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**JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY**

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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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.....
.....
.....
(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.)

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

FOR the last few years the journal has carried a notice appealing to members to sign a deed of covenant. We are still only receiving almost £250 in income from this source. Now that members once more are living a more settled life, the Council again appeals for the signature of covenants and would particularly ask that those proposing new candidates for election should point out to them the advantage which will accrue to the Society if they sign such a deed at the time when they take up membership.

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 Council acknowledges with gratitude the following accessions to the library :

Photographs of Sikhim and the Tibet Frontier, taken by J. Claude White during the Younghusband Expedition of 1903-04, in 2 vols. Presented by the Misses Bourdillon.

Typescript of the Diary kept at Lhasa by the late Sir Charles Bell in 1920-21. Presented by his family.

Speeches by Field-Marshal Earl Wavell in India, 1943-47. Presented by the Government of India.

Burmese Vignettes, by C. Harcourt Robertson, 1930.

La Voix de la Boukhara Opprimée, by Said Alim Khan, 1929.

Rock-sculptures in the Gunduk Cave, by H. E. Taufiq Wahby, 1948 (reprinted from *Sumer*). Presented by the author.

Gardizi on India, by V. Minorsky (reprinted from 1948 *Bulletin*, S.O.A.S.). Presented by the author.

Far Eastern Bibliography for 1947, compiled by G. Gaskill for the Far Eastern Association, Cornell University.

I'jaz Quran (in Persian). Presented by Dr. M. Hikmet.

Essais sur l'Economie Iraçienne, by Mir S. Basri (in Arabic). Presented by the author.

Salmone—Arabic-English Dictionary, in 2 vols., and five other books. Presented by Mrs. E. Sinclair.

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

OBITUARY

HENNING HASLUND CHRISTENSEN

HENNING HASLUND (he often preferred to omit his third name) was born on 31st of August, 1896, at Copenhagen where his father was a member of the Royal Opera, whence presumably came his knowledge and love of music. After matriculation he became a lieutenant in the Danish Army. Later he accompanied Dr. C. Krebs to Urianhai (Uriankhai) in Mongolia, and stayed there for a number of years. It was there that Haslund acquired his remarkable knowledge of the people and language which made him the leading authority in Western Europe on everything Mongolian.

In 1927-30 the expedition to Central Asia of Dr. Sven Hedin took place, and Haslund became a member of it, and was in charge of the non-scientific side of the party. His knowledge of Central Asia was invaluable.

In 1932 he married Miss Inga Margit Lindström, daughter of Commander C. F. J. Lindström of the Royal Swedish Navy and an Adjutant to H.M. the King of Sweden.

Haslund again went to Eastern Mongolia in 1936-37 on behalf of the Danish National Museum; and the year previous to the second World War he was the leader of the expedition of the Royal Danish Geographical Society to Central Asia. During part of this war he worked at the museum in Copenhagen on the collections which had been brought back.

After the war, Haslund organized and led the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia. The programme was an ambitious one, and the journey was intended to last six years. The personnel consisted of a number of scientists and the intention was to cover most of mid-Asia from Afghanistan to Tibet. It was whilst he was engaged with this expedition that Haslund died, after a brief illness, of heart failure at Kabul on September 13, 1948.

Haslund was the author of several books, of which two, *Tents in Mongolia*, and *Men and Gods in Mongolia*, have been translated and published in England. He was engaged in the translation and publication of a third book just before he left Europe for the last time. He was also the collaborator with one of his friends in a book on Mongolian music.

Haslund was a most attractive fellow. He was active, cheerful, and well-informed, very energetic and of a most pleasing personality. He was admirably versed in everything Mongolian, and is a grievous loss to the knowledge of that little-known country. He was sympathetic and sincere when dealing with Mongols, shy little-considered folk, who greatly enjoyed his frankness as well as his ease in speaking their language and his familiarity with their customs.

As a young man he was conspicuously alive, vital, alert, quick, and always ready for anything. He used to be a fine rider. During one of his journeys to Central Asia he was severely injured by an avalanche near Peshwari, in Kashmir, and suffered greatly for many months. This accident would have prevented most men from further activity, but it had no

effect on Haslund, who resumed his arduous journeys after a long convalescence.

Every one who loves the mountains and the deserts and the wild parts of the world will mourn the loss of this gallant Dane, a delightful companion, an energetic and accomplished traveller, and a great patriot.

The greatest sympathy is due to his wife and two children, whom he dearly loved, and for whom his death is a cruel blow. May he rest in peace.

R. C. F. S.

ARAB PROGRESS INSPIRED BY INDEPENDENCE

By BAYARD DODGE, D.D., LL.D.

Lecture given on September 14, 1948, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, G.C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is with great pleasure that we welcome Dr. Dodge this afternoon. As no doubt most of you are aware, the University of Beirut owes its foundation and its progress largely to members of the family of Dr. Dodge and of Mrs. Dodge, whose grandfather, Dr. Bliss, was the first President. Dr. Dodge himself first went there as a member of the Faculty in 1913. In 1923 he became President, and it was only two months ago that he relinquished that position. He has therefore seen the Arab world pass from the dominion of the Turks through, in some cases, a period of mandatory control, to complete independence and by reason of the fact that his University attracts students from all over the Middle East, many of whom now hold high positions in their own countries, he has been able to keep in touch with the development of regions far beyond the confines of the Lebanon. His University has exercised a most important influence on its students during the last thirty years. I could tell you something of how, in spite of many difficulties, it has grown under his wise guidance, but our time is short, and I will only say that there is no foreigner who is more loved and respected in the Middle East than Dr. Dodge. We are indeed fortunate to have such a distinguished and sympathetic authority to speak to us on the subject of Arab progress inspired by independence.

Dr. Dodge then delivered his lecture as follows:

WHEN I first visited the Near East in 1910, the Ottoman régime was nearing its end. The Arabs were still a subject people, mostly dormant because of the intellectual and social stagnation of the mediæval system in which they lived. But even at that time the Arab Awakening had begun in Egypt and Lebanon, which had become autonomous enough to form contacts with the West.

At the close of the First World War this awakening gained force, as the Arabs became the neighbours of an amazingly progressive Turkish Republic, instead of the subjects of a decadent empire. Then, as most of the Arab lands fell under European control, they were flooded by new ideas from the West, which were social and intellectual, as well as political.

As long as the Arabs remained under foreign rule these modern ideas formed only a veneer of progress and did not become indigenous among the people as a whole. Although there was a great deal of nationalistic ferment, there was very little feeling of public responsibility, as everything that went wrong was placed on the shoulders of the foreign officials.

The British officials organized many good secondary schools, in which science and laboratory work were well taught. They also organized efficient departments of public health and tried to interest the people in improved methods of agriculture. But, for the most part, the influential people felt that these measures were foreign innovations, so that they failed to appreciate them and to make sacrifices to supplement the reforms which the foreign officials were introducing.

In the same way, there was very little municipal pride, when the European officials tried to improve the towns. Too often the people felt that the improvements were being superimposed upon them by foreigners, rather than inspired in a spontaneous way for their own national benefit.

Lack of sympathy for the Jews also prevented the Arabs from profiting by the progressive methods which were introduced into Palestine.

Industry was largely given over to foreign concessions and, at least in Syria and Lebanon, competition with European companies was discouraged.

Thus, there was a very limited amount of progress in Arab lands as long as the Ottomans remained in power, and even during the past quarter-century the new reforms were largely on the surface and did not go deep into the roots of national life.

But the post-war policy of withdrawing troops and granting independence has created a new spirit of initiative and public service. The development is especially striking, because it comes simultaneously with a widespread movement of renaissance.

The situation reminds one of what happened three centuries before the time of Christ. When Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian Empire, there occurred in the Middle East a great awakening, which took the form of copying everything Greek. Municipal plans followed those of the Piræus: Greek education, art, and philosophy became popular, while European modes, sports, and amusements rapidly grew fashionable. In the same way, the Arabs to-day are copying Western architecture, organizing their schools along European lines, and adopting foreign manners. They are delighting in the cinemas and cabarets, as well as in bathing, tennis, skiing, and all sorts of athletic games.

The first important step forward, inspired by independence, has been the formation of the Arab League. This is a true innovation in the Arab World. In the past, unity has occasionally been accomplished under the influence of the Islamic Caliphate and by means of feudal alliances. But the Arab League is not based on either religion or feudalism, as several of the member states are republics and at least one of them is as much Christian as Muslim. The League has so far been somewhat successful, not so much because of encouragement from abroad, as of a spontaneous desire for team-work and self-defence.

Another indication of progress is the fact that so many of the Arab states have been able to hold elections, carry out Cabinet changes and handle minority problems, without suffering from revolution. So far they have achieved more stability of government than has been possible in many of the Latin-American republics. There are many problems still to be solved in connection with currency, customs, passports, pipe-lines, and communications. But what is encouraging is to see the patient way in which an attempt is being made to achieve co-operation in connection with questions of this sort.

One of the most interesting aspects of Arab development is a debut in the world of diplomacy. Most of the states have already organized legations and consulates in many foreign cities. The Arab representatives exercised real influence during the San Francisco conference. Almost a

ninth of the votes in the United Nations Assembly are controlled by the Arabs. It has been the custom for one of the members of the Security Council to be an Arab and at the present time the Chairman of the Social and Economic Council is a Lebanese. In fact, arrangements are being made to hold the next U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting at Beirut.

Another form of progress is the rapid development of the cities. Last year I visited 'Iraq and was astonished by what I saw. New boulevards radiate out from the old section of Baghdad in three directions, planted with trees and lined by two-storey houses set in gardens. Some of these residential quarters were planned for during the mandate period, but the zest for developing them seems to be a part of independence.

Fine new streets and buildings are also changing Mosul, Bosrah, and Kerbela. When I went to Kufa, I thought that the big building with Arab architecture and bright green tiles must be the famous mosque. But I soon learned that it was one of the new county hospitals which are being built in 'Iraq.

My chauffeur prides himself on never losing his way. But when we visited Damascus after an absence of nearly two years, he was completely bewildered. So many new flats and handsome private houses had been built, that it gave the appearance of a new city. The old Turkish barracks have been turned over to the Syrian University, a large hospital is half finished and parts of the business section are being opened up or re-constructed.

