which does not prevent him from seeing its failings as clearly as its endearing qualities; indeed, he quotes King Faisal the First as making him promise "that I would always tell the Arabs the truth about themselves."

As educationalist he has a long and honourable record. In the old bad days when schools were few and feeble his school in Basra turned out young men with something more than book-knowledge, for he always laid stress on the importance of cultivating character. His books on the spoken Arabic of 'Iraq have been of service to many an Englishman new to that country, and are standard works. There are few non-Arabs who know the language as he knows it; indeed, one might almost add, few Arabs.

When this is said, one must confess that this is not quite the book that we await from him one day if his health and strength permit him to write it. It is, of course, addressed to the American public, and was founded upon lectures given and articles published in that country. I hope that we may consider it a cocktail before the feast that he will give us in a not too distant future.

Throughout, whilst discoursing on the Arab past, present, future, and character, the author is the genial raconteur, larding his knowledge with delightful stories. The ready wit, adaptability and philosophy of the Arab are illustrated by many an anecdote, such as the following, apropos of the attitude of the Arab when the railroad, the *qatar*, first came to 'Iraq:

> "Said a mullah to me one day, 'We Arabs have always thought that liberty consists in doing what is right in our own eyes. But look at this *qatar* now. If I take this train and put it on the sand it is free from these strips of iron, but it will be completely enslaved to its environment. Only when a man is willing to be bound by Allah's laws is he free to reach the station of his desire.'"

It is the twinkle in the author's eye that gives piquant flavour to the book. No one but himself, with his long association with the Arab and scholarly knowledge of Arab things could have written it, and its conversational style should give it a wide public. As for the aim of the author in writing it, I will quote his own words:

> "The main purpose of this book, then, is to present the Arab of Asia as an intensely human person, whom you would be glad to welcome into your home, who would not easily betray your confidence in him, who would be your friend always, who would be glad to share your burdens with you, and let you share his own joys and his generous hospitality—a person whose agile mind would stimulate your

thinking and whose vivid imagination would colour your thoughts with attractive hues—a friend, in short, whose friendship you would not willingly forfeit once you had gained it." E. S. D.

Introducing Yemen. By A. Faroughy. Pp. 123; 14 illustrations; 2 maps, 4½″×7½″. New York (Orientalia Inc.). 1947. $250 (14s. in U.K.).

Most reviewers find a book " particularly welcome at this time." The present reviewer regrettably is no exception, and that cliché must again adorn the pages of this Journal. An American stated that the reason for his welcome was the ever-increasing interest shown by the U.S.A. in Middle East countries, and no doubt in " particular," the agreement between U.S.A. and the Yemen contracted in May, 1946. The most obvious reason now lies in the recent disturbances in the Yemen following the murder of the Iman Yahya, Hussain and Moshin (two of his sons), and his Prime Minister, Qadi Abdullah el Omari, on February 17, 1948.

Professor Faroughy has produced an interesting little handbook to the Yemen, and provides a pleasant elementary introduction to the country. After a brief geographical note the author outlines the economy, educational policy, the inhabitants, their costume, government, and religion, and gives an historical sketch of the country. As a book for the student, Professor Faroughy's work cannot be recommended, for it is full of errors, omissions, and glaring instances of bad proof-reading far too numerous to mention here. " Colonel O'Reilley," he says, was Governor of Aden. The average temperature of the Tihama, for example, he states to be 130 degs. F.—an over-statement, to say the least. As a book production, this paper-bound volume does not speak well for American publishing. All photographs are not shown in the list of contents, which is inaccurate and incomplete. The photographs, themselves badly reproduced, give the impression of having been copied from other writers' books, and that opposite page 50 (omitted from the list of illustrations) appears to have been taken from Dr. Scott's recent work on the Yemen.

Experts on the Arabian peninsula will not add this small volume to their shelves with any feeling of triumphant acquisition. They will, however, find that it contains many useful and interesting observations, particularly in connection with the more recent and contemporary history of the Yemen.

E. M.

Soviet Jewry, Palestine and the West. By Walter Zander. Pp. 109. 5″×7¾″. Gollancz. 1947. 6s. net.

Arab Jewish Unity. By Judah Magnes and Martin Buber. Pp. 96. 5″×7¾″. Gollancz. 1947. 5s. net.

The Future of Palestine. Prepared by the Arab Office, London. August, 1947. Paper cover. Pp. 166. 5¾″×8″.

Mr. Zander gives us a really objective summary of Jewish movements since the Crusades, how in the later Middle Ages Gentiles took over the technical and financial services, and the Jews were persecuted and driven to Eastern Europe, where again they became useful to the ruling classes. History repeated itself; from 1880 persecution and expulsion culminated in mass migration back to the West and to America. The author's chapters on successive developments in each Eastern state are informative and well documented, especially as regards Russia, where some three million are well treated, and tend to absorption as an integral factor in Soviet life.

Part II—Palestine—has some interesting notes on Russian setbacks last century, and effects on Jewish reorientation. Two quotations on p. 91 show absence of bias re the Palestine home. "Mass migration into Palestine—whatever may be the safeguards for the Arabs—is an infringement of Arab rights." " As long as the vast thinly populated areas of the globe, particularly those in Canada, Australia, and Siberia, are not opened to all who are in need, the Arabs rightly deny such an obligation for themselves . . . unbearable as the plight and need of the Jews are, it must be recognized by us in justice that this need alone cannot create the obligation of the Arabs to meet it."

In the epilogue (p. 102) figures are given of recent Jewish genetics, showing a decline in birthrate and in total numbers, due to small families, which is interesting in comparison with the phenomenal increase of the Palestine Arabs, who will double in twenty-five years. The book is interesting, but cannot be more than a marginal commentary on the main problem.

Dr. Magnes' testimony before the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 for the I.H.U.O. (Union) Association is an interesting extract from the Commission's Report. Dr. Magnes is the President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Professor Martin Buber is the famous philosopher. It suggests a bi-national country, neither a Jewish commonwealth nor an Arab state, under international trusteeship. But much water has passed under the bridge since 1946. Although, as Judge Hutcheson remarks (p. 93), " Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile," this solution does not now (March 3, 1948) appeal to either faction. We can leave it at that.

The Future of Palestine is in a different category to the two Jewish contributions. It is the authoritative exposition of the Arab case. Probably one of the most able documents ever issued. Completely documented, it appears to have an uncompromising answer to every contention in Jewish propaganda. The reader would like to see Hebrew comment on the points covered, though it is difficult to see how such rejoinders could be logically effective.

Page 78 enunciates principles shortly as follows: " The conflict . . . is almost one thing and one thing only, whether or not a Jewish state is to be established in Palestine."

" It is not logically possible to recommend that more immigrants should be admitted into Palestine and to recommend that a Jewish state should not be established.

" Politically, economically, and in every other way, Palestine is part of the Arab world."

In support of these principles, the history of the Holy Land and its peoples is objectively examined, and the story of the Balfour Declaration and Zionist policy, first supported in England, then in America, and now questioned by both Governments. Then follows the increasing friction in the administration of the Mandate.

Part II—The Solution—suggested forms of compromise, their objections and the reasons. Finally, the Arab proposals. These are (p. 81) the establishment of a Democratic Government, representative of all Palestine citizens on a level of absolute individual equality, and that meanwhile further immigration should be stopped.

It is to be noted that no safeguards are at present suggested in this solution for the Jewish minority. On the other hand, even in this *ex parte* statement, one finds no suggestion of expulsion of existing Zionists who have immigrated in spite of Arab objections.

Hitherto propaganda has been mainly from Jewish sources, and some answers to these are interesting and well documented. Is a Jewish state viable either agriculturally or industrially? Figures are given (Appendix C) to show that they are not; that Jewish capital poured into Palestine has obscured the issue; that the industrial output per head is so much lower than possible competitors that, even if raw materials and fuel could be made available and a (very doubtful) market found, prices would be prohibitive. Agricultural output per head costs more per Jew than per Arab, hence a cost of living higher than that of surrounding States.

Appendix E is a reprint from *The World Today*, April, 1947 (Royal Institute of International Affairs), showing that counting in all possible and impossible irrigation schemes, absorptive capacity has already been reached, thus ruling out further immigration.

Appendix D shows that, owing to immigration and purchase by Jews of the more fertile lands, 60 per cent. of Arabs are now landless, and since Histadruth precludes the employment of Arabs on Jewish land, the economic outlook for the Arab cultivator is poor indeed.

It will be seen that these and other arguments appear to have great weight. Admitted that this Arab case naturally presents only favourable evidence, and that too in its most favourable form, it still looks as though the Zionists have a tough proposition in finding the various answers.

E. M. ROUTH.

Foundations in the Dust. A story of Mesopotamian Exploration. By Seton Lloyd. Pp. xii and 237. Oxford University Press. 1947. 15s.

Many books have been written about particular portions of the archæology, the life and the scenery of Mesopotamia, and concerning the re-emergence of this country into the general view after its long effacement in Ottoman times. The personal experiences of its travellers and the biographies of some of them have been individually treated. But I do not recollect that anyone previous to Mr. Seton Lloyd has assembled within the compass of one volume a general narrative, not lengthy but full of suggestive detail, of the rediscovery of the ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and the Sumerian settlements, and taken the narrative down to the year 1945. In *Foundations in the Dust* Mr. Lloyd renders the same service to the archæology of Mesopotamia as in *Twin Rivers* he did to its history. But whereas the latter book is designedly a very brief outline of some six thousand years of development, allowing little detail, the more restricted scope of the former permits him to handle his material with greater picturesqueness and finish. This is a book not primarily designed for the learned in Assyriology, nor even in any particular manner for the many who, mainly through the fortunes of two wars, have seen Iraq and experienced the sensation that all but the most brutish must feel, when confronted with that brown coloured scene of one of the earliest of our parent civilizations. The general reader who has never stirred beyond regions where greenery is taken for granted will find its 224 pages very readable, and the one who has seen the Middle Eastern landscape will enjoy the pleasure of recollection.

The book is divided into three sections. The first is biographical, and starts, as this narrative must, with the brief but fairly eventful life of Claudius James Rich (1786-1821), the first resident of Mesopotamia to enquire seriously into the whereabouts of Nineveh and Babylon, lost to all exact knowledge since before the days of Xenophon. The Mesopotamian episodes of the lives of Rawlinson, Layard and the traveller Buckingham are then woven into the pattern, and set against the background of the landscape of the Rafidain—the twin rivers, to which a chapter is devoted.

The second section records the birth of Assyriology. First come the arrival of Rich's collection of antiquities at the British Museum in 1825, and the early efforts, first of Grotefend and later of Rawlinson, to decipher the cuneiform script, which had become known to Europe, before any of the ruins of Nineveh or Babylon were located, from the trilingual rock inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings in Persia. Meanwhile the travellers had been enlarging the knowledge of the terrain and the mounds of Mesopotamia; several pages are devoted to Mignan, Baillie-Fraser, and the Chesney Expedition. Then Botta and Layard appear on the scene, the former—characteristically enough—as the emissary of the French Government, which had not failed to take note of Rich's writings, the latter as a free-lance, financed in the first instance from the pocket of Sir Stratford Canning. In March, 1843, Botta, after some ineffectual probing of the mound of Kuyunjik, opposite Mosul, lighted upon the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad, fifteen miles north-east of Mosul, and the first Assyrian buildings to see the light of day for some twenty-four centuries were unearthed. In November, 1845, Layard discovered the first of the Assyrian palaces at Nimrud, twenty miles down the Tigris from Mosul; and in 1847 he succeeded where Botta had failed at Kuyunjik, located the palace of Sennacherib, and thus fixed the site of Nineveh. He was now supported, parsimoniously according to twentieth century standards, by the British Museum. In his second expedition (1849-51) Layard continued his excavations at Nineveh and Nimrud, and extended them with varying success to other mounds in Northern Iraq.

Meanwhile Rawlinson and the scholars were at work filling out the discoveries of the excavators by slowly piecing together the syllabic cuneiform of the Mesopotamian sculptures and tablets. The easier alphabetical cuneiform of Old Persian had been mainly deciphered by 1839; by 1851 simple inscriptions in the Mesopotamian script could be read, and subjects could thus be assigned to the statues and reliefs of Khorsabad, Nimrud and Kunyunjik.

But all this time the ruins of Babylon lay buried three hundred miles to the south. It was already known, since Rich's day, where they might be expected to be found in the neighbourhood of Hillah, and during 1850 Layard did some digging on the site, but without success. The truth was that, where buildings were of brick—and frequently crude brick—as in the stoneless, alluvial plain of Central and Southern Iraq, the methods employed by Layard were ineffectual. And these methods were in turn imposed upon Layard by the conditions under which the British Museum financed him. The Trustees provided sums that did not permit of prolonged digging without ready return in the form of portable museum pieces. This equally explains Layard's scanty success at Sharqat, site of the earliest capital of the Assyrians, Asshur, occupied before the coming of the stone panelling that marked the public buildings of their heydey. Mud brick edifices do not yield their secrets save to patient, lengthy, and therefore costly disinterment, and they provide far fewer museum pieces of the patently striking kind such as were found in Assyria.

The third section brings the narrative down to the present day, and marks the change from adventurous pioneering to scientific sifting. As the task passes from the inspired individual to the heavily equipped modern archæological expedition, regularly financed by some institution of learning and protected by arrangement with the Government from obstruction by local officials and bigots, the narrative becomes more impersonal and less biographical. It begins with the early essays of Loftus in Babylonia, the rival, but by no means unproductive, efforts of Rassam (Layard's erstwhile overseer) and Place (Botta's successor) in Assyria, and the surveys, and the tracing of the Nahrawan canal, by Captain Felix Jones. There is an interval after 1855 on the part of both English and French, which may be said to have been ushered in by the Crimean War. Then in 1872 comes George Smith, in search at Nineveh of inscribed tablets rather than sculptures, and in 1877 the excavations of de Sarzec at Telloh (Lagash) begin. Decipherment and study of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions and tablets had by now progressed far enough for scholars to be conscious of the existence of a civilization earlier than these, the Sumerian. Explorations in Central and Southern Mesopotamia were extended. The first American expedition arrived at Nippur. Prolonged excavations of single sites by the French and Americans began to displace the discursive antiquity-hunting of Rassam. This widespread interest on the part of the world's museums brought forth the local antiquity-dealer, who raided the sites with surreptitious diggings, and ran a profitable trade selling pieces to Western collectors. The visits to Iraq of Budge, of the British Museum, were very much connected with this phase of the story.

Finally comes the modern scientific method, which laboriously traces the plans of every building, be it stone, brick or wattle, opens up stratum after superimposed stratum, and records the exact situation and provenance of the minutest object found. This was the achievement of the German expeditions at Babylon and Asshur in the period 1899-1917. And the book closes with an outline account of the various expeditions, such as that of Woolley at Ur of the Chaldees, which have worked in Iraq since the first World War, and of the explorations undertaken by the Antiquities department of the Government of Iraq, a department whose inception will always be connected with the name of Gertrude Bell. In these later ventures Mr. Lloyd has himself played a part.

As the excavations have become more extensive and more methodical, so has the horizon of Mesopotamian pre-history been made to recede. Broadly speaking, one may say that the first excavators sought sculptures for museum pieces, that the next generations sought inscriptions and tablets, and that the moderns study every object that comes to hand—potsherds, household and agricultural implements, methods and plans of building, burial grounds—for the light that these may throw on the sociology, art, and religion of their makers; the knowledge gained is to a large extent its own reward, for the finder other than the Government of Iraq can no longer take possession of more than a proportion (generous in Iraq as compared with some countries) of his finds.

One could perhaps wish that, without greatly lengthening the earlier biographical portion of the book, Mr. Lloyd had given more account of the lives and personalities of the Frenchmen, Botta and Place.

There are six very charming pencil drawings by Mrs. Lloyd. As is often the case with this delicate type of work, they have suffered a little in reproduction as compared with the originals, which the writer has been privileged to see. This is particularly the case with the illustrations of the disaster to the Chesney Expedition and of the looting of the American camp at Nippur.

There are a few misprints. The map referred to in the list of illustrations on page vi is of " Iraq," not " Iran," and the illustration facing page 92 is of " H. C.," not " H. G. " Rawlinson. " Zoorma," on page 39, should be " zoorna " (unless the mistake is that of Rich, who is being quoted). " Delhi Abbas," on page 61, should read " Deli Abbas." " Naqsh-i-Rajah," on pages 77-78, should be " Naqsh-i-Rajab "; this mistake is repeated in the index at the end, which suggests that the proof-reader may have gone astray.

The end papers, which contain a map decorated with elevations of prominent local landmarks, are of a kind that not everybody cares for. There is, however, a folding map at the end of the book, which gives a great deal of information, perhaps too much; for parts of it would have gained in clearness if the names had been confined to those mentioned in the text.

J. P. G. F.

Arabian Days. An autobiography. By H. StJ. Philby. Illustrated. Pp. 336. London: Robert Hale. 1948. 21s.

Mr. Philby's authority on the Arabian Peninsula has never been questioned by serious geographers, scholars, explorers and other experts, and this is one of the many reasons which make the publication of his autobiography particularly welcome at this time, especially as the great majority of his works published since 1918 have been so impersonal.

Grandson of the then Commander-in-Chief of British troops in Ceylon, and the second of the three sons of a tea-planter, Mr. Philby distinguished himself from early life. As he passed into Westminster as a scholar, the East was already in his blood. Inspired by the exploits of Warren Hastings' " impeachment and all," and by the tomb of Gladstone, he had soon begun to relish the thought of public life. During happy days at Westminster, of which he eventually became head-boy, his course was set for India, but it was many years before he was to set foot in Arabia, the land, as he states, of his destiny. At Cambridge, E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson were among his tutors in Oriental languages and Indian law and history. On first entering the Indian Civil Service and being appointed to the Punjab, he considerably shocked colleagues by his ideas of Socialism. In 1909 he was posted to Rawalpindi, and the following year he married the charming and beautiful daughter of Adrian Johnston, Executive Engineer of the Rawalpindi P.W.D. In those early days much of his time was taken up in language study, and he mastered Urdu, Baluchi and Punjabi. He then turned to Persian and duly passed the Higher Proficiency test in that language before qualifying in Pashtu.

His first three years, spent in the Muslim atmosphere of the Punjab, were very agreeable to him, but in due course, by his inimicable means of getting his own way, Mr. Philby was appointed to the Foreign and Political Department in 1915. The prospect of a great extension of British-occupied territory in Mesopotamia meant an urgent demand for political officers in that area. In view of his experience and high language qualifications, Mr. Philby was selected, and appointed Financial Assistant to the Chief Political Officer, Sir Percy Cox. In Basra in 1916 he began learning Arabic, and struck up a close friendship with Gertrude Bell, who had recently arrived. On his return from an official visit to India he took over from Sir Henry Dobbs an appointment which was some measure of promotion, and it was during this period that he set himself the task of much survey work in connection with his tours of inspection of land tenure, work which was to stand him in good stead in subsequent days. At Suq al Shuyukh he met the Political Officer H. R. P. Dickson, now Colonel and Resident at Kuwait. He has much just praise for Dickson, one of our authorities on North and East Arabia. On the other hand, Philby's hatred of A. T. Wilson appears in many passages of this book which show the worse side of Wilson's nature.

Ibn Sa'ud's relations with the British protégé King Hussein were hardening into resentment and hostility, and Cox proposed to send a mission to pacify him. It was arranged that H. Philby should accompany R. E. A. Hamilton, and Colonel H.

Cunliffe-Owen was to be "military adviser." Armed with, amongst other instruments, a liquid prismatic compass, a gift from Gertrude Bell, and a sextant and artificial horizon from his brother Tom, Philby set his "first steps in Arabia." "This was undoubtedly the foundation," he says, "of the substantial contribution I was able to make, during the years that followed, to the elucidation of the then little-known problems of Arabian geography. At this early stage it was of course impossible for me to determine longitudes, as chronometers and even compensated watches could not be expected to keep steady time in the conditions of desert travel. I had to await the development of wireless facilities before this important gap could be filled." The narrative of this journey, contained in his *Heart of Arabia*, is well known to students, and the two volumes of this book are now classics in the annals of Arabian travel. It is interesting to note that the two foremost Arabian travellers of all time, Doughty and Philby, have been Englishmen.

After business concerning Kuwait had been discussed with Ibn Sa'ud, Hamilton returned to the coast; Cunliffe-Owen (and his batman) stayed at Riadh and undertook excursions into the Kari district, the first Europeans to visit this district, while Philby persuaded Ibn Sa'ud to permit him to visit the Hejaz and "beard Hussein in his den." A cold reception awaited him at Jedda, but he had the pleasure of reporting to Baghdad that it was Ibn Sa'ud who held the destiny of Arabia in his hands and not Hussein.

After ten years' continuous service in the East, a visit to England in January, 1919, was a welcome change for Philby, and when he was called in conference at the Foreign Office he was able to demonstrate the correctness of his knowledge in the issue of the Hussein-Ibn Sa'ud struggle which followed. At Suda Bay, on the way to see Ibn Sa'ud for the third time, he made his first acquaintance with Lawrence. A relief was required for Lawrence in 1920 as Chief British Representative in Transjordan, and Philby was selected for the post. Little thought Bertram Thomas in those days, when he succeeded Batten as Philby's chief assistant, that, six years later, he and his chief at Amman were to be the sole runners in a race to cross the Rub' al Khali.

The disagreements which led to Philby's final and voluntary resignation from Government service are admirably set out in the author's present work, and it is the first time that so full an account of this subject has been published. In the autumn of 1926 he was back in Jedda starting the firm of Sharquish, of which he has been director ever since. His life from now on was to become freer than ever, and, compared with his earlier days in Government service, he seems to have become a happier man. He knew that his decision in 1930 to embrace Islam would give rise to a good deal of criticism and comment, but having, as all his life, the courage of his own convictions, the matter was no embarrassment to him. "I felt," he says, "like some disembodied spirit restored by accident or miracle to its proper environment, for the first time for many years I felt strangely at peace with the world. . . . The great peace of Islam slowly and surely descended upon me, enveloped me, who had known no peace before, in the austere mantle of Wähabi philosophy." He made the first pilgrimage and was accepted into the fold of the faithful.

Bitterly disappointed over Bertram Thomas's crossing of the Rub' al Khali, he set out himself the next year and crossed the great southern desert from Hofuf to Sulayil, which he describes so graphically in *The Empty Quarter*. He obtained the Ford monopoly in Arabia. In 1934 he journeyed with his wife by car from Jedda via Kuweit and Turkey to England, returning through Spain and Tangier. In 1939 he introduced his *Sheba's Daughters*, with a further tirade against bombing by the R.A.F. in Southern Arabia, after he had made an epic journey to Najran, Shabwa and Makalla. *Arabian Highlands*, soon to be published, contains a vast store of new information about the Asiri highlands, but it was only when Philby decided to take his valuable cartographical work to Germany, where it would have been well received, that the War Office took notice; the resultant new maps should be expected at any time.

Throughout this autobiography three things are discernible: his chief characteristic, a sincere and overwhelming desire to have his own way, to state and carry out exactly what he thinks to be right in the face of opposition, whilst causing him no small measure of unpopularity among the powers that be, makes him the world's foremost authority on the Arabian peninsula. The sway which Arabia, Ibn Sa'ud, and "the great peace of Islam" have over him have ever drawn him back to the Peninsula, making England the richer by the publication of his knowledge. It is very noticeable that policies advocated by him, often in the face of great official opposition, have in the long run turned out the most satisfactory ones, yet as he has often said, his was *vox clamatis*, a voice crying in the wilderness.

Eric Macro.

The Alphabet. Dr. David Diringer. Hutchinson. 1948. 50s.

During the last few years several small books have appeared on the alphabet. None of these have dealt deeply or exhaustively with the subject. It remained for Dr. Diringer to produce a really authoritative book.

The importance of writing to the development of man's civilization can hardly be over-estimated, and this note is stressed by Dr. Diringer in this sequel to his well-known Italian work, *L'Alfabeto nella storia della Civilita.* After tracing the history of the non-alphabetic and syllabic scripts the author goes on to consider the origin of the alphabet itself. This thorny question has for long vexed scholastic circles, and Dr. Diringer definitely abandons the theory that the Sinaitic script was the precursor of the alphabet. He would rather give this position to the proto-Semitic script dating to the second quarter of the second millennium B.C., the prototype of the North Semitic alphabet. The nationality of the inventors of the proto-Semitic alphabet was, he admits, unknown, but they appear to have been Semites, although the actual birthplace of the alphabet remains uncertain.

Chapters VI-VII deal with the origin of the Indian and Further Indian scripts, and should prove particularly interesting to members of the Society, as they have not usually been included in a work of this nature. This section not only covers the origin of the Indian alphabet, but also the development of the present-day scripts and their relationship to one another.

A feature of the book are the excellent bibliographies at the end of each section as well as the large number of references scattered throughout the text. It is also important as it collects material not easily available on the origin and development of the language in general.

The book is profusely illustrated with text figures illustrating the types of scripts described. It is to be hoped that Dr. Diringer will not long delay his book on the history of writing promised in the concluding chapter, so that further information may be available on this fascinating subject.

V. S. W.

Mount Everest, 1938. By H. W. Tilman. Cambridge University Press. 1948.

This is the story of the seventh expedition and the fifth attempt to climb the mountain, the expeditions of 1921 and 1935 being reconnaissances. Though the attempt was a failure in that the climbers only reached an altitude of 27,200 feet—about 400 feet higher than the old Camp VI—success lay in that proof was established that an expedition, modest in size and cost, has as good a chance as have those on the grand scale of several of their predecessors on Everest and elsewhere. Tilman, with Shipton and Longstaff, had consistently urged return to the principle of small light expeditions, and he seized the opportunity. But no change was made in the route taken or in the tactics employed. In his introductory chapter he deals thoroughly and convincingly with the above principle, and does so without being at all didactic. Indeed, while his arguments have the attraction of touches of his own humour, and he attributes their "faintly querulous note of criticism and protest" to a perhaps presumptuous jealousy for all that mountaineering and mountaineering tradition stands for. It is to be noted that, though fewer in numbers, the team was strong in quality, for it included Shipton, Smythe, Odell, and Warren, old Everest men, with Peter Lloyd and P. R. Oliver, whose Himalayan records were also first class. Succeeding chapters describe preparations at home and in India, and the march to Rongbuk, which they reached on April 6, ten days earlier than any previous expedition. At the Rongbuk monastery the now aging abbot extended, as of old, hospitality and his blessing, adding advice to be careful. The expedition presented a fine altar cloth to the monastery. As on previous occasions, Sherpa porters arrived punctually from Sola Khombu, carrying 1,300 lbs. of food for everyone. But extreme cold prevailed, and after establishing Camp III, it was decided to move down to a camp in the Kharta Valley at an elevation of 11,000 feet just above the head of the Arun gorge. As the author writes: "There is no question that at this time no man could have climbed on the mountain and lived." Conditions remained unfavourable, and it was only on May 20 that the task of making the route up to the North Col could begin. There was still too much snow on the mountain for an attempt to be made, and there was a likelihood of wind slab* on the upper slopes; so no good purpose would be served by remaining in Camp IV (on the North Col). Moreover, movement between Camps III and IV continued to be very precarious. So it was arranged to move round to the main Rongbuk glacier in order to try the western approach to the North Col. On June 5, Camp IV was reoccupied by this route, and on June 6 Camp V was established. Hopes that snow above Camp V would consolidate were vain, and it remained soft and powdery, involving, of course, extremely hard work. Nevertheless, the porters worked splendidly, and on June 7 Shipton and Smythe camped at 27,200 feet. Shipton writes: "I have never seen the Sherpas so tired, and they must have had a hard struggle to get back to Camp V before dark." Very early next morning the pair started up but were driven back by the intense cold, with symptoms of frost-bite. Trying again when the sun had arrived, they flogged their way up for a short distance through steep, hip-deep powder-snow, until they were in obvious danger from a snow avalanche, and returned, "completely convinced of the hopelessness of the task. It was bitterly disappointing, for we were both far fitter at these altitudes than in 1933, and the glittering summit looked tauntingly near." An attempt to ascend to the summit ridge to investigate the possibilities and to examine the second step also failed. Though no attempt on the summit was thought of, valuable knowledge of the route to it would have been gained. With the monsoon firmly established descent was now imperative, and was carried out without mishap. At the monastery the abbot's invitation to a meal was supplemented by a special request "to be merry." Late in the proceedings they were asked to sing. The first number was from Hymns Ancient and Modern; the second, by special request, was *Om mane padme hum*, which went down very well to the tune of God Save the King.

In his final reflections Mr. Tilman strengthens the case for small expeditions, deplores also the use of aeroplanes to drop men and stores, and discounts the respective values of wireless and oxygen. Lastly, he impresses the fact that "the most important factor in climbing Everest is the weather and conditions near the summit. Without favourable conditions the mountain will never be climbed, whatever aids are employed, and with them it will probably be claimed unaided." The book is really good to read, containing as it does plenty of Tilman's own inimitable brand of humour. His descriptions of action are vivid, and his friendly digs at his companions, and at himself, show that the party was a happy one.

There are four interesting appendices—namely: (*a*) A reprint from the *Geographical Journal* of December, 1938, of the discussion after Tilman's lecture to the Royal Geographical Society; (*b*) the Abominable Snowman ("homo niveus disgustans"); (*c*) the Use of Oxygen, by Peter Lloyd; and (*d*) Geological, by N. E. Odell.

H. W. Tobin.

Burmese Family. By Mi Mi Khaing. Illustrated by E. G. N. Kinch. Pp. 138. Longmans, Green and Co.

For a number of years past Burma has occupied an important place in the world's news. Recently the spotlight has again been turned on that country when, somewhat unexpectedly, the leaders of Burmese public opinion decided after long association with the British Empire to "cut the painter" and to start an independent Burmese

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* Wind slab is a snow formation due to wind-driven snow, fallen or falling, being deposited on lee slopes; it is very liable to avalanche and difficult to detect.

Republic. Following on these events there is a real desire amongst the educated public to acquire information about the country and its people. Information about present-day Burma is welcome, and this book should appeal to a wide circle of readers.

The main theme in this book is of an ordinary nature. The writer—Mi Mi Khaing—belonged to an upper middle-class Mon or Talaing family—that interesting race found both in Lower Burma and Siam who, it is believed, originally came from Tibet, speak a language of their own, and are somewhat different in appearance to the Burmese and Siamese. Both her parents received an English education and her mother was the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School exam. in the European code. After marriage her father pursued a career in the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and the children led a rather mixed life in various stations and on tour in camp with Burmese domestic slave girls serving in the upper storey of the house, and Indian servants in the lower storey, and European camp furniture and crockery. But, in spite of their modern education, they never had any real social contacts with British officials, and, when the children fell ill, their parents resorted to local drugs, together with charms and horoscopes, and never had recourse to European drugs or doctors! In due course their father retired on pension and occupied himself with religious observances and meditation and with the management of rubber plantations, which he had organized during his years of service to be a source of profit to him in his old age. Unfortunately he died soon after retirement about 23 years ago, and the widow and family moved to Rangoon. Here Mi Mi Khaing and her brother were educated for nine years in European Code schools, which were then almost entirely made up of Anglican or Roman Catholic Mission schools subsidized by the Government. In these schools they were subjected to a considerable amount of stupid nagging both by the staff and the Anglo-Burmese pupils, who mocked at and denigrated everything Burmese; in the Anglican schools they were even forced to assume English names! This treatment left a bitter impression on their youthful minds. Thence, the authoress entered Rangoon University; here she was caught up in the increasing tide of Burmese Nationalism which rose with the separation of Burma in 1936 and manifested itself in the students' strike of that year. Finally, she went to England for three years, returning to Rangoon after the outbreak of war in Europe, in August, 1940; in February, 1942, she was evacuated by sea to India, and this book was written in Delhi, 1945, when Burma was still in the grip of the Japanese invaders.

The interest of the book rests largely on the fact that the writer appears to possess intense powers of observation coupled with a photographic memory; the book is filled with detailed descriptions of every aspect of the Burmese way of life, habits and customs, manners, dress and ornaments, food and cooking, arts and crafts, the family system, marriage and the marriage-market, religion—nothing is omitted! But certain subjects are treated rather lightly; it might be rather difficult, for instance, for any reader of this book to say what real influence religion has on the minds of the Burmese. Furthermore, the book presents a series of delightful pictures of Burma with all its peculiar colour, variety, atmosphere, and charm which will evoke nostalgic memories amongst those who have had the good fortune to visit or live in this attractive country.

Lastly, there is one feature in this narrative which cannot be omitted, although it is unattractive. Although the writer and her relatives absorbed an English education and she and her brother spent years in England while her father served for many years as a British official, the authoress is unable to make one single friendly remark about the British or British rule in Burma. Generally, she omits all reference to this subject, but her dislike of the British occasionally breaks out, as, for instance, when she says that she and other Burmese students in England read with "surprise, amusement, and expectancy" about the gross indignities inflicted by the Japanese on British subjects in China. At the end of the book she proclaims her disloyalty to British rule and absolves the Burmese people from any obligation to assist the British in repelling the Japanese. It is arguable that, in the past, when Burma was joined to India, it did not get a fair deal. But this was remedied a good many years ago. Mi Mi Khaing's experience is limited, and if she had visited neighbouring countries such as Siam and Indo-China she might have been favourably impressed with the degree of development and progress achieved in Burma under British rule as compared with the two countries mentioned above. It seems possible that, among all the various races incorporated in the British Empire, the Burmese may have been the least contented of all—little as they may have shown their real feelings! The pen and ink sketches illustrating this book are clever and often very amusing.

D. B.-B.

Journey to the End of an Era. An autobiography. By Melvin Hall. Pp. 438. 9″×6″. Scribner, New York. 1947.

This volume must rank among the most readable and informed biographies ever written. The author, Colonel Hall, U.S.A.A.F., is obviously a very resourceful and likeable personality, with a real art in writing. The reader, rather than himself, is obviously his target, and that reader is sorry when his 200,000 words come to an end.

Hall's wanderings abroad started at Hiz (1902) with his father in Northern Europe with a two-cylinder Panhard. After that, yearly, such ventures culminated in reaching the Delhi Durbar in 1911 and the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad. Thence with car to Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Java, Saigon, Sumatra, the Philippines, Hongkong, Japan. Then followed a pioneer trail through Sweden, Norway, and Lapland to Russia. Just before 1914 we find our friend at home in a Paris studio and the Bal des Quatz Arts. Happy days—gone, alas! for ever.

On August 1, 1914, the French at Chambéry realized the value of a Packard and driver, American though he be. Then followed a period driving with Albert, King of the Belgians, and Prince Alexander of Teck (later the Earl of Athlone), and an inner view of the valuable contribution of the King to the Allied effort. America was not yet in the war, but spywork in the Hotel Adlon and drinking with German officers, Hall's next adventure, must have called for nerve and wits as well as providing really useful information. Major Melvin Hall now formed a close friendship with General William Mitchell, Chief of Air Service, 1st Army. Mitchell had views in 1919 which his countrymen unhappily rejected, and had to learn over again in 1942.

The next 150 pages, omitting three years as Air Attaché in London, deal with five years in Persia, as Financial Adviser and Treasurer-General, the happiest years of his life. His outlook is akin to Morier's, when he wrote *Hajji Baba* in 1804. Much of the writer's success must have been due to his capacity for identifying himself with his national hosts. He loved his Persian "children," and came to understand their ways, mostly in Teheran, Meshed and Shiraz. This is the high level of the volume. Chapters on Riza Khan and Wasmuss are of real interest, being viewed with perhaps the new look. Little in *Hajji Baba* can rival the story of the royal stallion's stampede after the villagers' mare (p. 207), and other stories, perfectly told.

Europa Infelix after this atmosphere proved a sad contrast. The United States wanted to sell planes in Europe, and who better than our polyglot cosmopolitan? On such missions he often visited all the capitals, and has much to tell, of course with discretion, of royal intrigues and national trends. Ankara tours are especially interesting, and Ataturk's personality. The Chief Eunuch's family pension touches a lighter vein. Much of the writer's charm is in his interleaving of grave and gay.

The story ends with more than a modest part in the second World War, the Quebec Conference and its personalities. Hall was number two to General Brereton of the 9th Air Force, 174,000 officers and men, was sent on missions to Italy and elsewhere, and describes the D Day panorama from the air. One can only repeat, a very readable story.

G. M. Routh.

Raffles of Singapore. By Sir Reginald Coupland, K.C.M.G., C.I.E. Third Edition. Pp. 144. Collins. 1946. 7s. 6d.

The appearance of the third edition of this excellent little book is welcome. Amidst all the revolutionary changes which are taking place in South-Eastern Asia it is good that we should be reminded of the achievements of those who laid the foundations of the Colonial system which has prevailed up to the present time. The book is a model of clear exposition, and, in spite of its small size, anyone who reads it must get a sound idea of the events and the conditions prevailing in South-Eastern Asia during this period.

While the records of the " John " Company show many examples of self-made men attaining fame and high positions, it is doubtful whether any more striking case than that of Stamford Raffles could be cited. Furthermore, the vicissitudes of his great career are perhaps unparalleled; his official life was a series of ups and downs.

Born in 1781, the son of a ruined ship-master in the Jamaica trade, with no means of acquiring any decent education except through his own unwearying industry, the poor boy supported himself, and even contributed to help his family, from the age of fourteen years as an assistant clerk in the East India House. After years of toil he started his Eastern career in 1805 as Assistant-Secretary at Penang.

The author gives a short but clear summary of the events in Europe which affected Asia and, incidentally, gave Raffles his great chance in life. The general situation closely resembled the state of affairs with which we have become painfully familiar in recent years! After serious clashes in the seventeenth century the British and the Dutch in the eighteenth century occupied separate zones of economic and political influence. But all this was changed by the French Revolution and, from 1794 onwards, French armies started to overrun Europe. Holland was occupied, and in 1810 annexed by Napoleon I—thus all the Dutch Colonial possessions became French bases. The British Government retaliated by attacking the Dutch navy and by seizing various Dutch Colonies.

Largely as the result of information supplied by Raffles, in 1811 Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, decided to invade Java. Dutch administration in this rich and important island was undoubtedly greedy, corrupt, monopolistic, and also economically unsound, consequently the conquest was easy, and Raffles was installed as Lieutenant-Governor in the new British administration. For the next five years he laboured to improve the administration, introducing the *ryotwari* land system and many other liberal measures of reform. But he incurred unmerited censure from his superiors and left Java under a cloud. As Java was restored to the Dutch by the peace-settlement in 1816 he had the additional mortification of seeing much of his work there swept away. After a long period of leave, during which he recovered his official reputation and received various honours, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen in 1817.

From this outpost, where he was again censured owing to his expansionist activities, Raffles conceived the idea of finding some central spot which should serve as a British commercial base, and buttress against the ever-growing Dutch commercial aggression. This project provoked the fury of the Dutch authorities and condemnation by the British Government and the East India Company. Fortunately, Lord Hastings, then Governor-General of India, shared Raffles' great vision and supported him in his plans. Thus, after various difficulties, including bitter hostility on the part of some of his local British colleagues, Singapore was founded and, to quote Sir Reginald Coupland's words, " was and is the perfect site. Its growth and development exceeded all Raffles' expectations. The value of its trade was larger than all the Indian ports together. It was, in fact, one of the greatest ports in the world." It became, as he says, " the starting point for . . . the spread of peace and civilization over the Malayan mainland." In 1939 its population was over three-quarters of a million and twenty-six million tons of shipping entered and cleared. Its future prospects are still unbounded.

In August, 1824, Sir Stamford Raffles left the East and returned to England. In spite of ill-health and the cruel blows caused by tragic losses of his first wife and children together with all the children except one of his second marriage, to which may be added the almost total loss by shipwreck of his wonderful Oriental collections, he had prospects of long and happy retirement. Unhappily, this was not to be realized. Engaged in various interesting activities, including the foundation of the London Zoo, which remains as a visible memorial to him in England, he was faced with a crushing demand by the ungrateful Court of Directors for repayment of £22,000, closely followed by the loss of a great part of his private fortune, and he died suddenly before his forty-fifth birthday. The Court proceeded to extract £10,000 from his impoverished widow in settlement of its claims!

As a worker Sir Stamford Raffles seems to have been almost superhuman. In addition to his manifold official duties he accomplished an immense labour in many literary and scientific fields. As a man he seems to have been as near perfection as can be attained in this sinful world. In his character there seems to be no defects or weaknesses. It is probable that the most important feature of his career in South-Eastern Asia was, as Sir Reginald Coupland truly says, that "he was one of the first Englishmen to put in practice the new doctrine of Trusteeship. . . . Raffles, far in advance of his time, had conceived, applied and gone far to prove the theory that there is no inevitable and universal conflict between the legitimate aspirations of the advanced and backward races of the world."

D. B.-B.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the
Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

Sir,

With reference to the Society's paper on "Nanga Parbat to Lhasa," the following may be of some interest:

In the year 1895 (*i.e.*, the year Mr. Mummery's party came to India to attempt the ascent of Nanga Parbat) I was camped with the Kashmir Mountain Battery, to which I was attached while doing duty in the Gilgit Agency, in the Kamri Valley, between Astor and the Kamri Pass.

Mr. Mummery's party came down the Kamri Valley, and stayed two or three days with me at Rattoo camp. It had become known to the inhabitants of the valley that they intended to climb the mountain.

It was a popular belief among the villagers that Nanga Parbat was the abode of fairies. The name applied to the mountain by them was "Paristan" (*i.e.*, the home of the fairies). Some days before the arrival of Mr. Mummery some of the inhabitants of a nearby village, with whom I was on very good terms, came to me, and begged me to stop Mr. Mummery's party attempting to enter "Paristan," as the fairies would be certain to kill them if they did so.

After the tragic accident, which resulted in the death of Mr. Mummery and the two Gurkhas who accompanied him, the same people came to me, and upraided me for not having prevented him from entering "Paristan."

I dwelt at Rattoo almost under the shadow of the great mountain. The people pointed out to me an object rather like a snow-covered tower projecting up at the extremity of the long white spur, which runs off the main peak towards the back of Astor. They said that was the house of the fairies, and that when storms blew the fairies used to issue from it, and dance along the great white ridge to the playing of tom-toms. They could hear the music being played frequently. The belief was a very general one.

The mountain is a most beautiful one, quite indescribable. You will no doubt have a set of the photographs taken by Mr. Mummery's expedition. There was one which showed the wonderful view of the great precipice of somewhere about 14,000 feet, rising sheer out of the Rupal Glacier Valley. It was the most wonderful sight I have ever seen.

Yours faithfully,
Cosmo G. Stewart
(*Brig.-General*).

It has been learnt with much regret that the death of Brig.-General C. G. Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., occurred within a few days of his writing the above letter, which is published by permission of his family.

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NOTICES

THE principal object of the Royal Central Asian Society is to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries.

The Council welcomes applications for Membership from those whose work, studies or war service may now lie in one of the countries of Central and Western Asia in which the Society is interested. Such Members are of the greatest help in keeping the Society up to date in its information. Members also can maintain their existing interest in these countries by keeping in touch with fellow Members.

Persons who desire to join must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and must then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible. The Annual Subscription is £1 5s. There is an Entrance Fee of £1 payable on election.

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Seconded...

His / Her connection with Asia is :

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THE PERCY MOLESWORTH SYKES MEMORIAL MEDAL

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, Lady Sykes and her family presented to the Society the Percy Molesworth Sykes Memorial Medal, which is open to persons of any nationality who have distinguished themselves in travel, archæology, research or letters connected with Iran or other countries within the orbit of the Royal Central Asian Society. The medal may also be awarded for outstanding work in furthering cultural relations between the British Empire and any of these countries.

The medal, designed by Mr. Eric Kennington, bears on one side the portrait of Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., and on the reverse a design of Marco Polo dictating his book and the legend " What thou seest write in a book."

In making the presentation Mr. Frank Sykes said: Except that I am the eldest son of my father, I am the least qualified of my family to present this medal to the Society, because I have lived most of my life in Wiltshire. One, in particular, of my brothers knows Persia very well, but he is in Teheran at the present moment. However, latterly, perhaps because the opportunity offered or because the urge to wander became too great, I have travelled quite a bit in East and West Africa. There I was greatly impressed by the number of the Society's Journal that I saw in bungalows and in residences in odd parts of that continent, and by the number of men I met who expressed their indebtedness to your Society and to my father for having encouraged their early wish to get off the beaten track. That is, to my mind, a precious heritage of our people and one which your Society will continue to foster.

But there is another function which you as a Society perform, and that is to encourage those who travel to get to know and to understand the people of the countries they visit, and also to encourage those in other countries to understand the British, their way of life, and what they stand for. As my father would have wished, this medal is being presented to encourage and to foster cultural relations between the peoples of Asia, and especially Iran, and the British Empire, Iran being the country which my father knew so well and whose institutions and people aroused in him so deep an affection.

My mother, my brothers and sisters and I and Major Herbert Sykes who travelled with my father as a young man in Iran, present this medal to the Society in the hope that for a space it will keep green the memory of the work that my father did, and also that, in its small way, it may contribute to a better understanding and better fellowship between the peoples of this world. That, I know you will all agree, is something which is woefully needed in these days.

Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart (Chairman of Council): Lady Sykes, I should like on behalf of the Society to thank you and your family for the very kind gift you have made. I am sure we shall carry out your wishes in the matter of this medal to the best of our ability. It is a small thing to say how grateful we are. There is much more to it than that: for, with you, we feel very strongly the importance of the objects this medal is intended to further, and we do thank you very much indeed.

CONDITIONS OF DAILY LIFE IN IRAN, 1947

BY THE RT. REV. W. J. THOMPSON

(Anglican Bishop in Iran)

Lecture given on March 24, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Bishop Thompson has kindly spared us an afternoon; we appreciate that very much because we all realize how busy he is. He has had a somewhat varied experience of life. After leaving Cambridge he went to India and was the engineer in the charge of building St. John's College, Agra. In the first World War he served in the Royal Engineers in Mesopotamia as a Captain, being twice mentioned in despatches.

After that war he took Holy Orders, and went out to Iran as Principal of the Stuart Memorial College at Isfahan in 1921, and became Anglican Bishop in Iran in 1935. So that what he tells us to-day of life in that country will be based on a very long experience. He has certainly seen it from two different angles, and perhaps from more.

I REALIZE that I may be speaking to some Iranis and others here this afternoon who probably know Iran much better than I do and who should be standing here in my place. Many more these days have had at least a fleeting glimpse of some part of that country through the fortunes of war or for some other reason, or have a nodding acquaintance with its history.

I shall keep off the political field, about which I have no qualification to talk. But the last thirty-four years since my first arrival in Iran has given me an opportunity of seeing the country pass through a great social and cultural change to which no similar period in its long history can compare. I quoted last time a statement by the late Mr. Wendell Wilkie to the effect that the next ten years in Iran and the Middle East would probably see more changes than the last ten centuries have done. Every year that passes would seem to justify this opinion.

Probably nothing illustrates the change more vividly than the change in communications. It has been my fortune to travel extensively all over the country on many journeys across its wide plains and up and down its great mountains, by all sorts of transport ranging from mule caravans to aeroplanes. My first view of the country was at Bushire in 1914 from where we caravanned over those grand mountain ranges which guard the plateau and have saved it in the past from invasion of armies or ideas from the rest of the world for centuries. At that time there were no roads. We finally reached Isfahan five weeks after leaving the port. Since then I have ridden down those same mountains and crossed the country by "wagoon"—a form of transport difficult to describe to those who have not used it. It resembles, as much as anything, a large springless hay cart drawn by three or four horses all abreast. The luggage is first thrown in and then the passengers climb up on top and make themselves as comfortable as they can for, it may be, the six or seven days' journey from Teheran to Isfahan. You keep going day and night, changing horses at every stage, usually about fifteen or twenty miles. It was not too uncomfortable if the weather was kind, but if it snowed or rained one could imagine better conditions. I have also bicycled over the plains and walked over the mountains with great enjoyment. Later on roads began to appear and motors replaced all other forms of transport, and we rush around the country by car or lorry or bus in less time than formerly but not always with greater comfort. The late war hastened the development of better roads stretching up and down the country connecting the larger towns and uniting the country as it had never been in the whole of its long history. In the recent war the Allies, to improve the facilities for the transport of essential supplies to Russia, made an asphalt road from Baghdad to the north of Iran, and the Iran Government having become very road conscious, the Ministry of Roads is extending these to other parts of the country. On my last visit to Teheran last autumn I travelled over the newly completed asphalt road from Qum which used to be one of the most trying stretches of road for motoring in the country. There is something in the nature of the soil there which made it worse than most and always used to make the trip to Teheran wearisome.

Another very welcome improvement during the last year or so, as far as the long-suffering passengers are concerned, has been the starting of a number of up-to-date bus companies (such as the T.C.C.) which have put a lot of new and much more comfortable buses on the roads and which actually work to a definite time-table—buses really start up to time. In fact the old days when travelling was an excitement and an adventure are rapidly becoming ancient history.

The railways have also appeared and are gradually extending their radius of operations to cover the whole country. But it is a country eminently suited over most of its area for flying, and this is becoming increasingly used. The Iran Airways are extending their services rapidly. Air travel has also brought Iran very close to the rest of the world. I travelled back to this country last November in about seventeen hours. We are all neighbours to-day but, unfortunately, this does not necessarily mean that we understand one another any better. The danger is to think we do because we live closer to each other. In the old days we took life more leisurely and had more time to get to know each other. It takes a bigger effort to-day to remember that our outlooks are different and that the processes of our minds do not always work alike. This revolutionary change in transport has meant much more intercommunication so that this country has gained a new sense of unity. There is much more movement and, on the other hand, Government control—brought much nearer and made more effective—with its consequent result of blessing or otherwise.

But a much more radical change has taken place since I first went to Iran, a change that has altered the whole balance of the country and placed the centre of gravity in the Province of Khuzistan in the south-west corner. When I went out oil had only just been discovered in those arid foothills of the magnificent Bakhtiari mountains, and no one at that time could foresee the magnitude of this new discovery or how it was to affect the whole political and social life of those regions. To-day oil and the Middle East are almost synonymous terms. Thousands of our own countrymen are out in Iran who would never have been there but for the oil. And not only our own country is interested in this, the other great countries of the world have been attracted to this region to share in the liquid gold which is pouring out from under those arid plains and bare mountains in such fabulous quantities to-day.

My first visit to this area was in 1915 when we all had to evacuate from Isfahan. We trekked across those Bakhtiari mountains, eighteen days of caravanning to which I look back with great enjoyment, finally landing up at Mis to be met by Dr. Young, whose name will always be so closely associated with those early days of the development of the A.I.O.C. It was my first contact with the company. Since then it has been of the greatest interest to me to watch the wonderful development of that area into what it has become now. Development has been accelerated by the conditions arising out of two world wars, which must have created peculiar difficulties in the attempt to match the extraordinary expansion of the work with due regard to the care and conditions of life of the workers.

When I first visited the island of Abadan it was almost barren desert except for a small primitive village. To-day it boasts one of the largest, if not the largest oil refinery in the world; and a great industrial town has grown up during these thirty years with all the amenities of modern twentieth-century life and a few more! The small island is reported to hold 200,000 souls. This whole area which used to be barren empty desert has been turned overnight, as it were, into the scene of the biggest industrial undertaking in the whole of the Middle East. Thousands of Britishers and tens of thousands of the more enterprising Iranis, illiterate and educated, have been thrown together, attracted to this hot, uncomfortable district by the prospect of employment in the company. And still the stream of men and women continues to flow from all over Iran so that every town and village feels the effect and is being drained of many of their most enterprising members. Many of these return after a period of service with the company with new ideas and new demands. If you find a reasonably good mechanic or someone with a smattering of a few words of English in some out-of-the-way place you can make a pretty good guess that he has been down with the " Compani." If the discovery of oil has unsettled the political balance of the Great Powers it has certainly changed the whole life of Iran and affected its people even to the remotest villages. I do not think I am wrong in saying that the centre of gravity of the country is to-day in Khuzistan.

Besides the actual business of extracting the oil and refining it and sending it away to the ends of the world the company has taken an increasing interest in the well-being of its workers. One of the most interesting and important departments is the Training Department with its large hostel for apprentices (400 students), its workshops and its fine Technical College, which can compare favourably with anything of a similar kind in this country, so that young boys entering the company are looked after and helped to understand the work to which they will eventually be drafted and at the same time to adjust themselves to the new surroundings, so that they need not succumb to the moral temptations which a large industrial centre inevitably presents to any young man.

It must be borne in mind that a large part of the national revenue is derived from the oil and you will, I think, admit that I am not exaggerating when I say the discovery of oil has been the biggest thing which has happened to Iran or the Middle East for a very long time. It has affected the whole social and political structure and turned a desert into a great industrial centre with its tentacles reaching to the ends of the world.

There are signs that the unhealthy centralization of all national life in the capital, Teheran, is being realized and steps taken to counteract it. A sign of this can be seen in the new medical schools which have been opened in some of the larger towns outside Teheran (and others are contemplated). In Isfahan such a school (50 per year) for the training of partly qualified doctors for village work has been in existence for two years. The idea is to give students who have passed out of the middle schools a four-year medical course which will entitle them to serve as doctors in village centres. If, after having put in at least four years in the villages, such doctors wish to complete their training so as to qualify for medical practice anywhere they may take their final two years in the Medical School in the University of Teheran. This system should prove to be a very great boon to the villages where medical facilities are at present so inadequate. Other very important developments in the Ministry of Health are under way. Plans are made for the training of nurses in various centres in which the mission hospitals hope to take their part as far as they are able to assist. And already a number of girls have been sent (by the Government) to this country for training as nurses.

Most towns now also have five- or seven-year plans for the improvement of their own districts. For example in Isfahan we have a seven-year plan, with great plans for the asphalting of all the avenues and side streets in the municipal area. There is also in hand the building of a fine power plant which, when completed, should give the town for the first time adequate light and power. There is also the great scheme for improving the water supply to the Isfahan plain known as the Kuh Rang Scheme. This has in view the diversion of the upper waters of the Karun river to join the valley of the Zayandeh Rud river which waters the Isfahan plain. Many attempts have been made in the past to do this. Shah Abbas spent twenty-five years on a scheme to do this and his work can still be seen. When this is done many thousands more acres will come under cultivation and the town of Isfahan will be saved from the threat of water shortage. The last two years have brought home to us all out there the precarious nature of our water supply at present. Owing to the failure of the spring floods due to the insufficient fall of snow up in the mountains during the winter the town supplies were very seriously affected. The water in the wells dropped to an alarming extent and many wells ran dry. This was very serious as every house and compound in the town depends on its own well for drinking and other purposes. Many trees died and crops suffered badly. The new Kuh Rang Scheme should make such a thing impossible once it is completed.

Teheran has its own scheme for a water supply. Shiraz and Kerman are also planning similar developments.

Last time I spoke of the great advances made in education. Since then attempts have been made to bring into effect the law for universal primary education; but it is not yet practical to do this. There are not the facilities either of accommodation or teaching staff. But the intention remains and no doubt in time it will be carried out. This may be done sooner in the large centres, but it will take years before it can be successfully carried out in the villages.

But the importance and practicability of adult literacy was brought home to us by the visit last year of Dr. Laubach, who has become famous throughout the world in connection with his adult literacy campaigns. It was my privilege to entertain him when he visited Isfahan. By his system he claims to be able to teach any adult to read his own language in eight to ten lessons. He has worked out his system and method with striking success in more than 100 language areas all over the world. During his visit he worked out his system for Persian and had his diagrams and first reading books printed. He had interviews with H.M. the Shah and many government officials. He held public lectures and demonstrations and created much interest in his plans. The army command took an interest in the idea and asked for 10,000 copies of the first reader and diagrams to be supplied to them, so that they might use them to teach the conscripts to read. If this plan succeeds it is not hard to imagine the effect it may have on the villages up and down the country. I have just heard that the first edition of these readers has been sold out and a further edition is being published.

All this throws into relief the great importance of literature. The demand for reading material of all kinds is growing rapidly. The supply is hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the situation. It is commonly stated that there are more different newspapers in Teheran than there are in London. How far this is so I cannot say. But it is true that there are a great many newspapers of every shade of opinion and colour. At least the fact indicates how everyone is thinking in terms of the printed page and its importance for conveying your ideas across to the other man. It also indicates the lack of unity of outlook and ideas. There is a great mass of ill-digested ideas floating about in the Irani mind to-day which is awaiting co-ordination, interpretation, and direction.

We are trying in a very small and inadequate way to help to supply some of this urgently needed literature. While Iran has, of course, its great classical literature we find there is an almost total lack of suitable literature for children and youth. We are trying to remedy this in our small way according to our resources. But the task is immense and many will need to take a hand in it.

The first result of the disappearance of the strong hand of the late Reza Shah Pahlavi was one of bewilderment. It took some time for the full effects of the loosening of the strings of government control to work themselves out. However, it soon became apparent how much of the initiative of the changes and reforms had been due to the drive and personality of the Shah himself. He had forced the pace beyond the point where public opinion would follow him. He was forming a new outlook and if he had had more time the great changes which he introduced would have taken firmer root. As it was there was bound to be reaction when his influence was removed. When he first came to power he carried the people with him, but as time went on he retained it more by the fear which he created than by the trust and goodwill of the people, so that the immediate effect of his removal was a feeling of relief and the removal of a heavy burden.

An interesting article has appeared in the latest issue of the *Middle East Journal* (U.S.A.) entitled " The problem of Westernization in modern Iran " in which the writer discussing the revival under Reza Shah states that: " One of the most significant features of this revolutionary nationalism was the acceptance of the principle of secularization."

It was not, he says, so much a direct attack on religion as such, but rather the intention and steady purpose that Iran should become modernized and anything which blocked this was unceremoniously brushed aside. To quote his own words: " Reza Shah and his regime were not contemptuous of, or hostile to, religion as such; they were only indifferent or opposed to it in so far as the religious leaders blocked modernization and were in a position to compromise the whole movement unless curtailed in power."

Reza Shah tried to do in a few years what was bound to happen rather more slowly in any case with the wider educational programme and the closer association with the rest of the world. The reaction which set in has made itself felt in various directions, some less satisfactory and more serious than others.

Since religious authority had been so severely restricted and repressed it was only natural that there should be on the part of the Mullahs an attempt to retrieve some of their lost power and status. The return of the veil has been very marked everywhere, and similar signs of a return to more orthodox practices are in evidence. In many places the traditional observances of Muharram and other Moslem religious festivals are being revived. It is, however, unlikely that these will regain the hold they once had upon the people as a whole.

Another important change is the resurgence of the tribes—the great Bakhtiari and Qashgai tribes who occupy such a large part of Western Iran. The Shah's policy had been to shatter their power and bring them firmly under the authority of the central government, and he accomplished this very effectively, though he never succeeded (except to a very limited extent) in making them give up their traditional nomadic habits and settle down to community life in villages. But he did disarm them and remove their leaders so that they gave at least a grudging recognition of the government.

The tribes have since re-exerted their old habits and their traditional intransigence to authority. When I travelled up last year from Bushire to Shiraz everyone we met on the road seemed to be armed to the teeth with rifles and bandoliers. The driver of the lorry in which I was travelling regaled us with stories of how he and others had been held up and robbed. His technique seemed to be to make friends with them by bringing supplies for them.

With the increasing regimentation of the people during the closing years of Reza Shah's reign it was not unnatural that communistic doctrine and ideology should make some headway and appeal to certain elements of the population; especially as any expression of interest in that direction had been very severely repressed by him. This came to the surface most seriously in the labour movement which for a time was very active. Considerable trouble and disturbances occurred in various parts of the country, the most serious being in the oil company's area, but in Isfahan the situation looked threatening for some time. But when it became evident that the troubles were being fomented from outside it lost a great deal of its popularity and for the time being the movement has slowed down or gone underground. But before it became diverted into political channels the labour movement (known as the Tudeh) had accomplished much for the better status of the workers in the factories. A number of useful laws were passed protecting their interests and laying down regulations of employment, insurance, etc. This is ground which has been well gained and the worker in the factory is to-day in a far better position than he ever was before. There is still, however, much room for improvement, not so much on the legal side as in the understanding and relationship between management and labour. This must necessarily wait, partly at least, for better education when the need for a fuller life will be more felt.

A very unfortunate effect of modern life and conditions in Iran is the much wider gap between rich and poor, repeating the economic conditions that have resulted in so many other countries. But it contains the seed of much trouble in the future, unless those in whose hands the power now rests will learn from experience and be wise enough and disinterested enough to consider the welfare of the community rather than their own private ends. Some are alive to the situation and would like to do more if they could.

The whole situation has been affected by the steep rise in the cost of living which has brought great hardship to the majority, while the very rich do not feel the pinch and so get further out of touch with the true situation. There is no serious shortage of food or other essentials of life. But still a great proportion are poor, ill-fed and in rags. Rationing has been tried in various ways but so far without much success. I am glad to hear since I got to this country that prices are tending to drop. If this really happens and a return to more normal prices takes place this will make the task of reconstruction much easier and make the country as a whole much more contented. For a great deal of the trouble and the influence of communistic ideology has been due to the bad economic conditions prevailing. Such things as sugar at 20s. to 25s. per lb. and tea at a similar price mean that the poor man is reduced to the bare limit and often goes hungry. Speaking generally the cost of living has risen through the war to about ten times what it was before. It is only the strong individualistic streak in his nature, strengthened by his fatalistic attitude to life, which has prevented Communism making much more progress than it has.

For better or for worse it seems that Iran can no longer expect to retire behind its formidable mountain ranges and let the rest of the world go by. Situated as she is in the centre of the Middle East she has a very important rôle to play. She may be able to exert a very helpful influence in the turbulent waters of those parts. The fact that she is not an Arab state means that she can take a more detached and disinterested view of things so that she might exert a moderating influence amongst her neighbours. How far she will be able to do this will depend largely on whether she can become strong and united in herself and have confidence in her own policies to take an independent line of her own.

A very unfortunate tendency of late has been the desire of so many to leave the country for the supposedly easier and more secure conditions of life in America or elsewhere. What Iran needs so much at present is the disinterested service of her own people. Like the rest of the world she is passing through a time of exaggerated upheaval, and it is at such times that the old sanctions and foundations of life are put to the severest test and often found insecure. Moral standards have slipped and it is hard to stand against public opinion. It is now that she needs the help that those who see further than others can give her.

I may mention one other movement which is of interest and significance, that is the emigration of so many of the Armenian community back to their own country of Armenia, encouraged by the Russian Government who promise land and employment to all who return. Thousands have already gone and it looked at one time as if all or the majority of the community would leave. I do not know if this drift back to Armenia still continues but it is losing to Iran some of its best agricultural labour. Whole villages in the Isfahan district have been evacuated and left without anyone to till the ground. It is not possible to get reliable information as to the conditions this year in Armenia. The most contradictory reports are circulated. But no one is apparently allowed to return to Iran if they once get there.

The observations I have made about life in Iran to-day will, I hope, have conveyed to you the picture of a great land and people passing through great changes. but any picture must always contain as a background the mass of simple, hard-working village folk who are, as in most countries, the backbone of the country, and who are only just beginning to wake up and be swept into the stream of so called modern progress. New ideas penetrate slowly into the remoter parts, and perhaps the first effects felt by the peasant are the interferences with his old and familiar way of life rather than the advantages of the new order. He has long been accustomed and inured to insecurities and inconveniences in many ways which we should feel most trying and unbearable. Now he finds added other—and what to him are more trying and unaccountable and unwarranted—interferences with his normal life. The recruiting officer arrives to take off his sons as conscripts just when they are beginning to be really useful on the land; the tax gatherer comes along to assess his wealth (such as it is) and to rob him (so it seems to him) of a considerable portion of it for purposes which he but dimly understands, if at all; and those few simple material needs of his such as tea, sugar, cloth, bread, etc., which he used to be able to purchase for next to nothing are now mostly sky high out of his reach altogether. At the same time he may see many of his familiar ideas and customs (religious and otherwise) dying out or under criticism; and he is faced with the difficult task of sorting out his ideas and adjusting himself mentally and spiritually. These are the first, and for many, practically the only effects he sees of the progress. Is it surprising if he does not always immediately welcome the change with open arms? It is only if we use our imagination a little that we can get a true picture and realize why it is that the blessings of modern life do not immediately appeal to such people. We are beginning to be a little less confident in our own country that modern progress can deliver all the goods it promises.

I hope I have given you the picture of a country which is passing through a very great change of thought and culture and will, I hope, come through a stronger and greater country in the future.

Asked if there had been much new construction of railways in Iran since the end of the recent war—

The LECTURER replied: The railway to Tabriz is now well on the way to completion, and just before I left Iran the rails were being laid down towards Kerman. There is a branch line which will eventually run all the way from Qum through Yezd and on to Kerman. The earthwork was done at the beginning of the war but it was impossible to get the iron and steel for the rails, but now the rails are being laid.

Mr. E. HOWES: Is it intended that the line should continue to the Indian frontier?

The LECTURER: I believe so.

Miss CARSON: What is the position of the Zoroastrians and Bahais?

The LECTURER: According to the Constitution, as in Roman times, there are two religions recognized, one is the Zoroastrian. Bahai is not recognized, so that officially there are no Bahais. There are recognized Christian communities such as the Assyrians and the Armenians and they have their representative in Parliament, but those who do not belong to either of those communities have no representatives in Parliament. Christians from a Moslem background have no rights in that direction.

Mr. KING: Have we any English churches in Iran, built as such? Or do we use other buildings for the purpose of holding services and so on?

The LECTURER: We have a number of churches which have been built there; one in Isfahan; in Yezd we had one until the flood carried it away in 1942. In Kerman we had a church, also in Shiraz, and there was a little church built lately in Bushire. The Iranian Oil Company have two churches, one in Abadan and the other in Nasri Suleiman. At present the Episcopal Church which has grown up in Iran has not any churches in the north of the country because, in co-operation with the Americans, it was decided we should confine all our activities to the southern half of the country. Every Sunday there are services in English as well as in Persian in the churches.

Mr. BYRT: Have the Americans any churches in the north?

The LECTURER: Yes, they have churches at Meshed, Tehran, Tabriz, and Kermanshah.

Mr. ROACH: Has there been any decrease in the cultivation of opium, which was very widespread during the war?

The LECTURER: Yes, there has been lately a great decrease. About two years ago the Government decided to put a stop to opium-growing;

they have not been entirely successful, but they have tried to make it an offence to smoke opium. There has certainly been considerable reduction in opium-smoking as a result of that. I have no figures as to the position but certainly round Isfahan the poppy is very scarce, whereas it was very plentiful in the old days. During the last year or two I have seen no large crops. An American was preparing a report and recommendations for the Government last year and I presume he submitted that report, but I do not know what were his findings as to the reduction of opium-growing or as to what crops were taking the place of the poppy.

Asked would it not mean a great loss to the export drive if opium-growing was stopped—

The LECTURER replied: That is a reason why it has been found so difficult; it is one of the easiest crops to export; it is small in bulk and very valuable. Hence the difficulty of finding a substitute crop.

The CHAIRMAN: I beg to thank you, Dr. Thompson, on behalf of all present, for having given us such a large amount of interesting information. I know you are shortly returning to Iran and you will carry with you the good wishes of us all. We hope that one of these days you will come and address us again when the situation will probably have changed and will, I hope, be much better than it appears to be in some parts to-day.

THE PRESS IN IRAN TO-DAY

By L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON

A lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, July 7, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The Chairman: Mr. L. P. Elwell-Sutton, who has very kindly come to talk to us to-day, studied Arabic and Persian at the School of Oriental Studies of London University with Honours in Arabic. He has always been especially interested in the spoken languages of the Middle East, and lectured on the Arabic spoken in Iraq at London University, and also brought out a Manual of Colloquial Persian for the use of students going to the Middle East during the recent war, and a book on Modern Iran.

He has spent a number of years in Iran both before, during, and since the war. Formerly with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., he has until recently been in Iran, where he studied contemporary life and questions in which Persians to-day are interested, especially the subject of the modern Press of Iran, on which he is going to speak.

I WANT to speak to-day about the Persian Press since 1941, but, of course, it is just as well to remind you that the Press of Iran is a good deal older than that.

The first newspaper to be published in Persia appeared about 1850. It was an official journal run by the Government, that is, by the Court, which was the Government in those days. There is still a paper, *Irân,* published in Tehran which can trace its lineage directly back to that newspaper of nearly a hundred years ago: since then it has gone through a great many stages and developments, and it is scarcely recognizable to anyone who knew the original paper.

1941 is a good point at which to start this description of the Press of to-day, because for the fifteen years before that the Press had been gradually losing importance. It had a great burst of activity just before, during and after the first world war, very roughly the period of the constitutional movement up to the *coup d'état* of Reza Shah and his subsequent coronation. When he came to power, the number of newspapers must have been between 100 and 150, possibly more. After that time the number was steadily reduced—many became official publications sponsored by Government Departments—and by 1940 there were probably not more than fifty publications of one kind and another throughout the country. Of those there were two or three important dailies published in Tehran, such as the evening paper *Ettelâ'ât,* the paper *Irân,* and one or two others; twenty-five weeklies, monthlies and miscellaneous publications of that kind, and about fifteen or twenty newspapers in the various provincial towns. None of them was a publication of great political interest; they were all very much of the same tone: they took their line from the Government, and there was very little expression of opinion by any of them; they were informative; occasionally they criticized articles and statements in the European Press on the subject of Persia, but apart from that they took a very neutral line in political questions.

That was the general tone of the Persian Press up to the Allied occupation in August, 1941, and the subsequent abdication of Reza Shah. The result was that when the Shah was removed, the Press was more or less unprepared for the change, and did not seem to know how to meet the new situation. In fact, the papers that existed at that time continued to carry on in very much the same way as they had for the previous ten or fifteen years. They took their tone and their line of policy from the Government of the day, not necessarily because they were obliged to, but from force of habit. There were no changes at all; there were no new papers, in fact, between September, 1941 and the end of the year, except for one: the paper *Irân* went back to its original owner, who had been exiled some years before, and the temporary owner of *Irân* started a new paper, or rather he carried on the same paper under a different name, *Mehr-e-Irân;* the original owner of *Irân* started a new paper in the name of *Irân*.

Apart from that there were no changes until the following January, when a few papers which had previously appeared in the 1920's came to life again. One of the most noteworthy, or notorious, was *Eqdâm*, run by Abbâs Khalili, who had fought in the first world war, had been interned in Iraq, and was rather a lively character. He, and the owners of one or two other papers—he set the tone for them—started a new style of journalism which became popular in the following years; it was a much more vigorous, picturesque and outspoken style of comment and writing —rather irresponsible in many ways—devoting far less attention to news and far more attention to comment on political and internal affairs.

Apart from papers of that type, which seemed to express little more than the views of particular individuals or small groups of individuals, there was only one real group of papers which represented the views of a political party; of course, there was only one properly organized political party at that time, the Left Wing Tudéh Party. That party had one organ to begin with, *Seyâsat,* and another paper, which was originally published as an anti-Fascist paper with no particular Left Wing leanings, *Mardom,* but later that became more closely identified with the party.

This general ferment and turmoil in the Tehran Press continued during the whole of 1942, and by the end of that year the number of papers in existence, not all published regularly, of course, had been increased from the fifty of the previous August to round about 120. A good many of them were dailies, but there were also a great many weeklies, and others which appeared when the owners had enough money to bring them out. Their chief problem of course was that the country was occupied by Allied Powers—British, Russians and Americans; in anything they wrote they had to steer extremely clear of any topics or comment which would upset the Allied authorities The Allied powers did not actually impose any pre-censorship on the Press, but any paper that infringed the censorship regulations was dropped on heavily. The Press then developed very ingenious ways of referring to the activities of the Allies, particularly in regard to Persia, without making it quite too obviously clear who or what they were talking about. Phrases like " the northern and southern neighbours," " the crow, the eagle and the bear," and so on were thinly veiled descriptions of the various Powers in Persia.

In contrast to that, there was very free discussion of internal affairs and a great deal of vague talk about a social revolution: *all* the papers talked about that, no matter what their politics were. It was rather difficult to say what their politics were, but they all talked about revolution in a vague sort of way, even though they may have been owned and run by the most wealthy capitalists in the country. It was a good line.