Many new apartments and dwelling-houses are also being erected at Beirut. Like those of Damascus, they are designed with very modern architecture.

During the past year the Lebanese Republic has started to complete the broad boulevard along the shore of Ras Beirut and to plant it with trees. Boulevards are also being made to beautify smaller towns like Tripoli, Sidon, and Zahlah. A very handsome two-lane parkway is being constructed between Beirut and its new aerodrome, which is to have runways two kilometres long. New avenues are also being built, at great expense, to handle the traffic going out of Beirut towards Tripoli and Damascus. Altogether a hundred and fifty new roads are being constructed throughout the Lebanon.

But the most surprising city that I have seen is ancient Aleppo. The Mayor is Majd al-Din al-Jabri, who belongs to the most aristocratic family of North Syria and is a nephew of the former Prime Minister. He was educated at Beirut, Robert College at Istanbul, and the University of Illinois. In June he very kindly spent two whole mornings showing me around the city in his car, which he drives himself. He is so much interested in re-making his own city, that he has refused the position of Minister of Defence and flattering diplomatic posts.

The Mayor has already completed boulevards encircling the city, which are forty metres broad in certain places. He has made zoning laws to protect the views from these boulevards and is removing the prison, so as to open up a proper approach to the historic citadel.

People in Syria are unaccustomed to having trees planted along the roadways. But the Mayor has patiently kept on re-planting trees, until

at last the populace appreciates them and mothers punish their children when they see them injuring the trees.

A new public garden has been made and before long there is also to be a zoo. The Mayor is encouraging mothers to bring their children to the park, by organizing a motor-bus system, providing music twice a week, and forbidding the sale of alcoholic drinks in the park restaurant. The Mayor also has his firemen make park benches and other useful things, while they are waiting for alarms.

The municipality is aiding hospitals, an old people's home, and other philanthropies. Some wealthy Syrians have been encouraged to build a school for arts and crafts and the city is starting an insane asylum.

The Mayor has expropriated thirty-five acres near the railroad station to form a civic centre, in which there will be a town hall, municipal auditorium, public restaurant, and other useful features. The course of the River Qwayq is being changed, so as to beautify this centre and leave the old river bed for other purposes.

An even more remarkable project is being rapidly carried out in an older part of the city. With great firmness and tact the Mayor has expropriated eight hundred and thirty ancient tenements. They are being torn down and four hundred and eighty modern houses are to be erected in their place, to form a model housing unit for workers.

These new houses are to be sold to labouring men on the instalment plan. There will also be a vegetable market, a refrigeration plant, mosque, dispensary, elementary school, and a playground, to serve the workers' families.

A number of cemeteries are being moved, which is a miracle in the Near East. Some old barracks have been turned into a college of engineering, the public library is being modernized with steel shelves and a good catalogue, and the municipality sponsors a programme of free plays and public lectures. Once a year prominent lawyers are asked to explain the new laws, as a part of this lecture series. A beautiful new stadium, with a large swimming pool alongside of it, has also been completed.

The Mayor is arranging to train village teachers, much as Mr. Humphrey Bowman succeeded in doing when he was Director of Education in Palestine. A building next to the experimental farm is being made over, so as to become a normal school. The young teachers will be trained in agriculture, so that they can introduce lessons in farming into the programmes of their schools for peasant children. Steps are also being taken to have their salaries raised.

The Mayor's greatest triumph is the construction of a sewage system, which is to cost six million Syrian pounds. It is estimated that by selling a hundred tons a day of sewage disposal for fertilizer, the debt can be amortized in less than four years.

A central tunnel, large enough for a man to pass through, drains the pipes from the many side streets, and even from the mediæval bazaar. The old *sūq* or bazaar of Aleppo is a vast network of covered alleys, lined with small cells, in which master workmen and their apprentices manufacture and sell all kinds of articles. Adjoining these shops are a number of spacious mosques and ancient khans, with arcades surrounding

their courtyards. The Mayor has made over for modern use an old public latrine of the Fatimide period and has also built twenty-five new ones, all connected with his sewage system.

Since the evacuation of the foreign troops, the city of Aleppo has made 50 per cent. more roads, 600 per cent. more parks, and 900 per cent. more sewers than were built during the quarter-century of the mandate.

At the present time the Syrian Government is financially embarrassed, because it is obliged to support an army in Palestine and to feed over forty thousand Arab refugees from Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa. A very progressive and capable graduate of the Beirut University, the director of public health in the North Syria area, took me out to see a refugee camp. He was looking after 11,000. The Government and the Citizens' Committee were providing food for the refugees. Mrs. Altounyan, an English nurse, and some of her assistants offered their services to aid in looking after the health of the refugees. They had a tremendous task in caring for some 45,000 refugees throughout Syria and another 20,000 in Lebanon, these being charity cases, in addition to trying to help the wealthier refugees living with their relatives scattered amongst the towns and cities. But when this abnormal situation ends, the Mayor hopes to bring water from the Euphrates to Aleppo. If he can accomplish this engineering feat, it will turn the dusty old city of Aleppo into one of the most beautiful centres of the Middle East.

Another very useful reform, of a more general nature, is the installation of an automatic telephone system, which ought to be accomplished in several years and will serve, not only Aleppo, but the whole of Syria. These examples which have been given should suffice to show the extraordinary progress which the Arabs are making, in connection with the development of their cities.

Another evidence of Arab progress is the new interest in aviation. King Ibn Sa'ud is developing a large aviation field in East Arabia and has asked American army officials to train his Arabs how to handle the ground service.

Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria have their own air lines and aerodromes. They are encouraging trans-continental lines to co-operate with them in making the Arab lands important corridors of world-wide air traffic.

The newly awakened interest in industry is still another sign of progress. Much the most important source of revenue is the petroleum industry, which is assuming gigantic proportions. Iraq has led the way by granting concessions to the Iraq Petroleum Company, which is an international corporation.

King Ibn Sa'ud and the ruling Chiefs of Kuwayt, Bahrayn, and al-Qotar are following the example of Iraq. Although Syria has not yet started to exploit her oil, it is not improbable that she possesses valuable reserves. The Lebanese have so far failed to strike oil, but they are encouraging the building of pipe-lines and refineries.

The royalties from this huge industry will finance many of the projects which are to bring new life to worn-out lands.

The Arabs are also building up a great many small factories, as well

as a few large ones. A powerful hydro-electric plant is to be built at the Assuam Dam, so as to furnish Egypt with cheap electricity for its new industrial development. There is a large Syrian cement factory at Damascus and a foreign-controlled factory provides Lebanon with cement. Both in Transjordan and Syria there are asphalt pits.

The principal industries in the Arab states are the manufacture of tiles and clay drain-pipes, cement building-blocks, bricks, furniture, rugs, soap, leather goods, vegetable oils, beet sugar, starch, wine and beer, matches, brass and silver ware, silk and cotton fabrics, as well as cigarettes, sweets, and preserves. Egypt and Sinai possess stores of iron, chrome, and other minerals, which may prove to be important, but so far the Arab lands have not developed mines, except for the gold mines in Saudi Arabia. The famous copper deposits, which the ancient Pharaohs exploited in Sinai, and the copper mines of Transjordan, which King Solomon worked to help pay for his temple and his chariots, can no longer be operated on a paying basis.

As the Arab countries grow a great deal of cotton, it is natural that the largest factories should be devoted to spinning cotton cloth. Last June I went all through the Mudarris factory, and for that reason I will take it as an example of the sort of progress that is going on in the field of industry.

Although it was started a few years before the war its rapid growth is largely due to the new period of independence, when the government is charging protective tariffs on manufactured goods, but allowing raw materials to enter the country free. The factory is situated on the outskirts of Aleppo. It is owned by Syrian Muslims, and, as most of the labourers are Muslims too, a mosque is being built for them to worship in.

The Mudarris family has recently paid a million Syrian pounds to buy cotton lands in East Syria, but they also procure raw cotton from neighbouring plantations.

The machinery has been purchased in England, Switzerland, France, and Germany, and seems to be thoroughly up to date. Some of the automatic machines are the last word in modern equipment.

There are four Diesel engines and dynamos to supply power and large boilers to supply steam. I shall not attempt to describe the many large areas devoted to different technical processes, but I must say how impressed I was by the order, cleanliness, and discipline, which used to be so lacking in the East. An expert chemist works in a well-equipped laboratory and a serious attempt is made to keep the dyes and other materials up to the best modern standards.

There are thirteen hundred employees, who work in three shifts for six days of the week. The labourer is provided with a bath and breakfast before he starts work and another hot bath at the end of the day. He has a locker of his own and a clean room in which to eat his picnic lunch. There is an efficient system of time clocks and the employee is expected to work for eight hours a day, unless he is ill, in which case he is given free medical care.

The minimum wage is equal to about twelve shillings and sixpence a day, according to the official rate of exchange, but experienced men

receive considerably more. At the end of the year a 7 per cent. bonus is distributed to the employees. Four per cent. of this is granted as extra pay while 3 per cent. is set aside to cover employer's liability. Not long ago a Syrian workman was fortunate if he received three shillings a day, so it is evident that real improvement is being accomplished.

In order to guard against tuberculosis, which is a danger in cotton mills, a labourer is only employed for ten years at a time. According to the law of Syria, he is paid a substantial indemnity when his period of contract ends. The factory management also helps him to find other work.

The labourers appreciate the treatment which they receive, and they have consistently refused to join strikes, in spite of the fact that there has been active Communist agitation in the Aleppo region.

As there is a large demand for cloth in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, the Mudarris factory and others like it are making money and helping to prevent unemployment.

One of the promising things about the younger generation is the fact that well-educated young men are completing advanced study and then starting industrial enterprises with their own hands, so as to learn the manufacturing processes by personal experience. One graduate of our University learned how to pasteurize milk, and started a dairy business by his own efforts. A second alumnus studied the jam industry in Ireland and developed a successful business, with the help of his family. A third graduate is setting up a perfume plant in his father's garage, although his father is a wealthy man, belonging to an old and aristocratic family. This spirit of enterprise is a new thing in the East and is a promising phase of the new independence.