Discontent and criticism grew during 1942, particularly over the food situation, and the Government dealt with that criticism, not by taking measures to improve the food situation, but by taking measures to suppress the activities of the Press: I do not say that that was the only thing they did, but that was their method. They had the power to deal with Press criticism and Press activities under the Martial Law Regulation which was introduced in August, 1941, immediately after the invasion. That regulation contained a clause which enabled the Military Governor in Tehran, and that is where most of the papers are published, to suppress newspapers for criticism which he considered interfered with the activities of the Government. Suppression began, in fact, as soon as the papers appeared, the earliest in January, 1942. One paper in particular was suppressed for publishing a letter from the Vichy Chargé d'Affaires. Two other papers were suppressed at the same time, but were released shortly afterwards. At the same time there had been a rather half-hearted attempt to bring in a new Press Law to replace the old Press Law of 1908, the original Press Law passed about the same time as the Constitution. That attempt met with considerable opposition in the Parliament and never got any further. There was another case the following June when some papers were suppressed: on this occasion, I think, for criticism of internal affairs rather than anything connected with the Allies. Again, there was a new Press Bill brought before the Legislature, but it was withdrawn before it had been discussed at all.

The main principle that the Government seemed inclined to introduce in these Press Laws was that the owner and editor of the newspaper should have a permit issued by the Government, and that it should only be given to people who possessed, apart from the ordinary routine regulations of Persian nationality, age and so on, certain educational and financial qualifications; an attempt, in fact, to say that only comparatively responsible people were allowed to publish newspapers.

They did not succeed in bringing in that change at the beginning of 1942, but in December, 1942, there were the bread riots in Tehran which gave the then Prime Minister, Qavâm-es-Sultanéh, the opportunity to suppress the whole Press, at any rate the whole Press in Tehran. All the papers, even the well-behaved ones, were stopped and one Government newspaper only was allowed to appear. During this interregnum Qavâm brought in a Press Bill, which was an amendment actually to the original Press Law, and under that amendment the papers were gradually allowed to reappear from the beginning of January. That brought in this principle that no one would be allowed to publish a newspaper, or to edit a newspaper, unless he possessed certain financial reserves: he had to deposit a considerable sum of money, and he had to give valid evidence of certain educational qualifications; these requirements were fairly strict.

Exceptions were made in the case of papers which had been published for more than fifteen years previously, and, of course, no doubt there were other ways of getting round the regulations for those who were not too scrupulous. Another regulation was that no one should be given more than one permit, that is, no one should be allowed to publish more than one newspaper.

Well, this did not seem to have very much effect so far as reducing the number of papers published was concerned. During the next fifteen months something like 250 licences were issued: of these, probably at least 200 were issued for papers that had not appeared before the end of 1942; or rather, not between August, 1941, and December, 1942. A great many of them were revivals of old papers that had been published in the previous period of Press activity in the 1920's, but of the 100 or so papers that were publishing during 1942 something like fifty never appeared again. Some of these had been publications of Government Departments; others appeared under a new name, the original owner or editor having obtained a licence under a new name. During this period something like 200 new papers appeared; in spite of the fact that there was a great deal of Press criticism, this new Law, so far as the issue of licences was concerned, did not seem to be a very great hardship.

The business of suppression went on spasmodically and seemed to come in waves. Sometimes things went quietly, and then the Government would decide that the Press was getting too difficult and they would suppress a number of papers, and there would be wild protests from the rest of the papers. After a time, the papers would be released and things went on very quietly in that way for the next two years, until the middle of 1944.

I might mention here the Department of Press and Propaganda, which was a relic of the Reza Shah regime. In his day, of course, it had been a more positive institution with the definite object of indoctrinating the people of Persia with the nationalistic ideas in which he was interested.

This department continued, and various journalists and others were appointed at rather brief intervals to direct it. Some of them were more energetic than others; the more energetic they were, the sooner they lost their jobs. The most energetic was a certain Khâjéh Nuri, who got into great difficulties with the Press at the beginning of 1944, difficulties which resulted, not only in the loss of his job, but in the temporary closing down of the department. The only really practical and useful part of this department was the Pârs News Agency, which had been the only source of news for the Press; therefore, there was no choice about it—it carried on and it was used by a great many papers, who, having no news service of their own, and being unable to afford to subscribe to any of the big international agencies, found the agency useful to them, although its news was generally at least twenty-four hours late.

Some of the papers tried to form little unions and groups of their own, which they called " Press unions," but which were really little more than political groups; political parties almost—" parties " is hardly the word—but there was nothing in the sense of a professional journalists' union.

Another element in the situation which should be taken into account was the activities of the Allied authorities in the publishing and Press world. The British and Russians both published papers. The British Embassy published a daily newspaper in English, and in Persian a fortnightly political commentary, a children's newspaper and a women's magazine. The Russians published a Russian newspaper; it was originally issued daily, and later three times a week. They also had a weekly paper in Persian. A good many of the other Allied missions in Tehran published their own bulletins, either in French or in their own language. Poles, Greeks and one or two other nations did this.

Then there was another important group of Left Wing papers: two daily papers, one I have already mentioned, *Siyâsat,* and a new paper, *Rahbar,* which became the official organ of the party; then the Workers' Union, which was affiliated to the party, also published a paper, first *Giti,* then *Zafar,* which carried on for a good many years. They were the first group of papers to take up any more or less definite political line, and they started the division into Right and Left which became acute with the oil crisis of 1944. The Press took quite a part in that, because it was the Left Wing so-called " Freedom Front " and the Right Wing Independence Front of newspapers, two groups of thirty or forty newspapers, which led the two sides in this dispute. The general result was again a wave of suppressions of papers on both sides, waged on the whole against the Left Wing, but the Right Wing suffered quite a lot in their attacks on the Russians. This brought about various ingenious devices for getting around this system of suppression. It was not entirely new, but they worked out very carefully a system by which precisely the same paper that was suppressed appeared the next day with a different title. There was always an indication in the new paper that it was, in fact, the original paper. The original title would appear prominently somewhere on the front page, sometimes quite openly at the top of the page, with just the words " so and so in place of . . . " printed in small type above. Sometimes the Government seemed to ignore that; they just suppressed the first paper and let the other carry on. Sometimes they went on suppressing them every day, and then it was a question of how long the paper could muster sufficient new licences, because, of course, the name that was used had to be one for which there was a licence. So long as it was a licensed name it did not matter particularly what type of paper it was; the titles of magazines and so on appeared on dailies; names of women's magazines appeared at the head of some violently Left Wing papers, although their contents had nothing particularly to do with women.

Well, after the end of the crisis there was a lull; all the papers more or less were released, but they now began to divide themselves up into Right and Left, corresponding to the alignment between Russia and Britain, and then the end of the war began to sharpen this. It also brought other changes. It brought the Press into closer contact with the outside world. Propaganda had been poured out by the Allies during the war, and it was fairly clear that Persian journalists had very little idea of what was going on outside their own country. They had been allowed to get very little idea during the twenty years before the war, and they had not gathered very much during the war. After the end of the war, however, some of them were enabled to travel to England and to various parts of Europe; foreign journalists—British, Americans and others—came to Persia to report their ideas and, of course, they met the Persian Press and had a good deal to do with them.

During 1945 the drive of the Government against the Left Wing Press intensified, and worked up to the crisis in Azarbaijan, and at the time that things broke in Azarbaijan and the autonomous Government was formed, the Left Wing Press was virtually non-existent. There were still a few papers that were allowed to appear—not under their own names, of course—by way of a small safety valve, but as the crisis developed, the Right Wing newspapers were allowed, as far as I could see, a more or less free hand to attack the Russians as freely as they liked, and this violent turn to the Right increased right up to March, 1946, when Qavâm, having been put in presumably to pacify the Russians, dropped on them heavily and shut the whole lot down in the most comprehensive way that it had ever been done. He was not content with just suppressing one or two and allowing them to re-appear; he shut them right down and put the editors in prison, and, in fact, they really disappeared completely; whereas the Left Wing papers were allowed to come right out into the open and to expand considerably beyond what they had been able to do before.

It is not part of this lecture to go through all the political events of those years and in any case you will probably have heard of them from other lecturers. The Left Wing Press, as I said, continued to gather in importance and freedom during 1946 up to the sudden change of policy, when the Democratic Iran Party broke away from the Tudéh Party and expelled the members from the Cabinet. The Democrat Iran Press began quite openly to attack the Tudéh Party. That curious figure, Mozaffar Firuz, who had started his career as Director of Press and Propaganda, was kicked upstairs, as it were, from the Cabinet into the Embassy in Moscow. A curious little incident occurred just before the final collapse of the movement, when one of Qavâm's own papers, *Bahrâm*, was suppressed for criticism of the autonomous Azarbaijan Government only a fortnight before Persian troops marched into Azarbaijan. It was, I suppose, an attempt to conceal his intentions of overthrowing the Azarbaijan Government, but it seemed a little bit late.

During 1947 the movement was reversed; the Right Wing began to get more and more freedom, and the Left Wing was suppressed, but there was a tendency, as a result of these upheavals, for the moderate papers to gain in strength. *Ettelâ'ât* had been a most important paper for a long time in Persia and is just about twenty years old now; it was a very neutral, moderate sort of paper, generally expressing the Government's point of view, but getting a very large circulation—a large circulation, that is, for Persia—as a result of its good news service and advertising service. Towards the end of 1946, and during 1947, another paper, *Kêhân*, began to follow the same line. This was a paper which had been a violently Left Wing paper during and immediately after the war, but the editor went on a visit to America and came back imbued with new democratic ideas and decided to run it in a more moderate way, and to build it up as a reliable newspaper.

Well, the next important event was the removal, for the first time since 1941, of martial law in June, 1947, when the Press became, on paper, free to say and do what they liked. Unfortunately, they took this so literally that martial law was imposed only a few weeks after it had been taken off. This was an excuse for Qavâm dealing with the Press rather drastically, that is, for suppressing a certain group of papers which were attacking him; one of these papers had been extreme Left, one extreme Right, and one somewhere in the middle, and others with similar politics, but they grouped themselves with one common objective of opposition to Qavâm. However, this suppression of his did not have much effect and his own position, of course, was weakened, and by the end of the year his Government had fallen. Hakimi, the new Prime Minister, removed the Martial Law Regulations in January, 1948, and that was the last time they were imposed.

Since then there has been a general tendency for the Press to be opposed to the Government—a rather chaotic situation in general; no particular group of papers following any clear line. There have been a number of changes in the Department of Press and Propaganda. Just lately, in the last two or three months, there has been a curious liaison between the Left Wing papers and those of the extreme Right. A series of Press conferences of journalists have been held by various newspapers of both wings of political opinion. All this was said to be a protest against threatened dictatorship and threats in general to the freedom of the Press. Those protests seem to have come to nothing, and probably nothing much will happen until one can see more clearly what kind of Government Iran is going to have.

That is roughly the background of the Press. I would like to say a few words about the kind of papers that are being published. I have mentioned already the dailies, of which there are a considerable number—about fifteen publishing at present in Tehran, which considering the small population is quite a high figure. The circulation, of course, is very small; *Ettelâ'ât* has a circulation of round about forty to fifty thousand. *Kêhân* has a circulation of about twenty thousand, but the circulation of the others is not more than three or four thousand, sometimes even less. Then there is a huge mass of political weeklies; they are classed weeklies, rather euphemistically at times; some of them appear weekly, others appear spasmodically, but there are something like seventy of this type actually publishing at the moment. Then there are the popular weeklies, non-political more or less—nothing in Iran is completely non-political. These are a sort of " Picture Post-Illustrated " type, but not so good. Efforts have been made to produce papers especially for women and children—I mentioned two that the British Embassy published; one or two other unsuccessful efforts have been made. There has been a small group of monthly magazines, some of which have been extremely promising, but which have not turned out very successfully; one of the best, a magazine called *Sokhan,* unfortunately has passed away after about four years' publication; then there is the paper *Mardom,* which appears as the daily organ of the party, but is also a monthly. *Mardom* is a literary magazine, publishing articles and stories, giving you the story in a Left Wing colour, of course; it is not violently political. Apart from that there are a good many papers published in the provinces: something like twenty-five towns have publications of their own. Isfahan, Tabriz, Meshed, Resht and Shiraz, are the chief towns with their own little group of papers, and quite a number of towns have one or two papers. There is also a small group of foreign-language newspapers, including two Armenian papers, and one French paper published in Tehran mainly for the foreign community. I might mention under that heading, although they do not exist any more, a large group of Turki papers which were published in Azarbaijan during the autonomous Democrat regime in 1946, and also one Kurdish paper, which, I think, was the first Kurdish paper published in Persia. Foreign publications, by which I mean publications issued by foreign authorities, have practically disappeared now. There was a spate of them during the war, but the Government put strong pressure on these foreign authorities to stop these publications, and finally they have done so. I think the only ones appearing now are the British Embassy's Daily News Bulletin, which is not a printed paper, but is only a news bulletin published in English, Persian and Russian, and a similar publication issued by the Soviet Embassy.

The general tone of all political comment is, on the whole, improving. There has always been a rather irresponsible tendency in political comment. That is inevitable when one considers that in the previous years journalists had not been allowed to say anything at all, and they suddenly found themselves at liberty to do and say what they liked, but with very little idea of what to say, or how to say it. There is a general settling down now, and the papers that make their way seem to be the ones that take a responsible and moderate line. Of course, violent abuse and so on does attract the public for a short time, but that does not last. One good example of that, I think, was *Mard-e-Emruz,* a paper which was in the news recently. It was a most scurrilous and abusive paper during the war, and in fact was suppressed for far more time than it was actually publishing. It existed very largely on blackmail, but finally it had its licence taken away from it altogether. The editor, Mohammed Mas'ud, finally got his licence back, and after that his tone was considerably changed, although still unscrupulous. He was the man who was murdered in February of this year. His paper has now come out again with a new owner and is still outspoken, but is, on the whole, more responsible, although it has just been suppressed again.

I think that one criticism that one must make of the Persian Press is that it has a tendency to mix news and comment. The front page of a Persian newspaper has very little actual news. All the feature articles are started on the front page, with small or large headlines according to the paper; then come a few inches of text, and the rest of the article is continued inside the paper. The news, when it is separated from comment, appears simply in a column of foreign news or a column of local news. Thus, the important items of news are mixed up with editorial, and what are considered unimportant items are relegated to a column inside.

The news service, on the whole, is bad. Some papers have a good service, taken mainly from monitoring of foreign radios. None of them subscribe to Reuters or any of the foreign agencies. The Pârs News Agency does subscribe to Reuters and other foreign agencies and distributes the news to the Press, but very late, so the progressive papers like *Ettelâ'ât* do not use it at all. The smaller papers use it because it is free and they might as well fill their papers with something.

I might say a word about the ownership of the Press. The circulation of the Press has been so small that publishing a newspaper is not a paying business. Very few of the people who own or edit papers are strictly professional journalists in the sense that they are making their living by journalism. Most of them are engaged in other occupations, and publishing newspapers is merely their spare-time hobby; they are mostly lawyers and teachers—professional men.

The effect of this, and also the law which prevents any one man from owning more than one newspaper, is that there are few chains of newspapers as we know them, and few syndicated groups of newspapers. A man may own another group of newspapers, but not openly, in order to publish articles that he dare not put into his own legitimately owned paper. The idea is not to speak with one voice throughout the country, but with many. A syndicated article is hardly known, but sometimes papers reprint articles from other papers, presumably with permission.

It is very hard to say how much effect the Press has on the general public in Persia. It is read by comparatively few people; in fact, the number of people who can read is comparatively few, possibly not more than ten or fifteen per cent. over the whole population, though there is naturally a larger percentage in the towns. Each copy is read by a good many people, and the contents are disseminated by word of mouth. I think there is a tendency to attach too much importance to the more outspoken, vigorous and irresponsible organs of the Press. Those are the ones that attract attention in a way, because there is something you can pick out of them. The various Embassies which summarize the news naturally summarize the articles which are interesting and lively; a dull, moderate article is not worth reporting, and one tends rather to get the impression that the Press is irresponsible. Probably those violent articles have much less effect on public opinion in general than is sometimes supposed.

The general tendency, however, is to settle down, and it will be interesting to see what happens when literacy spreads. It will be interesting to see which papers increase their circulation and how the education in public opinion affects the Press.

A MEMBER: Are there any medical journals in Persia?

MR. SUTTON: Yes, there are one or two medical journals, but there is no organization exactly corresponding to the British Medical Association. There is an Association of Doctors in Tehran. There are one or two journals published by groups of doctors, or sometimes by individual doctors. There is a magazine published by the Medical Faculty at the University and there is quite a good one published by a group of doctors in Meshed. I suppose there are six journals altogether, one or two published quite regularly.

Colonel ROUTH: Is there still a tendency to reduce the number of Arab words in the Press?

Mr. SUTTON: That movement has lost a good deal of the impetus it once had. During Reza Shah's regime it reached a certain stage and it has not gone back from that. Most of the words that were adopted up to that time have stuck, on the whole, in the Press, but not in common speech so much. It rather depends now on the individual tastes of the editors. Some of them are violently opposed to the movement and have tried to go back to the Arabic words; others are still pushing ahead, but on the whole the general tendency is to stick where it left off.

Miss KELLY: What is the circulation of foreign newspapers, if any, in Persia? Is there any circulation of Soviet newspapers?

Mr. SUTTON: Yes, there are quite a number of foreign newspapers circulating in Persia, but I am afraid I cannot tell you what the figures are. The circulation cannot be very large because the number of people who can read foreign languages is comparatively small, in fact the number of people who can read at all is small. Quite a number of American magazines can be seen on sale in Tehran and smaller towns; they are bought because of the pictures in them, if for nothing else.

Professor CRESWELL: Are there any newspapers in Persia for the foreign community?

Mr. SUTTON: Yes. The only one is the *Journal de Teheran,* which is a French newspaper run by Masudi. It has, I should say, a circulation of about 1,000.

Professor CRESWELL: Who is the editor?

Mr. SUTTON: Masudi, the owner of *Ettelâ'ât.* It is nominally run by one of his brothers, but it is part of Masudi's chain of papers. Apart from that I do not think there is anything. There was an English newspaper published by the British Embassy during the war, *The Teheran Daily News.* There was also a Russian paper, but both the English and Russian publications have now ceased.

Mr. KIRK: How many of the Democrat Iran Party papers are now appearing? Are they still appearing; or, has there been any substantial reduction in their numbers?

Mr. SUTTON: The only one that is official is a paper called *Zindigi* (*Life*), which took the place of a paper *Democrat Iran.* There was some funny business about *Democrat Iran*; the owner asked for his licence to be withdrawn because he disliked the tone that was taken, and this other paper was transferred into its place. It is now the official organ of the Democratic Party. There is also the paper *Setâréh.*

Mr. HAMILTON: Are there any Kurdish papers, or papers in Syriac for the Assyrians? Is there any broad Communist element in Azarbaijan?

Mr. SUTTON: To reply to the first question, there are no papers published in Syriac. There is an Assyrian in Tehran who used to publish a French paper and he told me some years ago that he was going to start a paper in Syriac, but I have seen nothing and I doubt if he will be allowed to do that. The general policy has been to discourage the publication of papers in minority languages. The ones that were published were not licensed or sanctioned by the Government and they all came to an end as soon as the autonomous Government fell.

I have no doubt that there might be a demand for more Kurdish papers. Of course, literacy cannot be very high amongst Kurds, and consequently there would not be a very great demand for a paper in Kurdish.

There is no Communist element in the Azarbaijan Press at all. There was a complete reversal after the fall of the autonomous Government. I do not imagine that any Communist activity would be allowed to get very far.

Mr. HAMILTON: Were the feelings of the Communists strong at the time of the fall of Azarbaijan?

Mr. SUTTON: I should not say they were very strong. It is very difficult to tell. Most of the population, of course, are peasants who are not politically conscious. There was a strong movement in the towns, but it collapsed without resistance when the troops marched into Azarbaijan in the middle of 1946.

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

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held on Tuesday, June 22, the President, Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Earl Wavell, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.C., in the Chair.

The President called on Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., to read the Honorary Secretaries' report for the year 1947-48.

Sir John Pratt: The members of the Society at present number 1,732, but of these there are still 58 members quite out of touch. The Honorary Secretaries would, in particular, be glad to hear of the present addresses of members who left India last autumn and have not since written to the Office.

One hundred and fifteen new members were elected during the year. Forty-seven members resigned and the Council greatly regrets the death of twenty-eight members, among whom were Sir Robert Clive, a former Vice-President of the Society, Mr. W. S. Davis, who was elected in 1906, Lord Farrer, Dr. P. Giuseppi, Air-Marshal Sir John Higgins, Colonel H. Medlicott, and Brigadier-General Cosmo Stewart.

On December 24, 1947, the Society moved into new premises at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, where it shares the ground-floor rooms with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Many members have expressed their appreciation of the better accommodation now available.

Twenty-four lectures were held during the year. The Persia lecture was given by the Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson on "Present-day Life in Iran." In connection with the new Dominions, there were lectures by Sir Dashwood Strettell on the "Indian Army" and Sir Archibald Rowlands on the "Economic Prospects of Pakistan." There was a joint lecture with the Royal Africa Society when Sir Charles Lockhart described "Economic Developments in East Africa"; another lecture was by Mr. V. Dowson on "Southern Arabia and British Somaliland." There were four lectures on China and the Far East; eight lectures on Central Asiatic peoples, and other lectures on Kuweit, on Land Settlement in Transjordan and on the Kurdish Question.

No award of the Lawrence Medal was made this year. In February last the family of the late Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes presented a medal to the Society for award to persons of any nationality for work of distinction in archæology, travel, research or letters in the countries within the orbit of this Society, or for furthering cultural relations between any of these countries and Great Britain. The President will be announcing the names of the recipients of the first two awards of this medal, which have now been approved by the Council.

The Society has been fortunate in gaining a number of new members in India and the Far East during the past year. The Honorary Secretaries would remind members that the Council is delighted to welcome nominations for any whose work or studies give them a direct connection with an Asiatic country.

The PRESIDENT then called on Major AINGER to present the Honorary Treasurer's report:

Major E. AINGER: For the first time since I have been the Treasurer of the Society, I am unable to make any forecast of what our financial position is likely to be next year. The reason for this is that we were relieved of the payment of rent for the first quarter of 1948 and enjoyed the hospitality of the Palestine Exploration Fund rent free for three months. Consequently, the accounts for next year are not going to show the true position, and it is only in December, 1949, that we shall know how nearly our income is meeting our expenditure. We must remember that the rent to be paid to the Palestine Exploration Fund is in excess of that which we were paying when we had our own premises, which is natural as the accommodation is better; but I think that on the whole the arrangements made between the two Societies will turn out to be satisfactory.

As regards the Income and Expenditure Account, our thanks are again due to Miss Wingate and Miss Edwards for their skill in keeping expenditure down to a minimum. As I have told you, we have been saved rent for three months of this year, and in consequence, in consultation with the Auditors, I have taken a very conservative view in preparing the accounts and have charged the cost of the move to Revenue Account and not to Capital. Even so, our deficit for the year is less than it was last year.

To turn to details, the figure for subscriptions is almost exactly the same as last year; losses due to deaths and resignations during the calendar year have been equal to the number of new members joining; that for salaries is up as it was bound to be, and otherwise there is little change of importance. Our receipts for entrance fees have been £100 this year and, in general, I think the accounts may be said to be satisfactory, though with the proviso that I cannot, as yet, clearly indicate to you what the position will be in 1949, and I feel that it is for all of us to attempt to increase our membership.

The adoption of the Accounts (see p. 224) was proposed by Mr. E. Dibben, seconded by Mr. O. White and carried unanimously.

You will find in the Journal an appeal to members who pay British Income Tax to sign a Covenant, as that involves you in no additional expenditure while making a substantial difference to the annual income of the Society.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL FOR 1948-49

The proposal of Major-General Sir Dashwood Strettell, seconded by Colonel S. Newcombe, that Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., be re-elected Chairman of Council was put to the meeting by the President and carried unanimously.

Sir Kinahan Cornwallis and Major-General Sir Dashwood Strettell were nominated by the Council to take the places of the two Vice-Presidents retiring under Rule 16, and Major-General W. A. K. Fraser, the Hon. Robin Maugham and Group-Captain H. St. Clair Smallwood for the three vacancies among Members of Council under Rule 25. On the motion of Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, seconded by Captain C. Gregory, these names were put to the meeting and unanimously elected.

Mr. N. Barbour proposed and Mr. R. M. Beavan seconded that, in accordance with the recommendation of the Council, Mrs. R. Devonshire be elected an Honorary Member of the Society in recognition of her work on the antiquities of Egypt. A great many of those present were aware of the excellent work which Mrs. Devonshire had done over a number of years, quite disinterestedly, on the monuments of Cairo. She had been familiar to a great number of visitors, English and others, to Cairo, in particular during both the 1914-18 and the recent war. The small recognition the Society could give her was very fully deserved.

The PRESIDENT, in putting the proposal to the vote and declaring it unanimously carried, added that he was one of the many present who had been taken round Cairo by Mrs. Devonshire.

FIRST AWARDS OF THE SYKES MEMORIAL MEDAL

The PRESIDENT: I have now to announce the first Awards of the Percy Sykes Memorial Medal of which Sir John Pratt spoke to you in the Honorary Secretaries' report. As he told you, the award is open to persons of any nationality who have distinguished themselves in travel, architecture, research or letters in connection with Iran or other countries within the orbit of the Royal Central Asian Society. The medal may also be awarded for outstanding work in furthering cultural relations between the British Empire and any of the Central Asian countries.

The medal was designed by Mr. Eric Kennington and bears on one side the portrait of Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes in whose memory it was donated by his family, and on the reverse side a design of Marco Polo dictating his book, with the legend: "What thou seest write in a book."

The first two awards have now been made by the Council as follows: For 1947 to Monsieur Mohammed Fakhri Dai Gilani, the well-known Persian author, who has also long been engaged on interpreting Western thought to his own countrymen. The members of the Society will agree that it is fitting that one of the first awards of the Percy Sykes Memorial Medal should be made to a distinguished Persian author and one who is also a great friend of Great Britain. For 1948 it has been awarded to Professor K. A. Creswell of the Fu'ad I University in Cairo, who is the author of extremely important works on Muslim Art and Architecture in the Near East. He is a very worthy recipient of this medal. (Applause.)

That concludes the business of the Annual General Meeting. I do not feel that I can add anything to what has been said as to the work of the Society as recorded by the Honorary Secretaries and the Honorary Treasurer. The Society appears to be going along normally and very well indeed. We should, of course, be glad for some additional members and I hope present members will do their best to secure these.

I should like, on your behalf, to express thanks to the Chairman of the Council, Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, who has done a very great deal of work for the Society since he became Chairman. (Applause.)

Sir ADRIAN CARTON DE WIART: I should like to thank you, sir, on behalf of all present for having come to our meeting to-day. I know how hard it is for you to spare the time, and we all very much appreciate the fact that you have done so. (Applause.)

This concluded the business of the Annual Meeting, which was followed by the Anniversary Lecture, when Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert de la Ferte, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of " Air Travel in the East."

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1947.

46	LIABILITIES.						
£		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
443	*Creditors*				705	9	6
	Capital Funds:						
236	Life Subscription Fund	236	0	0			
540	Entrance Fee Account	656	8	0			
100	Legacy Account	600	0	0			
97	Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund	96	11	0			
578	Persia Fund	578	4	10			
—	Investment Reserve Fund	97	18	7			
					2,265	2	5
	Income and Expenditure Account:						
	Balance, January 1, 1947	367	9	3			
368	*Less:* Deficit for year to date	148	7	8			
					219	1	7
362					£3,1891	3	6

1946	ASSETS.						
£	*Cash:*	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
89	At Bank on Current Account	419	18	8			
339	On Deposit: Post Office Savings Bank ...	347	11	5			
11	Petty Cash in Hand	20	6	1			
					787	16	2
417	*Sundry Debtors and Payments in Advance* ...				304	18	0
	Investments (at cost):						
	£811 18s. 7d. 3 per cent. Savings Bonds, 1965 75	821	0	1			
	£1,165 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds ..	1,165	0	0			
1,387					1,986	0	1
	Society Premises Account:						
	Balance as per last Account	119	1	9			
	Additional Expenditure during year ...	16	17	6			
		135	19	3			
	Less: Sale of linoleum	25	0	0			
					110	19	3
£2,362					£3,189	13	6

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 perly 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 wn by the books of the Society.

DASHWOOD HOUSE,
OLD BROAD STREET, E.C 2.
April 29, 1948.

WILLIAMS, DYSON, JONES & CO.
(Chartered Accountants).

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1947.

1946 £	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	To *Office Expenses:*						
655	Salaries and National Insurance	703	16	6			
250	Rent	250	0	0			
28	Lighting and heating	21	8	1			
15	Telephone	18	12	0			
167	Stationery and printing	88	6	2			
102	Postages	94	6	6			
45	Office cleaning	45	10	3			
5	Audit fees	5	5	0			
3	Insurances	6	15	4			
8	Bank charges	7	16	8			
29	Repairs	18	15	6			
38	Sundries	67	8	0			
—	Estimated cost of removal	150	0	0			
					1,478	0	0
	,, *Journal:*						
613	Printing	629	18	6			
43	Postage	37	14	8			
80	Reporting	76	1	10			
					743	15	0
182	,, *Lectures*				131	10	4
8	,, *Library*				0	16	4
71	,, *Legal and Professional Expenses*				46	1	0
13	,, *Special Expenses, Entertaining Foreign Guests*				0	0	0
19	,, *Lawrence of Arabia Medals*				6	7	3
7	,, *Persia Fund Lecture and Subscription to "Iraq"*				6	16	0
2,381					£2,413	5	11

1946 £	INCOME.	£	s.	d.
1,757	By *Subscriptions received*	1,750	9	3
167	,, *Journal Subscriptions and Sales*	213	14	9
29	,, *Interest Received*	38	7	8
10	,, *Deposit Interest*	10	12	7
263	,, *Income Tax Repayment claim*	251	14	0
2	,, *Sundry Receipts*	0	0	0
153	*Balance* (being Excess of Expenditure over Income) ...	148	7	8
£2,381		£2,413	5	11

THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF PAKISTAN

By SIR ARCHIBALD ROWLANDS, G.C.B., M.B.E.

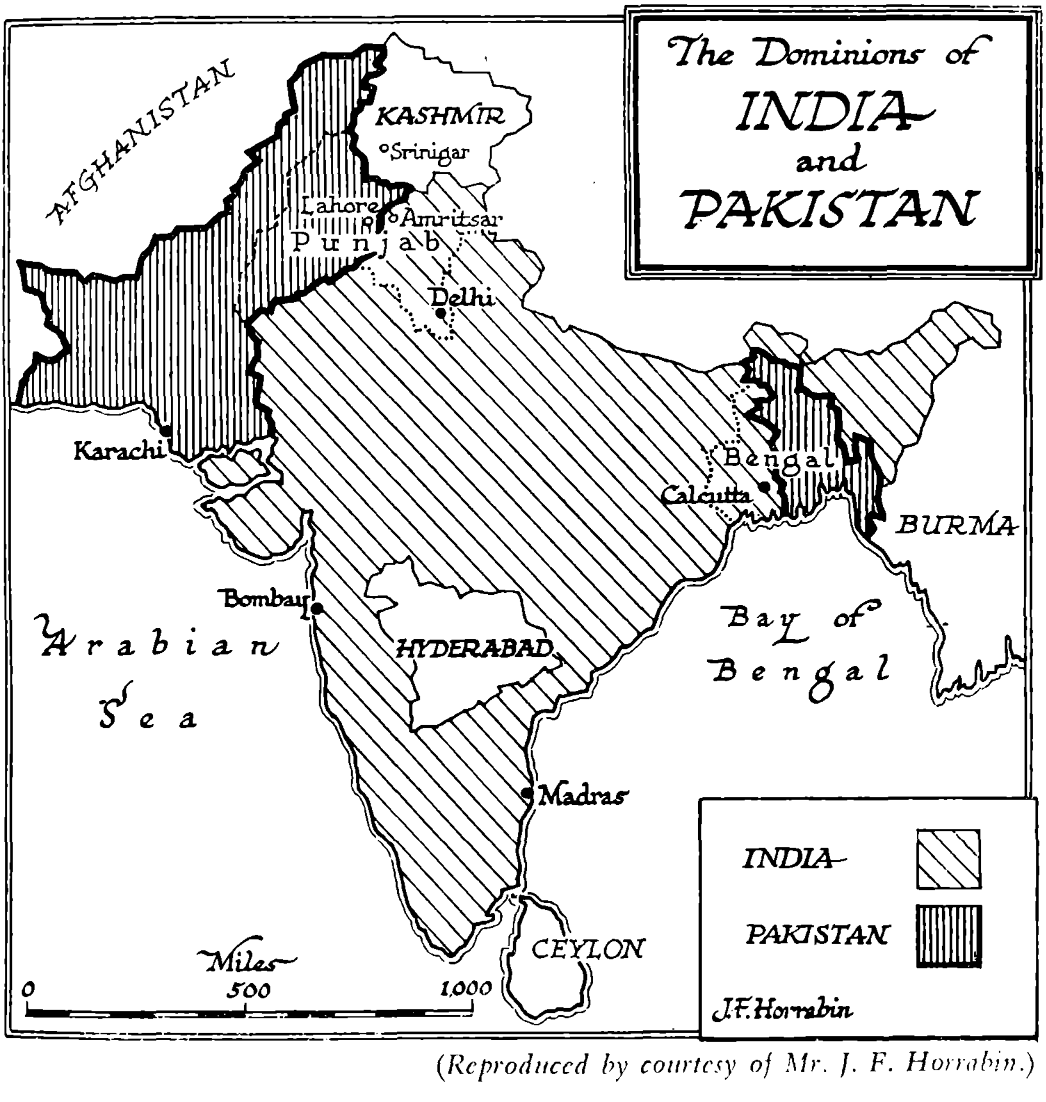
Notes of a lecture given on Thursday, February 26, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We have been extremely lucky in getting Sir Archibald to come to talk to us, because he is a very busy man. He is the Permanent Secretary in charge of the Ministry of Supply, and it is as a financial expert that he has come to speak to us to-day, his subject being "The Financial and Economic Prospects of Pakistan." He served in the first World War, and then became Private Secretary to a succession of Secretaries of State at the War Office. From there he went to India as Financial Adviser to the Government of India on Military Finance in 1937.

During the recent war he returned to England to the Ministry of Aircraft Production, where he worked with Lord Beaverbrook. But in 1943 he went again to India as Adviser, and then as Finance Minister on the Executive Council. He returned to this country in 1946, but is still in close touch with financial developments in that part of the world.

THE title of my talk is "The Financial and Economic Prospects of Pakistan" where I spent 3½ months at the end of 1947—in fact I returned only about two months ago—trying to advise Mr. Jinnah on what he should do in the financial and economic field and what prospects the new dominion, of which he is the head, had of economic survival. But I propose, for a moment or two, to deal not only with Pakistan but with India also, in so far as the partition of the sub-continent into two dominions has thrown up problems common to them both. Secondly, if some of you trace a tinge of bias or partisanship in what I say I would like to say that I may well be guilty of the charge. It is impossible, however much one may try to be objective, to live in Karachi or in Delhi for that matter, without attracting some bias. If you read the *Daily Telegraph*, as I do, you will have noticed that Mr. Colin Reid in writing from Delhi often takes a different view of events and affairs than that by Mr. Douglas Brown, the son of a friend of mine whom I am pleased to see here, on the same events. I think, if we were let into the secrets, we should realize that Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Jinnah do not always see eye to eye on the same points. Therefore, if I appear to be saying something that seems to be favourable to Pakistan you will understand why that is.

Lastly, to speak about the prospects of Pakistan involves a measure of prophecy. Prophecy is notoriously dangerous, particularly when one is dealing with such an unpredictable people as those who inhabit the sub-continent of India. They are the most unpredictable people I have ever met; they are charming but still unpredictable. In any case my forecast is based upon one fundamental assumption, and that is that there will be no war between the two dominions. I would not like you to think that the possibility of war is entirely past, although I think it much more remote than it was last winter. Towards the end of December all the signs were that there was grave risk of the invasion by the Indian forces of the Pakistan dominion. The Indian troops, owing to the onset of winter, were largely cut off from reinforcements and supplies from their bases in India, and there appeared to be a very serious risk that the Indian troops in Kashmir would meet with irretrievable disaster because the tribesmen and the rebels were able to get supplies while the Indian troops were denied, except by a tenuous and uncertain line of communication, the reinforcements they needed. It is clear that the Government of India could not at that time have faced the possibility of a complete disaster in Kashmir without trying to do something to prevent it. I am sure that if the threat had developed in the way that at one time seemed possible the Government of India could have done nothing else but walk into Pakistan to cut off the supplies of the tribesmen and of those Kashmiris who had taken arms against the Maharajah. Luckily, wiser counsels prevailed and the Indian Government themselves decided to refer the case to UNO. As you know, it does not look as if the Security Council are going to accept, in full anyhow, all the Indian claims, and the Indian Government have sought permission, temporarily, to break off the discussion so that


The Dominions of
INDIA
and
PAKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
Srinigar
Lahore
Amritsar
Punjab
Delhi
Karachi
Bengal
Calcutta
BURMA
Bombay
HYDERABAD
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Madras
CEYLON
Miles
0
500
1,000
INDIA ▧
PAKISTAN ▥
J.F. Horrabin

(Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. J. F. Horrabin.)

their delegates can return to Delhi for further instructions. They are now in Delhi. I think the position is a great deal easier than it was, if for no other reason than that communications between India and Kashmir are much better during the summer than they were last winter. Anyway, what I am going to say is based on the assumption that there will be no war between the two dominions. Any other assumption would render quite nugatory any guesses or estimates I might make about the future of Pakistan.

I said that I would talk a little outside the strict terms of reference given to me and consider for a moment or two the effect of the partition on the economies of both dominions. I am assuming that most here know, broadly, in geographical terms what the partition meant. Briefly, I remind you that it meant that half of the Punjab, the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, the whole of Baluchistan, and the whole of Sind, half of Bengal plus the Assam District of Sylhet, went to Pakistan and the whole of the rest remained in India. On the map Pakistan looks a small percentage of the total of the area we are considering. As far as the population is concerned, Pakistan will have something under 70,000,000 people against 330,000,000 in British India and the States, most of which have acceded, so far, to India, with a few exceptions, the main exception being Hyderabad which has not yet acceded to either dominion.

There is no doubt that from the point of view of the immediate present the effect of partition was very serious for the economy of both dominions. Very large sums of money which would otherwise be available for productive and for social betterment purposes have to be diverted to dealing with the mass migration which, as you know, is probably the largest migration of populations, anyhow within so short a time, in the history of the world. Ten million people have been uprooted from their homes and have had to wander and find homes in other parts of the country. Chiefly, of course, it happened in the Punjab but, to a lesser extent, it happened also in Sind and the pace there has been accelerated recently as a result of the very unfortunate incident when about 200 Sikhs, women and children, were attacked on their way through Karachi to India. But it is in the Punjab where there has been a complete eviction of the Hindus and Sikhs from areas allotted to Pakistan, and a complete eviction of the Muslims from the East Punjab. It has been necessary to move these people; to set up refugee camps and to embark on schemes of rehabilitation, which schemes are far from being complete and will remain incomplete for a very long time, particularly in respect of the urban population. The rural peasants have been relatively easy to handle, except to the extent that the numbers are beyond the capacity of one Government or the other; but there is a hard core—and this applies more to the Hindus than the Muslims—of the urban population, clerical staff and those engaged in industry and commerce, who will take a long time to settle in a new life, and that will cost a great deal of money.

I was recently looking at the latest figures in the Reserve Bank of India weekly statement of accounts and noticed that the total cash held by the Reserve Bank on behalf of both Governments last week (the third week in February, 1948) was of the order of 300 Crore. On August 15, 1947, the amount was nearly 400 Crore, which means that the cash balances of the two Governments, as a result of the partition, have been reduced by something of the order of 100 Crore. I cannot be absolutely certain that the reduction has been due entirely to the disturbances, and there may have been some changes in the short-term borrowing of the Government, but I do not think that has had very much effect. Broadly, you can take it that something between 50 and 100 Crore which were intended to be spent on productive or social betterment purposes has been, or is in course of being, dissipated in dealing with the events resulting from the partition.

Then again, quite inevitably, the agricultural economy of the Punjab was seriously affected as a result of this enormous transfer of population though, luckily, it is difficult to destroy an agricultural economy. Undoubtedly in the Punjab the picking of the cotton crop was seriously interfered with, but the information I have is that the sowing of the wheat crop, which took place about two months ago, was very good indeed in the West Punjab and indeed was a record for the area. So that the effect on the agricultural economy of the country will be probably short-lived but, nevertheless, it will remain serious for a time. Then communications were disrupted over a very wide area, especially in the Punjab but also in Bengal, because the East Indian Railway, which serves Calcutta from the industrial area of Northern Bengal and Bihar, was largely manned by Muslim crews who thought it was patriotic to opt for Pakistan although it was never intended that railwaymen should be given that option. However, they all went to Bengal where there is no work for them, and there is no doubt that the railways were seriously interfered with, and are still. The movement of coal, for example, both to India itself and still more to Pakistan, has been seriously hampered as a result of the departure of the Muslim crews. Indeed, Pakistan, unable to get coal from its normal source of supply, namely India, has had to go to America to buy coal in considerable quantities, which means, again—and this is a fact which affects Great Britain also—expenditure of dollars which would otherwise not have been spent had not disruption of communications taken place.

Lastly, the migrations led to the withdrawal of a very large number of people who contributed largely to the economy of the areas from which they have withdrawn. Particularly is this so in the Punjab, where commerce, trade, finance, banking, and what little there is of industry was so largely in the hands of the Hindus. They have nearly all gone and it has left the Punjab with the very serious problem of replacing their clerks and their skilled mechanics. For example, when I was in Lahore three months ago there were only two banks working, both British, and in some of the outlying districts there were no banks working at all. The financing of the cotton crop was completely held up and the Government had to step in and introduce a scheme of insurance and financing of that crop. A lesser facet of the same thing but one which will appeal to anybody who has lived in India, was that most of the dhobis and the sweepers left the Punjab and Sind. Those of you who know how dependent you are on the dhobi and the sweeper will understand that it is not very comfortable, anyhow, for Europeans and for the better-class Indians to be living in Lahore or Karachi. We had great difficulty in Karachi in getting our washing done and our rooms in the hotel in which I was staying swept.

So far I have been dealing with what I call the immediate economic effects of partition. But in the long-term view the effects are bound to be very serious. I leave aside for the moment the possibility that each dominion will pursue a strict nationalistic policy as against the other dominion, upon which I will touch before I close. The main additional burden is in respect of defence. The armed forces in India always absorbed a very high and disproportionate percentage of the total revenue of the Government of India. When I was out in Delhi in 1937-39 I was in charge of the finances of the Defence Services and I remember that well over fifty per cent. of the total revenue of the Central Government was spent on the armed forces. Now the total of the armed forces being maintained by the two dominions together is largely in excess of the forces that would have been necessary had India remained undivided. The figures are of this order: Pakistan has about 150,000 troops and airmen; India has about 270,000, making a total of 420,000 people who have to be paid, fed, clothed for services which have nothing to do with the economy of the country. Had the country remained undivided the plan was to reduce the armed forces of the country to about 220,000. So you will see that at the present time, together, these dominions are keeping practically double the forces that they would have kept had there not been partition. That is a very grave and heavy drain on both dominions, and particularly on Pakistan because it so happens that with one exception all the arsenals and all the munition and armament factories were the wrong side of the border from the point of view of Pakistan; so that a great deal of money and effort has got to be put into erecting in Pakistan itself barracks and ordnance factories. For a long time to come I fear that defence will prove a heavy drain on both dominions, a drain which they cannot afford if they are to get ahead with their schemes of industrialization and social betterment, about which there has been so much talk of recent years.

That by way of introduction to my main theme, which is the financial and economic prospects of Pakistan. To deal with the financial prospects first, there is no doubt that Pakistan is going to be faced with an extremely difficult budgetary situation in the next few years. It is, as you remember, mainly an agricultural country. There is practically nothing in the way of industry there and its contribution to the central revenues of the undivided Government were not in excess of about ten per cent., whereas the dominion has taken over, roughly, about a quarter of the population and about one-third of the armed forces, so that it is inevitable that for the next five years at least, unless very strong immediate measures are taken, the dominion will be faced with a revenue deficit which may be of the order of about fifty per cent. of the total expenditure. That is not quite so bad as it sounds. If we had in peace-time in this country a budget deficit representing fifty per cent. of expenditure we would take a serious view of that, but that is because the sums involved would be high, whereas in the Pakistan context the sums involved are quite small; that is to say, we are talking of a total budget of about 50 Crore, with a deficit of say 25 Crore. While that may mean fifty per cent. deficit on the total budget, the sum is in itself absolutely small and perfectly manageable. That deficit will be on the basis of the temporary postponement of all the schemes of social service, or most of them, and the cutting of grants to the provinces with the exception, possibly, of a small grant to the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

I know that those in authority in Pakistan and the population there realize that the winning of Pakistan did not mean the Millennium. They recognize that all they have done is to scale the heights, and that much hard work and a great deal of sacrifice still lie ahead. That I know, not only as a result of talking with ministers but with the man-in-the-street. The people fully realize that and they are prepared to accept the austerity and the additional taxation involved. For example, one of the first steps they took—I admit on my recommendation—was to reintroduce into Pakistan the Salt Tax which the undivided Government had removed in their last budget. That tax was, as you know, made a political plaything in the arena of Indian politics during the last twenty years. The first thing the Indian Government did was to get rid of what was regarded as the last symbol of British imperialism, as they call it. Pakistan has reintroduced that tax: and, what is more, has reintroduced it at a higher rate than when the tax was abolished. The Government recognize that they will probably have to introduce what would be a very unpopular measure with their main supporters, namely, the agricultural income tax. Only about three provinces in India have adopted that tax. It does not exist in the Punjab or in Sind; it exists to a small extent in Bengal. The Zemindars, the landowners, are largely the class from which the politicians and the Government are drawn. Nevertheless, there are encouraging signs that the Finance Minister will grasp the nettle and introduce the agricultural income tax. It is true that Mr. Khuro, the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister of Sind, did not introduce it in his recent budget which he has just got past the Sind Legislative Assembly, but in the course of his remarks he said that come what may Sind was going to balance its budget. He did increase several existing taxes but he did not introduce the agricultural income tax. I think the reason for that is that it is recognized that if the agricultural income tax is introduced it ought to be introduced on a national rather than a provincial basis, and when it is introduced it should be introduced by the Central Pakistan Legislature and be made uniform as to rates and conditions for the whole of the areas of Pakistan. That holds out the best hope of a substantial early addition to the revenue of the dominion.

When I arrived in Karachi the ways and means position of the Government of Pakistan was fairly parlous. They started off on August 15, 1947, with no money at all. They were given by the Government 20 Crore out of a total cash balance of between 380 and 400 Crore. Their prospects of getting more than that depended upon arbitration which was about to be undertaken when the Government of India, rather unexpectedly, and as one who took part in the negotiations I think quite rightly, increased the grant to 75 Crore, which should see Pakistan through comfortably until October 1, 1948. You may remember that

India for a time held up the payment of the 75 Crore because they said they were not going to pay money to Pakistan to be spent on the tribesmen to fight their troops in Kashmir. However, they have now paid the money which will comfortably meet Pakistan's cash requirements until October 1. The significance about October 1 is that until that date this year the Pakistan currency and all its finances will be managed by the Reserve Bank of India. As from October 1, 1948,* Pakistan will become responsible for its own currency and its ways and means position. Until it gets a bank of its own it is hardly possible to create any short-term money market of its own. On October 1 Pakistan will have its own revenue machinery, and I think its ways and means position should be perfectly capable of being handled. I am not suggesting that they will print a lot of notes, though a certain amount of that is possible because the note issue in India is backed as to ninety-five per cent. by gold and sterling and Pakistan will become entitled to a share of the assets of the Reserve Bank of India based on the proportion of the note issue in Pakistan of the total note issue of the Reserve Bank. So that the dominion will take over sterling and gold. Now the gold held by the Reserve Bank is borrowed at its pre-war rate which is much lower than its true rate, even in the international market and still much lower than the rate prevalent in India, so that there is a possibility of the Government borrowing from the Reserve Bank against the gold holding there without watering the currency. It will still be fully backed by gold and sterling.

I may add that the ways and means position is also helped by the fact that Hyderabad have made a loan of about 25 Crore to the Government of Pakistan. The authorities in Delhi do not take a very good view of that, but I do not see what grounds they have for making any objections to it.

Coming to the economics of Pakistan, I remind you again that Pakistan at the moment is predominantly an agricultural country; it has practically nothing in the way of industries, but it starts off with two great advantages: first, it is self-sufficient in food, the primary requirement of life and the commodity on which the inhabitants of the subcontinent spend anything up to ninety per cent. of their income; secondly, in jute and in cotton they possess two large earners of overseas exchange, and in point of fact at the present moment with the price of jute what it is there is no doubt that Pakistan has a favourable balance of trade with the rest of the world, including India. Some here will probably ask: If that is so, why have we just given them about £10,000,000 out of sterling balances for the next six months? The reason for that is twofold: first, owing to the interruption of communications Pakistan has been forced to buy outside India such things as coal and sugar which they normally drew from India. They have had to expend hard currency and they have had to be provided with that hard currency from our own resources because they are in the sterling area and we hold the whole of the reserve of the sterling area, so that if a member of the sterling area has to buy an essential requirement in a dollar area and it has not itself sufficient dollars for the purpose, that member quite reasonably and rightly comes to London for dollars.

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* Since advanced to July 1.

The political factors, which cannot be ignored, are also favourable. By and large, Pakistan is much more stable politically, in my judgment, than is India, which has about five conflicting powerful forces, one of which is at the moment in retreat. It has a Right Wing, represented in the Government by Patel; it has a Left Wing, represented by Jai Prakash Narain. It has also a strong agrarian party. It has its violently nationalistic Mahasabha which has not been destroyed although its militant wing has been destroyed, and it has the Communists, and serious labour troubles. Pakistan is free from most of those disabilities. They are compact politically. There is little opposition. There is some in Bengal, I know, but in West Pakistan there is no opposition. In the Punjab there is hardly a Hindu left; in the North-West Frontier Province there is some internal dissension but it is not a Hindu-Muslim problem. They have practically no labour troubles in Pakistan, chiefly because they have not hitherto had industrialization, but they have seen the lesson in India and I believe that they are aware of the necessity of preventing a recurrence in Pakistan of the labour upsets which have taken place, and are still taking place, and holding up very seriously the productivity of Indian industry.

Pakistan has, as I have said, a lot of jute and cotton. These form the basis of the natural way in which they will industrialize themselves—and they realize that they have to industrialize themselves; they know that power in the modern world is, largely, synonymous with industrial power; they know the only way in which they can maintain their position both in the sub-continent and in the world and raise the standard of life of their people is by going in for a programme of industrialization. I fear they are much too ambitious. They are hoping to do too much too soon, but they will learn. The natural line of advance will be by processing their own natural resources. Pakistan produces seventy-three per cent. of the total jute of the world and they have not a single jute mill; indeed they only possess about twenty-five per cent. of the capacity required for baling the jute that is exported in its raw form. Again, Pakistan produces one-third of the cotton of the sub-continent, and the better types of cotton at that. They are the only people there who grow long-staple cotton. They have only one-thirtieth of the total textile mills in India. Bengal grows more than a third of the tobacco in the sub-continent but the province has not a single tobacco factory. They have wool, but only one small woollen factory. Bengal produces large quantities of hides and skins, but there is not a single tannery there. So that there are large opportunities for making a start industrially.

Secondly, industries to meet the home consumer market are also there to be set up : oil, paper, and products of that sort. The heavy industries will have to wait for a long time. In minerals they are relatively poor, at least so far as researches into the minerals of Pakistan have gone. There are quite a lot of minerals in Baluchistan and of course in Kashmir, which is a long way off. Pakistan has no coal, or very little, and as far as we know the dominion has no large deposits of iron ore, so steel-making on a large scale looks as if it is not on the map. There is one great hope for Pakistan—oil. Geologically, the signs are extremely promising, but one can never be sure until drilling commences and the oil has been found trapped in appreciable quantities, below the surface, to make it worth while going on drilling. If they strike oil, they are nearly home.

Pakistan is really "up against it" in the following respects: for the purpose of industrialization they will need many things, of which they possess very little. They will, of course, need a great deal of capital, which they do not possess. Their total deposits in the banks of Pakistan do not exceed 100 Crore, and although there is more money than that in the dominion, that is a fairly good indication of how much free capital is available for investment. The people have virtually no managerial skill and very little technical skill; indeed, so far as management is concerned, India has very little either; the science of management seems to be little known or understood. The Pakistanis realize all this and they are prepared to encourage foreign capital, and I think they will attract capital. Pakistan is much as Canada and Australia were fifty years ago, both agricultural countries waiting to be developed by the industrial countries of the world. I think, on the whole, the Pakistanis will welcome British capital rather more warmly than capital from any other country.

Another necessity is a good port in East Pakistan. Calcutta has been the port serving the whole of Bengal in the past and the port of Chittagong is a relatively small port but, luckily, it is a port which is capable of substantial development without a great deal of expense. It has a very long estuary which will take ships up to 10,000 tons. It does not require a great deal of dredging to develop the side of the river which is used for wharves; the other side would require a good deal of dredging but that is the side which is being earmarked for the erection of new industries of East Bengal. If they reinforce the wharfage by a good lighterage system, which is capable of being introduced, they can at least treble the present capacity of the port of Chittagong, which is 600,000 tons a year; and they can do even more than that.

I have held out a rather promising picture of the economic future of Pakistan but I want to qualify it in one respect. All I have said is quite possible, quite capable of being achieved, but it does require good political leadership and good administration, and I cannot conceal from you that I have some doubts as to whether that will be available in full measure for some time to come. I went round all the provinces of Pakistan except the North-West Frontier. I saw every government, and was somewhat dismayed at the quality of some of the people now in charge of the destinies of the province. With one or two notable exceptions they lack political and administrative experience; while the administration is weakened by the departure of most of its British officers, they have practically all of its Hindu officers.

In contrast to the provinces the centre is, in my judgment, doing remarkably well; it started absolutely from scratch. Of course in Mr. Jinnah they have a most remarkable man who is not merely a constitutional Governor-General but is in a very real sense the head of the executive. The Ministers vary in quality. There are one or two extremely able men amongst them. The Civil Service is doing a first-class job having regard to what they started with. They have in their Secretary-General one of the ablest administrators in the whole sub-continent, a man whom you will hear more about in the next few years, Mr. Mohamed Ali, and they are lucky in having retained a small number of high-class British officers. They have not solved all their problems but they are handling those problems with, in the circumstances, great skill.

I have attempted to give a brief and quick survey of the position. What it all comes to is that there is no reason why Pakistan should not be, to use a fashionable word, viable. Any country that is self-sufficient in food and has a favourable balance of trade is well on the way to viability. We would like to be as self-sufficient in food and have a favourable balance of trade ourselves, no doubt. Whether Pakistan will make "a go of it"—and I think it will—will depend to a considerable extent on the wisdom and strength of the political leaders in the next two or three years.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: I was rather surprised to hear Sir Archibald suggest that there is great possibility of oil being found in Pakistan. That indicates that no very great efforts have been made in the past in that regard. I know that at Chakwal a company sunk a million pounds in oil and after working for about seven years they gave up completely. Secondly, I am surprised to hear that there is no managerial knowledge in India. Surely Tatanagar is a very well managed show; the Americans, when they came over, said it was first-class.

The LECTURER: In regard to managerial knowledge I was making a general statement. I believe Tatanagar is very well managed indeed, but is an outstanding exception to the general standard of management in an all-Indian industrial enterprise. The Indians do not in general understand management; their main idea of it is to get a son or a relative on to the particular board; they would not have made the progress they have if it had not been for the British managing agents, whose continued existence is being threatened.

Returning to the question of oil, I am aware that a large amount of exploration took place in the past; some results were achieved at Attock and Digboi and there was a great programme of further exploration which had to be suspended at the outbreak of the war. All the oil companies were told that they would have to cease any exploration which would not produce quick results, and the whole of the very large programme of the Burma Oil Company was suspended, but they are now renewing it and are about to spend several Crores in the next two or three years. They will not be over-optimistic because the history of exploration for oil in India in the past has been disappointing. Geologically the oil is there, but you do not know until you actually put down your drill whether the oil is there in usable quantities.

Colonel G. ROUTH: On the North-West Frontier Pakistan seems to have reduced its liabilities by withdrawing the Razmak and Wana garrisons, but there has been always an enormous force on the Frontier, mainly of Pathans, to keep order. That has worked admirably. Will the Pakistan Government be able to continue to afford to employ such a large force? If not, what will be the results?

The LECTURER: I am not a prophet; I know the problem. They are definitely going to keep on the Militia although they have withdrawn the regular Frontier Force. They are contemplating that they will have to go on subsidising the tribes and using the Militia as well.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: Could the lecturer tell us something about the port of Karachi? I only recently left that port which was exceedingly well administered by the port authorities. I imagine there is tremendous revenue to be gained from Customs duties on imports.

The LECTURER: It is nearly two months since I was at Karachi. I think it an extremely good port and one which does not require a great deal of additional facilities (except that it needs a dry dock) to render it capable of handling all the traffic that is likely to arrive in the area for many years to come. It is on the other side that a port is needed, in East Bengal. There is no doubt that Pakistan by every possible means will try to divert to Karachi all the traffic destined for West Pakistan and will not be content to get its goods *via* Bombay as in the past. By and large, every effort will be made by the Pakistanis to direct to Karachi all the traffic either in or out; all the cotton from Sind and the Punjab will probably be compulsorily exported from Karachi and not, as now, largely from Bombay. Similarly, an attempt will be made to export all the exportable surplus jute *via* Chittagong, but it will be about three to five years before that is done.

Mr. G. C. CURTIS: What is the position with regard to Baluchistan, Quetta and Kalat? It seems there is likely to be a vacuum there.

The LECTURER: You probably know the ruler of Kalat better than I do. He appears at the moment to be trying to sit on the fence. I have no doubt that pressure will be brought to bear on him during the next few months which will bring him into Pakistan. There is a movement in Baluchistan to have a sort of independent Provincial Legislature Government and so on. That I did not deal with in my talk, but it is one of the political weaknesses that I think is likely to emerge, namely, that provincialism will raise its head again: it will be Baluchistan for the Baluchis; Bengal for the Bengalis, rather than Pakistan for the Pakistanis. Mr. Jinnah is well aware of that; he thinks he can handle it, and will ultimately, I think, be able to handle it.

Asked how far Pakistan was likely to be able to defend its frontiers against external aggression—

The LECTURER replied: I do not suppose that that has been given any serious thought; Pakistan is not very worried at the moment about its frontiers; they are expecting, I think, that ultimately these frontiers will be defended for them, partly by other people. They have not been slow in hinting to the Americans that here is another frontier on which they can touch Russia. I think they are hoping—and I am hoping also—that sooner or later there will be a common defence policy between India and Pakistan itself. I do not think they can contemplate war between India and Pakistan. At the moment the position is extremely difficult. The suspicion on both sides has to be experienced to be believed. However, the people who really do think about the matter know that that is a passing phase. They realize that the two dominions have got to live together; they are each other's best customers, and do not forget that there are some 35,000,000 Moslems still in India. I am very hopeful that if they get over this Kashmir hurdle the two dominions will settle down and live in amity and in alliance.

Mr. TROTMAN: Can the lecturer say what proportion of Hindus still remain in Sind?

The LECTURER: A very small proportion. When I left, not more than thirty per cent. were left, but my latest information is that the nasty incident to which I referred earlier on has caused thousands and thousands more of Hindus to leave Karachi. I should say that prior to that 50,000 or 60,000 had left.

Mr. TROTMAN: We used to have a very fair number of good Sikh cultivators in the Barrage area of Sind.

The LECTURER: They have all gone.

Mr. TROTMAN: That will affect the wheat and cotton crops in 1948.

The LECTURER: Not seriously, since there has been a large influx of peasant refugees into the province. There is no doubt that Sind is underpopulated. The average cultivator has 32 acres; he cannot cultivate that. The most he can cultivate is about 15 acres. It would be possible to double the agricultural population of Sind with ease.

Mr. A. GURNEY: Could the lecturer give some idea as to how the army is now settling down under the split-up? I understand that the frontier force is now split up.

The LECTURER: It was a surgical operation, which always leaves a shock, but all things considered I think the army is settling down very well. So far as the armies are concerned, I believe nothing would appal them more than the suggestion that they might have to fight each other.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank you, Sir Archibald, very much indeed on behalf of all present; we have been extremely lucky in being able to hear from somebody so fresh from these countries. They are about the most interesting places in the world so far as we in this country are concerned.

THE TRIBES OF THE SUBANSIRI REGION

By PROFESSOR C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Lecture given on September 17, 1947, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf's anthropological work on India is well known in this country. In 1936 and 1937 he made a study of the Konyak Nagas, and took part in an expedition into the unadministered tract on the Assam-Burma border. His book, *The Naked Nagas*, gives a popular account of these travels, while the anthropological results of his investigations were published in various periodicals. During the years 1939 to 1943 he worked among the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad State, and some of the neighbouring Provinces. A series of monographs entitled "The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad" is the fruit of this research. A volume on the Chenchus and another on the Reddis of the Bison Hills have already been published, and a third volume on the Raj Gonds is in the press.

In 1944 and 1945 Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was in the service of the Government of India. During this time he was able to explore in one of the least known parts of the North-East Frontier and studied the tribes of the unadministered Subansiri Region. It is this expedition which he will describe to-day.

For the last two years he has been Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for Tribes and Backward Classes, as well as Professor of Anthropology in the Osmania University of Hyderabad.

GEOGRAPHICAL exploration has so far progressed that there are few parts of the habitable world which can be regarded as *terra incognita*. Yet certain areas on the borders of India, notably on the North East Frontier, remain still unmapped and unexplored. The country of which I am going to speak to you to-day forms part of the Balipara Frontier Tract, a name familiar to many of you from the writings of Kingdon Ward. It is a broad belt of mountain country stretching from the edge of the Brahmaputra plain to the snowy peaks of the great Himalayan range. Only the western part, the adequately documented Mönba country round Dirang Dzong, and the southern fringe of the Balipara Frontier tract which skirts the plains of Assam, are at all well known. Between the Dirang Dzong area and the Abor country to the east lies the so-called Subansiri region and it is in this unadministered tract that we are still confronted with a number of geographical and ethnological puzzles. Many members of this society will recall the controversy over the course of the Tsangpo and the identity of this Tibetan river with the Dihang and Brahmaputra of India. With the discovery of the Tsangpo rapids, this question has been solved and it is now common knowledge that the Tsangpo and the Brahmaputra are one and the same river. To the west of the Tsangpo-Dihang break through, the Subansiri area offers a similar problem on a smaller scale. Here too a river—the Subansiri—emerges from rugged mountain country into the plains of Assam. Though no one has yet succeeded in following the entire course of the Subansiri, there can be little doubt that this river receives the waters of the Tibetan Chayal Chu and the Tsari Chu. The only determined effort to explore the upper courses of the Subansiri and its tributaries from the Indian side was made by the Miri Mission, a semi-military expedition in the winter of 1911-12. This expedition succeeded in putting a large area on the map, but owing to the difficulties of transport and the hostile attitude of the tribesmen it had to turn back without reaching its main objective.

It may seem remarkable that while the western part of the Balipara Frontier Tract has been administered for some time and a regular though not very important trade route from Tibet to Assam now runs through the Abor Hills, which are controlled from Sadiya, the Subansiri region should have remained both unadministered and unexplored.

A few days ago I looked up Kingdon Ward's article in the 1940 number of the *Royal Central Asian Journal* and found the sentence: "Along the river at Dirang Dzong I found a great many interesting shrubs. I went right to the source of the stream, but I could not go far down the valley because that took me into tribal territory. To travel amongst the tribes is simply asking for trouble, and the Government forbade me to trespass west of Dirang Dzong." The fierceness of the tribes of the Subansiri region has indeed become a myth and is one of the reasons why the Government of India used to forbid all travellers to enter the area. This attitude is, incidentally, also shared by the Tibetans. Kingdon Ward on one of his great journeys tried to enter the Subansiri area from Trön, but could not persuade Tibetan porters to take him into tribal country. He met with the same obstacle further north at Migyitun, where the local inhabitants also declared themselves too frightened to venture southwards into the Subansiri region.

For an ordinary traveller or an anthropologist, therefore, it would have been difficult if not impossible to gain access to this part of the country. But in 1944 the Government of India offered me the opportunity of following up the work of the Miri Mission. My general directives were to explore as far up the Subansiri as was practicable and to establish friendly relations with the tribes.

Early in February my wife and I reached our base at North Lakhimpur; the season was already far advanced and the expedition had to be organized with as much speed as possible. We recruited two Dafla interpreters and hastily laid in a store of exchange goods: blankets, beads, salt, cloth, and cigarettes. Then came the question of an escort. I was against taking an armed force, but the Political Officer, Balipara, disclaimed all responsibility if the party did not carry fifty Assam Rifles, which was, in his opinion, the minimum force required to guarantee effective protection. However, the problem solved itself because no such force was available at short notice and it was a case of going without escort or not going at all.

Our first objective was a valley, some six days' march from the plains, which the Miri Mission had visited on their return journey from the Kamla area. This valley was the home of the Apa Tani or Apa Tanang, a large tribe reported to differ in culture and speech from the other peoples of the Balipara Frontier Tract. With its large population it promised to be a useful base for an expedition northwards, and it appeared to us that further progress towards the Upper Subansiri would depend on friendly relations with the Apa Tanis.

On March 6 we set out. The party consisted of my wife and myself, an Assamese Jemadar, two tribal interpreters, twenty-five Abor porters, a handful of rather truculent Dafla carriers recruited in the plains, and—most important of all—three Apa Tanis whom a lucky chance had led to the plains. The local awe of the Daflas and the rumours of their feuds and raids, decided us to avoid country inhabited by this tribe and to take a path to the east that ran for six days through uninhabited country. But the safety of the route was dearly bought. The trek across ranges rising from the deep gorge of the Panior River to heights of 7,000 and 8,000 feet was the hardest going I have ever done. The path was largely uncut and the heavily ladened porters had to haul themselves up on bamboos and creepers.

For six days we toiled through evergreen rain-forest and sub-tropical jungle. Only once did we gain a view from a peak some 7,000 feet high, but soon we were once more immersed in dripping jungle. Gradually, however, the character of the vegetation changed. On the seventh day we came into rhododendron forest aflame with red and pink blossoms. We were now some 6,000 feet high, and looking northwards saw for the first time the Apa Tani valley. Rhododendrons gave way to *Pinus excelsa* and suddenly the forest opened out and we found ourselves on rolling meadowlands mauve with long-stalked primulas and violets. After days in the steaming sub-tropical forest, this emergence into an Alpine spring was an experience never to be forgotten.

As we wound our way on well-made paths through the flowering pastures we met the first groups of Apa Tanis wearing white cloaks that were bordered in bands of yellow, purple, and red. They were reserved though not unfriendly, but insisted that we camp for the night in the open country to the south of the valley. This was a manoeuvre, as we later learnt, to give them time to consult omens on the auspiciousness of our visit. For us it meant a cold night on a windy hillock, but on the following morning we were invited to move to the village of Haja, and amidst a crowd of several thousand Apa Tanis pitched our camp on a graveyard on the outskirts of the village. We gave presents of welcome to those who appeared the leaders of the community, and were in turn treated to rice beer offered in large bamboo mugs; but the days passed and every morning brought fresh crowds of sightseers to our camp. Our small mountain tent offered very inadequate cover in the face of such intensive curiosity and when it began to rain, and rained for three days, we prevailed on the Apa Tanis to build us bamboo huts on a small island, another graveyard, in a central position in the valley.

Every anthropologist knows how much depends on the *rapport* which one may succeed or fail to establish with a people. I have been for weeks among aboriginals in the Deccan without being able to evoke any particularly friendly sentiments, but in the Apa Tani valley I immediately felt at home. The behaviour and attitude of the people and the whole ethos of their culture reminded me of the Nagas. Yet, despite certain affinities to tribes beyond the immediate vicinity, Apa Tani civilization with its large town-like villages—some containing over a thousand houses—is in many respects unique. In a single valley not exceeding a total area of twenty square miles, live roughly twenty thousand people. Even in the most fertile and developed parts of India a population of one thousand to the square mile is unusual for a rural area. In a Himalayan valley where a rigorous winter with frosts and occasional snowfall excludes a two-crop system, such density of an agricultural population has only become possible through the Apa Tanis' tireless efforts. The bottom of the valley —according to local tradition once a marshy swamp inhabited by lizard-like monsters—is irrigated and drained by an ingenious system of channels and ducts which distribute the water of mountain streams and rivulets over hundreds of rice fields. Flights of terraces climb the side valleys, while ground unsuitable for irrigation is used for the cultivation of millet, maize, and such garden crops as tobacco and vegetables.

Ignorant of the plough and the principle of animal traction, the Apa Tani tills the soil with iron hoes and digging sticks. Not only rice, but also millet (*Eleusine coracana*) is first sown in nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted by hand. The same meticulous care is extended to the cultivation of a special variety of bamboo used for house building and basket making. Fruit trees are grown in gardens, and pines (*pinus excelsa*) are planted in special groves for the use of the next generation.

To the Apa Tani land is the source and essence of wealth and only the possession of land gives a man economic independence. All cultivated land is private property and good irrigated fields fetch prices in cattle and valuables which in the plains of Assam would be regarded as fantastic. Some men possess more land than the members of their household can cultivate, while others own little or no irrigated land, and make a living by hiring out their services to more prosperous neighbours.

Differences in wealth are very great and a large proportion of the land is in the hands of patrician families. But the capitalistic tendencies in Apa Tani society are counteracted by the limitations imposed on the spending of wealth. Rich and poor live in very similar style. A wealthy man wears better clothes and there will always be enough food in his house. But the quality of the fare he and his family eat differs little from that of the poorer class, and it is said that rich men indeed ordinarily eat no better than men of average means and fewer obligations, for they must save most of their meat for feasts and the entertainment of the labour gangs who work their fields. They must also store smoked meat and bacon for use as ceremonial gifts, for only by lavishness in the fulfilment of social obligations can they maintain their prestige. Thus wealth gives prestige and power but little physical comfort which is not within the reach of the man of average means.

The high price and strictly limited amount of land available for cultivation acts as a check on social mobility. No doubt great effort enables even a poor man to acquire cultivable land, but it takes more than one generation for a family to rise to a position of wealth and influence.

Besides the social distinctions based on property, there is the immutable barrier between two endogamous classes: the freeman and the slaves. No individual can pass from one class to the other and intermarriage is barred. But not all members of the slave class are the actual property of a master. Many have been freed generations ago and form a class which may be described as " plebeian " in contradistinction to the " patrician " or freemen. House-slaves are liable to be sold, but it is considered wrong to dispose of an Apa Tani outside the tribe. In daily life there is little difference between patricians and plebeians. House-slaves have to work harder but as a rule they participate in the daily life of the master's family. A few plebeians have acquired considerable fortunes, and even hold slaves of their own.

The one way by which slaves, plebeians and other poor men can gain economic independence is trade with neighbouring tribes. Though largely self-sufficient in so far as food is concerned, the Apa Tanis maintain a lively trade with many of their neighbours. The commodities for which they depend entirely on imports are salt, iron, and cotton. The Apa Tanis are good blacksmiths, and although only a few members of the tribe follow this profession, forging weapons from Assamese iron, Apa Tani knives and *dao* find a ready market among Dafla and Miri of the surrounding countryside. Another item of export is textiles. The Apa Tani do not grow cotton, but buy it from their Dafla neighbours; this they weave into beautiful multi-coloured cloths, both for their own needs and for sale to Daflas and Miris. In most years the Apa Tanis have, moreover, a surplus of rice, and this they barter to their neighbours, chiefly against cattle and pigs.