In spite of the importance of this industry, the Arab lands are still primarily agricultural. Irrigation and agriculture have already been developed in the Nile valley and there are over three hundred thousand members in the consumers' co-operatives of Egypt. But the neighbouring states have only recently become interested in agricultural development.

King Ibn Sa'ud is asking American experts to develop irrigation and modern farming near al-Kharj in the South Najf. He is also continuing to sink wells, so as to persuade the nomads to become farmers.

Last year I enjoyed a conversation with His Highness, the Regent of Iraq, who told me about his plan for developing a large lake near the Euphrates, so as to draw off the water at flood time and provide irrigation when the freshets subside. During the autumn two high Iraqi officials started serious negotiations to carry out an irrigation project of vast proportions, so as to turn the Land of the Two Rivers into a second Egypt.

The President of Syria has employed some foreign advisers, established an experimental farm and started to build an agricultural school in Damascus. A beet sugar business is being developed between Homs and Hama, with new irrigation canals, and a factory nearing completion. Many rich landlords are undertaking large-scale farming, with mechanical tractors, petroleum irrigation pumps, and modern methods of fertilizing. D.D.T. is also being used extensively, so as to free the peasants from malaria and to enable them to do efficient work.

The Arab Awakening has reached a point where feudalism is giving way to a new aristocracy of education. The influential officials, who help Ibn Sa'ud to conduct his kingdom, are mainly men who have risen from the ranks. In Egypt, Lebanon, and Palestine a new bourgeoisie of educated men and women is taking the place of the old aristocracy. Many well-educated young men from poor families are also working their way up to positions of influence in 'Iraq, Syria, and Transjordan.

Progress among the Arabs is not only political and economic. It is also social and cultural. Religious leaders are no longer trying to cling to mediæval traditions, but are giving their blessing to new types of reform. The question of the Caliphate is being kept in the background, so that nationalism can have free sway, unimpeded by religious sentiment. In spite of the Quramic injunctions against usury, the members of the *Ulcima* in Egypt have interpreted Scripture so as to permit insurance companies to do business and to encourage the powerful *Misr Banque*. Except in conservative parts of the country, the religious leaders are permitting the emancipation of women.

When I first went to Beirut, the Mufti, who was alive at that time, was so opposed both to European music and modern science, that he forbade the Muslim College to use a violin, so as to demonstrate vibrations to a physics class. Now a Muslim government, like that of 'Iraq, has its own bands, its conservatory of music, musical broadcasts over the state radio, and science teaching in the official schools.

There is also a new spirit of toleration, as the old sectarian "Millet" system of the Ottoman Empire is giving way to modern nationalism. I have belonged to three committees of a public nature in Beirut. Each one of them has taken pains to have a representative of every important sect on the committee, so as to assure proper team-work. The governments are also making sure that minority groups have fair representation in the parliaments and cabinets. It is further true that the new systems of state education are non-sectarian, so that the children of different communities can grow up together as friends.

The most important phase of social progress is the new attitude towards women. Polygamy, the veil, and the harem system are rapidly disappearing. Girls are becoming educated, marrying boys whom they know at a reasonable age, and enjoying all sorts of activities. They dance and go to the cinema, play tennis, and ski, and take part in various philanthropies and public enterprises. Many Christian girls and some Muslims enjoy sea bathing. They also serve as assistants and secretaries in business houses and government offices. Most significant of all, the old system of patriarchal life is disappearing, so that a young man and his wife can enjoy their own home, instead of living with their parents.

The Arabs realize that they cannot enjoy constitutional government and democratic institutions unless their youth is educated. It is amazing to see the efforts that Syria and 'Iraq are making to expand their school systems. We have felt this new activity at the American University of Beirut. During the past year Syria sent forty-two men and women to be trained as teachers, while 'Iraq sent sixty-five. Next year 'Iraq expects to send eighty more. Elementary schools, secondary institutions, as well

as schools of higher learning are being developed as fast as teachers can be trained. Egypt is rapidly enlarging her well-established school system and encouraging her Union for Social Reform to start nursery schools for children and schools of economics for girls. Egypt has also helped Ibn Sa'ud to organize a modern secondary school at Mecca. Private institutions, too, are developing as a result of the new independence. Some of them are managed in a personal way by individuals, but most of them are becoming incorporated under boards of trustees or pious foundations. One of the most interesting is the farm school in Palestine for Arab orphans.

There is also a tremendous demand for foreign education, as the Arabs realize that they must understand foreign culture and science if their progress is to be a success.

Our greatest problem at the American University of Beirut is to limit enrolment and also to do justice to the large number of students, whom we feel it only fair to accept. Our responsibility is so great that we especially appreciate the co-operation of the British Council, which supports a hostel at the University, as well as helping to supply three professors and several assistants. As there are also a number of Englishmen engaged independently of the Council on the staff at Beirut, in addition to numerous Arab teachers trained in England, our Anglo-Saxon culture and idealism can be presented to the students, free from all prejudice or division, in a constructive spirit of collaboration.

We have found by experience that our students tend to devote their energies and the benefits of their study to public service, as long as they feel that they can work as the free citizens of independent countries. Last year, for instance, three hundred students volunteered to do adult education work during the summer vacation and supported a camp for poor boys. During the winter student committees conducted night classes for six hundred poor boys and collected 22,000 Lebanese pounds for welfare work. The greatest benefit of independence is probably the psychological effect that it has on the youth.

But all thoughtful Arabs realize that this period of emancipation has its dangers, as well as its opportunities.

In the first place, there is the world-wide danger of religious unbelief, which makes for materialism, extravagance, pleasure seeking, social licence, and all kinds of corruption. If the Arab progress is to be enduring, it must be accompanied by an intellectual leadership, which can interpret spiritual principles in the light of modern science and form a new basis for faith. This is a problem which we all share alike, so that it is not in any way peculiar to the Arabs alone.

In the second place, progress must not be allowed to become merely the copying of foreign culture and manners, in a superficial way, without acquiring the traditions and refinements which have made Western civilization so great. The Arabs have the problem of selecting what is best in Western life and of so mixing it with their own heritage of tradition and behaviour, that they will form a new culture. This new culture, though modern, must be truly indigenous, so as to preserve the respect for personality and the chivalry for which the Arabs have been famous.

Finally, there is the all-important problem of avoiding division between the classes, and of using the benefits of modern life to uplift the poor, as well as the rich. As the progress of modern science and invention found its way into Egypt before the world awoke to understand the importance of social responsibility, there is a serious class division in the Valley of the Nile. The rising generation in Egypt is trying to cure this inherited evil in a courageous and public-spirited way.

But for the other Arab states, prevention will be better than cure. Steps must be taken to uplift the peasants, before a serious class division has time to develop. The problem is an especially critical one, as powerful agencies are doing their best to stir up discontent and a spirit of social radicalism in the Arab lands.

We are living in an exciting age of momentous changes. One of the most dramatic events in modern history is the Arab renaissance. It is essential for the good of the world that Arab independence and the progress it is inspiring should lead to new stability and confidence.

I am sure that all of us who are members of the Royal Central Asian Society wish to congratulate our Arab friends on the progress which they are making. At the same time we are ready to help them, in any way that we can, to face their unsolved problems, that, in the years to come, Arab independence may lead to enduring enlightenment and peace.

Colonel H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD: Is the cotton produced in Syria comparable with the very good long staple of Egyptian cotton?

Dr. DODGE: No. As I understand it the cotton districts in Egypt and Cilicia produce better cotton. The Syrian cotton is not as good as the Egyptian but it is good enough for the cloth they are making there. They may make better cotton in time.

Professor CRESWELL: May I put in a word for the need to stress the value of the cultural treasures of the Middle East and not harp too much on modernism. In the first place, to my knowledge quite a number of beautiful monuments have been damaged and destroyed by the road-making mania. In Baghdad they have been making a *ronde point* through the Marjanayah Madrassah, when actually they could quite well have saved that Madrassah. There are in Baghdad five monuments dating from before 1600, and one of those has been nearly destroyed in order to get a road about three miles long dead-straight without any deflection. The sacrifice is not worth while. Again, when I heard Professor Dodge speaking of all the modern houses in Baghdad I shuddered to think of them. They are houses built one brick thick, whereas the old houses all had thick walls and a *sirdab* or underground room where one could take refuge in the heat of the day when the temperature is 120° F. How would anyone here like to be sitting in a room in a house with walls one brick thick in a temperature of 120° F., saying "Never mind, it is a modern house"? (Laughter.) No. Anybody who has any influence on Middle Eastern opinion should do all he can to get the people at the same time to respect their own cultural past and its achievements, especially in architecture.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecturer says he is not going to answer Professor Creswell as the Professor knows more about the subject than he.

Another MEMBER asked were the school books entirely in Arabic? Were children taught the alphabets of other languages?

Dr. DODGE: In many of the Government schools in 'Iraq and Syria, and Transjordan and, to some extent, in Egypt most of the courses, almost as far as Matriculation, are in Arabic. On the other hand, they teach foreign languages as well as they can and many schools teach them very well indeed. In many of the schools the children are helped to get a certain amount of scientific work done in a European language before they get their Matriculation. In the elementary schools in most of the countries of the Middle East the teaching is entirely in Arabic although in Lebanon there is insistence upon having some foreign language taught in the elementary schools, so that the children become accustomed to the pronunciation.

The CHAIRMAN: As there are no more questions, I should like to say that it has been a great privilege to listen to Dr. Dodge. We of Great Britain, and especially those of us who have worked in the Middle East to help the Arabs, are inclined to look at things too much from our own point of view. It has been most enlightening to hear what a disinterested observer from another nation has had to say. Some few of us have known the Arabs almost as long as Dr. Dodge and watched their progress with equal sympathy. I am one of those few, and I have always had great faith in their future. The changes during the last thirty years have been remarkable and will continue, for the different governments all have far-reaching schemes of development in contemplation.

In regard to what has already taken place, there is a point I would like to mention in connection with a remark of Dr. Dodge's about the roads in Baghdad itself. He was good enough to say that perhaps it was British influence which had started the development of Baghdad. As a matter of fact, it was not so. The credit was due almost entirely to S'aid Arshad Al 'Umari, the Mayor of Baghdad for many years. He was responsible for the laying out of the new city, and I think that other towns, most of which have been fashioned on the same lines as Baghdad, have taken their ideas from him. I have referred to the plans for development which all the Arab countries have. Their many friends will watch their progress with sympathetic interest and will hope that nothing will prevent their fulfilment at an early date.

We are greatly indebted to Dr. Dodge for his interesting and brilliant lecture, and I am sure you would like me to thank him on your behalf for sparing the time to come to us this evening when he is such a busy man and for giving us all so much pleasure. (Applause.)

THE LIQUID GOLD OF ARABIA

By BRIGADIER STEPHEN LONGRIGG, O.B.E.

Lecture given on November 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: Our lecturer, Brigadier Longrigg, served in the first World War, and in 1918 entered the British Administration of Iraq. Two years later he took service with the Iraqi Government, in which he worked from 1920 to 1931.

He has visited Iraq many times since then, and has also lived in Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine; he has visited the Arab areas of the Persian Gulf and Sa'udi Arabia on several occasions.

During the second World War Brigadier Longrigg was Governor of Eritrea from 1942 to 1944. He has written a history of that country as well as a history of Iraq, which is the standard work on the subject. He is now connected with the Iraq Petroleum Company, and proposes to discuss the importance of oil in the life of Arabia as a whole.

THE story which I have been asked to tell contains, I am afraid, little that can be new to most of an audience such as this; nor shall I try to embellish it by heightening contrasts or the use of brilliant colours. It concerns, however, a great, interesting and famous territory, and the manner in which this, in the most recent years, has become the stage of a social and economic revolution unusual in form and scale; and it speaks of an important new source of wealth for the world at large.

The Arabian peninsula—the Island of the Arabs—has throughout history enjoyed a special place in the worlds of romance and sentiment, of poetry and song. There is, indeed, beauty as well as vastness in this great territory—beauty of sand and sunset, palmgrove and camp, and village, desert and garden, terraced mountain and blue sea; and there was, until recently, the lure of the unexplored. Even so, convention has been generous, perhaps over-generous, to the appeal of the Arab steed, the Gold of Arabia, the singing sands, the spices and the perfumes of Araby, the secret cities of Arabia the Happy.

If the country has been thus highly praised—a country, moreover, easily accessible from every sea and offering cliffless undefended coasts—it may at first sight be surprising that, weak in a military sense as it has always been, it has managed to keep its independence, while neighbouring Africa has been almost completely partitioned among the powers of Europe, and India the prey of successive conquerors. It is true, indeed, that the Arabian fringes have been penetrated and even dominated at times by foreigners: the Yaman by Ethiopians in the fifth century, Oman more than once by incursions from Iran, various trading posts and ports by the Portuguese and British in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Hijaz and Yaman, partially and discontinuously, by the Turks from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Even Najd has been visited, briefly and unsuccessfully, by stranger columns. But these attempts to dominate Arabian soil have brought no wealth and no tranquillity to invaders or invaded; most

have been shortlived; and none, save the compact British settlement at Aden, have done more than hold fitfully a few of the main coastal centres. By and large, Arabia south of the Fertile Crescent has kept its political as well as its social independence. The reason, simple enough, is that the hard facts of Arabian climate and scene are not only changeless but by their inhospitable rigour have always constituted its defence. No one has long or keenly envied the Arabians their country; they have on the whole been little molested by reason, merely, of the very aridity and heat, dust and desert, of which so much of the peninsula is formed, and by which its various provinces are divided. They have enjoyed the safety of the undesired, and have lived lives to which a hundred generations have specialized them, in conditions barely tolerable to others. Even in the favoured Yaman, the wastage of Turkish soldiers' lives was proverbial, and all invaders, from Ælius Gallus onwards, have met the same deadly welcome.

It is certain, none the less, that human life has been lived, by a civilized and intelligent population, for thousands of years not only in the relatively well-watered Yaman and Oman but in the great wastes of the interior and the low sandy coasts. This was less remarkable in ages when human wants were everywhere few and simple: when shelter was unasked, food of the plainest kind could be found, clothes were of wool or skins, weapons home-made, and the direst poverty no disgrace even in rulers. The purpose of this lecture will be to indicate that, by the third decade of this century, a position unlikely to be temporary or curable had been reached in Arabia wherein the claims of people and princes alike to a life far superior to the merely primitive—indeed, in the case of the rulers, increasingly ambitious and sophisticated—seemed impossible of satisfaction from purely Arabian sources; the country was poorer than ever before, and its prospects darker. Such, as I hope to show, was the aspect of Arabian society a mere twenty years ago, immediately before an Earth-fairy, who hitherto had cast no glance in its direction, worked the transforming miracle which opens the new age in Arabia.

What, then, was the situation in this wide and famous territory in the late twenties of this century? Politically, it had regained stability after the 1914-18 war, though the period of government subsidies was at an end. The Hijaz, free of Turkish overlordship and of its Sherifian rulers, had fallen to the strong beneficent arm of Ibn Sa'ud, who still firmly held his Hasa province, and had added the Jabal Shammar to his own patrimony of Najd: Sa'udi Arabia had been created. The patriarchal isolated Yaman, free of the Turks, was to make its terms with the Sa'udis in 1934, and still resisted all openings of its doors to the modern world. The humble sultanates of the Aden Protectorate showed no leanings either to unity or to progress. That of Oman, deeply divided within and modest in its outside relations, lay poor and stagnant. The Gulf coast was fringed with its string of small mainland shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast and Qatar and Kuwait, and the island shaikhdom of Bahrain; these all clung to their protected independence, but seemed to expect a future at least as humble as their past. The political entities of Arabia, in fact, from the greatest to the smallest, had little to anticipate but, at the best, survival.

Meanwhile on the social and economic side the territory was, as between

the areas of local surplus and of deficiency, rather less than self-supporting—as it had always been—upon the very lowest level of subsistence. It had, on balance, to import foodstuffs, partly from sheer necessity and partly because custom had by now made indispensable certain products not native to the country, notably tea, sugar and rice. All cotton piece-goods necessary for clothing must be imported, save for a few crude lengths spun and woven in Hasa and Oman. Hardware, pots and pans came from abroad, since neither locally-made pottery nor the brass and copper vessels of the Yaman and Oman sufficed for Arabian needs. Arms and ammunition were bought in other countries, and must be paid for. And the same was true of oil for lamps, and of many household articles strange to the tents and hovels of the poor but usual in the rich houses of Mecca and San'a.

All this could not but mean that wealth must somehow be found, from this poorest of countries, to pay for all these imports: and we will pass to examine what sources of wealth there were upon which Arabia had in the past been able to draw. One of these, since antiquity, had been political or military expansion—the invasion of Ethiopia, for instance, by south-Arabians in pre-historic days, that of the whole Middle East by the Muslims in and after the seventh century A.D., and that of East Africa in modern times—resulting in such volume of loot or tribute or trade as the invaded territories could offer; and another—far more important because more regulated and recurrent—the steady infiltration by Arabs of Arabia into the related countries to the north-east and north-west. This has been throughout history, and certainly pre-history too, the most constant feature of Arabian demography—the steady drift of individuals, families, clans, and whole tribe-groups into North Africa and the Fertile Crescent. Apart from the outstanding historical examples, every resident in the Middle East can think of a dozen specimens of the process—families of Arabian origin now in 'Iraq or Syria, tribes of Najd or the Yaman now in Africa or the Shamiyah, the drift of unemployed men from Kuwait to Basrah. There is no better single example of emigration on its positive, wealth-producing side than that of men of the Hadhramaut to the Dutch East Indies and Singapore where, from the close of the nineteenth century, they have settled and prospered and brought or sent back fortunes to the quiet cities of their native wadi. Others from the Hadhramaut have served the rulers of Haiderabad, men from the Yaman and the Hijaz have settled on the Somali coast, and Bombay has its Arab colony. Apart from these longer-range enterprises, the steady northward permeation from Arabia explains much of the unity of tradition—as well as of language, faith and blood—which has ensured the singleness of the modern Arab world; but it was also the regular means of adjusting the Arabian population to its resources, and limiting the need to import what could not be paid for.

But in spite of expansion and emigration an economic problem persisted and other means were required to solve it. Something further could be done by a special form of "invisible export"—the development of a religious tourist-traffic at Mecca. The great annual pilgrimage, to which Mecca owed its position since pre-Islamic times, has been for twelve centuries the greatest source of wealth in Western Arabia; it created markets, kept routes open, focused trade, and offered its tens of thousands of the

Faithful to the exactions of the Hijaz tribes and Amirs. In the twentieth century it remained the sole industry of that area, and since 1926 provided nearly the whole of Sa'udi revenues. And other "invisible exports" have been in some degree linked with the pilgrim traffic—that of the ancient silk and spice transit trade overland from the East to the Levant, and that of the earnings of Arab seafarers everywhere from the East Indies to South Africa. A special form of commercial activity worthy of mention was peculiar to Kuwait—that of smuggling merchandise across the open desert into 'Iraq: a time-honoured lucrative traffic most difficult to check. But other specialities of the Gulf shaikhdoms, famous as wealth-producers in their time, had much diminished by the early twentieth century. I refer not so much to the sea-borne slave-trade in African negroes, since the greater part of these stayed in Arabia and thus formed an import, while only a lesser part was profitably re-exported to Iran; and the same applies to the arms traffic, for which the Oman ports were internationally famous in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. The greater resource of the Trucial Coast shaikhdoms was, for centuries, piracy—which, indeed, gave its name to that coast before the Maritime Truces imposed by Great Britain early in the nineteenth century changed the name to Trucial. This piracy was the sea-side equivalent of the normal desert camel-raiding, satisfied the same instincts, brought much greater profit, and moreover was unilateral. It takes a high place among Arabian sources of wealth in all but the latest age.