Neither the Apa Tani nor their neighbours use money as a medium of exchange. Cattle and particularly mithan (*bos frontalis*) serve in many respects as a currency, and the wealth of a man is judged not only by his holding of cultivated land, but also by the number of mithan he possesses. The flesh of mithan is eaten, but they are neither milked nor put to work, and cattle breeding plays a comparatively small rôle in Apa Tani economy. Most families keep chickens as well as a few pigs shut up in pens below the raised floors of their houses. But, as roaming pigs would endanger the crops of gardens and seed nurseries, the Apa Tanis prefer to buy young animals from their Dafla and Miri neighbours and fatten them for slaughter rather than raise their own stock in the restricted space of their homeland.

All trade takes the form of barter and this system entails a series of exchange transactions. Individual Apa Tanis have their permanent trade partners in neighbouring Dafla or Miri villages, and it is through such channels that they dispose of their surplus and obtain commodities not available in their own valley.

This brings us to the question of the relations of the Apa Tanis with their neighbours, the Daflas and Miris, whose territory surrounds the Apa Tani valley on all sides, except for the tract of uninhabited country through which we had made our way from Assam.

The Apa Tanis resemble more civilized nations in that their relations with neighbouring tribes fluctuate between periods of mutually beneficial trade, periods of suspicion with occasional pin-pricks, and spasmodic outbursts of open hostility resulting in raids and counter-raids. Every village has its traditional trade partners and as most disputes arise over trade claims, traditional business friends are also often hereditary enemies. We arrived in the Apa Tani valley during such a period of acute tension between two Apa Tani villages and the powerful Dafla village of Licha. Over a period of years many Apa Tanis had been captured by men of

Licha, and large ransoms had had to be paid to effect their release. Trade had come largely to a standstill. To the Apa Tanis our arrival seemed an excellent opportunity to gain an ally and, adept in the art of forging alliances, they did their best to enlist our help against their one-time trade partners and present enemies.

Unfortunately Licha, which lay in unmapped country, held the key to one of the main routes to the upper reaches of Khru and Kamla. In the spring of 1944 there was no question of going further afield than the Apa Tani country, but it seemed doubtful whether during the following season any substantial advance would be possible without a settlement of the feud between the Apa Tanis and the Licha Daflas.

While the study of the Apa Tanis and the establishment of friendly relations were the aims of this first tour, the Government of India decided that during the open season of 1944-45 exploration should be combined with political consolidation. Outposts of Assam Rifles were to be established in the Apa Tani valley and at suitable points in the Dafla country, and a Survey of India party was to map unexplored country. All this required an elaborate organization, and it was not until the middle of October, 1945, that I was able to leave the plains of Assam. This time I chose a somewhat easier route through Dafla country, following the course of the Panior and then striking due north across denuded hills to the east of the Kale River. In the Apa Tani valley I established an Assam Rifle outpost and a trading depot, an essential part of the organization, for we had to rely largely on local porters and neither Apa Tanis nor Daflas will work as porters nor sell their grain if paid in coin for which they have no use. In the trading depot, however, they could exchange their wages for salt, cloth, or iron, as well as fancy goods, and during the following months it was a continuous anxiety to keep the depot supplied with goods, all of which had to be carried up from the plains.

After the post and the trading depot were organized and I had recruited some hundreds of Apa Tanis for work as porters, we were joined by Captain A. E. G. Davy, Captain Cooksey, and Mr. M. W. Kalappa of the Survey of India. The first part of the season was spent in an expedition to Licha and subsequently we explored the Kiyi valley and the Dafla country on the upper reaches of the Panior River.

Time does not permit me to describe this expedition in detail, but I shall try to give you a rough idea of Dafla culture. Unlike the Apa Tanis the Daflas do not live in large, permanent village communities attached to ancestral well-tilled soil, but shift at the slightest provocation both their dwellings and their fields. The size of a Dafla village ranges from a cluster of three or four houses standing in a small clearing surrounded by *jhum* fields and forest, to a settlement of thirty houses dispersed over spurs and hill slopes. Most houses are joint family dwellings, some with as many as fourteen separate hearths and a length of more than a hundred feet. The village is not a closely knit social and political unit. Families join and leave at will and in some areas there is a continuous movement of people from one village to the other. Even feuds are usually not between village and village but between joint family and joint family. It is no unusual occurrence for one or two houses in a village to be raided and the inhabitants killed or carried off as slaves, while the other households remain unharmed and indeed do not consider it their responsibility to give effective help to their neighbours.

Although certain villages form territorial groups within which contacts are comparatively close and marriage alliances frequent, there is no organization which could lend territorial groups a measure of political unity. Dafla society too is divided into freemen and slaves but there is a much greater social fluidity than among the Apa Tanis. Slaves do not constitute a separate class, but are mainly people captured in war; their children become members of the owners' clan, and can in time acquire wealth and become freemen of good social standing.

This social mobility is facilitated by the economic system. All land is communal property and any man is free to cultivate as large a plot as he is able to clear. Like the Abors and other hill-tribes of Assam, the Daflas practise shifting cultivation and whenever a plot is exhausted new land is taken under cultivation. In the sparsely populated foothills land is still ample, but in other areas such as for instance in the Upper Panior valley, land is beginning to grow scarce and many hill slopes are denuded of forest. Such deterioration of the soil after too frequent periods of cultivation may be responsible for the many Dafla migrations and the steady movement from the higher ranges towards the foothills where virgin forest still covers large areas of potential *jhum* land.

These population movements with the accompanying competition for the most desirable areas account perhaps for the frequency of raids and minor wars. Quarrels over property, be it a trade debt or compensation for an injury, lie at the bottom of most feuds, and there are few quarrels that cannot be settled by negotiation. In the course of my tours I watched several conferences, locally known as *mel,* where the representatives of two warring parties tried to come to terms. At such a *mel* each party is represented by a number of speakers who illustrate their orations with tallies of small bamboo sticks. A man will start his speech with a large bundle, and for every captive, mithan or valuable mentioned in his argument he lays down a little bamboo stick. The opposing party does the same, and after an hour's debate there are long rows of bamboo tallies spread out on the ground. Many of these arguments—rather like the debates in the Security Council—lead nowhere and after several days of hard bargaining and heated recrimination the parties separate, either to meet again or to wait for a favourable moment to raid each other and thus settle by force what could not be settled by negotiation.

The furthest any expedition had previously been up the Panior was to its confluence with the Kele, but early in January after a visit to Licha in the Kiyi valley, we followed the course of the Panior as far as Mengo, a village close to its head-waters. There we heard of a path which leads northwards into an area on the Panyi River, a tributary of the Khru. This area, we were told, is often visited by people called Boru, who are dressed like Tibetans, but speak Dafla and live in Dafla style. Only a few marches further towards the snow ranges were settlements of Tibetans and from the accounts of the Mengo Daflas it would seem that these too lie on the southern side of the Great Himalayan Range. Unfortunately we could not follow up this interesting information. The ranges rising above Mengo were covered in snow and we were told that they could only be crossed in summer.

The expedition then split up. Captain Davy and the Assam Rifles remained to consolidate the area already explored, and my wife and I set out on a tour up the Kamla, hoping to reach the upper course of the Subansiri before the onset of the monsoon. Starting from the Apa Tani valley early in March we moved first to the Miri country south of the Kamla. Transport was again the great problem. Though we had reduced our own luggage to a minimum and relied entirely on porters to be picked up on the way, we had to carry large quantities of salt and cloth with which to pay for services and barter supplies. The need for such exchange goods makes travelling both difficult and expensive, for—to give only one example—a bag of salt which would pay twenty porters for one day's march might have to be carried twenty days before it was required.

The country north of the Kamla had not been visited since the Miri Mission in 1911-12, and that expedition, though travelling with an escort of 150 rifles, had had to return after beating back a determined attack by Miris of the Upper Kamla. By dispensing with an escort and outside porters my wife and I hoped to create a more favourable atmosphere. First we had to persuade the Miris to take us across the Kamla. Daflas and Miris have no boats, and on account of mutual suspicions the villages on the Lower Kamla had allowed the cane bridges to decay. So bamboo rafts were built, and these were pulled across the river along cane ropes suspended from bank to bank. After crossing the river we moved in a north-eastern direction through the villages on the left bank of the Kamla.

This zone lies between the trade spheres of Assam and Tibet, and far from picking the best of two worlds, the people seem to be extremely short of all imported commodities. They have little salt, and wear only a minimum of clothes, largely discoloured rags that offer little protection against the cold. The local output of bark fibre cloth is apparently inadequate, no cotton is grown, and few textiles are obtained by barter. Here we saw for the first time women wearing narrow grass skirts and men with no other garment than a " fig leaf " made of bamboo or horn. Iron also appears to be short and spades made of the shoulder blades of mithan are used to dig over the ground before sowing.

The people were cautious though on the whole friendly. We assured them that we had come for no other purpose than to see them and their country, and the fact that we were a small unarmed party allayed initial suspicions. Moreover, we had brought an attraction of a special kind. Our black Persian cat, which had accompanied us on all our tours, had recently had six kittens, and these were now big enough to play about in camp. The tribesmen north of the Kamla had never seen a cat and they were delighted when they realized that our cat caught rats. The rats too had never seen a cat, and every night she bagged innumerable unsuspecting rats which infested the Miri granaries.

After leaving the junction of Kamla and Khru we entered the region of the Upper Kamla. From the river, invisible below us, the mountains rose in broad steps to peaks of over 9,000 feet. The villages lay half-way up, scattered over grassy slopes, and the surrounding forest bore the marks of recent fellings. It was magnificent country and from one ridge we caught sight of a chain of dazzling snow peaks—not the great Himalayas but a 13,000 to 14,000 feet range which separates the Kamla from the Subansiri valley and was at that time of the year covered in snow.

From now on our progress was slow. In every village we were told that we could not possibly go any further for the people beyond the valley were a terrible and dangerous lot. When these warnings failed to impress us, we were told of a mysterious disease ravaging the villages ahead, but more serious than all such stories was the flat refusal to provide guides and porters to take us further.

In such cases there was nothing to be done but to wait, and usually it did not take more than a day or two before we discovered that a good many of the villagers had brothers or sisters or relations-in-law in the very village described as the home of a warlike and ruthless crowd. The next step was to send messengers with small presents to some of these relations and ask them to come and see us. This was usually successful, and once they had come and we had made friends, it was easy to persuade them to take us to their village.

Presents of salt were most acceptable, but cigarettes and matches produced a blank expression. No one had ever seen them. We were now on the trade-divide between India and Tibet and with every step we moved forward we found an increase in the number of woollen clothes of Tibetan type worn by the tribesmen. The more frequent Tibetan goods became, the less useful were the few barter goods which we had brought besides salt. The Miris had Tibetan beads of semi-precious stones, china and conch shell, we had indifferent bazaar beads of coloured glass; they wore Tibetan woollen cloth, warm and artistically coloured, we had brought white machine-made cotton cloth of little warmth and no aesthetic merit. Thus we had little to give, and our success depended more and more on the friendly feelings which we could arouse by an intelligent interest in tribal custom and belief. Our long stay among the Apa Tanis stood us in good stead and prevented us from making serious *faux pas* in matters of etiquette. The ability to consume large quantities of millet beer and to swallow without flinching big lumps of ancient pig's fat also contributed to our social success; a slight hangover now and then seemed not too high a price for our hosts' friendship.

With confidence established, information on the country ahead began to pour in and we realized that two or three days' march would bring us to a village which lay entirely within the sphere of Tibetan trade. This meant that we must leave the Kamla valley and strike north-east towards the Sipi River. It was now the first week in April, time was running short and our exchange goods were nearly exhausted. So we decided to leave most of our kit as well as our cats in the charge of an interpreter and friendly villagers and make this last effort with the lightest equipment possible. The track over the mountains separating the Kamla and Sipi valleys was difficult, for the unusually heavy snows of that winter had wrought havoc in the rhododendron forests; huge trees which had collapsed under the weight of snow lay across the path, and beaten down bamboos and shrubbery formed bristly barriers. On the third day we reached the Sipi valley, and it was at once apparent that we were in a different ethnographic region.

Most people wore Tibetan clothes, and the men cut their hair like Abors and wore round hats of coiled cane. Their appearance resembled in every detail the " Loba " tribesmen whom F. Ludlow photographed at Migyitun in Tibet some fifty miles north of the Sipi valley. The Lobas whom Ludlow saw had crossed the high passes into Tibet in summer and there cannot be the slightest doubt that they came from the Upper Subansiri Region. By contacting identical types of people in the south of that area, we established the ethnographical continuity of the Kamla and the Subansiri tribes, but the geographical gap still remains.

We were told that from the Sipi valley it was only six or seven days to an area on the Upper Subansiri known as Marra or Marrang, which was frequently visited by Tibetans who came to buy skins, furs, vegetable dyes and cane for woollen cloth, salt, swords, and beads. Marra is also mentioned by Ludlow, and I have no doubt that despite the Tibetans' refusal to take Kingdon Ward into the area of the Upper Subansiri, Tibetans do come down into the Subansiri region, and trade with the local Loba tribesmen. The people of Marra are said to cultivate in Miri style, but in addition to mithan, they have yak and sheep, and I was told that some of the paths from Marra to Tibet proper could be negotiated by yak.

It was unfortunate that we had to turn back from the threshold of this area without having linked up with the explorations of Kingdon Ward and Ludlow. Given sufficient exchange goods we could, I think, have reached Marra that year, and from there with the summer upon us it should have been possible to reach Migiytun. Such a journey would have removed the upper course of the Subansiri from the list of " unexplored " regions, and would have provided valuable information on the country and the people immediately south of the so-called MacMahon line.

From the geographical and the ethnographical point of view it is desirable to complete the exploration of the Subansiri region as long as the friendship of the tribes whom I visited in 1945 guarantees an easy approach through the Upper Kamla and Sipi valleys. It would be necessary to start in the autumn and to build up a dump of stores and exchange goods on the Upper Kamla. This would make it possible to cross over into the Upper Subansiri valley as soon as the snow melts on the ranges separating the two river basins. It can only be hoped that if the Government of India does not undertake such an expedition, scientific institutions will support the exploration of this interesting part of the world.

Miss Cable: May I ask the lecturer what the religion of these poeple is?

The Lecturer: As my time was limited I purposely did not deal with this complex question. Both Apa Tanis and Daflas have a religion which for the purposes of the Census of India would be described as " tribal." But this means only that it stands outside the spheres of Tibetan Buddhism and Indian Hinduism. I had no opportunity to study the religion of either Apa Tanis or Daflas in great detail, but it seems that both these tribes believe in a number of nature deities associated with earth, water, and air. Some of these deities are supposed to be able to influence the fertility of the crops as well as human fortunes and the tribesmen offer to them mithan, pigs, fowls, and on certain occasions even dogs. There is to my knowledge no outstanding deity with the attributes of a supreme being, but I must admit that my somewhat superficial knowledge of Apa Tani and Dafla religion does not allow me to be definite in this respect. The tribesmen generally believe that after death men go to another land where they live in the same style as they did in this world. If a man is rich in this life he will be rich in the next world, if he is poor here he will again be poor. The man who sacrifices many mithan and pigs will benefit in the next life, because he will possess there all the wealth which he expended during these sacrifices.

Captain SMALLWOOD : Of what type is the language of these tribesmen?

The LECTURER : I ought to have mentioned the language. All the tribal languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman group which includes Tibetan as well as the languages of the Nagas and other Assamese hill-tribes. Many of the Dafla and Miri dialects are mutually understandable, but in the Upper Kamla valley my Dafla interpreter could no longer understand the local tribesmen and even a Miri interpreter from the Lower Kamla valley found it difficult to carry on a conversation. The Apa Tanis speak a language which, though related to Dafla, is not readily understood by Daflas other than those who have frequent dealings with Apa Tanis. I may add that throughout the expedition I used Assamese as the common medium and that I had interpreters who spoke the various local dialects.

Mr. WARITH AMIR ALI : Is the mithan which the lecturer photographed a cross of the ordinary domestic cattle of that part of India with the ordinary wild Indian bison or gaur?

The LECTURER : The mithan is the *bos frontalis,* which is different from the domestic Indian cattle and the bison. It is obviously not a recent cross, and I do not think that zoologists regard it as a cross between the Indian cattle and the wild bison. Incidentally, you may have noticed one point which is somewhat remarkable. The mithan in the Apa Tani country are sometimes white, whereas in the Naga hills and Burma all mithan are black with white stockings. In the Apa Tani country you find the normal black type as well as white and occasionally piebald animals. No attempt is made by the tribesmen to breed any particular stock, for most of the mithan live the greater part of the time outside in the jungle and are seldom brought to a village.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure you would all wish me to thank Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf for his interesting lecture. It is rarely that we have the pleasure of meeting and listening to one who has in these days been into country which is practically unknown to the whole world. He has spoken very light-heartedly about the journey. I admire his courage, for I cannot say that all the people he has shown us looked particularly friendly! We hope, Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf, you will be able to come and speak to us again.

WAKHAN: OR HOW TO VARY A ROUTE

By MAJOR H. W. TILMAN, D.S.O., M.C.

IT is a good many years since an Englishman crossed the Wakhjir Pass to follow the ancient route down the Oxus, so perhaps a brief note may be of interest. (Not that the lapse of time has effected many changes in Wakhan.) But before reaching Wakhan I should explain how I got there and in what circumstances.

No traveller willingly follows a well-known route if there is a less known, so when returning last year from Kashgar to Gilgit I tried some slight variations. Between Kashgar and Tashkhurgan there is a choice of several routes, but all of them are moderately well known so that anyone with rooted objections to following the beaten track is not easily accommodated. One can reach the Little Kara Kul by three different ways and thence proceed west of the Muztagh Ata massif: or to the east of this there is the ordinary route by Yangi Hissar and the Chichiklik Pass, or a variation by way of the Karatash Valley which rejoins the ordinary route at Toile Bulung. But neither of these last two go near Muztagh Ata and since I much wanted to see the unexplored eastern side of the mountain I planned a roundabout deviation from the last-named route over the Karatash Pass and thence up the Tur Bulung nullah. At the head of this there is a pass marked on the map (Sheet 42 N, ¼ in.) with a query against it, which, if it could be crossed, would lead one down to rejoin the ordinary route at Chichiklik maidan.

Accompanied by a Turki from Kashgar we crossed the Karatash Pass (16,338 feet) on ponies on September 17th in a fierce wind. The weather was, and continued to be, unsettled, so that I was disappointed of my principal hope of seeing Muztagh Ata close from the east. There were some yorts in the valley on the other side of the pass and to the south a glacier, covered with unblemished white névé, descended gradually from an easy-looking col. Had we been without baggage ponies it would have been tempting to embark on it to force a direct route to the south; instead, we went on down the valley past the Tur Bulung junction and as far as Kang Showar before we found any more yorts.

The Tur Bulung Pass was said to be unsuited to ponies so we sent them round by Little Kara Kul and Subashi, and ourselves, with a Kirghiz guide and a yak, went back up the Tur Bulung. Snow and heavy cloud prevented us from seeing anything but occasional glimpses of the 19,000-ft. eastern outlier of Muztagh Ata. Four miles up the Tur Bulung valley there is the snout of a big glacier of true debris-covered Himalayan type, quite unlike the clean white slabs of ice which spill over the gentle western slopes of Muztagh Ata like icing sugar on a bun. This glacier bore away south-west and then west into a wide bay, while the Tur Bulung stream, which we followed, comes down from the south-east from a wide upland valley—a hanging valley—a thousand feet or so above the glacier. Our guide called the glacier Kok Sel, which is also the name of a glacier of the Kungur group according to Sir Aurel Stein's map. This upper valley was well tenanted by Kirghiz at whose yorts we stopped that night just below the snow line.

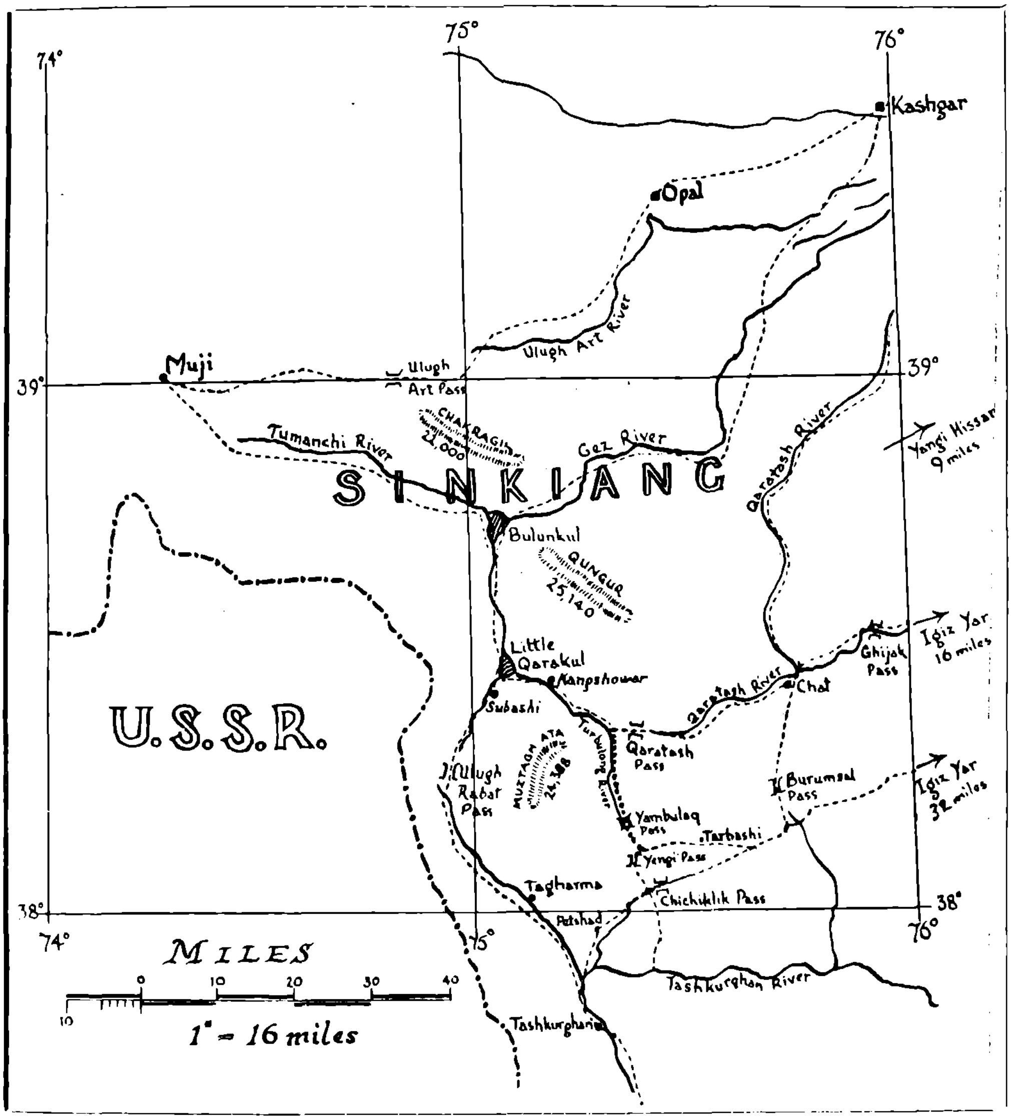
The snow which fell that night obliterated all signs of the track, but in 2½ hours our guide took us unerringly to the top of the pass which he called Yambulak—not Tur Bulung. A glacier on the east side of Muztagh Ata is also called Yambulak. I guessed the height to be about 16,000 feet, and though the track is boulder-strewn, lightly laden ponies could cross the pass if clear of snow. From here we dropped about a thousand feet before climbing again to the Yangi Dawan which overlooks the Chichiklik maidan from the north. This great grassy plain lying at a height of 15,000 feet, in summer thick with grazing yaks, was now bare of life. It was a windy cold evening, so that we were lucky to find shelter in the squalid yort of a family who were trying to live like Kirghiz without the essential livestock. Their sole livestock were five sheep and they existed precariously on the bounty of stray travellers like ourselves. From here we reached Tashkurghan next day by the usual route down the horrible, bone-strewn Dershat defile.

Between Tashkurghan and Gilgit the seeker after variety is hard put to it. As a variation to the Mintaka Pass route, that over the Kilik Pass, by reason of nearness and similarity, hardly qualifies, while the only other alternative seemed to be a very generous sweep to the east by the Oprang Valley and back into the Hunza Valley by the Shingshal route. But if in order to avoid the usual I must indulge in wide generous sweeps, there was a more interesting one to be made to the west over the Wakhjir Pass and back into India by either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass and so down the Karumbar Valley to Gilgit. It was unfortunately true that this route entailed crossing a frontier as well as a pass—and frontiers are usually the more difficult—but I should not have to be on the wrong side of it more than two days before nipping smartly back to the right side.

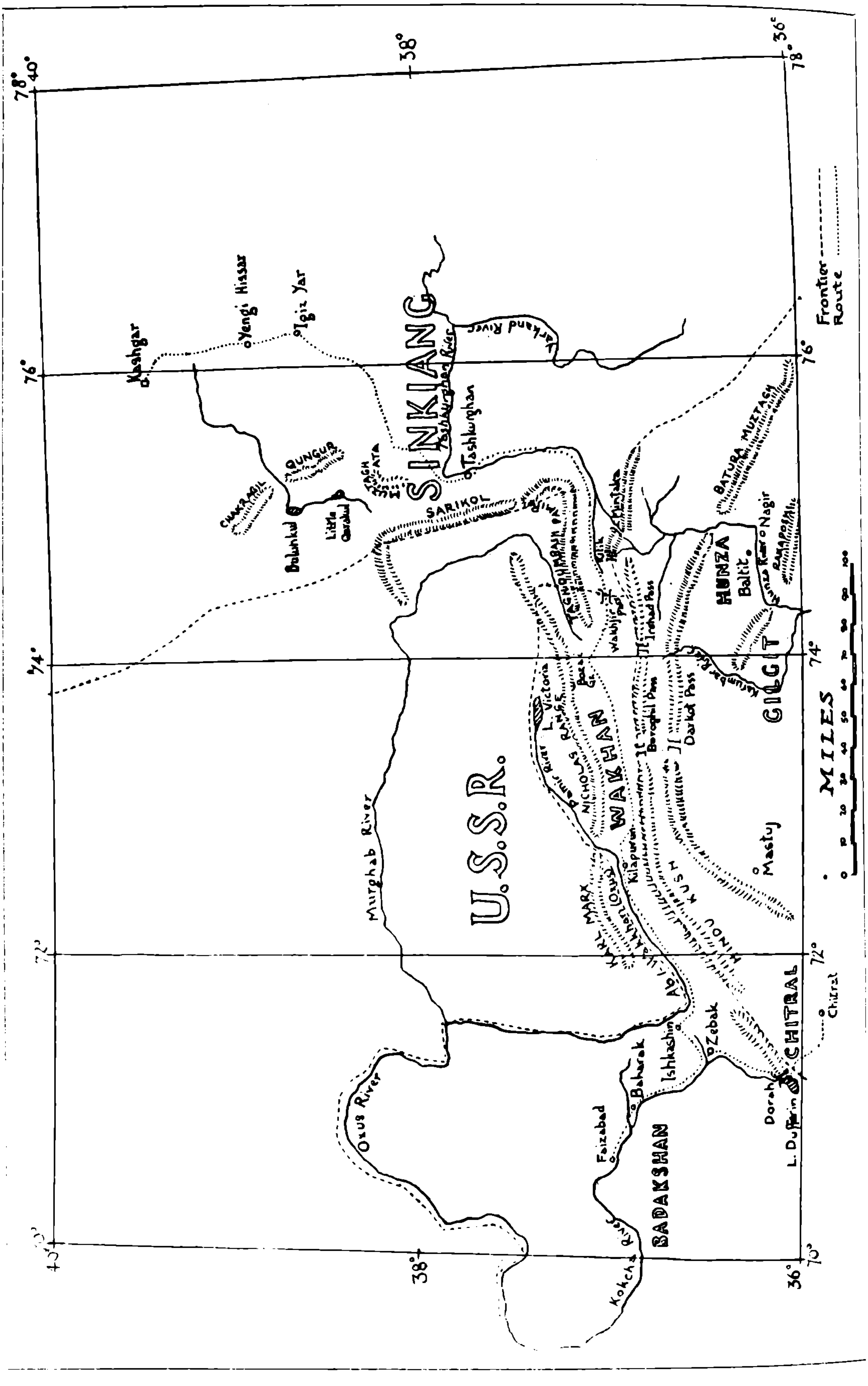
From Mintaka Karaul, where there is the last Chinese post, we followed the main valley westwards, leaving the Mintaka and Kilik Passes on our left. It is a fine open valley, comparatively rich in grass but bare of life—deserted, one supposes, on account of its proximity to the Russian frontier. We crossed the Wakhjir (16,150 feet) on September 28th accompanied by some Kirghiz whom we had met a few miles below the pass. They had come there only the day before and were one of some thirty families who, we were told, were migrating to Chinese territory from the Murghab Valley east of the Chakmaktin lake on account of incursions and harryings by Kirghiz from the Russian side. We camped at a yort on the bank of the river less than two miles below the ice cave at the snout of the unnamed glacier which is, I think, accepted now as the true source of the Oxus.

Between here and Bozai Gumbaz there were only a group of yorts on the south side of the river and a small homestead on the north bank where an attempt was being made to grow barley. "Gumbaz"—the conical mud cupola on a square base built in memory of some holy man—were far more numerous than people. There is peat on the flats on either bank of the river and many stacks of it drying were perhaps evidence of a larger summer population. After many weeks of yak dung fires, the delicious smell and the extra warmth of a peat fire were a welcome change.

Bozai Gumbaz, near the junction of the Little Pamir River and the Ab-i-Wakhan, is a wide grass and gravel plain on which there is nothing but half a dozen *gumbaz*. We crossed the slow-flowing, muddy Little Pamir River to camp at the yort of the local Kirghiz chief two miles up the northern slopes. From here, according to plan, I should have crossed either the Irshad or Khora Bhort Pass back to India, but he that shuffles does not always cut and the Kirghiz chief, on whom I relied for a yak to carry my gear, ordained otherwise. Such an irregular route was not to be thought of; we must go to Sarhad where there was an Afghan post. Between Bozai Gumbaz and Sarhad the Oxus flows through 40 miles of sterile gorge, interrupted only at Langar where there is a big grassy shelf and a small Tadjik settlement.


74°
75°
76°
Kashgar
Opal
Ulugh Art River
Muji
Ulugh Art Pass
39°
39°
CHAKRAGIL 22,000
Tumanchi River
Gez River
Qaratash River
Yangi Hissar 9 miles
SINKIANG
Bulunkul
QUNGUR 25,140
Little Qarakul
Kanpshower
Subashi
Qaratash River
Chat
Ghijak Pass
Igiz Yar 16 miles
U.S.S.R.
MUZTAGH ATA 24,388
Turbulong River
Qaratash Pass
Ulugh Rabat Pass
Burumsal Pass
Igiz Yar 32 miles
Yambulaq Pass
Tarbashi
Yengi Pass
Tagharma
Chichiklik Pass
38°
38°
Patshad
74°
75°
76°
MILES
0
10
20
30
40
10
1" = 16 miles
Tashkurghan River
Tashkurghan

At Sarhad the pent-up river breaks free and spreads itself over a wide, flat, sunny valley on the north side of which are a number of small villages.


78°
40°
38°
36°
76°
74°
72°
70°
Kashgar
Yengi Hissar
Igiz Yar
SINKIANG
Yarkand River
Tashkurghan River
Tashkurghan
QUNGUR
TAGH ATA
CHAKRAGIL
Bulunkul
Little Qarakul
SARIKOL
TAGHDUMBASH PA
Mintaka
Kilik
Wakhjir Pass
Irshad Pass
BATURA MUZTAGH
Nagir
RAKAPOSHI
Hunza River
HUNZA
Baltit
Karumbar River
GILGIT
L. Victoria
Pamir River
NICHOLAS RANGE
WAKHAN
Baroghil Pass
Darkot Pass
Kilapanja
KARL MARX
Ab-i-Panja (Oxus)
HINDU KUSH
Mastuj
U.S.S.R.
Murghab River
CHITRAL
Chitral
Zebak
Ishkashim
Baharak
Faizabad
Dorah
L. Dufferin
BADAKSHAN
Oxus River
Kokcha River
Frontier
Route
MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

The height here is over 10,000 feet and early in October some of the wheat was still unreaped. Opposite Sarhad a wide valley leads up to the great Boroghil gap a few miles to the south. This 12,000-feet pass—quite exceptionally low for these parts—beckoned invitingly and thither should we have gone had not the Afghan sirdar thought otherwise. Sarhad has always been a stumbling block to travellers; even Lord Curzon, with an invitation from the Amir, was threatened with detention there. Ishkashim, over 100 miles to the west, was now our destination which took us five days to reach.

At Kila Panja just below the junction of the Pamir River from Lake Victoria the monotony of the valley was relieved, for on the Russian side there was a motor road and some traffic passing. A long straight scar on the steepish northern bank of the Pamir River seemed to show that the road continued east of the junction. It was not easy to see why Wood (true, with some misgiving) should have taken the valley of the Pamir River for the main valley when he made his great journey to Lake Victoria in 1838; for although there is not much difference in the volume of the two rivers, the general appearance of the Ab-i-Wakhan Valley leaves little room for doubt that that is the main valley. Overlooking Kila Panja from the north side of the river is a 23,000-feet peak of the Shakhdara Range which the Russians claim to have climbed and christened in 1946. " Karl Marx " is the name this unoffending peak has somehow or other to live down.

Villages become more numerous below Kila Panja. They lie on the flanks of the detritus cones which spread fan-wise from the mouths of the narrow nullahs entering the valley from the Hindu Kush and which often extend for a couple of miles right down to the bank of the Oxus. Similarly on the Russian side there is a village at the foot of each nullah, but there the nullahs are less generously supplied with water and on the whole I should say there is less arable land on that side and the villages are poorer. Which is saying much.

Ishkashim lies well back from the Oxus at the point where it makes its great bend to the north. It is only a village, but with much arable land and the more doubtful blessings of a small garrison and a Commissar who presides over the welfare of Wakhan. This Commissar (who was in fact a colonel) is in touch with Faizabad and ultimately Kabul by telegraph. Speech is possible as far as Faizabad. From here I had hoped to reach Chitral by the Sanglich Valley and the Dorah Pass, but the Commissar, having kept us for a week, had other plans and sent us to Faizabad.

This journey took another five days. From Ishkashim the road crosses the Sardab Pass (10,000 feet) to enter the valley of the Warduj near Zebak. Up the Warduj Valley lies the Dorah Pass, but we turned down it in a north-westerly direction through a narrow rocky gorge where villages are few and far. Three stages below Zebak the Warduj joins the Kokcha River and the valley opens on to a fertile plain several miles in extent. A biggish place here with a cantonment and a bazaar is known as Baharak and not Khairabad as shown on the " Million " Sheet 37. According to Mr. Evert Barger, whose archæological expedition visited the place from Faizabad in 1938 (R.C.A.J., April, 1939), the plain is the site of the ancient capital of Badakshan. At the western extremity of the plain the river enters another gorge which continues almost unbroken to within a few miles of Faizabad. At Pa-i-Shahr, a small sarai at the mouth of the gorge, there are the remains of a wooden bridge by which the old road (shown on the map) crossed the river to follow the south bank. A new road has now been hewn out of the rock face on the north bank and it seems that the intention was to extend the motor road from Faizabad to Baharak. Jeeps, or possibly something bigger, could use the road now. A bus service links Faizabad with Kabul, the journey taking about four days.

Since " passing the buck " seemed to be the rule in official circles in Afghanistan as elsewhere, I expected we should be sent to Kabul, but after a week spent in the care of the Commandant at Faizabad a wire came from Kabul to say that we should be allowed to proceed to Chitral. We retraced our steps to Zebak and there turned south for Sanglich where there is an Afghan post. From Sanglich it is a very long day over the Dorah Pass (14,942 feet) to Gabar Bakh, the first Chitral village. It is an easy pass and the route is much used by Badakshan traders. At the foot of the pass on the Afghan side is the magnificent sheet of water, the Hauz-i-Dorah or Lake Dufferin. I am puzzled to find that in an account of this route by the " Havildar," one of Montgomerie's pundits who travelled this way in 1870, there is no mention of this lake at all though he must have camped alongside it and although he noted the insignificant hot springs at Gabar Bakh.