Turning now to material exports, we shall see how modest these have been. The loading of a few cargoes of foodstuffs from areas of local surplus could do little to correct the balance of trade; if some maize and fruits could be spared from the Yaman, some dates and vegetables from the Oman coast, dates and rice from the Hasa oases, these insignificant exports were more than balanced by the import needs of the Hijaz and Kuwait and—for one commodity or another—nearly every other area. The coffee of Yaman, indeed, deserves a special mention, because this culture, imported from Ethiopia in the early years of our era, was perennially famous, and the Yaman coffee is in fact of the highest quality; but by the twentieth century it was no longer without rivals, Brazilian and others, and had passed its best as a major trade item. Nor could the regular but small—sometimes altogether petty—surpluses of other natural produce do much to enrich the territory: the dried fish of the south and east coasts, the gums of the south and south-west, the date-fronds and matting of Oman, the camel-hides and the sheep and goat-skins, the animal-fat in tins or skins. To these, so pathetically small for so vast an area, can be added a few camels of Najd, and the more highly prized beast of Oman, a very few Arab horses—few because the horse is in fact a rarity and a luxury in peninsular Arabia—and the fine donkeys of Hasa.

These almost exhaust the list of exported natural products. Of minerals there is little to say: some salt from the Yaman coast and from Aden, a few loads of charcoal from the Hijaz, semi-precious pebbles of onyx and agate from the Yaman. All these could make no very serious contribution; more important in antiquity was the "gold of Arabia" extracted from the northern and central Hijaz on a scale which legend or history would have

us think of as considerable. Mining was discontinued as profitless in medieval and modern times, but has been resumed at Mahad al Dhahab, not far from Mecca, during the last few years, an interesting and perhaps hopeful enterprise.

The list of locally-made articles for export is not impressive. It contains the saddles and leather belts and tents of the south-west and south, the daggers of the Yaman and Oman, the copper and brass vessels of Oman and Hasa, the home-made indigo dye and dyed cotton-lengths of Yaman, some straw mats and goat-hair rugs and woollen cloaks; some soap and cigarettes at Aden, and boats built at many hard of the south-west and the Gulf. In these few words we can dismiss, as more ingenious and creditable than economically considerable, the arts and crafts of Arabia. It remains to speak of one product, the most precious and characteristic of them all. The shell of the pearl-oyster is collected and exported from all the Arabian coasts, the pearl itself from the little principalities of the Gulf, from the confines of 'Iraq to Ras Masandum. These pearl-banks have since the dawn of history provided the divers and crews of the pearling-fleet with lives of poverty, ill-health, endless hope, and occasional fortune—and the owners and merchants with comparative, sometimes authentic, riches. Always a great part of the manpower of these coasts has been devoted to, or monopolised by, pearl-fishing, their resources used for the maintenance of hundreds of boats, their prosperity gauged by the annual intake and sale of pearls; a great traffic, with Kuwait and Bahrain as its centres, regulated in its every detail by traditional rules and habitudes. As a source of wealth, however, the pearl trade must be judged, even in its best years, as disappointing; the vast majority of those who follow it live and die in debt, its proceeds fall into few hands, and enrich chiefly the foreign buyers and, locally, a limited circle in a limited area. It is indeed the chief accomplishment of the pearl trade that through it civilized human life has proved possible at all in the grim regions where it is practised.

Thus we conclude our survey of Arabian wealth-producing resources in the twenties of this century. We find that the old profitable cross-country trade-routes were no more, killed largely by the Suez Canal; piracy was ended, the arms and slave trades dead or dying, government subsidies discontinued, the Mecca pilgrimage sometimes of tragic smallness and always dependent on the policies, the finances, the communications of other countries. Material exports of foodstuff or natural produce or minerals or livestock or manufactures were humble in the extreme. Coffee was something, but not much; pearls were still there, but the trade had entered a period of fluctuating decline emphasised by the world financial crisis of 1929-31; prices were poor, boats laid up, crews dispersed. Political expansion was no longer possible, emigration was less easy into the modernized, passport-using Arab states. Arabia had been forced back to live on its own unaided resources, and it could scarcely be imagined that these would ever greatly increase. The prospect of these tragic conditions—for such they were—for the rulers of the Peninsula was very grave. All had had, during and after the war of 1914-18, glimpses of higher standards of life and empire; all had seen modern States, with developed services and equipment, founded in the northern Arab territories. And now, by 1930,

Kuwait and Bahrain and all that coast stood under sentence of death by slow undernourishment, and the King of Sa'udi Arabia himself could look round in vain for some revenue wherewith to maintain his state, continue his princely hospitality, keep open his routes and wireless-stations, pursue his policy of settlement of his Ikhwan. In a word, there was every danger that poverty, endemic and governmental, would depress ever lower the standard of life throughout Arabia, and weaken its rulers to the point of losing prestige, then obedience, and finally the power to hold and administer their peoples.

It was at this hour that the discovery of oil in Arabia changed its fortunes, suddenly and no doubt for all time.

In telling the story of Arabian oil, to which I will now proceed, I shall omit all geological and technological and scientific considerations, which neither time nor my own limitations would permit me to include. The story, which I will tell in chronological order, goes back to the last days of the Ottoman Empire, when a licence to seek for oil in the Farsan Islands off the coast of Asir was given to a party of German or Turkish prospectors. These sought in vain. In 1918 two English oil-men toured in the Hadhramaut, and another in 1919-20; they found nothing that could interest them. In 1923 Major Holmes on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate obtained an oil concession for the Hasa province from Ibn Sa'ud; but it soon lapsed by reason of a general lack of interest. In the same year two American geologists visited the south-western Yaman, and reported nothing that was promising. In 1925 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company sent geologists for a short visit to Oman. In 1927—the year of the great oil strike in northern 'Iraq—the Shell Company obtained rights from the Idrisi of Asir to drill on the Farsan Islands; they drilled, and withdrew. In 1928 a concession for Bahrain Island, obtained from the Shaikh by Holmes in 1925, was—after being rejected as valueless by certain British interests—transferred by the Gulf Oil Corporation who had bought it, to the Standard Oil Company of California. The latter formed, and registered in Canada, the Bahrain Oil Company, or “Bapco,” and commenced to drill. In June, 1932, they struck oil in the centre of the island, pressed on with drilling and development, and were ready to export cargoes thirty months later. This was the turning point.

In 1933 the Kuwait Oil Company was formed, half-and-half between the Anglo-Iranian (former Anglo-Persian) and the Gulf Oil Corporation; and the first grant of an oil concession for eastern Sa'udi Arabia was granted by King Ibn Sa'ud to the California Company, against very half-hearted British competition, of which your present lecturer was the embarrassed and frustrated spokesman at Jiddah. In 1934 the Bahrain concession, held by Bapco, was redrafted and rebestowed, while the first tankers came and went; and the Shaikh of Kuwait reached agreement with the Kuwait Company. Standard Oil of California began drilling in al Hasa. In 1935 the Shaikh of Qatar gave a concession to the Anglo-Iranian, who by agreement transferred it to Petroleum Development (Qatar), Ltd., a member of the 'Iraq Petroleum group. In 1936 California admitted the Texas Company to a half-share in their Arabian interests, and Caltex was thereby formed. The first oil in the Peninsula itself was struck

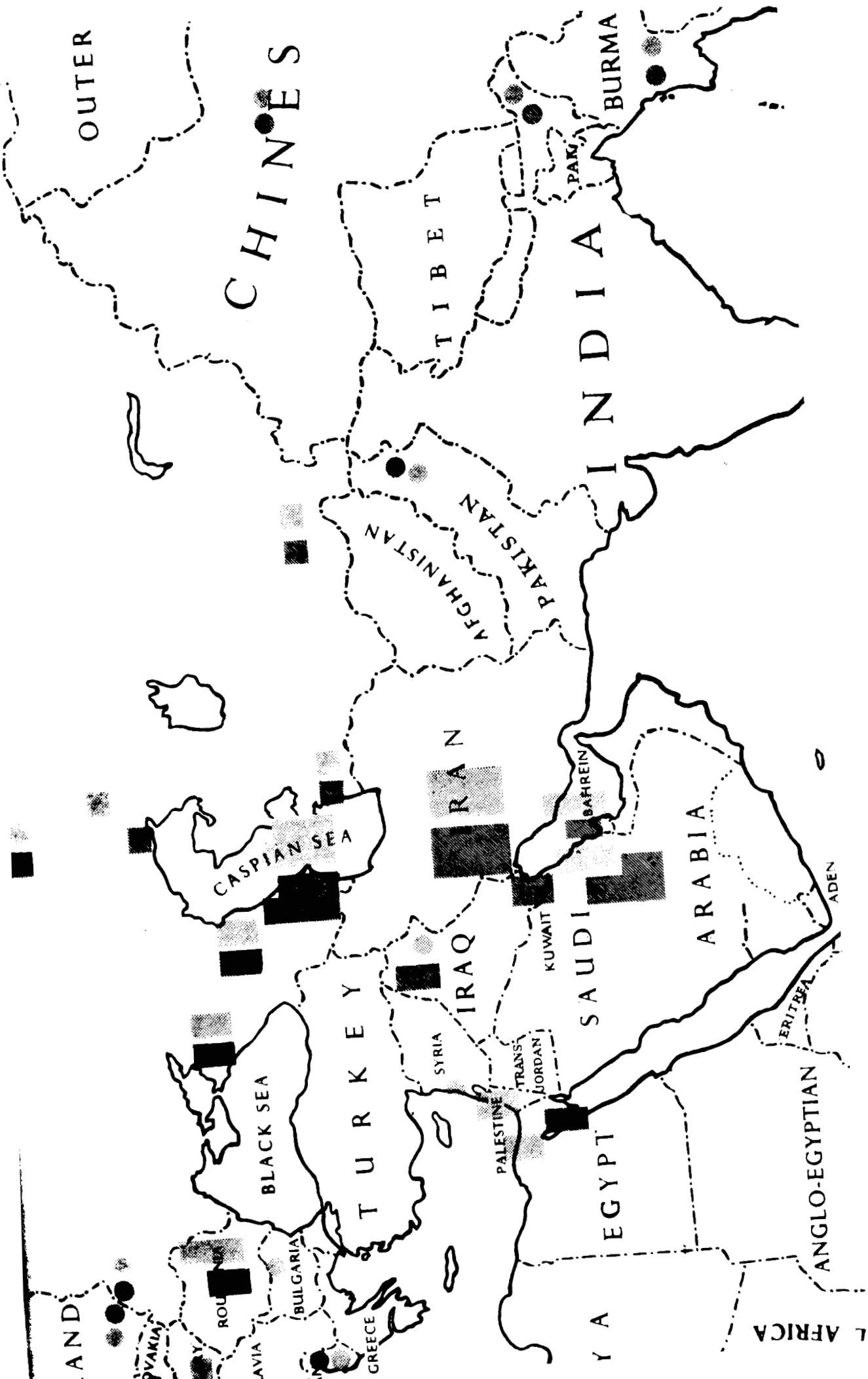
this year at Damman in al Hasa—a moment of enormous promise. King Ibn Sa'ud at the same time gave to an I.P.C. associated company—Petroleum Development (Western Arabia)—represented at Jiddah and Taif by your lecturer as negotiator, a concession for the Hijaz and Asir.