From the summit of the Dorah I took my last look at Afghanistan without much regret. It is a fine, spacious, primitive country, but spoilt by what I thought an unnecessary number of soldiers and inquisitive officials. That anyone should travel merely for the sake of travelling is not understood by them, and an Englishman in Wakhan is as much an object of suspicion to-day as he was in Younghusband's time—especially if he has no visa.

A VISIT TO SIAM

By LIEUT-COLONEL H. E. CROCKER, C.M.G., D.S.O.

I VISITED Siam—or Thailand as the people call it—in June, 1946, on a lecture tour for the Air Ministry to R.A.F. personnel. I flew from Malaya and landed at the Bankok aerodrome some miles out of the city, whence a long straight motor road takes one to the heart of Bankok. We entered by a magnificent boulevard far wider than Regent Street with handsome shops and houses on each side and a wondrous monument in the centre of the street. I was billeted at the Rakina Kosin Hotel near the canal. There are canals everywhere in Thailand and very few roads. Everyone, even tiny children, flits about in canoes and thinks nothing of diving overboard. I had a comfortable room at the hotel with luxuriously fitted bath tub, but the plumbers had forgotten to lay on the water and the only way I could have a bath was by sitting on a stone slab and sloshing the water over me with a bowl. Primitive but effective and most welcome in that hot climate.

I sallied out to visit the magnificent temples in the Royal Enclosure, the Wat Phra Keo and the Wat Poh. They are built somewhat like an English church but have no steeples. The roofs are covered with coloured tiles in beautifully symmetrical patterns and the walls are encrusted with porcelain flowers and designs. In the courtyards stand immense figures which guard the doorways. Round the walls of the cloisters runs the story of the Ramayana, which is re-painted from time to time and depicts in vivid colours the story of the siege of Ceylon and the construction of the causeway by the monkeys.

The streets of the city do not maintain the magnificent appearance of the main street, but they are intensely interesting and I found that with the one word of greeting " Sawadee "—I do not know how it ought to be spelt—the people gave me happy greetings. The English seemed to be popular in Thailand and I got on very well with the Siamese. They are a happy, laughing people, full of fun and with a keen sense of humour. The canals that run through Bankok are crammed with sampans carrying produce of the country for the town markets. Alongside the great river lie innumerable sea-going junks and chows, and I wandered up and down the quays watching the busy stevedores loading and unloading the various cargoes.

From the aerodrome a canal runs into the river and one day an R.A.F. officer and I hired a sampan and cruised down the canal to Bankok. All along the canal people were scurrying to and fro in their tiny canoes or bathing in the warm water fully clad in cotton cloths. As we approached the river a storm arose and the water was too rough so we tied up alongside an ancient temple and had tea from a tea stall close by. Eventually the water subsided and we continued our journey. By now, however, it was dark and when we landed on the quayside we hadn't the slightest idea as to our whereabouts. We strode in what we thought the direction that must take us into the town and before long we found ourselves near the great temples and all was well.

On my return journey from Saigon the plane broke down and I had to wait a week at Bankok on my way back to Malaya. It was a heaven-sent opportunity to see something of the interior, and two of the R.A.F. and I took the train to Ayudhia, the ancient capital of Thailand. We arrived in the evening and crossed to the city, built on an island, to find a hotel. We found a Chinese hotel where we shared a room and also a big bed. The hotel keeper was a smiling Chinaman who spoke not one word of any known tongue, but fortunately I had a book of the words in Thai and English, so by pointing to the English word he could read the Thai word. All round us on the floor slept other people, men and women, in heaps. After supper we sallied forth to see the sights and found the local theatre with a play in full swing. We were conducted to the front of the stalls where children and dogs wandered happily together. It was a most amusing play to judge by the yelps of laughter from the immense audience and we could more or less make out the general idea—the old, old story of an old man with a pretty young wife and her lover and the old nurse who helped their intrigue.

The following morning we took rickshaws to see the ruins of the ancient city and found a temple with a magnificent Buddha seated erect amidst the ruined walls. Then, heading for the river, we hired a sampan with an old boatman whom of course we christened " the highly respectable gondolier." He poled us up and down the river where we saw the life of the city—small canoes laden with fruit, from which we bought pineapples and bananas, tea canoes where we bought long glasses of tea. The banks were lined with huge houseboats and houses built out on piles over the stream. It was a gay, picturesque sight. Presently we heard strains of music from the bank so we landed to investigate. We found that a dance was about to take place and the dancers were dressing in full view of the audience under a shelter of matting. They smeared their faces with powder and then put on the old traditional dancing costumes of Siam, heavy embroidered dresses with huge headdresses representing giants, gods and heroes. The orchestra consisted of a xylophone and drums and flutes and really played harmoniously. All these old dances are representations of the old stories of gods and heroes, and every movement of body, hand, and leg has a very distinct meaning. The way in which the women could bend their fingers back was astonishing. We were told that their mothers bent them back as a punishment when children and they thus acquired the facility for making the requisite movements for the dances. It was a fascinating exhibition and after a time I persuaded them to pose for their photograph in the open. They seemed to be delighted and posed willingly.

About lunch-time we returned to the hotel on the bank of the river and then came the problem of paying off the " gondolier." He demanded as least twice as much as he should have received, so he trotted with us to the hotel and we referred the matter to the Chinaman, who decided in our favour. The gondolier was quite happy and sat and had tea with us.

I was at Bankok when the King was shot. Everyone wore mourning

—women in white and men in white coats with black arm-bands. There was, of course, much lamentation and an official enquiry as to how the tragedy had occurred. We heard that the King had a fondness for pistols and kept several in his study. The verdict was that it was an accident, but no one believed it though there seemed to be no possible reason why anyone should want to kill him. Still, in the East, one never knows what really goes on in the Court.

I was struck with the patriotic loyalty of the people. At sunset, when the guard at the entrance to the palace sound the " Retreat," all flags are lowered and the people stand still. Cyclists dismount and wait till the flags are slowly pulled down. Visitors and foreigners are not asked to do so but one gains in popularity if one observes their wholly admirable custom and I was always most particular to comply. One could wish that some such form of patriotism was more openly displayed in Western countries. I was rather apprehensive as to the attitude of the guard at the main entrance to the Royal Enclosure with the temples, but my salutation of " Sawadee " to the officer in command gained a smiling response and no objection whatever was raised to my entry. I did not, however, see the great emerald but I was shown the Reclining Buddha, then being repaired. He is of immense length but not so long, I judged, as the Reclining Buddha near Pegu in Burma.

In one of the villages I watched a potter fashioning delightful little figures from the crude clay he dug out of his garden. He moistened it in a bucket of water and then moulded the figures with his hands in the form of warriors, dancing girls and others. These he painted in wondrous colours and then glazed them with a secret mixture of oil and wax, giving the whole a beautiful glazed effect. They were then baked slowly in a tiny kiln in the shop. I bought an old-fashioned dancing girl, but in spite of careful packing she arrived in England broken in several pieces. I managed to mend her, however, with glue and cement and to paint in the colours.

At the hotel I bought a collection of very old porcelain coins used many years ago—quaint little pieces of various shapes and delicately coloured. Thai writing goes from left to right like English and seems to consist principally of curves and loops, which are very picturesque.

Immense quantities of rice are grown in Siam and the export trade should be considerable. The magnificent river on which Bankok is built affords splendid docks for ocean-going ships, but when I was there, there seemed to be very little trade going on.

Siam was over-run by the Burmese some centuries ago and the old capital at Ayudhia destroyed. The new capital was then constructed at the mouth of the river at Bankok. Siam was troubled by the French authorities in Saigon on account of hordes of refugees who fled across the frontier from Saigon to escape French rule. The French demanded that they should be forced to return, which the Thai Government refused, whereupon French native troops crossed the north-eastern frontier into Siam and waged hostilities against the Thai inhabitants. At the same time their gun-boats moved towards Siam but there was nothing in the nature of a diplomatic rupture when I was there. The people distrusted the French and seemed apprehensive as to what action they would take. Then came the death of the King and later on the *coup d'état* which eclipsed all other matters of interest. What will happen now is difficult to forecast, but it is probable that Siam, like other south-eastern countries, will be subjected to Communist influence from South China. Already Communist influence is strong in Burma and the Government have declared in favour of Moscow. The British were popular with the Thais and it is to be hoped that this liking for our people will continue. Siam is a delightful country and the joyous, friendly people with their highly developed artistic perceptions would be good friends. May this friendship ever remain and be strengthened.

INDEPENDENT SYRIA AND LEBANON

By GEORGE KIRK

Being a lecture on April 21, 1948, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. George Kirk worked in Palestine as an archæologist for some years before the recent war, and was also in Syria. During the war he was in Military Intelligence at Cairo, and from there he joined the staff of the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, which was set up during the war at Jerusalem, and is now in the Lebanon.

Mr. Kirk is now at Chatham House as a specialist on current events in the Middle East: And he is going to discuss the development of Syria and Lebanon since those countries gained their independence. We look forward to what he can tell us.

I SHOULD first make clear that what I am about to say I say entirely on my own responsibility; I am not committing Chatham House to any views whatever.

The purpose of this paper is to summarize and analyse events in Syria and Lebanon since the withdrawal of British and French troops in the course of 1946; but I will begin by sketching very briefly the outlines of the situation as it existed at that time. The ending of Vichy French rule in the Levant by the Anglo-Free French operation in the summer of 1941 was followed by a *de facto* condominium. The Free French took over the mandatory administration, and General Catroux, the High Commissioner designate, declared their intention "to put an end to the mandatory regime and to proclaim you free and independent"; but the Free French were caught between the horns of a dilemma. They were primarily concerned at that time with justifying themselves to the people of Metropolitan France under the German and Vichyist yoke; and if they signed away any French rights or privileges in the Levant, they were certain to be attacked as traitors by the Vichy propaganda-machine. Moreover, they could not help considering the effect which any concessions to Levantine nationalism would have on the Arab nationalists of French North Africa. Consequently, their policy was to change as little as they could. However, at this stage of the war they were dependent for their very existence as a movement on the goodwill of the British Government; and Mr. Churchill had told the House of Commons on September 9, 1941:

> We do not propose that this process of creating an independent Syrian Government or Governments . . . shall wait till the end of the war. We contemplate constantly increasing the Syrian share of the administration. . . . There must be no question even in war-time of a mere substitution of Free French interests for Vichy French interests. The Syrian peoples are to come back into their own.*

Many Frenchmen have believed down to the present time that there was from the start a deep-laid British plot to oust the French from the Levant;

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* 374 H.C. Deb. 5s., col. 76.

but those same Frenchmen apparently hold the opinion that the British *invented* Arab nationalism for the specific purpose of spiting France. Being logical Frenchmen, they do not make sufficient allowance for the exercise of the characteristic British empiricism in a situation in which it was essential for the British war-effort in the Middle East that the peoples of the Levant States should remain at least neutral and passive and allow us to develop and use the communications through their country with the minimum expenditure of our manpower. There was, consequently, a steady British pressure on the French to make some concessions to the political demands of the nationalists. In 1943 General Catroux proclaimed the restoration of the Syrian and Lebanese Constitutions which had been suspended by the French in 1939. Elections in both countries resulted in sweeping victories for the nationalists; and though the French began to hand over departments of the administration to the two Governments, they insisted, as essential for French recognition of their sovereign independence, on the conclusion of treaties of alliance giving France a privileged strategic position, on the lines of Britain's Treaties with Egypt and Iraq. Such treaties had been negotiated in 1936 between France and Syria and Lebanon, but the French Government had found it impossible to get them ratified by Parliament in the winter of 1938-39. In 1943, however, the revival of such proposals was inadequate to the situation. France's prestige had suffered a shattering blow in 1940, and the aspirations of the Levantine nationalists had grown with the years. In November, 1943, the Lebanese Government, and in May, 1945, the Syrians, defied the French; on both occasions the British military authorities intervened to keep the peace, in the interests of the security of the whole Middle East which, be it remembered, was still expected in May, 1945, to play an important part on Britain's line of communications for the war in the Far East. The French had reluctantly to yield; and in December, 1945, agreement was reached on an Anglo-French Statement of Policy for their joint recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon and the withdrawal of the British and French troops. The two Levantine Governments, however, were suspicious of this Agreement, which did indeed imply that France still retained " interests and responsibilities " in their countries. They appealed to the Security Council in February, 1946, and agreement was reached there on the withdrawal of the foreign troops, which was completed by the end of that year.*

Thus freed at last from foreign tutelage, the latent difference in the outlook of the Governments of Syria and Lebanon was not slow to show itself. Lebanon is the most "Levantine" of all the countries of the Levant, with its almost equal balance of Christians compared with Muslims and Druzes. A quarter of a million Lebanese live abroad, a diaspora nearly one-third as large as the number of the stay-at-home Lebanese.† Western education and connections are uneasily counterpoised against pan-Arab nationalism. Because of these ambiguities the Government of Lebanon, though pan-Arab in sympathy, had to be careful not to expose its flank to attack by the pro-French minority, which a well-informed British authority estimated at the end of 1945 at probably 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the Maronites and Greek Catholics, or 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the whole population. The Government was, therefore, at pains to assert against the "Greater Syria" doctrine the sovereign independence of Lebanon in its existing frontiers, which had been specifically guaranteed by Art. 4 of the Alexandria Protocol which brought the Arab League into being.* For the Syrian Government, on the other hand, the internal situation presented problems of a different character. The communities of the Syrian Republic are less inextricably mixed than those of Lebanon, and the Sunni Muslims constitute a solid 70 per cent. of the population; but it so happens that compact minority areas exist on both her northern and southern frontiers, and Syria's relations with her neighbours across these frontiers were not good in 1946. With Turkey she had the grievance of the Turkish annexation, with French connivance, of the Hatay (or Sanjaq of Alexandretta) in 1939; and on the south the pretensions of King Abdullah of Transjordan to the monarchy of Greater Syria were naturally repugnant to the republican oligarchs of Damascus and Aleppo;† an order was actually issued in Syria towards the end of 1946 penalizing not only the discussion of the Greater Syria plan, but the very mention of the phrase.‡ It was not surprising, therefore, that the efforts of Abdullah and Nuri as-Sa'id during 1946 to form alliances between Iraq and Transjordan and Turkey, though probably conceived defensively as a bulwark against Russian expansion in the Middle East, should have caused an encirclement-neurosis in Damascus; and Soviet propaganda was not slow to twist the knife in the old wound of the Hatay.§ Though diplomatic relations between Turkey and the young Syrian Republic were established in 1946 on the basis of a compromise, the work of Nuri Pasha, whereby Turkey would not insist on Syria's formal recognition of the cession of the Hatay and Syria would agree to leave the question dormant, King Abdullah's visit to Turkey in January, 1947, gave rise to a violent polemic in the Syrian and Turkish press, and again there were hints that Soviet influences were interested in aggravating the dispute.‖ Jamīl Mardam, who had succeeded Sa'dullah Jabiri as Prime Minister of Syria, made statements calculated to lessen the ill-feeling towards Turkey, but it continued to be fanned by Left Wing Armenians, some thousands of whom had entered Syria as refugees from the Hatay in 1939.¶

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* For amplification of the foregoing, see " France, Syria, and the Lebanon," by W. E. G., *The World To-day*, March, 1946, 112 *et seq.*

† Pierre Rondot, *Les Institutions politiques du Liban* (Paris, 1947), 24 *et seq.*

In view of these antagonisms with their neighbours, the Syrian Government took steps to deal with the unreliable minorities within their borders. Most conspicuous of these were the Alawi sectaries of the Jebel Nusairiya under their corpulent chieftain, Sulaiman Murshid, who had long been encouraged by French officials in his defiance of the Damascus administration, but was now alleged (by a French source, significantly) to have an understanding with King Abdullah.* A Syrian armed force succeeded in capturing him after a skirmish in September, 1946, and in December he was charged with rebellion and publicly hanged. In January, 1947, the Syrian Government declared the provinces of Latakia, Euphrates, and Jazira forbidden zones in which no foreign consulates might be established or foreign travellers allowed entry.† There remained the Jebel Druze in the south, where the old-fashioned chieftain Sultan al-Atrash was much more inclined to throw in his lot with King Abdullah, a man of his own sort, than with the Damascus politicians. The latter, however, during 1947 played off Druze family rivalries against the Atrash, and recruited, from the younger generation and others restive at the "feudalism" still obtaining in the Jebel, a self-styled Popular Party taking its tune from Damascus. Clashes between the two groups culminated in November last in an attack on Atrash supporters by a Populist band of some 600 men, who burnt their houses and slaughtered their cattle; after which the Atrash launched a successful counter-attack on their opponents.‡

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* J. Lugol, *Le Panarabisme* (Cairo, 1946), 261.

† *Cf.* my paper in *The World To-Day*, January, 1948, p. 15.

‡ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (afterwards cited as *NZZ*), March 1, 1947.

§ *Scotsman*, March 16, 1946; *New York Times* (afterwards cited as *NYT*), March 23, 1946, quoting *Izvestia*.

‖ *NZZ*, January 31, 1947; *cf. Times*, January 13, 1947.

¶ *Egyptian Gazette*, June 6, 1947. *Survey of International Affairs*, 1938, I, 492.

While these picturesque struggles were going on internally, the French had by no means abandoned their interest in the Levant States. In Lebanon the French Government still owned property valued at about £1½ million sterling, and an important minority in that country, as I have mentioned, still looked to France as a protector against their fear of Muslim domination. In Syria the influence of France was much slighter; but she sought to hold on to the remnants of it by pressing the Syrian Government to reopen the French schools that had been closed in the 1945 crisis. After much obstruction on the part of the Syrian authorities, French schools were finally allowed to reopen in the autumn of 1947, though they were required to conform to the curricula laid down by the Syrian Ministry of Education, which had recently forbidden the teaching of foreign languages in all primary schools, "in order to mould and orientate the new generations in the way of patriotism and duty."§ In Lebanon also, the Government objected at Easter, 1947, to the holding of the traditional Consular Mass in the presence of the French diplomatic representative, since they said it was not in keeping with the new sovereign status of Lebanon; and a compromise had to be made, whereby the Mass was celebrated, not as formerly in the Maronite Cathedral of Beirut, but at the rural seat of the Maronite Patriarch.

The terms of the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments elected in 1943 expired in 1947, and the Lebanese General Election was fixed for May 25.

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* Albert Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, 1946), 214, 289; *Le Monde*, April 26, 1947.

† In the upper Jazira, where elements among the considerable Christian minority had agitated for autonomy before the war (Hourani, *op. cit.*, 215 *et seq.*, and *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, 1947), 80-1), disorders in 1945-6 were reported to have forced the withdrawal of a Dominican mission and the emigration of thousands of Catholic refugees to the Lebanon (*Osservatore Romano*, July 6, 1946, from the Servizio Informazioni della Chiesa Orientale, Beirut).

‡ *Times*, November 8, 1947; the paragraph in *Oriente Moderno*, 1947, 207, speaking of "many deaths," was taken from the Beirut organ of the pro-French Phalanges Libanaises, a source likely to be tendentious.

§ *Bourse Egyptienne* (afterwards cited as *Bourse*), June 3 and October 28, 1947.

The Parliament elected in 1943 had, like all Middle Eastern parliaments after four years' tenure, long outlived its popularity; and accusations of administrative corruption were rife, especially of gross discrimination in favour of government supporters in the allocation of hard currencies and import permits. Such accusations had not indeed been confined to the opposition groups, for on March 17, 1947, the Minister of National Economy, Kamal Janbulat (Djoumblat), himself launched a violent attack on the corruption of the administrative machine.* The Government saw itself hard-pressed to gain a majority, and accordingly resorted to administrative manipulation of the elections to a degree which had few precedents even in the Middle East. It was helped in this by the non-existence of parties organized on a national basis, and by the electoral system with its cumbrous provision for the proportional representation of each religious community.† Government supporters duly won 47 out of the 55 seats, but only at the cost of a tremendous outcry at the dishonesty of the elections, sustained by almost the whole of the press and a formidable array of public figures.‡ The French Right Wing press could not resist this opportunity for some sententious and provocative moralizing. Under the title "The Lebanese Puzzle" *Le Monde* wrote (May 29):

> The internal struggle of clans threatens to benefit the partisans of Greater Syria. The Christian communities, who form the majority and contribute to give the country its distinctive character, would be submerged in the mass of some 30 million Muslims in the neighbouring countries. Their leaders have begun to show a visible uneasiness at the progress of religious fanaticism in the Arab countries, and gradually the image of their salvation becomes clear to them.
>
> It is by maintaining a constant balance between the two cultures, Arab and European, that Lebanon will find her true course. Already among certain Lebanese the policy founded on a mere ethnic sentimentalism seems ready to give way to a more rational conception of realities. The establishment of the outlet of the Trans-Arabian pipeline at a "Christian" point on the Lebanese coast would perhaps mean the final guarantee of the integrity of the Christian Lebanon by the Western Powers.

While *Figaro* commented, under the uncompromising title "Scandalous Elections in Lebanon" (June 1 to 2, 1947):

> These deplorable events are not calculated to give Lebanon the internal cohesion which has never been so necessary for the preservation of its sovereignty as at the very moment when it is threatened by the plans of those who dream of incorporating Lebanon bodily into a Greater Syria. There is cause for astonishment and regret that the American press, which misses no opportunity of defending demo-

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* *Bourse*, March 22, 1947.

† Rondot, *op. cit.*, ch. VI.

‡ The Opposition grievances were set out with a wealth of detail in *The Black Book of the Lebanese Elections* (New York, 1947, Phœnicia Press). The same Press published in February, 1948, a pamphlet, *Lebanese Emigrant in America! You Can Help to Make Christian Lebanon Secure and Free.*

> cratic liberties, especially when they are threatened in the Balkans, has seen fit to cover with a chaste silence (*une silence pudique*) the derisory elections in Beirut and other places. An interesting parallel to the Lebanese elections is provided by the Algerian elections of April, 1948, where the French administration caused a number of Muslim home-rule and separatist candidates and supporters to be arrested for making verbal attacks on French sovereignty. Administrative influence was successful in securing the return of 43 "independents" to the Muslim electoral college, as against only 17 nationalists (*Le Monde,* April 4 to 13; *Combat,* April 6 to 12; *Manchester Guardian*, April 9, 12, and 13, 1948).

In spite of the Lebanese outcry, however, Premier Riyadh as-Sulh succeeded in forming a new Government, which took a strong line with the opposition, suspending no fewer than eleven newspapers in its first two months of office and prohibiting opposition meetings.* It was not long before rifts appeared in the heterogeneous opposition, the pro-French bloc led by Emile Edde breaking with the moderately pan-Arab group led by the Muslim Abdul Hamid Karami, and by November there were rumours of a rapprochement between the latter group and the Government.†

The Syrian elections, the first to be held by direct suffrage, took place on July 7, 1947. The Government, warned perhaps by what had happened in Lebanon, interfered unusually little with the freedom of the voters, with the result that opposition groups (in Syria, as in Lebanon, party affiliations are only local, not national) were successful at Aleppo and Homs, and a large number of candidates were returned who belonged to that extremist religious association the Muslim Brotherhood, and attacked the "worldliness" of the existing Government.‡ Nevertheless, it is indicative of the mercurial character of party affiliations in the Levant that although the Government bloc won only 18 per cent. of the seats, Premier Jamīl Mardam was eventually able to form a new Government, conceding the portfolio of Finance to the Aleppo opposition leader, Wahba al Hariri; and when he presented his Government to the Chamber after the summer recess he gained a handsome vote of confidence by 90 votes to 20.

Meanwhile, the American Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co., seeking a Mediterranean outlet for its pipeline from the oilfields of eastern Sa'udi Arabia, had decided that the political future of Palestine was too unsettled to make an outlet in that country attractive; and it had, therefore, looked further north. The Lebanese Government was anxious to reach an agreement with the Americans, realizing that the dollar revenues from royalties and services, which it was thought might total 70 to 80 million in the next five years, would enable them to place the Lebanese currency on a sound basis and promote the economic future of the country. The Syrians, however, through whose territory the pipeline must pass to reach Lebanon (a route through Palestine being excluded), first attempted to persuade the Americans to choose an outlet on the *Syrian* coast north of Lebanon, and then held out for months over the royalties to be paid them for transit rights. Eventually on September 1, 1947, following an intervention by American diplomats, Jamīl Mardam signed an agreement, whereby Syria and Lebanon were to share the royalties and the income from port-fees; but the ratification of this agreement by the Syrian Parliament was blocked by popular agitation against the U.S.A. on account of her support of Zionism. In mid-February, 1948, the obstruction of the Syrian Government had not yet been surmounted, in spite of the efforts of the oil companies' representatives to demonstrate their consistent opposition to the partition of Palestine; and work on the western half of the pipeline project had then been at a standstill for two months.*

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* *Bourse*, August 5; *Scotsman*, September 30, 1947.

† *Bourse*, September 16 and November 4, 1947.

‡ *Bourse*, July 16 and 18; *Oriente Moderno*, 1947, 176.

The rise of the Palestine discord to a new fortissimo in the second half of 1947 greatly affected the general political outlook of Syria and Lebanon. In the light of the new menace to the pan-Arab conception of sovereignty presented by the U.N. General Assembly's decision on partition, the Syrian Government's squabbles with Turkey and Transjordan were temporarily thrust into the background, and the defence of Arab Palestine became a prior consideration. We have just seen how the negotiations for the pipeline were affected by the Palestine question. Another important effect was upon the attitude to Russia, who had hitherto been regarded with some favour on account of her support of the Levant States in their demand in 1946 for the evacuation of British and French troops. The Soviet-sponsored emigration of Armenians to Soviet Armenia had been encouraged by the Levantine Governments, and in 1947 the Syrian representative on the Security Council, an Orthodox Christian, had twice abstained from voting on motions vetoed by the U.S.S.R. Soviet propaganda among the intelligentsia of the two countries, and among the Orthodox community, had met with some success, and it was reported in August, 1947, that agreement had been reached on the recognition of the Soviet title to property in the Levant which had belonged before 1917 to the Tsarist Government or the Russian Church.†

When, however, the General Assembly passed its fateful resolution on Palestine, which was actively supported by the Soviet Government, the Syrian Government immediately ordered the suppression of the Syrian Communist Party, which had hitherto been allowed to function and was even alleged to have received some official support in Aleppo in 1947 in order to combat King Abdullah's Greater Syria propaganda. The Lebanese Communist Party issued a manifesto declaring their readiness to fight for the liberation of Palestine from Zionist imperialism, condemning the partition of Palestine, and demanding its reorganization as an independent, democratic republic. They declared that the responsibility for partition lay with the Anglo-Saxon Powers, and warned against imperialist intrigues designed, under cover of the struggle against partition, to destroy the independence of Syria and Lebanon and place them under foreign occupation! This, however, did not save the Lebanese Communist newspaper *Sawt ash-Sha'b* from suppression early in January, 1948, and sixty party branches were forced to close.*

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* *NYT*, May 24 and 28, 1947; *Scotsman*, August 7; *NYT*, September 5; *New York Herald-Tribune*, November 6; *NYT*, December 19 and January 9, 1948; *Christian Science Monitor*, February 20, 1948.

† *Manchester Guardian*, January 30, 1947; *Scotsman*, March 15; *Bourse*, August 12.

The heightened nationalism provoked by the Palestine situation also did nothing to help the course of the financial negotiations which France opened with the two Governments on October 1, 1947. As a legacy of the Mandate the Syro-Lebanese pound was still attached to the franc, and depended on French backing for its stability. The Bank of Syria and Lebanon, which had the issue of the banknotes, was a French company registered in Paris, where its reserves were held. The two Governments were thus beholden to France for doles of hard currency to help bridge their considerable adverse balance of trade with hard currency areas.†

France for her part required to be paid for the maintenance of the local Troupes Speciales during the war, and for French Government property which was to be ceded to the two States. The main opposition to the French claims came from Syria, where there had already been for some time a press campaign to cut the currency loose from the franc.‡

After four months of negotiations had failed to dispose of the Syrian objections, on January 31, 1948, the Lebanese Government authorized its Foreign Minister to sign a separate agreement with France, whereby France renounced her claim for the cost of the Troupes Speciales, and undertook to compensate Lebanon for the devaluation of her franc reserves, to guarantee against devaluation two-thirds of the combined Syro-Lebanese franc reserves for a period of ten years, and to buy large quantities of Lebanese produce, in order to improve Lebanon's balance of trade with France, which had been adverse to Lebanon in the ratio of 6 to 1.§ The Syrian Government now placed an embargo on the transfer of gold, currency, or merchandise to Lebanon, the Lebanese banks refused to pay out on Syrian drafts, and the Syrian Government announced its intention of appealing to the Court of International Justice and the International Monetary Fund for assistance in setting up an independent currency. Two " eminent Egyptian financial experts " were consulted, and it was stated that American experts who had just examined Syria's finances considered that in spite of her lack of foreign exchange and her adverse balance of trade, it would be possible " with good management "

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* *New York Herald-Tribune*, December 2, 1947; *Bourse*, December 23; *NZZ*, January 13, 1948.

† Trade in 1946, in millions of Syro-Lebanese pounds:

	Imports from.	*Exports to.*
U.S.A.	48·6	15·0
Britain	47·9	2·3

In that year 26 per cent. of the whole value of imports consisted of textiles, 19 per cent of gold (!), and 4 per cent. of cars. Imports of machinery and raw materials were rather small. (*Bulletin of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency*, XI [1947], [afterwards cited as *Bulletin*], 82 *et seq.*)

‡ *Bourse*, April 12, 1947.

§ *NYT*, February 1, 1948; *Le Monde*, February 4 and 7. Syro-Lebanese half-yearly exports to France had fallen in value from an average of 800 mill. francs in 1946 to 232 mill. in the first half of 1947, while imports of French manufactures had risen in the same period by one-third (*NZZ*, February 7).

to support an independent currency. The Syrian Minister of Finance made frequent declarations to the press of a complete economic rupture with Lebanon and the diversion of Syrian trade from Beirut to the Syrian port of Latakia, the development of which was already being planned with the advice of the eminent British firm of consulting engineers, Sir Alexander Gibb and Co.* Syrian politicians accused the Lebanese of having agreed to make certain cultural concessions to the French as the price of so favourable a financial agreement, but this the Lebanese Foreign Minister denied.†

The Lebanese Government's agreement with France had not, indeed, met with universal approval within its own borders. Riots occurred in mainly Muslim Tripoli, and in mid-February, after a four-day conference, the leading Lebanese merchants and industrialists, alarmed no doubt for the future of their profitable transit trade, issued a declaration condemning the agreement with France and demanding:

1. The final liquidation of monetary relations with France.
2. The issue of a guaranteed currency independent of the franc, by the adherence of Syria and Lebanon to the International Monetary Fund.
3. The economic and monetary union of Syria and Lebanon.
4. A return to the economic relationship between the two countries which had existed before January 31.‡

On February 18, 1948, the Prime Ministers of Syria and Lebanon signed an agreement to review before March 31 the monetary and customs-union between them in the light of the new situation. In the meantime the control on the movement of currency between Syria and Lebanon was lifted in respect of travellers carrying sums not exceeding LS 200 (c. £23 sterling), and the other embargoes imposed since January 31 were removed.§ On March 30, however, the Syrian Minister of Finance stated that no new factor had entered into the negotiations and, while declaring that his Government would hold inflexibly to its point of view, he expressed scepticism as to the hopes which had been ventilated that the Lebanese Parliament might yet denounce the agreement with France; however, the Minister's newspaper *Alif Ba* was declaring:

> Sooner than we think, the Lebanese will have had enough of this experience, and once disillusioned they will come back to us prepared to unite with us more closely. But whatever decision Lebanon

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* *Bourse*, February 6, 11, and 14, 1948; *NYT*, February 9; *The Arab World* (London), No. 5 (December, 1947); *Bourse*, March 5, 1948. It was stated that Syria was believed to possess only $200,000 and a small quantity of sterling (*NYT*, February 2, 1948).

† It is of interest that almost simultaneously with the signing of the agreement Riyadh as-Sulh, as Minister of the Interior, issued an order that all posters and other public notices must be in Arabic. If another language was used in addition, the Arabic text must come first, must be written in characters twice the size, and must occupy twice the space of the second language: this had been ordered "in conformity with the political and cultural evolution of the country" (*Bourse*, January 26 and 27, 1948).

‡ *NYT*, February 4, 1948; *Bourse*, February 16.

§ *Bourse*, February 19, 1948.

takes, the two countries will co-operate economically to the fullest possible extent.*

The Beirut pro-French newspaper *L'Orient* has commented with some truth that all the difficulties that have arisen between the two countries since their independence have been connected with the economic and customs-union between them, a legacy of the mandatory period.† It is indeed by no means easy to reconcile the economic interests of the two countries. Syria, half insulated by politics and culture from the busy world of the Mediterranean, is little more than a string of mercantile cities living upon backward corn-lands;‡ Lebanon, partly western in sentiment, overpopulated in the fertile valleys hidden among its high mountains, endeavours to make a living by tourism and trade, but also depends partly on the remittances sent home by its emigrants. Lebanon's fiscal interests approximate to free trade; Syria favours protection for her grain and her textiles.§

To sum up, we are left with a general impression of immaturity, not to say irresponsibility, which is quite understandable, since it results naturally from the transitional status of the Arab countries, who realize that although their *de jure* sovereignty has been established, they are still in fact liable to be manipulated as minor pieces in the game of Great Power politics. Short of getting themselves and others involved in a war, such irresponsibility in the political field need not perhaps be taken too seriously; after all, the recent Middle East policies of far greater powers have not set them much of an example. But it is in the *economic and social* sphere that Syria and Lebanon are likely to pay dearly for the irresponsibility of their rulers. At the end of the war the two countries had accumulated very useful dollar and sterling balances. These should have been carefully husbanded for the purchase of capital goods for the development of the countries' economy, and it would have been good business to engage a first-class foreign expert to administer them. But instead the Levantine traders' get-rich-quick mentality prevailed, especially in Lebanon, with the result that these reserves have been almost completely squandered on consumer goods, luxuries and semi-luxuries, and only the minimum has been used for development. It is true that foreign experts, notably Sir Alexander Gibb and Co., have been engaged to draw up impressive development schemes, but little has so far got beyond the blue-print stage.¶ Little either has been effectively done to combat inflation, which is still extremely severe.[*] The taxation structure is highly regressive, with very light direct taxation for the well-to-do and extensive indirect taxation imposing a disproportionate burden on the little man.[†] A disproportionate amount of expenditure goes to such unproductive items as diplomatic representation abroad, an overgrown bureaucracy at home, and armed forces with hardly more than a prestige value.

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* *Bourse*, March 30, 1948.

† *Bourse*, February 28, 1948.

‡ *Cf.* Doreen Warriner, *Land and Poverty in the Middle East* (London, 1948), ch. VI: A sympathetic observer wrote of Syria at the beginning of 1947: "Stability has been accomplished at the price of a certain parochialism, and a loss of intelligent contact with neighbouring states, as well as more distant Powers. . . . Returning to Damascus one is aware of a city and a nation that has turned in upon itself and retired a little further into its shell" (*Manchester Guardian*, January 30, 1947).

§ *Bulletin*, 78 *et seq.*; *Commerce du Levant*, January 14, 1948.