In 1937 the I.P.C. group collected the first few of its series of smaller Persian Gulf concessions—for Oman, Dubai, Sharjah, and others—secured exploration rights for the Aden Protectorate, and launched a geological party in the Yaman lowlands, and others in its Hijaz and Qatar territories. The first well in Kuwait was a failure, and further drilling in al Hasa was for the moment unrewarded. But development continued at Bahrain; the first refinery there was opened, of which subsequent years were to see the throughput increased two, four, and finally fifteen-fold. In 1938 the Caltex enterprise in al Hasa, now known as the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company, or “Casoc,” found the true horizon of their great Damman field; and a month before the Kuwait Company had struck oil in its present Burghan field, now revealed as one of the very richest in the world. They and Casoc pressed on with drilling on their discovered structures. The I.P.C. group obtained further rights on the Trucial Coast, explored parts of Oman, drilled without success on the Farsan Islands under their Hijaz concession, explored the Hadhramaut interior, and spudded in at Qatar. In 1939 they struck oil on the Dukhan structure in western Qatar, and signed a concession for Abu Dhabi. Casoc obtained more territory in eastern Arabia from Ibn Sa'ud, pressed on with development in Hasa, and finished a pipeline from Damman to the sea at Ras Tanura; export of oil began and was to continue, on a small scale, throughout the war. Bapco continued in production, and in 1940 was granted further territory—largely reefs, islands, and open sea—by the Shaikh. Casoc in this year discovered its Abu Hadriyah field, and the Kuwait Oil Company drilled more wells at Burghan. Prospects in the Hijaz by now appeared hopeless, and exploration work elsewhere in Arabia ceased “for duration.”

In 1941 the Hijaz concession was abandoned. In the east Casoc discovered the great Abqaiq field, and the Qatar Company confirmed its smaller structure at Jabal Dukhan.

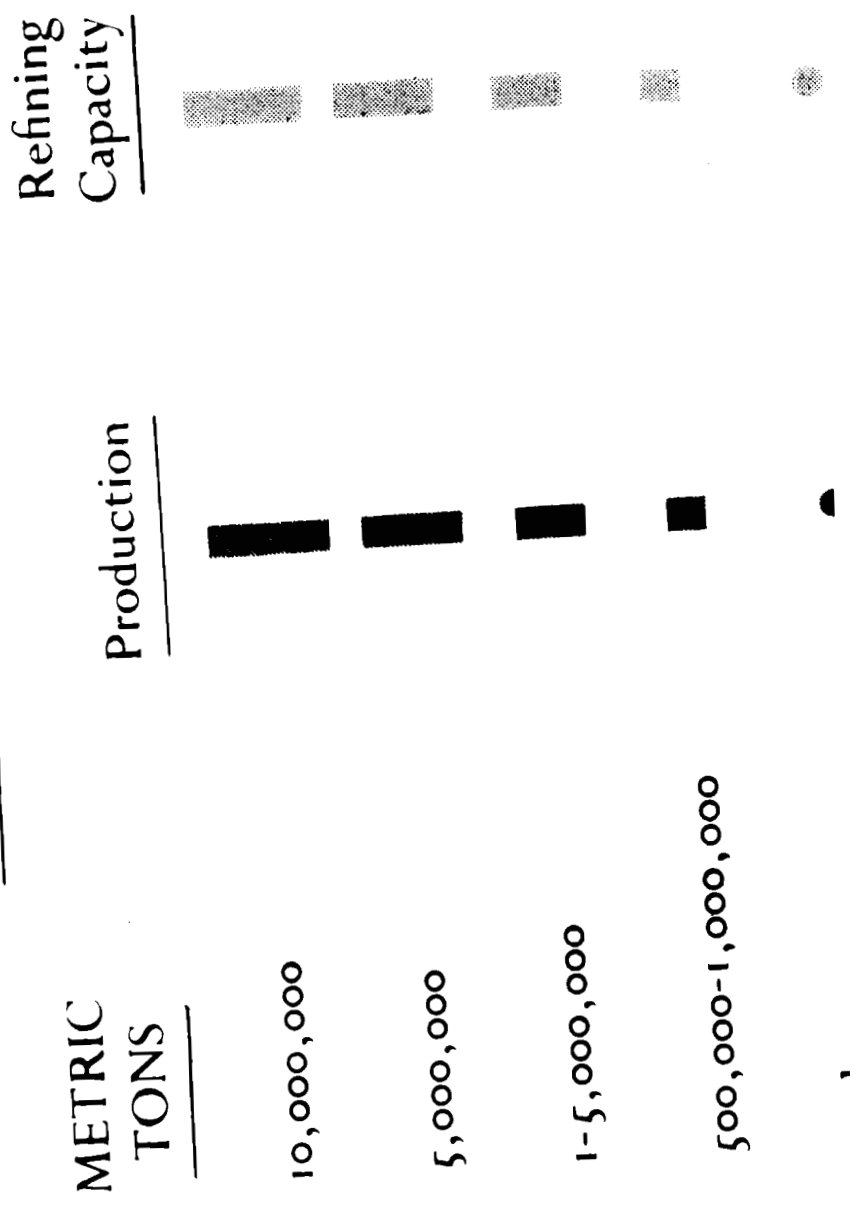
In 1942 Bahrain continued to produce, refine and export, as it did throughout the war; but in Qatar and Kuwait work was suspended, and drilling ceased for two years in Casoc territory. In 1944 the latter company, its name now changed to Arabian-American Oil Company, or Aramco, restarted drilling at Damman, and next year located its Qatif field. In 1945 also rigs were working again at Burghan, and the first shipment of Kuwait oil left Fahahil in June, 1946. In 1945 the Damman-Bahrain pipeline, of which seventeen miles is submarine, was completed and Sa'udi oil was treated, as it still is, in the greatly extended Bahrain refinery, as well as in another refinery finished in the same year on the mainland at Ras Tanura, the Aramco loading terminal.

Post-war developments have shown a rapid further acceleration, which I shall shortly summarize. At Kuwait's Burghan field, seventeen wells were in production by mid-1948, loading arrangements completed to deal with heavy shipments, jetties under construction, and production running at a rate of some five or six million tons a year—a figure shortly to be



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LEGEND



greatly increased. Present export is by tanker from F'amil terminal, in crude form; but a large-diameter pipe-line is planned to carry Kuwait crude to the Mediterranean, and a small-scale refinery is under construction. The Shaikh's oil rights in the Kuwait-Sa'udi Neutral Zone, of which the Sa'udi half-rights were conceded to Casoc in 1939, have lately been allotted to an American Independent group—new-comers to the East—and arrangements for combining to explore and exploit this highly promising acreage are said to be in hand. In the Hasa province, Aramco located the Buqqah field in 1947, and that of Abu Dar this year. The local pipe-line system has been greatly extended, the terminal and the refinery at Ras Tanura developed to a high capacity; some 80 per cent. of Sa'udi production, which to-day is at a rate of some fifteen to twenty million tons a year, is refined at Ras Tanura and Bahrain. This figure of output will be increased by 50 or 100 per cent. if and when the large-diameter pipe-line to the Lebanese coast, now planned and designed and partly completed within Sa'udi territory, is able to extend across its western neighbours. In this project, as in all the California-Texas enterprises in Sa'udi Arabia, other American interests are likely very soon to be associated—those of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and of the Socony-Vacuum Corporation. Bapco has since the war maintained its own production of some one and a quarter million tons a year, and has greatly extended its refining and loading potential, both for its own and for Sa'udi oil. The Qatar field sustained a bad set-back by the dismantling and destruction of all its wells as a war "denial measure" in 1942; but work began again in 1945 and drilling in 1947. New producing wells are now ready, a sixty-mile pipe-line to the east coast, and tankage and terminal and all associated installations are in hand; export, on a scale of the order of two million tons a year at first, is expected to begin early in 1950. Other companies of the 'Iraq Petroleum Company group have since the war carried out geological and geophysical exploration in the Hadhramaut, in Dhofar, in the Oman hinterland and on the Trucial Coast.

I can now summarize the stage reached to-day in the oil industry in Arabia—with the proviso that it is still moving forward and outward with growing momentum, and to day's achievements may well be dwarfed by to-morrow's. Western Arabia has been, at least temporarily, abandoned. The south-west and the whole south coast seem to show little promise. The Trucial Coast and the western Oman fringes remain under close study; more may well be heard of them. Qatar is under strenuous development, and will soon be an exporting country. Eastern Sa'udi Arabia has emerged as an extremely important oil territory—one of the world's half-dozen greatest—with a number of producing fields and immense proved reserves. Kuwait must be ranked as not inferior to its greater neighbour; it possesses at least one field quite outstanding, if not indeed unique in the world, for its potential productivity. Bahrain has assured but relatively small-scale production. The four territories offer jointly the Arabian contribution to the world's oil supplies—a contribution of major importance by any standards; and to-morrow may see it doubled or trebled from its present level of some twenty millions of tons a year if materials, especially steel, are made available: if political conditions are not adverse to the completion of

the great pipe-lines to the Mediterranean : if tanker fleets multiply : and if the concessionaires of other Arabian territories join their neighbours in finding and exploiting new fields.

Meanwhile enormous difficulties had been overcome in the course of prospecting and drilling, pipe-laying, storing, processing and refining, shipping and the various associated operations, all in inhospitable, largely uninhabited, desert, or near desert, country lacking water, shade, fuel, food and every other necessary resource. In arid desolate wastes stores, factories, workshops, hospitals, power-plants, laboratories, houses and cottages, halls, canteens, water-wells, clubs, bathing-pools and a dozen more types of building and installation had been erected in carefully planned settlements capable of ensuring the health and activity of hundreds of Europeans and Americans, and many thousands of local employees—Kuwaitis, Qataris, Bahrainis, Sa'udis. The oil industry in Arabia is fully established, while improving and extending that establishment day by day; it is in production, while increasing its output month by month; it has become in ten years incomparably the greatest employer and the richest source of material wealth in the Peninsula.