¶ *Cf.* Elizabeth Monroe, in *Observer*, April 4, 1948. The Syrian Minister of Public Works has recently announced plans, based on the Gibb Report, to develop the port of Latakia at a cost of £3·4 mill. sterling, to provide Aleppo with an adequate drinking-water supply, to develop the railway network over a ten-year period, and to build a vast civil airport for the largest aircraft at Mizza, near Damascus,

On the other hand, we must concede that, in spite of the inefficiences and corrupt practices in the administrative machinery, the two Governments have so far given the lie to those ill-wishers who a few years ago were confidently prophesying their speedy relapse into anarchy. There is no indication that the present regimes will not continue to " tick over," not doing nearly enough for the necessary economic and social betterment of their peoples, but perhaps just managing to avert a major upheaval. The most depressing feature, to my mind, is that most of the population are resigned to the situation. Never having known what it is to be prosperous, they cannot imagine the idea of material progress, and ask only to be left alone to cultivate their fields, or weave their cloth, or buy and sell in their shops, with the minimum of official interference. There are, as we have seen, vocal elements of political opposition, especially among the younger generation; there are some who are genuinely disgusted with the atmosphere of corruption in Lebanon; but we have seen the lack of any coherent opposition groups or policies; and I cannot at present see any conceivable political grouping (except the Communists) which, if it came to power, would make a " tinker's cuss " of difference. One is left with the feeling that, as in Egypt and Iraq, most of the available *esprit de corps* of the political classes has been used up in the struggle for independence, and that now that has been achieved their potential is temporarily exhausted. It has become evident beyond question in the last twenty years, and especially since the war, that the " Arab Awakening," as George Antonius confidently called it, was overweighted on the purely political side. Mr. Albert Hourani, in his otherwise penetrating study of *Syria and Lebanon,* dealt with the " social and economic bases of Arab nationalism " only in a " summary fashion,"[‡] for the very good reason that the movement lacks a coherent economic policy based on an accepted code of social morality. Unless it remedies this defect soon, it is in danger of being overtaken by a drastic revolutionary movement inspired from

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and another civil airfield at Aleppo (*Bourse*, March 5, 1948). Plans for the industrialization of Syria are reported in *The Arab World*, No. 4 (November, 1947), and for the Lebanese tourist trade in *Bourse*, March 6, 1948.

[*] Taking an index-figure of 100 for December, 1939, the currency circulation in June, 1947, was 490 in Lebanon and 870 in Syria. The cost of living figures are of the same order (*Bulletin*, 82 *et seqq.*).

[†] In the budgets of 1946-7 the percentages of revenue derived from direct and indirect taxation were:

	Direct. (*Per Cent.*).	*Indirect.* (*Per Cent.*).
Syria	20	53
Lebanon	18	54½
Cf. Britain, 1946-7 ...	42	37

[‡] *Op. cit.*, 3.

Moscow. This danger is not yet inevitable, but the recent police-strike in Egypt is the writing on the wall. Some Middle Eastern Governments do not appear to have realized yet that the forceful repression of discontent is no substitute for inevitable social reforms. There is no time to be lost; for should revolution come to them, the Creative Minority* of the Arab Awakening would have good reason to say with Caliban

. . . that, when I wak'd,
I cried to dream again.

Mr. Hohler: Has any reason been given for making Northern Syria into a military zone?

The Lecturer: It happened at the beginning of 1946 or 1947 at a time when in the Turkish press it was stated that Turkish minorities in Northern Syria, notably in Latakia province, were being ill-treated. It was said then on the Syrian side that attempts were being made by *agents provocateurs* to stir up community troubles in the area and that, therefore, it was necessary to close those areas. I cannot help feeling that there was a desire not to accede to the French request for the setting up of their consulates in those northern provinces and the sending of one or more archæological expeditions to Syria. It appears also that in the course of 1946 there had been some pressure brought to bear on the Catholic community in the Jazira province, with the result that a Dominican mission had to abandon its work there and retire from Lebanon. So that it would seem as if the Syrians feared, or put forward as their reason the fear of possible provocation from outside among the minorities in those provinces and wanted to protect themselves against that.

Mr. Barbour: Prior to the war there was a Syrian National Party. Its leader, Antoun Sa'adi, put forward a Greater Syria scheme which had nothing to do with King Abdullah's scheme, but was opposed, on the one side, to Lebanese and Syrian particularism and, on the other side, to the idea of a general Arab unity. Antoun Sa'adi returned to the Lebanon recently and there is said to have been considerable increase in his influence. Is the lecturer able to tell us anything in that regard? If so, how far has Antoun Sa'adi modified his ideas and what are his relations with the Arab League and King Abdullah and the latter's ideas and aspirations?

The Lecturer: Antoun Sa'adi returned to the Lebanon in March, 1947. He went first to Beirut and immediately on his arrival he made a speech in favour of the reunion of Lebanon and Syria, which brought the police on his track. He, however, managed to evade them and establish himself in a village in the mountains where he seems to enjoy a certain amount of local independence. He goes into town in a semi-armoured vehicle, escorted there and back by a band of perhaps fifty of his henchmen, and the local police do not seem to do very much about it. As for his attitude, he still stands for the creation of Greater Syria though he is, of course, opposed to King Abdullah's conception of it, because King Abdullah regards himself as the monarch of such a united Syria, whereas

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* *Cf.* A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 1-vol. abridgement (1946), p. 246, for the degeneration of Creative Minorities into Dominant Minorities.

Antoun Sa'adi, who has distinctly Führer tendencies, would probably imagine a republic with himself filling a prominent position therein. I have no information as to the size of his present following.

Colonel W. G. ELPHINSTON: I gather from what the lecturer has told us that the Communist Party in Lebanon has taken a rather pro-Arab view on the Palestine question. Could the lecturer say whether the chairman of that party is still an Armenian as he was when I last heard?

The LECTURER: I do not think so. As far as I know, Faraj Allah is still chairman of the party, is he not? The trade unionist leader, Mustafa el Aiis, is one of its most prominent members. In Beirut quite a disproportionate amount of the Communist colony has been Armenian. One is told, although one has no very good authority for saying this, that when the Russians were organizing the large-scale return of Armenians to Soviet Armenia, leading Armenian Communists were left behind to carry on with the good work in the Levant. Whether one of them is now occupying the leading position in the Lebanese Parliament I could not say.

Colonel G. ROUTH: Will it not be a somewhat expensive matter to make Latakia into a good port?

The LECTURER: Very expensive indeed; it is expected that it will cost £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 sterling, which seems a fairly heavy outlay when they have already a good outlet at Beirut. There is the point that the produce of the Aleppo district might find its way down to Latakia, but even so there is one road only, with a mountain range to cross. Therefore I think, subject to correction, that from an economic point of view it would not be a wise expenditure, especially in the case of a country with such modest reserves as the Syrian. According to Elizabeth Monroe, writing in the *Observer* on April 4, 1948, the Syrian Minister of Public Works had recently announced plans to develop the port of Latakia at a cost of £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 sterling, to provide Aleppo with an adequate drinking-water supply, to develop the railway network over a ten-year period, and to build a vast civil airport for the largest aircraft at Mizza near Damascus, and another civil airfield at Aleppo. One does not want to discourage these countries, but the development of civil airports cannot be regarded as a No. 1 priority for a country in Syria's position, except that they would obtain revenue from pan-American Airways between the United States and India.

A MEMBER: Could the lecturer tell us a little about some other aspects of economic development, apart perhaps from oil? One imagines that the largest possibilities are in agriculture. Is there any scope, for example, for the processing of agricultural products, with special relation to export? Are there any possibilities for manufacturing, either for internal consumption or for export? Are there any raw materials in the country available for developing productive industries? I have export particularly in mind.

The LECTURER: There is, of course, the textile industry in Syria. It is still perhaps rather backward in its technical equipment, but there is a body of skilled textile labour which one feels to be worth encouraging, because it could usefully supplement the textile output of the Middle East.

As for agriculture, there are considerable possibilities in the way of draining marshy land and of irrigation from the Euphrates and Khabur drainage. The difficulty is, I feel, twofold: firstly, that the Ministry of Public Works is too inclined to go for the spectacular rather than for what is less spectacular but more useful. Secondly, that as long as Syria remains predominantly a country of absentee landlords there will not be any great incentive for the development of her agricultural resources because agricultural development would inevitably give rise to a demand for agrarian reform on the part of the tenants and the peasantry, who would by such development come perforce to realize that their status should be raised rather than that they should pay away such a large proportion of their crops, or earnings, in rent. So that I feel there is, on the part of the absentee landlords, a tendency to leave things as they are and take their comfortable revenues rather than to embark on development schemes which might start a whole chain of reactions leading to agrarian reform which might leave the absentee landlords less well off than now. That is only an impression, but I was told by an alert observer who had been in the Aleppo district about a year ago that his impression was that the landlords were doing quite well out of the land they had and, therefore, there was no incentive for them to extend the cultivated areas to the east of the city, although there was no great natural obstacle to prevent their so doing. It was merely a question of putting some money into it and providing the necessary equipment, but they themselves do not want to make the move, and smaller men who might be disposed to do so lack the capital. There will continue to be something of a deadlock as long as the present agrarian situation of the absentee landlord dominating such a large part of the country's agriculture continues. In Lebanon the situation is different because that is predominantly a country of peasant occupiers, but there the landed population is excessive for the amount of land under cultivation, and the area already under cultivation is practically saturated. Such a large part of Lebanon being high mountain, one sees no prospect of greatly extending the area under cultivation.

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

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EAST AFRICA

By SIR CHARLES LOCKHART, K.B.E.

Being notes of a lecture given jointly to the Royal African Society and the Royal Central Asian Society on May 4, 1948.

I DO not propose to burden this talk with statistics and factual data, which I think give a poor picture of actualities, but I must explain that by East Africa we now mean the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, the Protectorate of Uganda and the Trusteeship Territory of Tanganyika. These territories are contiguous, their economic interests are in common and they form a compact trade basin. This fact has at last been recognized by the creation, as from January 1 of this year, of the East African High Commission and Central Legislative Assembly, which will be responsible for the administration of common services such as ports, communications, industrial and Customs policy and research. The fact that this conception originated with the Ormsby-Gore Commission of 1924 should be a sufficient defence to any charge of undue precipitancy. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were at one time included in the East African group of colonies, but they now form, with Southern Rhodesia, the Central African group.

While your interest will be in future possibilities, there is one aspect of the past to which I must refer. It is common to refer to these territories as being undeveloped, but this requires some qualification. In fact East Africa has organized adequately and efficiently as a low cost producer of the commodities which were demanded of her by the world, if demand is to be judged by the criterion which applies in a freely operating economic system, and it seems possible to suppose that some, at least, of the interest in colonial development to-day derives from the fact that we are not now in a freely operating economic system. I think this fact should be remembered in justice to those responsible for development in the past because up to 1939 I know of no commodity, except gold, which was not faced at one time or another with acute problems of disposal. I may add that this is not forgotten by producers who are urged to expand their output and their commitments to-day. Indeed, one of the most important steps which could be taken to stimulate production would be an assurance of stability in the price level of primary commodities. This can only be achieved by international action, and it seems open to some doubt whether the provisions dealing with primary commodities in the International Trade Charter, about which so little is understood in the colonies or even in this country, will give producers the sense of confidence which they need. East Africa has well organized marketing systems for primary commodities, both internally and for export, on lines which are well adapted to fit in with any international commodity schemes.

Our interest now is in opportunities for the future—but opportunities for what? For the investment of British capital? the settlement of British people? the procurement of raw materials from a sterling area? or opportunities for the self-development of the peoples native to these countries? I do not ask these questions as if they were alternatives, for they are not; indeed, the advance of the native peoples in the directions in which they desire to go must depend, if past experience is any guide, on the introduction of the capital equipment, the technical knowledge and guidance which only an immigrant community can provide, and this is predominantly a British responsibility. But the true benefit of these developments to Africans will depend on the part which they are permitted and trained to play. It is fortunate that there is unlikely to be a conflict of interest in this matter in East Africa such as has arisen elsewhere, but there can be a difference in emphasis and approach. To put the matter plainly, the immigration as permanent settlers is not desirable of those whose capabilities are of a character which could be attained by Africans within a measurable time. A further safeguard is that the alienation of land must be controlled in the African interest, which does not mean that it is in the African interest that no further land should be alienated, far from it. East African policy provides for control in both respects.

In considering the economic position of any country one tries to evaluate its natural resources, capital resources, resources of scientific knowledge and its human resources. It is impossible to speak with finality on the natural resources of East Africa because one cannot know what further knowledge may bring forth. Little mineral wealth has been discovered. There is a remarkable diamond mine; a small gold industry which is not expanding; a considerable lead mine which is in process of development in Tanganyika, and what may prove a valuable copper prospect in Uganda. When one considers the immense value of a mining industry to the balanced economy of a young country, it is plain that an intensive geological survey is one of East Africa's crying needs. No coal is being worked although there are traces of it, and no oil. Opportunities for using water power are not extensive; there is a hydro-electric scheme serving a large part of the sisal industry, and a definite scheme is now being embarked upon to bring to reality the forty-years-old dream of Mr. Winston Churchill for the harnessing of the Ripon Falls. His prediction that this would convert Jinja, the adjoining town, into the great industrial centre of Eastern Africa may well be fulfilled. While great parts of East Africa are covered with trees, the rainfall is inadequate for the most part to produce sizeable timber, and the areas that can be economically exploited are small and leave little margin over local needs. Schemes of great promise are being adopted for afforestation with quickly maturing exotic species.

East Africa has two great lakes, Victoria and Tanganyika, but the extent of their wealth in fish is at present unknown; major research is now being carried out in Victoria.

While mineral, timber and water resources should play an increasing part in development, it is inevitable that agriculture must remain the determining factor in wealth production. It is impossible in the time to give more than a brief sketch of its possibilities. The best known area is the highlands of Kenya, which have been reserved for development by European enterprise, a decision which may be difficult to defend politically but which has certainly been economically beneficial to the African people. Taken as a whole, and when allowance is made for the years of agricultural depression, remarkable progress has been made both in agricultural techniques and in the organization of processing and marketing. Advance continues on the lines of more intensive cultivation and the Government has a well considered controlled settlement scheme which is now in hand. Of the plantation industries, it is unlikely that there will be any big expansion in coffee, but there is scope for a greater output of tea and of sisal. With improved pasture management the livestock industry should greatly expand. Important areas of the native reserves of Kenya present the grave picture which is seen elsewhere in Africa, of declining productivity. This arises in part from a rapid increase in population, and in part from the attempt to use subsistence methods of primitive agriculture to produce more than subsistence in a primitive form. The essential need is to conserve and re-build soil fertility and this is being pursued in Kenya with energy, but it would be optimistic to expect that exports for consumption outside the native areas can be greatly expanded either in Kenya or elsewhere in East Africa, so far as peasant production is concerned.

In Uganda relatively little land has been alienated and production of the staple export crops of cotton and coffee is in native hands, except for a few small coffee estates. Coffee is going ahead but, as with other African peasant crops, cotton output is declining. Generally speaking, Uganda has a more generous rainfall than the rest of East Africa and population pressure on the land is not yet acute, but it is difficult to see how the total of agricultural production can be increased without a more radical improvement in methods than is in any immediate prospect.

The Tanganyika picture presents similar features. The main source of agricultural wealth at present is the sisal industry, which is necessarily in non-native hands. There are small areas of non-native settlements spread over this vast territory and the possibility of expanding them is being explored, but no important development can be expected until communications are improved. Many of the native areas are congested, not due to lack of land in area but because it cannot be used owing to tetse fly or lack of water. The East African Groundnuts Scheme is designed to utilize a small fraction, albeit one of several million acres, of this waste land by clearing bush, putting in roads and water supplies, a new deep water port and a new railway with a pipe-line to carry oil fuel. This scheme has been subject to little criticism in its general conception, which is not perhaps surprising since the only alternative, which few would care to advocate, is to leave the areas embraced in the scheme as barren as they are to-day. Africans are unable to occupy and develop these areas by their own methods and the task is far beyond individual immigrant settlers. Whatever the commercial results may be, a project to place three million acres of otherwise worthless land into a condition to produce wealth in perpetuity must surely justify some element of risk.

One cannot leave the question of agriculture without a special reference to animal husbandry. The European farmers have made great progress in building up by imported strains herds of cross-bred cattle based on native stock, and to contrast one of these herds with the typical native-owned stock is an impressive object lesson in what can be done. While the distribution of native stock is uneven owing to the tetse fly, most of the agricultural tribes own stock and the cattle owning tribes, of whom the Masai is the best known, have millions of head, covering what could be developed into excellent ranching country. The obstacle to development is the fact that the African attitude towards cattle is not an economic one, and progress is unlikely until this can be changed.

There is a well organized pig industry in Kenya and a small one in Tanganyika with ample scope for development, for which purpose a new cold storage plant at the Mombasa port is nearing completion.

The development of an African poultry industry by improved breeding has been successful on a limited scale and is capable of development.

The capital resources of East Africa are plainly inadequate for any large-scale development. Local savings cannot give the finance capital needed and few capital goods can be produced. The outstanding requirements are for transport and communication services, agricultural equipment and factory machinery. Industrial development has commenced and it will inevitably expand, atlhough the rate of expansion cannot be predicted. The industrial plans even now afoot will take years to come to fruition.

The value of industrialization will be social as well as economic. Whatever the improvement may be in the rural areas, numbers of Africans will still drift into the towns and generally speaking these will be the more intelligent and enterprising. To provide them with opportunities both for sustenance and self-expression would solve one of the most serious problems confronting the East African Governments.

Resources of scientific knowledge are in urgent need of development and this is in hand. Research schemes for agriculture, animal health, forestry, fisheries, entomology (particularly in relation to the tsetse fly and the use of modern insecticides), industrial and building research, a geological and air survey and experiments in the use of fertilizers are all being undertaken, greatly aided by generous grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. While more basic scientific knowledge is doubtless needed, the principal requirement in my view is to develop techniques of application and to ensure that they are applied when they have been developed. This gives rise to a human question, particularly in relation to African agriculture. There is little doubt that more rapid progress could be made by the exertion of authority rather than by education and persuasion. I need hardly say that East African policy has chosen the latter method, but while this may mean that African agricultural improvement will be surer, it will certainly be slower.

In human resources the European population is about 40,000 (mostly in Kenya), the Indian about 200,000 and the African somewhere about fourteen millions. The European population is predominantly British and they bring to the development of East Africa the characteristics which you would expect of them. The Indian communities, who, I regret to say, are increasingly community conscious, regard themselves as a settled part of the population. They have made a conspicious contribution to economic development, they have prospered and there are few enterprises which they are not prepared to take up. Arab influence, while still predominant in Zanzibar, has been declining for many years on the mainland, relative to the growth of the other communities.

The potentialities of Africans is a delicate subject on which there can be more than one opinion, but it may certainly be said that their economic state, when first discovered, shows that they had developed little or no capacity to improve their material conditions during the centuries that they were left to themselves. But in elementary processes at least they are teachable and anxious to learn, and if the inventions of more inventive people are placed at their disposal there is no reason to suppose that they cannot be taught to use them. Of what further responsibilities they may be capable we cannot tell; our business is to see that they have the opportunity to fit themselves and to show what they can do in the world. There is nothing peculiar in the fact that Africans do not like work; what is peculiar is that their wants can be met by so little. As these wants increase Africans will be subject to the same compulsions as the rest of us. This process is in operation and should become increasingly effective with time, but any large-scale development must undoubtedly be accompanied by a controlled deployment of the population, with social and economic benefit to themselves.

Now this all adds up, I suggest, to the need for patience. To make any decisive contribution to the total of Empire production East Africa needs capital equipment of all kinds, investigation of new resources and experiment in means of developing them; the education of the African people in new skills and, above all, in a new attitude to life. These are long processes; faulty direction and inadequate preparation will lead to waste and frustration. While major projects such as ports, railways, and the mechanical clearing of vast areas are necessarily public works, there are opportunities for British enterprise and capital in agriculture and a wide range of industry; opportunities for British people as farmers, technicians, administrators, research workers; and opportunities for the African people to raise their material and human standards if they seize the chance afforded to them. Given these things, and given time, East Africa will play an increasingly effective part in the solution of our economic problems.

TWO SPANISH CAPTIVES IN SOUTH ARABIA, 1589-1596

By D. J. DUNCANSON

AFTER the collapse of the Mamluks' sea power in 1515, Portugal missed in 1516 her first and last chance to attack almost unopposed the Holy Places of Islam and to win the monopoly of Red Sea trade, for the next year the Turks had entered Cairo and Suez. Thereafter almost year by year the rival fleets alternated in control of the island bases of Massawa and Kamaran. The financial strain of desultory fighting with Turkish ships was great, and when on April 27, 1541, the Portuguese reached Suez, but were driven off before they could fire the Turkish ships, the withdrawal of the fleet to Goa marked the end of their influence in the Red Sea. The Turks had taken Zebid in 1536 and landed at Aden in 1538; they now consolidated their hold on the highlands of the Yemen, occupied Massawa definitively in 1557 and for two decades likewise ruled the highlands of Eritrea. The frontier between Turkish and Portuguese influence henceforward lay at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden; only the annual Arab convoys of *sambuqs* sailed between Diu and the Red Sea ports, and imprisonment or slavery, ended by ransom or death, awaited any but Indians or Arabs who ventured across that frontier.

This is the background to the newly republished adventures of two Spanish Jesuit missionaries who did so venture in 1589. Chapters xv to xxi in Book III of Pedro Páez's *History of Ethiopia** describe what befell him and a fellow missionary during seven years of captivity in South Arabia, ninety years after Ludovico di Varthema's visit and fifteen years before John Jourdain's.

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Pedro Páez Jaramillo, a Castilian, joined the Jesuit Mission at Goa in 1587 at the age of 23. Philip II, who had annexed Portugal eight years earlier, was urging the Viceroy to help the Jesuits restore contact with their mission in Ethiopia, for many years cut off by the Turks at Massawa. Páez volunteered for this task and was joined by a Catalan compatriot, António Montserrat, a man of fifty who in Goa was accounted an accomplished orientalist because he had spent two years in Lahore at the court of Akbar. Beyond giving them a stock of goods to trade for their passage, the Viceroy could make no provision for their journey since Portuguese ships dared not enter the Red Sea. Nor would any Red Sea *nakhuda* at Diu risk his life by undertaking to carry them to Massawa. Eventually at Muscat a *nakhuda* was willing to take them to Zeila in Somaliland, the port traditionally used by Ethiopian merchants travelling to India.

They sailed from Muscat with a polyglot Syrian servant in January,

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* *História da Etiópia*, by Pêro Pais, Livraria Civilização, Oporto. 1945. 3 vols. (Previous edition by Beccari in *Rerum Æthiopicarum scriptores occidentales*, 1905.)

1589. But after a stop for repairs at Kuria Muria they were captured on February 14 by a party of Arabs off the coast of Dhufar. True to the rule of their Order, the two Spaniards though in disguise would not when challenged deny their quality of priests. Henceforward they were to be offered by lesser to higher chiefs as a tribute, whose value depended on the ransom that could be extorted from them. The local Sheikh held them at a village Páez calls " Dofâz " before sending them to the Sultan of Hadhramaut. After five more days at sea they landed in an estuary—possibly the Wadi Maseila—and thence marched for ten days on rations of bread and locusts to Tarim. At Tarim they were mobbed, but only stayed one day before continuing along the Wadi Hadhramaut. Three more days brought them to a town—perhaps Qatn or Hauta—in which resided the Sultan's brother, Ja'far. He refreshed them kindly with coffee and sent them on by night to their destination, which turned out to be Henin, the residence of Sultan 'Omar.

The three prisoners were kept at Henin for four months while the Sultan made up his mind whether to ransom them himself or whether to send them to the Turkish Pasha at San'a, " to whom he paid tribute." They were given little to eat, a fact which Páez attributes to the general poverty of the Hadhramaut rather than to malice, and they learnt that eight Portuguese sailors had not long before put in for water at Shihr—" which is the port belonging to this Sultan "—and been brought as captives to Henin, where in time they all died. At the end of the four months the Pasha of the Yemen ordered Sultan 'Omar to send his captives to San'a, " for all Portuguese belonged to the Grand Turk." Accompanied by a further present for the Pasha of four horses, they set out on June 23, 1589. Nineteen days across the desert took them through " Melquîs "—evidently Marib—to San'a.

Páez and Montserrat remained in San'a for almost six years, during which time they received varying treatment from the Pasha. The Syrian was separated from them, and soon he was set free to become a compradore for the Palace. A Levantine would be more at home in the atmosphere of San'a, and of small ransom value. Although he quarrels with Jews and Indians, he gets the better of them all and enhances his reputation by publicly cursing an Indian Muslim skipper, who is promptly drowned in the Bab el-Mandeb. Eventually he is sent to Cairo and returns to Goa. The two Europeans, on the other hand, were for two years shut up in a fortress in the centre of the city between two dunghills, and Páez was at first chained by the neck—a tribulation spared to Montserrat because of his age. In the same prison they found twenty-six Portuguese captured in East Africa, and in course of time Páez was set to work with these as a gardener outside the prison. Later on their conditions were much improved.

Páez writes little about the Arabs of San'a. " The city was formerly very big," he says, " but since the Turks captured it the population has dwindled to not more than 2,500 households, of which perhaps 500 are Jewish: and so inside the great walls there are gardens and orchards." The Turkish milieu was strangely cosmopolitan. He asserts that nearly all the influential Turks there at that time were Christians from south-east Europe. Amongst such folk patronage was everything: it was quickly bestowed, but also quickly withdrawn. The two priests were first approached by the Pasha's wife who, like the Pasha himself, was an Albanian. At her suggestion they petition her husband to send them to Jerusalem. But at this juncture a newly arrived Indian merchant tells the Pasha's majordomo that Jesuit priests are highly prized by the Portuguese, who would readily pay 5,000 cruzados for the two. So they never see Jerusalem, nor any more of the Pasha's wife, but instead are more closely confined again and put on short rations and told they must find a ransom of 20,000 cruzados. This was the first suggestion of ransom.

The next person to take an interest in them was an Algerian called Mullah 'Ali, who arrived from Mecca. He liked these two men from another world for their intellectual merits—almost comically malapropos in San'a—and procured them freedom within the city, often entertaining them at his house. He even went so far as to arrange debates between them and the Arab *qadhi* on theological matters for the amusement of his Turkish friends, who from Páez's account of the outcome would need to be broadminded.

The most curious figure among these "Turks" was 'Ali Pasha, who appeared after Páez and Montserrat had been in San'a about four years. He claimed to be an Andalusian captured by Algerians in his childhood and since risen to eminence in the Turkish army. He could still talk to them in Castilian. He was on his way to Eritrea and promised to convey them with his retinue through Massawa to their destination. But the ransom was mentioned again, and 'Ali Pasha left San'a without them. Later on they heard that he reached Massawa and wrote to the authorities at Diu for a *laisser-passer* to settle in Portuguese India. The Pasha of San'a heard about this and had him murdered.

The two Fathers were not entirely cut off from India during their captivity in San'a. They received letters of instruction from the missions to arrange for the ransom of the Portuguese sailors, and some of these were released each year. They also encouraged—and perhaps helped—other Christian captives from India and Abyssinia to escape, less as a humane work than to wrest their souls from Islam. All the time Páez was studying Arabic and Islamic literature.

Early in 1595 the Pasha heard he was to be displaced from his governorship. Anxious to leave no valuables for his successor to realize, he now pressed Páez and Montserrat for their ransom. He stipulated the valuation of the Indian merchants, but they pointed out that they still did not possess that sum, for their only wealth was the small salary accrued to them in India during their captivity, which would barely make up the amount paid for the sailors. To the oriental mind this was just bargaining: but to Páez it was a question of logic, and he stuck obstinately to his position. It was now spring, and the Indian fleet would soon be sailing; so they were bundled off to Ta'izz and thence to Mokha, which they reached in a week. The demand for 5,000 cruzados was repeated: if the prisoners would promise to reimburse the Indian merchants in Diu, the Turks would extort the sum in advance in Mokha. But the prisoners would not promise, and the *sambuqs* sailed without them. No satisfaction remained to their captors but to ill-treat them, and so they were thrust into a galley belonging to the Turkish garrison. After so long in the highlands, the heat at Mokha was unbearable, and there was no shade in the galley. Their food was raw millet, they were not allowed to change their filthy shirts, and at night they could not sleep for the bugs and the din. The galley master missed no opportunity to torment them: he had himself been a slave in a Portuguese galley. Happily a thunderstorm and the superstition of the Turks prevented the galley from putting to sea.

Thus three summer months had passed when Mullah 'Ali reappeared and contrived to have them brought ashore and housed with him for a while. But as soon as he had left Mokha they were back aboard the galley in chains. This second term proved too much for Montserrat: he fell so ill that the captain feared he might die, and the hope of ransom with him. So both priests were again put ashore to live with an Indian banker who advanced their board and lodging till money should arrive from Diu.

Fortunately the ultimate fate of these two men did not rest with themselves. The Viceroy at Goa was doubtless a realist and did not share Páez's logical standpoint: when it was learnt the priests were in Mokha awaiting ransom, 500 cruzados for each was sent by the 1596 fleet. It was paid to the Turks—with 400 cruzados demanded by the galley master!—and the captives sailed for Diu still protesting that the sum was too large.

In the sequel António Montserrat died from the effects of his captivity. Pedro Páez also lay ill for eight months, but recovered to volunteer again to sail for Ethiopia, which he in fact reached in 1603 and where he spent the rest of his life. He died in 1622. The few captives left behind in San'a were also ransomed, not by their Government, but by the missions as before.

REVIEWS

Early Muslim Architecture. By Professor K. A. C. Creswell. 2 vols. Folio. Pp. 414 and 415. Hundreds of illustrations and plates. Oxford. 1932 and 1940.

AN APPRECIATION BY DR. ERIC SCHROEDER.

To write shortly upon the great achievement of a friend is so comfortable a task as to relax almost all sense of critical duty. The very few and unimportant points in which Professor Creswell's magisterial *Early Muslim Architecture* afforded me the slightest opening for genial attack I have already touched in a review of his second volume (*Art Bulletin*, xxiii, 3, pp. 233-237, New York, 1941); that modest restriction of his treatment to the factual which is so characteristic of him has already received a respectful criticism in Professor Meyer Schapiro's review of his first volume (*ib.* xviii, 109-114). And I fancy that Mr. Schapiro would be as glad as I am of the chance to say at ease what we think of a task so thoroughly done that years after its first appearance it still seems hardly capable of improvement.

Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture* is a full, practically an exhaustive description of the buildings raised by the Believers before A.D. 905. At that date the Dome of the Rock, the desert palaces of Mshatta and Ukhaidir, the mosques of Damascus, Cordova, Qayravan, and Ibn Tulun at Cairo already stood. The author describes many others; but these buildings are among the most fascinating upon the earth's surface. As presentations of their aspect to-day, the plates, most of which are from Creswell's own photographs, taken, as all who have done similar work know, at the cost of infinite trouble and discomfort, are an incomparable series. No man alive has personally examined so many of these structures as the author; and to this qualification he adds a huge learning and a singular astuteness not often found together in the same man. He treats the theories and generalizations of his predecessors with patient scepticism and scrupulous fairness: only where he suspects laziness or intellectual dishonesty does his style flush into the polemical; and even a humble piece of honest work or thought his endorsement retrieves from the débris of old dispute and incomplete description.

His method is to collect and translate the texts bearing upon the construction, history, and form of a building, to collate them with his own measurements and observations, to identify repairs, changes, and additions, and so to arrive at the original plan and appearance. He then discusses architectural origins, so thoroughly that what appears to first sight a series of monographs is in reality a continuous passage of architectural history. It is in these latter portions that Creswell's most original thinking is to be found; for the early Muslim period in architecture is characterized by interaction of West and Near East, and by the evolving use of forms—the pointed arch, the spherical triangle pendentive, the squinch—whose history has been far from clear. Inquiry into the architectural origins of a building of the Islamic Imperial age, when officials and artisans, artefacts and techniques, passed from land to land, when the provincial tendency to ape metropolitan appearances was spread over a range of provinces so vast, has obliged Creswell to marshal afresh whole series of examples widely distributed in space and time, gaping with disputed attribution and contradicted fact (Herzfeld, for example, flatly denying the existence of the pointed arch measured by Butler, an architect, at Qasr Ibn Wardan).

Now that Professor Creswell has explained so much about the early monuments of Islam, it is only deliberately that one recalls how puzzling they once seemed. I will give one example. While doing my own first work in the field of Muslim architecture, I had the good fortune to accompany Creswell under Air Force escort to Bayir Wells, Mshatta, and Tuba. (Creswell's volume I, plate 79 (*b*) shows a person in a cleanish shirt diligently sketching one of the carved lintels at Qasr at-Tuba: that wee figure, embedded in a book so truly monumental, is probably my best chance of immortality). Trying to assign a date to certain ruins, I became increasingly anxious as I worked on my material to know at least the approximate date of the palace at Mshatta. Consulting authorities merely bewildered me. Strzygowski, the most positive and voluminous, inclined to put the building back before A.D. 226. Herzfeld fought for the eighth century. The majority of opinions, as in most plotted diagrams of life, fell somewhere between. Some whom I consulted personally, and who seemed to take doubtingly the later side, were influenced, I could not help thinking, by exasperation with Strzygowski's language, an emotion I shared but could hardly trust. But of the dozen scholars who assigned a date to Mshatta between the publication of Jaussen and Savignac's researches and that of Creswell's, only two put it as late as the Umayyad period. Creswell, so far as I am aware, settled it once and for all: if universal persuasion that a thing is so can make it so, Mshatta is Umayyad.

The period treated is not wholly intelligible by reference to surviving monuments; and a valuable element in *Early Muslim Architecture* is the reconstruction of famous buildings now vanished, from the Prophet's Mosque at Medina to the Round City of Baghdad, and of such important fragments as the ruins of Samarra. Here many of the conclusions of Herzfeld are incorporated; but even here Creswell has corrections and additions to make.

These laborious observations, syntheses, and analytic researches are set down in good plain English. To the beauty of the monuments the illustrations bear sufficient witness; and there are no effusions of pictorial language. A certain quiet humour, slightly acid in taste, occasionally recalls that other master of minute observation—Sherlock Holmes: after citing a notion of De Vogüé's concerning the origin of stalactite pendentives, for example, Creswell's pawky "there are two objections against this theory, one serious, the other fatal" immediately transforms De Vogüé into Dr. Watson. It is quite just: De Vogüé's ingenuity was too ingenuous.

I have written in rather vague terms about a book which is never vague. But two great folios of painstaking description and close reasoning are not seen as a whole without retreating to some distance from them. Then, indeed, they tower above other works, even above substantial things like the work of Jaussen and Savignac, of Reuther, and of Herzfeld. So rich in reference are Creswell's arguments that his reader will find a great deal of the essential matter of his eminent predecessors drawn in and fitted into the construction. In this way *Early Muslim Architecture* seems a Book to end all books. But more, I suppose, will be known than Creswell *could* know. Already the Russians have made interesting discoveries in Central Asia; and their special attitude to data elicits from them new and stimulating notions of the sociological implications of architecture. And other books will be written on the subject which Creswell has dealt with so heroically.

They will not easily rank with *Early Muslim Architecture.* Creswell is a unique ornament to British orientalism. Intellectually he comes of the elder tradition of British scepticism: he is successor not to Ruskin but to Hume. *Poésie de critique* is not his *métier;* and he sticks to his last with a fidelity and high sense of intellectual duty which the author of the *Republic* would certainly have admired. Among his colleagues perhaps no other figure is so universally respected. Sarre harmonized a wide range of perceptions. Herzfeld was brilliant. Pope is copious and warm. But in the whole realm of Muslim archæology no other scholar, of any nationality, has wrought more solidly than he. I speak for many others; nor do I know any who would not envy me this opportunity to write in Creswell's honour.

Modern Trends in Islam. By H. A. R. Gibb. Pp. xiv+141. University of Chicago and Cambridge University Press. 1947. 14s.

Since Islam is not merely a religion in the more restricted sense, but an entire social system, a way of life with a claim to self-sufficiency, it is legitimate for a non-specialist to examine in this Journal the more general aspects of these Haskell Lectures in Comparative Religion, delivered at the University of Chicago in 1945.

In the first chapter, " The Foundations of Muslim Thought," the author attempts to define one of the most characteristic features of the Arab character, and hence of Muslim thought—namely, " the atomism and discreetness of the Arab imagination . . . its intense feeling for the separateness and individuality of the concrete events " (p. 7). In the final chapter, " Islam in the World," he picks up again this initial thread of the argument to suggest that, while the " Arab Awakening " responded readily to the romanticism of contemporary Europe (nationalism being a symptom of romanticism), the atomism of the Arab imagination singled out this feature largely to the exclusion of other elements of nineteenth-century Western thought. Of these other elements, " the scientific habit of thought has never been lost by Muslim scholars, though they may very likely need to revise their scientific method and broaden out as well as deepen their grasp of it." Though Professor Gibb does not expressly say so, it has, however, become increasingly evident to Western thinkers in the present generation that " scientific determinism " is of only limited value in reconciling man with the universe about him. Hence,

> " The way to the reconciliation of Islamic orthodoxy with the modern movement of thought . . . is to be found rather in revaluation of the data of thought through the cultivation of historical thinking. Only historical thinking can restore the flexibility demanded by this task, in proportion to its success in freeing the vision of the great overriding movement of the Eternal Reason from the frailties, the halting interpretations, and the fussy embroideries of its human

instruments and agents. Only historical thinking teaches man the true measure of his stature and the humility that curbs theological and scientific arrogance. . . ." (Pp. 126-7).