The effects on Arabian politics and society, which it is the purpose of this lecture to indicate, must, it is obvious, vary regionally with the scale of the operations. In South-West Arabia, the Yaman and the Aden Protectorate, the industry has so far put down no roots at all, and contributed only the interest of, and small profits realized from, seasonal survey parties. In Oman and the Trucial Coast the rulers have received modest but comfortable sums on signature of their concessions and annual payments ranging from the equivalent of £3,000 to £20,000; and the expenditure of exploration parties and employment of local men, have been and still are welcome items in so humble an economy, and may lead to others far greater. Meanwhile they perceptibly improve the position of the Shaikh or Sultan. The four territories now producing oil have, of course, benefited incomparably more. The rulers, without cost or effort, receive or will shortly receive from royalties per ton of oil and from commuted taxation net annual sums ranging from half a million sterling to six or more millions payable in gold or dollars—State revenues greater beyond compare than have ever been known in Arabia : and indeed—most conspicuously in the case of Kuwait—an almost fantastic reversal of their age-long penury.

With these resources it will be possible—as in Sa'udi Arabia has already been accomplished—for the rulers to maintain and increase their own position and dignity, and to wield an enhanced power. The fear of the disintegration of the State, due to lack of that cohesive force and indispensable royal weapon, money, has vanished, and with it fears of social disorder, frontier troubles, and the evils of anarchy. The princes are or will be able to provide disciplined and well armed Security forces : chosen and well paid judges and officials : and foreign advisers of their own seeking. Communications—roads, telegraphs, posts, railways—can be created. Works of agricultural development, experiments in stock-breeding and the utilisation of natural products, can be carried out. Public services, notably those of education and of medicine, can be inaugurated. Life, at least in the urban centres, including those far from the oil-fields, in Najd or the

Hijaz, can be refined and enriched by such modern amenities as are suitable and welcome. There are already many signs that in all such projects the oil companies themselves, served by experts versed in and sympathetic to the Arabian world, will be among the chief supporters and advisers of the governments.

The new position of these States will not be marked only by internal changes; they will cut internationally a very different figure from that of the past. Small territories of no great interest to the world have in a day become wealthy, desirable, strategic. Sa'udi Arabia has become a leading instead of a backward member of the Arab world, and is well able to sustain the rôle. The old defence of their independence, sheer undesirability, exists no longer; its place is taken by the changed fashion of our times, in which conquest and land-grabbing and even colonization are no longer respectable, and by the inhibiting effect of mutual jealousy among possible aggressors: no great power is likely to gobble up Kuwait or Qatar. But a sense of strain, of self-conscious importance, of a balance of stresses, and the certainty of being watched and envied will deprive the governments of these territories of something of their ancient peace; comfortable obscurity is gone for ever.

To the public—a public assembled in haste from nearby villages and tribes, and from ever further afield as the need grows and news spreads—the practical benefits of the new position are no less immediate than to their lords. They take the form of good wages and allowances, food, housing, water, light, medical services, schools, technical training, and all the advantages offered by great and enlightened organizations which spare neither effort nor cost to treat their workers and the public wisely and progressively. And the comparative enrichment of the companies' own employees spreads to wider regions through the dispersal of their purchasing power to elsewhere in Arabia, through the use of local contractors and suppliers, and through such enterprises as road-making, well-digging, harbour works, and in future doubtless railway construction.

I will pause here, for one moment, to touch on a further possibility which is sometimes suggested in the relations between the oil companies and the territories in which they work—territories which are characterized, as we have seen, by general poverty, by lack of available capital for the development of either agriculture or industry, and by the greatest inequalities of wealth between the few rich and the many poor. It has been suggested that the companies should not be content to be admirable employers of labour and, by their royalties, large contributors to the government treasuries. They should also put back part of their oil profits—which after all is the oil of the country—into other forms of local enterprise, such as productive works of irrigation, the financing of agricultural estates run on modern lines, the inception of new industries; and all this with the simple object of "doing more for the country," helping to cure the evils of an under-capitalized or indebted agriculture, spreading more directly and more widely the blessings of the new wealth, and creating yet more. Such an idea, it will be remembered, found a place in the draft—but unratified—Anglo-American Oil Agreement of 1945, which speaks of a "Bank for general economic development, covering all the territories con-

cerned, to which the companies would have assigned a proportion of their profits for investment in long-term development projects, thus would secure that development of the chief resources of the territories should provide a general rise in the standard of living." Proposals on such lines seem to deserve careful and very sympathetic consideration from the companies. It is not hard to imagine, on such lines, great and profitable enterprises, of social and economic value, offering improved living conditions over a wide field, and reinforcing political stability. But, even granting the full willingness of the companies and the abundance of their profits, it is not as easy as that! Firstly, they might well feel that excursions outside their own industry could lead to various sorts of difficulty and embarrassment; next, they might fear that popular gratitude would not be unaccompanied by the illwill of a powerful class or classes whose own prerogatives or monopolies might be threatened. Again, they might expect, sooner or later, an attitude of suspicion by the ruler or government at the invasion of too large a part of the national life by foreigners; and they would be rash to anticipate complete freedom of choice and movement in the conduct of their own affairs, once these became closely integrated with those of the rest of the local public. These are thoughts seriously to check too quick a readiness by the oil-company shoemakers to desert their lasts; but the door to such would-be helpful outside enterprises should, both in principle and in practice, remain unbolted and unbarred.

To return now to the actual activities of the companies in Arabia, these as they are cannot but lead immediately, and in widening circles, to fashions of life more complicated and less precarious than of old, for which the improved public services henceforth organized by the governments will provide the setting. Not only practical training in the oil-fields and refineries—not only education begun in companies' schools and continued perhaps in Great Britain or America—not only free mixture with skilled and educated or part-educated workers from the other Arab countries, in workshop and messroom—and not only the visible example of Western ways of life in the shared settlements and townships already under construction, but also the whole colour and pulse of modern life, the opening of windows to the outside world, the revelation of new standards, must profoundly modify the life of the people.

Such modification is not without dangers: spiritual dangers, because an abrupt break with tradition in manners and observances, an acceptance of new values, may too easily leave its victim rootless in a world without moral security or the sense of solidarity with the past and with his own kind: and political dangers, because the sudden formation of a class of industrial workers, with their own hierarchy and ambitions and modernistic outlook, emphasised by contacts with the political world outside, may well lead to uneasy reaction against the patriarchal form of society, the acceptance of authority, hitherto dominant in Arabia. It is notorious that concentrations of factory workers, especially if all new to the jargon of modern politics and to its ideas presented in forms of studied attractiveness, offer a fair field for the propagandist and a prize worth winning for the Red or any other flag. The enriched princes of Arabia will therefore be wise to watch prudently not only the jealous ambitions of their own rela-

tions and courtiers, but the tides of public opinion which strange conditions and influences will not fail to move in and around the oil-fields.

This revolution of society, spiritual and visible, will in some cases, chiefly in the oil-field areas, be rapid and definite. In others, on the fringes of the new industrial world, it will be slower and partial and at first mainly material. In the more distant parts of Sa'udi Arabia it will affect at first only the higher and the urban classes, by indirect influence and by the new pretensions of the government's public services. And always in wide spaces of Arabia villager and nomad tribesman, mountain and desert-folk alike, will still for centuries live as changeless as their own sands and sea-beaches; the barest of livings will still be wrung from the seas and steppes of Arabia by thousands of its backward and hungry sons. Always a land of contrasts in its varieties of landscape, Arabia is destined also to become the stage for contrasting civilizations—the one, of the most ancient simplicity; the other, of the modern ways of a great world-industry.

Which will be the happier? To that question there can be no confident answer. It involves too much that is unknown and unknowable both in the future course of human affairs, and in the true judgment of human values; and it belongs ultimately to the soul of the individual being, not to his manners nor his material environment. One can hope, without over-confidence but without despair, that this infiltration of modern industry and all that it must bring in its train will leave in Arabia whatever there has always been there of the Good and the Beautiful, and will be content to take from it only hunger and ignorance.

Sir HOWARD KELLY: I should like to ask the lecturer what Great Britain has got out of these oil-fields, most of which were started by her? I understand that we abandoned our rights, or part of our rights, over the Bahrain field and in the general distribution we seem to come poorly out of any recognition of our claims. Labour, I suppose, is becoming rather difficult. There is the question whether Indian labour is likely to be employed on a large scale, which has certain implications for the dim and distant future, such as we see in South Africa.

Brigadier LONGRIGG: The picture as regards Great Britain's share is simple. In Kuwait Great Britain has half. The Anglo-Iranian and the Gulf Oil Corporation have half each of the development of Kuwait; in the Kuwait Neutral Zone we have no share. In Sa'udi Arabia we have no share; in Qatar we have it all in the sense of a British Company, but not all in the sense of the shareholding of that company. Prospecting in South-Eastern Arabia is at present being carried out by a mixed company which is technically British; so that the British share is, on the whole, considerable, though not half.

There is already a good deal of Indian labour employed in Kuwait; about 1,000 to 2,000 Indians, and there are two or three hundred Indians in Qatar. In Sa'udi Arabia the al Hasa oil-fields have gone in for Italian labour; there were some 2,000 Italians recruited from Eritrea and I believe they are proving a success.

Colonel ROUTH: What is the future of the pipe-lines to Palestine? How many are there and how many are likely to get through?

The LECTURER: The California Company, disguised under the name of Trans-Arabian Pipe-lines, or TAP-line, plans one and has, in fact, begun to build it at the Sa'udi Arabian end. As soon as they can get steel *and* the permission to cross Syria they will start in and finish it. It will draw from the various Sa'udi fields. Which will be the starting-point of the pipe-line I cannot say; the fields are all fairly close together. The al Hasa line is only one, but there is also a projected line called Middle East Pipe-lines, partly British and partly American, which has not yet got so far in its plans or its wayleaves: it will serve Iran and Kuwait oil. There is also the Gulf Line from Kuwait. Thus there are not unlikely to be three, but the way is not clear for the construction of any of them.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES: Have there been difficulties with labour?