To reach this conclusion of his argument the author passes in review the evolution of Muslim thought since the eighteenth century, challengingly rejecting the customary judgment that Islam was then decadent and adducing the first Wahhabi movement as evidence of the contrary. He finds the same "revolutionary theocratic impulse" in Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani, whence he conducts us via Mohammad Abduh, whom he fittingly couples with al-Ghazzali as a reconciler and synthesizer, to the Islamic modernists (chap. ii). Chapters iii and iv, dealing with internal aspects of Islamic modernism, are to the present reviewer the least stimulating of the book, as is natural for an external observer in a period in which history seems to be made far less in the cloisters of al-Azhar than in the councils of the Arab League. (It is characteristic of the somewhat esoteric treatment of this part of the subject that so important a contemporary politico-religious movement as the Ikhwan al-Muslimin is mentioned only in an uninformative note.) Yet there is good reason to think and hope that in the long run Islam refertilized may bear fairer fruit than the Dead Sea apples of romantic nationalism, to say nothing of the deadly nightshade of the soul that grows in pseudo-scientific determinism.

Professor Gibb emphasizes the liberal-modernist "etherealization" (in Toynbee's sense of the term) of the personality of the Prophet, a treatment which, however, he severely criticizes as unhistoric and intellectually dishonest (pp. 74-7). Unhistoric, in all probability; but may we not see operating here not merely a defence against the "massive assaults" of Christian missionaries, but also an awareness, however subconscious, of the prime defect of the two strictly transcendental Semitic monotheisms, the lack of a vehicle of the divine Grace and of a mediator between man and the Godhead, that has been partially met by the Muslim concepts of the archetypal, eternal Qur'an and of Mohammed the Friend, but inimitably fulfilled in Christianity by the Word-made Flesh and the in-dwelling Holy Spirit?

George Kirk.

Story of the Arab Legion. By J. B. Glubb. Pp. 371. Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s. 1948.

This book is the story of the Arab Legion from the days when it was first raised as a subsidiary force to the ordinary police of Transjordan by Peake Pasha in 1920 until the end of the recent war, in which it played a useful part, although not employed on any of the main fronts, despite Glubb's efforts and many offers. In connection with this Glubb reminds us all of something we should not forget in the days to come, and that is, what a very true and staunch ally and friend of this country was King Abdullah of Transjordan, the wisest and most capable of all Arab rulers, who threw in his lot openly with Great Britain at a period of the war when everyone, with the exception of our Winston Churchill, thought we were certain to lose it. This occurred at a time when Iraq was in open rebellion, and the Vichy French in Syria were co-operating most heartily and loyally with their German allies: and an open gesture such as that of King Abdullah made all the difference to the most uncertain situation in the Arab countries of the Middle East.

The book starts when Glubb, feeling dissatisfied with life as a Sapper officer in peace-time at Chatham, was seconded to the Iraq service in 1920, and spent his first leave in that country on a camel trek across the Syrian Desert to Transjordan. To-day, of course, one may make one's way across from Damascus to Baghdad along the tarmac road in a matter of hours, but in 1920 an expedition of this description was in the nature of exploration, with a considerable amount of hardship and hard-lying. It was during this journey that Glubb obtained that admiration of the Bedouin and his mode of life which has caused him to become the leading figure of the Arab world in these times. As the result of his exceptional knowledge of Arabia and the laws and customs of this nomad people, which he acquired through living among the Bedouin, he was sent in 1930 from Iraq to Transjordan, where, for the next four years, he was charged with a most difficult task: the making of peace between the various Bedouin tribes on the Transjordan and Sa'udi Arabian frontier, where constant raids and counter-raids were not improving friendly relations with Ibn Sa'ud.

Glubb devotes some chapters to Bedouin laws and customs, particularly tribal raiding, which he likens to the annual matches that take place between Oxford and Cambridge, and which I always thought savoured of league football, except that I never knew them to assault a referee. It is all carried out in a most sporting spirit until the day of settlement arrives, and then something that savours of "pools" seems to creep in and spoil the harmony of chivalrous warfare.

The second half of the book deals with the important part played by the Arab Legion when it acted as advance guard to, and generally cleared the way for the British column that set out from Transjordan for the relief of Baghdad. Glubb comments only very briefly on the situation that ensued when the Brigadier in command of the Household Cavalry found that moving ahead of him, and already in occupation of positions which he thought were held by the enemy, was a force of highly disciplined but very long-haired Arab warriors commanded by an Englishman who was wearing "two pips" above the crossed sword and baton, and who looked as if he must be a Lieut.-General. Somerset du Chair has something to say about the episode in *The Golden Carpet*, but as one who would appreciate and savour the richness of the situation I must admit that, in this respect only, Glubb's book leaves one with a sense of incompleteness and resulting frustration.

Immediately after the rebellion in Iraq had been suppressed Glubb and the Legion were employed on the operation against Syria, which country badly needed cleaning up, since it had become a most important base for the Germans. Here again they proved to be invaluable, not only because of their excellent fighting qualities, but also because their knowledge of the people and the country enabled them to grasp every situation with a clarity that was, for obvious reasons, denied to the British troops.

Glubb, wisely perhaps, has little to say on the situation in Palestine, which has assumed the proportions it has since his book was completed. The little he does say is so very true and so much to the point that I doubt if anyone could add to it: (see page 230) "The villains of the Palestine tragedy—if villains there be—were neither the Jews, the Arabs nor the British. Ironically enough the Arabs and the British had discriminated against the Jews less than any other races of the West. Other nations of Europe and America, some of whom had discriminated against, and others actually persecuted the Jews, did nothing whatever to solve the problem which they had created. They one and all refused to accept any displaced Jews themselves, but were loud in their criticisms of Britain and the Arabs for not doing more. Is it an exaggeration to brand such an attitude as cynical and immoral?"

"The Jewish tragedy owed its origin to the Christian nations of Europe and America. At last the conscience of Christendom was awake. This age-long Jewish tragedy must cease. But when it came to the payment of compensation in expiation of their past shortcomings, the Christian nations of Europe and America decided that the bill should be paid by a Muslim nation of Asia." (Page 244) "I had personally given twenty years of my life to the cause of Anglo-Arab friendship, a cause which seemed, in the spring of 1939, to be well-nigh lost. Further irony was added to the situation by the fact that Britain had not alienated the Arabs by her selfishness or greed, but by a piece of quixotic idealism—to re-establish the Chosen People in the Holy Land. The whole weary Palestine problem was just a piece of muddle-headed and vacillating idealism."

It is hardly necessary to say that Glubb's book, which would always have been read by everyone in any way interested in the Arab world, is of very particular importance to-day, when the Arab Legion is playing such a prominent part in Palestine. Incidentally, on the dust cover of the volume there is, in the right-hand bottom corner, something that looks as if it might be the author's name written in Arabic. For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with Arabic script I can assure them that it is only Glubb's signature, more or less complete with initial, in English script.

C. S. JARVIS.

Inside Pan-Arabia. By M. J. Steiner. Packard and Company, Hendricks House, Chicago. 1947. $4.

Books and journals emanating from America seem to have an individual quality of lucidity of expression. So often it is necessary to turn to the shelves of one's American books or to the leaves of journals of American societies in order to obtain a quick and clear picture of a certain subject. Dr. Steiner is one of the many present-day writers on Near Eastern affairs who have maintained this position, not only in the United States of America but in his writings in Hebrew, Polish and German. To the unwary the contents of his present work will come as something of a surprise. One would expect on first sight of the admirable dust jacket to find some tale of travel and adventure within the confines of Ibn Saud's Kingdom. Where is this figment of the author's imagination, this new-fangled "Pan-Arabia?" It is an unfortunate journalese title which has no meaning, a title to what might be said to be "a modern definitive Antonius."

The author, like so many modern writers to-day, is at great pains to explain the meaning of the "' Arab World," presumably for the inevitable "general reader." How many writers have explained this and other expressions connected with Islam and the Arabs to us during the last three decades? From this explanation proceeds the story of the rise of Islam and of the Arab Empire and the latter's fall. Dr. Steiner's pre-Islamic history is sketchy, but this is to be expected as Mr. Philby's admirable *The Background of Islam* (Alexandria, 1947, 500 copies) could not have been available at the time of his writing, and even such authorities as Philip Hitti, de Lacy O'Leary, and della Vida are very scanty in the information which they impart on this subject.

The Wahabi brotherhood spread its tenets east and west, and we find its influence as far from Nejd as Sokoto and Sumatra; the origins and rise of Wahabism and other Islamic sects are traced in proportion, showing how Arabia was not only the birthplace of the Moslem faith, but the very cradle of internecine discord among the whole of the Islamic world. But internal religious squabbles were the least of the troubles to which the whole Arab World was to be subjected. We see the effect of the rise of the eastern European nations against their Moslem masters; of the crumbling of the Arab (" Moorish " of popular literature) dominance in Spain, where only the romance of such places as Seville and Granada remains to tell a story of a bygone (and glorious) age, and of the slow, at first peaceful, penetration of Arab lands by the French and other European powers.

On the eve of World War I we find the majority of Moslems under British and French rule. The Occident had definitely subdued the Orient. " Arabia alone stood, with small exceptions, free from Christian encroachment." "Had the Moslem world," Dr. Steiner asks, "completely lost its power of resistance?" He shows us that it had not, and in the same way as George Antonius has done, traces the emergence of the Arab National Movement to Jamal-ad Din al Afghani, who had long dreamt of melting the sword of the unbeliever. After the dreary recapitulation of the events and influences surrounding the McMahon correspondence, the liberation of the Arab lands from Turkish suzerainty and subsequent friction with the United Kingdom, the names of Shakespeare and Philby appear in connection with Ibn Saud's rise to dominion over the greater part of the peninsula of Arabia.

"The establishment of the Syrian Protestant College in Beyrout in 1866 made possible the growth of a Syrian intelligentsia, who played a predominant rôle in the cultural rebirth of the country," and it is interesting to note that the *Nafir Suriyah*, Syria's first periodical, was instrumental in initiating the rise of a national sentiment, which was to spread its wings over the whole of the Arab world.

Present and future tendencies, as shown by Dr. Steiner, following a survey (all too brief in its reference to Italy) of Axis aspirations in Arab countries, are the most interesting parts of the book, and it is unfortunate that his last six chapters could not have been enlarged to take the place of the first eleven which are taken up in reiterating in précis form what George Antonius told us ten years ago. Nevertheless, it must be said that Dr. Steiner is considerably easier to read than Antonius, and as writer of a "general reader" book rather than as a document (which *The Arab Awakening* undoubtedly is), Dr. Steiner has succeeded well; his understanding of the situation based on personal associations has stood him in good stead in presenting a penetrating aspect of the Pan-Arab movement; it is only to be hoped that others will not follow his example by using the name Arabia to embrace the Arab world.

Wide margins, clear, well-spaced print, pleasing binding, and the style and format of the book once again remind us of our latent jealousy of American book publishing: the select bibliography incorporated at the end of the book is useful, particularly in view of its reference to American publications not often seen in this country.

We shall not at present, if ever, see an English edition of *Inside Pan-Arabia*; if copies can be obtained they should be welcome additions to the libraries of those interested in the affairs of the Arab Near East.

E. M.

A Prince of Arabia. By George Stitt. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

"I wandered in the garden and talked with God." So wrote the Sherīf Ali Haider in his diary on the departure from Turkey to the United States of his second son, Mohiddin, whose work as a musician in Iraq will be well known to many readers of this *Journal.* The sentence might be taken as epitomizing the attitude towards life cultivated by this eminent Arab, who by that time, 1924, had suffered many disappointments, and who was to suffer still more before his death in 1935.

Ali Haider, a scion of the Devi Zeyd House, had claims to the Emirate of the Hejaz, then occupied by the Devi Aoun; but not till 1916, the year of the Arabs' revolt against the Turks, did the Ottoman authorities recognize his rights. They then sent him down to Medina, Mecca having already been liberated from Ottoman hegemony. Thus for a year or two Ali Haider held some temporal power, that power which, given reasonable opportunity, he felt that he could exercise for the general benefit of Arabs. But, cheated of this opportunity, Ali Haider, a noble, resigned soul, never upbraided fate, never intrigued, never even identified himself with political movements. He was, it would appear, born either too soon or too late: certainly the tumultuous, tangled days of his prime and of his decline were not for him.

Of his story, Commander Stitt, who knew the family intimately, has, with the aid of a translation of the Sherīf's diaries made by his British wife, Princess Fatima, made a most readable work. It is a narrative that flows quietly, like an East Anglian river. It has few magnificent reaches, and mainly by inference, or in half-tones, is the lurid light of those stormy days depicted in the Arab's diary. We see the Sherīf struggling from hostile circumstance to hostile circumstance, a figure who might be called tragic were he not so well endowed spiritually. Time and again things seemed in his cultured grasp, only to elide from it in puzzling, tantalizing fashion. Is it the truth that in the Near East opportunity comes only to those who make it, or, as the British say, "God helps those who help themselves"? Assuredly the Near East is no easy refuge for would-be office-holders, who "wander in the garden and talk with God." But it is a testimony to the character of Ali Haider and to the persuasiveness of Commander Stitt's work that sympathy is abundantly evoked for his central figure.

It is, however, consoling to think that Ali Haider had some posthumous recompense. Surely he would have rejoiced to see his eldest son, the Emir Abdul Mejid, appointed to represent King Abdullah of the Devi Aoun as Transjordan's Minister to the Court of St. James's. The wheel of fate may not have turned full circle, nor in time: but it has turned.

KENNETH WILLIAMS.

Fifty Years in Palestine. By Frances E. Newton. Pp. 328. Coldharbour Press. 1948. 8s. 6d.

It is pleasant to read about Palestine as it was in what might be called the good old days before we started liberating it. In 1889, when Miss Newton began her long association with the Church Missionary Society, the political atmosphere of the world as a whole remained as yet relatively unclouded by the erupting nationalism and premature democracy, which in these days a large portion of mankind outside the iron curtain has been taught to regard as more important than work and even than mere living. In most countries the mass of the people dwelt either in willing or in patient acceptance of an established order. In Palestine the old imperial Turkey oppressed the Arabs without goading them into open revolt. Politics hung in the air they breathed, as ever in the Arab lands, but did not sterilize the soil in which friendship could grow and flourish between the people of the country and those Europeans who, choosing Palestine for their home, were minded to make its men and women their friends.

In this pursuit and in her religious and educational work Miss Newton was powerfully aided by the robust and candid outlook to which, along with an abundant sense of humour, her lively anecdotes testify. We could wish the account she gives of her experiences were less fragmentary. (We could also wish a more comely format had been found for its presentation: if the paragraphs were numbered, these pages would look exactly like those of a military manual.) But the reader feels that Miss Newton was too deeply interested in her daily tasks and in the people of every description with whom her broad human interests brought her into contact, to sit down at the end of each day and write about them. Nor can any reader—even one (if there were one in this Society) who had never heard of Miss Newton—make the mistake of under-assessing a knowledge of the Arabs of Palestine, in the acquisition of which she was able to use, among her many other advantages, a woman's opportunity to reach, in a manner denied to men, the heart of a people's life, which is the home.

When after the Great War Miss Newton, who had resigned from the C.M.S. in 1914, returned to Palestine, the welfare of women and girls, which had shared her war-time energies in England with the work of the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, remained one of her many preoccupations. But now political events began to present an issue whose importance to her Arab friends transcended every other, and the second half of this book is devoted to her case against Zionism, or, as it is rather pathetically called, "The Case for the Arabs." Here in a clear and carefully documented statement she picks out the crazy milestones of British policy, from the MacMahon correspondence and the Balfour Declaration to the White Paper of 1939, with an epilogue written before the decision to give up the Mandate was announced. In the chapters dealing with the industrial concessions the author seems less at home than elsewhere; but these matters are only secondary to the main issue, and the principal facts which she sets forth are beyond the reach of contradiction. It is as an ardent advocate for the Arabs that Miss Newton writes, but, whatever view of Zionism the reader may hold, he can hardly withhold his tribute to her outstanding personality, single-mindedness and courage. Now that we have withdrawn at last from a scene of confused tragedy for which we cannot escape the blame, her record of events may stand as a convenient reminder of past errors, and a warning to us against any future attempt to walk in two opposite directions at once.

E. D.

Etiopi in Palestina. By Enrico Cerulli. (The History of the Ethiopian Community of Jerusalem.) Rome, State Library. Vol. I, xv and 460 pp., 1943; Vol. II, vii and 540 pp., 1947.

Professor Enrico Cerulli, a well-known authority on Ethiopia, makes a very valuable contribution to the study of this subject in his history of the Ethiopian community in Palestine. The book is published, in Italian, under the auspices of the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, and forms part of their scientific and documentary collection. The purpose of the book is threefold: to trace the relations between Europe and Ethiopia from the earliest known sources up to the present day, the Ethiopian community in Palestine being the channel of communication; to study the internal organization and history of the community at Jerusalem; and to trace the history of the relations between the Coptic and other Christian Churches.

From a careful and systematic study of all available documentary sources, among which are the letter of St. Jerome in the fourth century, the travels of pilgrims after the First Crusade, and the writings of mediæval historians, Professor Cerulli step by step builds up a picture of the Ethiopian community in Palestine and their land of origin, as seen through Western eyes. Not only did the European pilgrims obtain knowledge from the Ethiopian community, but also in turn did the Ethiopian pilgrims, returning to their homeland bring there news of the lands and peoples of Europe.

As a result of observation, a list had been compiled in the thirteenth century, for the benefit of future pilgrims, of the various races they would encounter in Palestine; a complete list of the many races comprising the Christian community in Jerusalem not being given by a Western author until the end of the thirteenth century. One of the first difficulties that arose in compiling the list was the application of the term "*Indiani*," whose significance varied according to the author. It was applied equally to the peoples of India and to the people of Ethiopia. An anonymous traveller from Loos is the first to describe clearly that the Abyssinian Christians, who are black and are called Indians, are from Ethiopia. This confusion in nomenclature gave rise to, or at least increased, the fantastic theories concerning the identity of the almost legendary mediæval figure of Prester John. To many Europeans he was the lord of vast domains, where were to be found the Fountain of Youth and the Sea of Sand, and from where wondrous tales of the miracles of St. Thomas originated. Mediævalists identify him with Ung Khan, a powerful Mongol chief, with the king of a Nestorian tribe of Kerait, and with many other Eastern personalities. But by the fourteenth century, as the author proves, there was no doubt in the minds of European travellers that Prester John was the king of Ethiopia. In 1384 Simon Sigoli, a Florentine, made a journey to Cairo and Palestine, and in his *Viaggio al Monte Sinai* he mentions the king of India as master of the Nile. Friar Jordanus Catalani also identifies Prester John with the Emperor of Ethiopia at about the same period. Sigoli gives a vivid description of the powers of the King of Ethiopia, no longer a legendary figure, but an able politician who uses his geographical position as a bargaining factor with the Sultan of Egypt. He is believed to be able to deviate the course of the Nile, and in order that this should not occur and ruin the fertile plain of Egypt, the Sultan agrees to exempt the Ethiopians in Jerusalem from paying the customary taxes to the Moslem. The Sultan was not only afraid, but also jealous of the great power and wealth of Prester John. The same feeling of jealousy roused the Prince of Aden when he prevented a European traveller, van Ghistele, from visiting Ethiopia. Aden had always been the central market for goods brought from lands east of the Red Sea to be sold to merchants from the Mediterranean countries.

As a result of the legend of Prester John and his power over the Nile, a popular idea arises in Europe of an alliance with Ethiopia against the Moslem. Abyssinia was now to be considered in relation to the Indian Ocean, and its strategic importance was realized in developing trade routes from India, bringing spices back to Europe.

Of the religious practices of the Ethiopians very little was observed, apart from the obvious external distinguishing features, such as the branding of the sign of the cross at the time of baptism, the Communion being taken in both species, and the use of leavened bread. Most travellers showed interest in the liturgical dances of the priests during ceremonies, and the special form of singing. But, as Professor Cerulli points out, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the writer is describing his own experiences and observations or whether they are copies from some previous source.

As more information penetrated into Europe so the interest aroused became keener, and gave an additional impetus to the voyages of discovery, including the journey of Vasco da Gama at the end of the fifteenth century. With the arrival of the Portuguese missions in Ethiopia, the value of the community in Jerusalem altered its character. The Negus no longer wished to rely on the small band of Abyssinians in Palestine as a means of communication between himself and the European states, and in 1544 the Negus Claudius wrote to Pope Paul III asking for direct contact with the Holy See. All the sixteenth century marked a period of transition between the mediæval legends and the facts acquired and disseminated by the Portuguese, so that the accounts of travellers varied considerably, some containing the latest available information, others depending, as Professor Cerulli shows, on sources dating back three centuries. The presence of Ethiopians in Palestine continues to be noted by travellers up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, with evidence of their places of worship; until the community finally died out, and no further evidence is then available of an Ethiopian community until the nineteenth century. European interest was once more aroused in Oriental languages and customs, and there is once again news of an Ethiopian community in Palestine, at the monastery of Dayr al-Sultan. It is interesting to note that when Samuel Gobat went out to Abyssinia on behalf of the Church Missionary Society he first spent three months with the community in Palestine to learn the language. The continual dispute between the Abyssinians and the Copts concerning the monastery they shared led to the diplomatic intervention of the British Consul, who used his good offices on behalf of the Abyssinians. The author ends his study of European relations with Ethiopia with the death of the Negus Theodore II in 1867.

Of the internal organization of the community the most important source of information is a valuable collection of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, originating from the Ethiopian monastery of Qusquām, some dating back to the fourteenth century. Many of the manuscripts are published here for the first time, and give a full picture of the religious hierarchy, internal relations between the prior and his community and their customs.

Professor Cerulli has collected here a vast quantity of valuable material, much of which has not been published before; he has combed it systematically, and has used it to give a reasoned and extremely interesting account of the religious, political and geographical significance of Ethiopia from the fourth century to present times, as seen from the European standpoint.

D. E.

When Men and Mountains Meet. By H. W. Tilman, D.S.O., M.C. Cambridge University Press. 15s.

The late Constantine Nabokoff, whom senior members will remember as Russian Consul-General in Simla and Delhi, and later in charge of the Russian Embassy in London, 1916-19, used to express a very great admiration for the British officer, especially of the Indian Army, because so often he took his leave climbing in the Himalayas, shooting in the jungles, improving his knowledge of the people, of their languages and, above all, of himself. Tilman would have delighted Nabokoff's heart.

This book is a pot-pourri, a very delightfully scented pot-pourri—a journey in 1939 in the least known part of the Assam Himalayas, the Balipara Frontier Tract and beyond, in an attempt to reach, and climb, Gori Chen (21,450 ft.) on the border of Thibet; an attempt (that failed) in 1936 to cross from the south the Zemu Gap (19,276 ft.) and reach the Zemu Glacier; the Zemu Gap is between Kangchenjunga and the peak of Simvu (22,360 ft.); the crossing it from the North, after climbing Lachsi (21,100 ft.), when Tilman was returning from the Everest climb of 1938; campaigning in Iraq, in the Mosul operational area in 1941-42, when a peak of 6,500 ft. was climbed in the severe winter; a tour of inspection by a Brigadier and himself of defences in Iran, which enabled the Brigadier to inspect a trout stream and Tilman to inspect the summit of Bisitun (10,000 ft.) near Kermanshah; the Eighth Army campaigns, which enabled him and another, inexperienced, to climb in the night, and, on the summit, with German Very lights, Zaghouan (4,000 ft.) in Tunisia; ten months' partisan experience in Southern Albania, and later about the same length of time with the partisans in the Upper Piave area of the Italian Dolomites.

Such is the fare offered to anyone who likes High Endeavour, mountains, hardship, and a buoyant personality. Tilman says he climbs mountains because he wants to do so. He appears to write books because he wants to do so: the result is excellent. In the climb recounted he had no experienced European companions. In the Himalayas he was with Sherpas: on Bisitun, on the summit, he spent the night alone: in the Mosul climb he left behind two Other Ranks while he made his first ascent: a green Very light on Zaghouan showed him his companion's face and the need to retreat: in the Dolomites he climbed alone.

His style is simple. The puff on the cover of the book attributes to him a dry, personal humour. I don't know what the adjective "personal" means here. He has a facetiousness in his turn of phrase that is constant and pleasing. Incidentally it is interesting to observe how the Churchillian "so much, so many, and so few" has already become so part of our English language that it can be adapted, apparently unconsciously, to the yak. Tilman can think of no animal which serves its fortunate owner so well in return for so little.

But he can be serious as well as facetious: his comments on caution in climbing all alone, his analysis of the Albanian Partisan situation and the mistake in the counsels of the High Command in backing, at the same time, rival and incompatible movements, and, above all, in his moving appreciation of the Italian partisans.

He is very modest about his own achievements. His "we" covers his own driving power and responsibility. His training in the Himalayas (and apparently in Kenya, too,) and his seeming ability to pick up a working knowledge of languages and, I imagine, his wide reading obviously fitted him, in more ways than one, mountaineering, for the liaison responsibilities in Southern Albania and North-East Italy. In the latter area, even more than in the former, one feels that our story-teller, the man in battle-dress, kept a constant appointment with fear, except perhaps on his "afternoons off," mostly mornings actually, when he was popping up a Dolomite—and in the winter and spring of 1944-45 he seems to have popped up all in reach.

The book is beautifully presented by the Cambridge University Press, in these days of hardship in the printing trade; the photographs are excellent, but I cannot understand why the binders, or whoever are responsible for the insertion of the photos, saw fit to allow those of one section to overlap into another, unless in the case of the Iraq section they thought that photos of Himalayan snows would relieve the tedium of the heat of the Iraq plain.

D. S. Fraser.

Art and Thought. A volume in honour of the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. Edited by K. B. Iyer. Pp. 259. Plates. Luzac and Co. 1947. £3 3s.

Dr. Coomaraswamy was a giant among his contemporaries, and this book is a worthy acknowledgement of his stature. The variety of the subjects of the articles, many of which show the direct impress of his own personality and all of which fall within the sphere of his interest, is a tribute to the many-sidedness of his intellect. But though he saw many things, he saw them steadily and as a whole. To him art must be expressive of spiritual truth enshrined in a religious tradition. Small wonder then that his distinguished admirers in many lands should here stress the value to Indian art of the Hindu tradition and to European art of the Christian heritage. They see the hope of a better understanding between East and West, not in the further spread of a deadening materialism in which all differences tend to be obliterated, but in a return by each to its own revivifying religion so that with respect for the ways of one another they should be united in the bond of spiritual endeavour.

This insistence that art should be rooted in religion leads inevitably to a discussion of the symbols which religion employs. And in the compass of this book the reader can study such seemingly diverse symbolisms as those of the imaginative vision of Blake, of the creative experience of the Buddhist contemplative, and of the mathematical form of the Arabic and Hebrew alphabets, and find to his surprise how much in common they have. Indeed, perhaps the greatest merit of the contributions to the book is that they encourage synthetic thought. Many are erudite and will satisfy the exacting specialist, but these, too, contain the hint of larger implications. And that is how Dr. Coomaraswamy would have wished it, for though he had the love of accuracy and close-knit argument which betokens the scholar he never allowed it to blind him to the all-entrancing vision of his artist's sensibility.

At this time, when the old standards in life as well as art are being so rapidly forsaken by the peoples of the Orient and Occident, it is fitting that we should honour the memory of one who was not afraid to proclaim that if a nation casts away its own spiritual inheritance it loses not only its art but its soul.

H. C.

Al Fakhri, On the systems of Government and the Moslem dynasties. Composed by Mohammed, son of Ali, son of Tabataba, known as the rapid talker. Translated by C. E. J. Whitting. Pp. vi and 326. Luzac and Co., Ltd., 1947. 15s.

This is the first complete translation into English made of Al Fakhri. Mr. Whitting, Chief Inspector of Education in Nigeria, and Lecturer in Arabic Studies, has based his translation on Derenbourg's edition of the Arabic text, the 1921 Cairo edition, and Amar's translation into French (Paris, 1910). Faced necessarily with the problem of whether to present a comparatively free and readable or more strictly literal translation, he has determined on the latter course, with the inevitable result that the book, designed principally for the student of Arabic and for close comparison with the orginal, bears essentially the character of a " crib " rather than a work designed for the general reader of Arab history.

The author (Ibn at-Tiqtaqa) was born in A.D. 1261, and composed his book in 1302 in honour of the Prince of Mosul, Fakhr-ad-din Isa. The work is divided into two sections, the first a general treatise on statecraft and the principles of government; the second a record, interspersed with anecdotes and poetical extracts, of the Arab dynasties from the death of the Prophet up to the Caliphate of Al Musta'sim, the Mongol invasion under Hulaku and the Capture of Baghdad (A.H. 656).

The book contains a considerable number of misprints.

G. W. B.

China : Her Life and Her People. By M. Cable and F. French. Pp. 160. Illustrations. University of London Press. 1946. 5s.

This book was written with the very laudable purpose of assisting towards a better understanding of China and the Chinese. This appears to impose on a reviewer the duty of saying to what extent it succeeds in presenting a true picture, and in that case it must be stated that, while there is evidence of a wide and intimate knowledge of the subject, it suffers—inevitably—from having been planned and composed in pre-war days, completed or revised during the war, and being destined to be read in post-war days. China is proverbially unchanging, and much of the description of fundamental characteristics is as true now as when it was written; but to the newcomer material appearances are of more immediate importance, and these are for the most part so changed by the revolutionary happenings of the last two decades as to be almost unrecognisable.

To take only one illustration, the *Tael* was abolished in 1933, and the silver dollar was demonetised in 1935, since when there have been a number of experiments with paper currencies until the exchange value at this moment of writing is $20,000,000 to the £1. A more important discrepancy, however, is that caused by the second World War and the abolition of extra-territoriality and all that these involve. The presentation of life in China given in this book is generally that of those parts which have been most influenced by the impact of European civilisation on the ancient system : but as a result of the war and recent treaties much of that influence is being, or has been, removed; and yet it is not possible to put back the clock, and to create a new system will take, at the least, decades. In Shanghai, with its large foreign population and all the machinery of the old foreign régime administered by an enlightened Mayor, the change is not yet so noticeable; but once Shanghai is left behind stagnation and disintegration begin, and the inland port of Hankow, of which such a vivid and truthful picture is drawn (p. 21), would be unrecognisable. Instead of the choice of a number of comfortable and regular coastal river steamers to take the traveller to Tientsin or Hankow, he would be lucky to find a berth of any sort on an overcrowded, insanitary " chicken-boat " or semi-derelict landing-craft: many would no doubt prefer to fly, and get there at least more quickly and with little more risk. But, with the exception of Shanghai, and perhaps Canton, owing to its proximity to Hong Kong, most other ports are so dead as to be hardly worth the trouble of visiting.

Great areas of China have, of course, already been overrun by the Communists; others have only recently been recovered from them or are in constant danger of being overrun; conditions in all such areas are, of course, much worse from the point of view of the foreigner. Generally speaking, for the superficial and practical purposes of a new-comer the descriptions of life in China given in this book would be found to be already as different from the conditions that exist today as, say, the picture drawn by an equally acute observer in Imperial times.

If the book is to be revised and reprinted—an operation that, while not easy, would be well worth while—advantage might be taken of the opportunity to correct a few errors which mar this otherwise careful and useful work. The Poyang Lake is not on the Grand Canal and the Kiangsu-Anhwei border (pp. 15, 28, 94), but (as shown in the cover map) 500 miles away in Kiangsi. Again, passengers do not have to leave the ocean liner at Woosung and proceed by tender to Shanghai: even in post-war times, when conservancy work and pilotage standards have much deteriorated, the largest ships, *Empress* and *Strathmore*, have berthed alongside wharves at the Garden Bend. It is also incorrect to write of four million Chinese in the walled city of Shanghai (p. 19)—an insignificant area; it is doubtful if there is that number even now in the whole of Greater Shanghai, which includes, besides the former concession and settlement, Chapei, Nantao, Pootung, and other suburbs.

It was perhaps the result of the " get-together " spirit engendered by the war that too little credit is given to the part played by the foreigner, and especially the British, in developing the country. Most of the railways, shipping, mining and industry and the organisation of the Customs, Posts and Salt Gabelle, on which the financial stability of the country are based, are the result of devoted work by the British of several generations. But the reference to the " Opium Wars " was, for the same reason, commendably brief. On the final chapters dealing with the missionary effort and its prospects this critic does not feel qualified to say more than that here, too, great forces are at work, and the future may take on an entirely different character.

Two other forces which are tending to change the general appearance of China to a foreigner are, first, the increasing emancipation of women and extension of their influence outside the sphere of their immediate families; and, secondly, the breaking down of provincial barriers caused by the various migrations due to the war, and the spread of a common spoken language (the so-called *Kuo yü*), which has taken the place of Mandarin or *Kuan hua*, of which it is, of course, only a slight modification. This is officially encouraged, not only in China, but in Chinese communities abroad, and appears likely to exert a much wider influence than any modification (such as that mentioned in this book) of the written language, which suffers from the same defect as all short cuts (such as Basic English or Nu Speling) , that it causes a complete break with the literature of the past.

A. G. N. O.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,
JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

SIR,

I have just read with interest Glubb Pasha's enthralling story of the Arab Legion. At the risk of appearing pernickety, I wish to correct the impression given by one of his stories. This I do, not only because I myself was involved, but also because there is an unwarranted criticism of the Transjordan Frontier Force, to which I belonged, and which was then working with a degree of success to stop tribal raiding.

On p. 74 *et seq.* the impression given is that the T.F.F., for they were the Imperial troops involved, aided by the R.A.F., were totally unsympathetic to the Huwaitat, prevented them from recovering their camels, and failed to get any information from them. The reverse is the case.

I was commanding at Bair at the time. My orders were to protect our tribes and to stop raiding. I was on cordial terms with the Huwaitat, and got most of my information from them. The conversation on p. 76 is hardly in accordance with facts.

The incident in question occurred this way. I knew a raid on the Huwaitat was likely, but I did not know when or where. I discussed with Hamd ibn Jazi, the paramount sheikh, our action. He agreed that he could keep the tribes at Bair for only three days owing to lack of grazing. When we considered the time ripe he ordered them in, assisted by my patrols.

One day, as the tribes were coming in, I asked for some men to go out to get news of the raid. I asked for Humeida, brother of Muhammad abu Tayy and a sterling fellow, to lead them. There were snags. I suspected they were trying to organise a counter-raid! Discussion turned on the rains, which were overdue. I said that they would come if the reconnaissance party set out. I left them to think it over. That afternoon, surprisingly, the rains came with such effect that my tent collapsed. While this was being put right I cashed in on my prophetic powers, and the party perforce set off.

That night the raid came in on some straggling herds outside my patrols. By the time the news reached us it was too late, for the raiders were back in Saudi-Arabia, and we were powerless by our terms of reference.

The Huwaitat freely admitted the fault was theirs, and accepted my orders not to retaliate. The incident was thus closed. There was no ill-feeling. The implication on p. 81 that we had a sixty-mile-wide no-man's land is not correct. Normally we grazed up to the frontier, sometimes beyond it! The method of combating raiding I adopted was very similar to that Glubb Pasha describes on p. 94.

I handed over to Glubb Pasha when he arrived at the end of 1930, and backed him up whenever he required assistance. I am proud of my association with him, and that very recently I have been able to help him out over officers. I am sure he wrote of the incident I have described under a misunderstanding, and I am sure he will not mind the correction, for his name and that of the Arab Legion are secure, while the T.F.F. has now alas! been disbanded.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. SINCLAIR,
Lt.-Col. R.A.

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