The LECTURER: Nothing very important, but there have been a few difficulties: Labour is, in the first place, quite unorganized and, in the second place, very well treated—that is, as well as conditions allow. Such troubles as there have been, to the best of my knowledge, have not been very serious. There are stoppages of work for a day or two here and there.

Mr. BYRT: Is foreign labour likely to settle? Have the workers their families with them?

The LECTURER: Native workers have their families. Foreign workers are unlikely to settle in the area, though they sometimes have their families while working there.

Dr. G. M. LEES: Brigadier Longrigg gave an excellent historical review at the beginning of his address, but it might interest members to note that he omitted to say anything in regard to the first Trans-Arabian pipe-line. He has spoken of the "modern age," but the first pipe-line across Arabia was described by Herodotus. It so happens that when, for certain domestic reasons, Cambyses, King of Persia, conceived the idea of invading Egypt he was quite aware of the difficulties of taking an army across the desert, as we know also in our time. The question of water supply arose and, fortunately for him, the King of Arabia undertook a water contract which he carried out by constructing a pipe-line across Arabia, and it is said to have been built by sewing fox-hides together.

Colonel ELPHINSTON: Does the progress of the Persian Gulf oil-fields increase our hope of a permanent basic petrol ration? With all that oil available there, what are the factors which are preventing us from getting into this country a larger supply of oil for which we have not to pay dollars?

The LECTURER: I can only reply to Colonel Elphinston that that is not within the subject of my lecture.

Dr. TRITTON: I have always understood that a good part of the revenue of Arabia came from the export of camels and that this was upset by the development of motor traffic. The lecturer stated that the export of camels was minute.

The LECTURER: I think I was right; it is not a very considerable source of revenue. After all, a few hundred Nejd camels, a number which would not be exceeded even in a good year, going northwards is not a very serious contribution to the welfare of 6 or 7,000,000 people. It is a small affair, perhaps rather picturesque but not economically very important. No doubt that export has been further diminished by the motor-car.

General WESTON: The answer as to the petrol ration is that all the assets that can be translated into dollars have to be sent to the United States of America in order to pay for dollar imports from there, so that we are quite unlikely to get into this country any more oil from 'Iraq.

The CHAIRMAN: Brigadier Longrigg, I thank you on behalf of all of us for an interesting and instructive lecture. It has been most enlightening to hear some of the questions—especially that which carried us back to the time of Herodotus!

THE DATE AND THE ARAB*

By V. H. W. DOWSON

ENVIRONMENT

MOST popular American articles on dates begin with this statement: "As the Arabs say, a date-palm needs its feet in Heaven and its head in Hell." I have not myself been fortunate enough to hear an Arab say this, but to the sentiment attributed to him no exception can be taken—roots in water, fronds in sun. Given good drainage, it is hardly possible to over-water a date-palm; and as for the sunshine which bathes the palm's head, no place on earth can provide too much. It was with a sense of the fitness of things that the Greeks placed the birth of the Sun God, Phœbus Apollo, beneath a date-palm. It has been suggested that the road to Hell is paved with good intentions. If this road, like the one to Hilla, is an avenue lined with trees, the kind that would probably grow best in that situation is the date-palm. When I first allowed myself to become interested in *Phoenix dactylifera*, I did not sufficiently appreciate that he who would study it would be doomed to spend his life in the more burning parts of the world. Had I chosen apples, I could have had my pick of Devonshire, Alberta, or the fair prospects of Shimlan; but dates have had this advantage: they are so intimately bound up with the Arab and his life that their student lives in an Arab atmosphere and has the reward of Arab company and Arab friendship for the endurance of those years of sweaty days and gasping nights.

ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENT

It is a task no less interesting to the philosopher than to the geneticist to account for the adaptations a living organism makes to its environment. Those millions of mutations that have differentiated all forms of life from the primeval slime, what chance or purpose was it that brought them forth? Did the giraffe want his longer neck, or did he just find himself with it? And the date-palm, did it try a thousand dodges to fit itself to its environment and reject them all but those it now employs?

Let us consider some of those dodges that enable the palm to flourish where the sparrows sit in the shade silent and open-mouthed and even the lizards seek shelter beneath the rocks, and where, at other times, the water in the pool freezes.

The ordinary tree, the oak or the walnut for example, grows quite differently to a date-palm. In the ordinary tree there are thousands of growing points over its whole periphery: each twig, each leaf, each bud is a growing point exposed, with usually but little insulation, to the elements. In the date-palm, however, as, of course, in all palms, there is

* Lecture delivered at the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shimlan, Lebanon, on August 18, 1948.

only one growing point, one bud, one nidus of meristematic tissue—the heart of the palm; and this is situated at the centre of the top of the trunk whence spring the fronds. All the fronds and all the flower and fruiting bunches arise from this central bud, deep wrapped in the sheaths that form the bases of the older fronds. Insulated on every side by a foot of materials non-conducting to a high degree, the tender growing point maintains a nearly even temperature, one governed more by that of the subsoil water than by that of the atmosphere. The fronds and flowering spathes complete their early growth with the shelter of the sheaths formed by the older fronds, and by the time a frond has to face the sun and the *simum** it is already half full-size and tough.

Compared with other trees of equal height or with trunks of equal girth, the date-palm has only a small area of foliage. Transpiration is thus kept low. It is kept low also by the thick cuticle that encases the leaflet and by its coating of wax. Consequently, the palm can withstand drought and also what may be termed physiological drought, or salinity of irrigation water. On the other hand, the date-palm will withstand long periods of flooding and great quantities of water at its roots. Its power to do so is, no doubt, partly to be explained by the presence of numerous and large air spaces within the tissue of the roots, such as are found in the roots of the banana and of some marsh plants, which allow them to do without external air for a longer time than can those of other trees, such as the orange or the apple. The palm's roots are adventitious: they sprout from the base of the trunk in great profusion and do not increase in diameter. There is no tap root as in the dicotyledonous plant. When old roots are killed by too long-continued flooding or by other causes, new ones are produced in abundance and with little delay.

DISTRIBUTION

The Romans brought the apricot to Europe; the Portuguese brought the orange to the Near East; and the Arabs took the date-palm with them wherever they went. The Arab, the Quran, the camel, and the date-palm formed a golden square; where the camel and the date-palm found the climate suitable, there flourished the Arab and the Quran; and, with a few important exceptions to the generalization, where the first two do not do so well the others also languish.

In Roman times there were no date-palms in Barbary, though the olive was widely cultivated, and the springs of the Jarid must have lost themselves profitlessly in the desert sands. It was the Arabs who brought the date-palm to Africa Minor and who then took it with them, when Tariq burnt his boats, and planted it in Spain. In Elche, on the eastern shore, there still exist large groves, whose cultivators continue to employ words of their craft their ancestors learnt long ago from Arab farming conquerors.

The date gardens of North-Western India, however, are said to be the result, not of Arab effort, but of Alexander's soldiers spitting out the stones of their date ration on to the ground instead of into the receptacle

* Scorching wind of the desert.

provided by Ordnance for the purpose. To follow this story to its source has been an intention of mine for years, but, like the painting out of the bend sinister on the Shandy coach, it has never been fulfilled. Date groves certainly do grow up round camps. The most striking of the authentic examples I know are the wide, thick groves that have arisen and maintained themselves on the sites of the *masakin** camps at Berbera and Bulahar on the coast of British Somaliland.

At the present day the date-palm is found at Marrakesh, close to the Atlantic Ocean; and its cultivation extends through North Africa, through Arabia, through 'Iraq and Southern Persia to the Indus. What is often reported as a date-palm in central India and in the Sandarbans, south of Calcutta, is not a true one, not a *dactylifera*, but a cousin, *Phœnix sylvestris*, which looks exceedingly like a date-palm, but differs from it in producing inferior dates and no off-shoots. It can, therefore, be reproduced only from seed. It is cultivated for the sap drawn off from near the growing point, which is boiled down into sugar or allowed to ferment and make toddy.

The palm that makes the avenue at Nice is, I believe, another cousin, *Phœnix canariensis*, but the true date-palm is found here and there in Europe as far north as Sicily and Southern Italy, and in Cyprus, and here and there in the isles of Greece. Up the Levant coast, as far north as Latakia, isolated palms can be found. In 'Iraq, Kirkuk, at about the same latitude as Latakia, between 39° and 40° N, is the northern limit of cultivation. In India, date-palms do not grow north of Dera Ismail Khan, about 32° N. The southern limit in the northern hemisphere is in Somaliland at about 10° N. It may be said, therefore, that the date belt stretches across the deserts of Africa and Western Asia between the latitudes of ten and forty, moving north or south to avoid districts of excessive rain or cold or insufficient heat. Rain does no damage when the palm is bearing neither flowers nor fruit, but, broadly speaking, it is harmful at other times.

The only large-scale introduction of the date-palm into a new country in modern times is that into Southern California in the early years of this century. Difficulties due to disease, rain, insufficient heat, lack of labour used to climbing palms barefoot, and possibly to not pronouncing the name of God when planting the shoots, have been overcome; and the groves have prospered so greatly that the annual production of dates in America to-day is over 10,000 tons.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DATE-PALM IN DESERT COUNTRIES

The schoolmen's question, Which came first, the chicken or the egg? hardly admits of an answer; but a somewhat similar one, Which came first, the Arab or the camel? can be answered with some certainty, at least if the definition of the Arab be narrowed, to that of the Badui of the desert. Human life in the great deserts of Arabia would be impossible but for the camel; and what the camel is to the nomad, the date-palm is to the settled Arab in the same region.

* Destitute persons.

Without the date-palm there would be no oases, for the other cultures, with the exception of corn and alfalfa, can survive only in the shade of the palms. Moreover, of all the important crops of the sub-tropics, the one which best withstands salinity is the date-palm: it thrives where the salinity is so great as to prevent the growth of grain and fodder, of the fig, the orange, the lemon, the lime, the apricot, the vine, and even of the pomegranate. Indeed, the date-palm, although it cannot compete with that most curious of trees, the mangrove, which, thanks to the exceedingly high concentration of its cell contents, grows in sea water (and sea water contains over 3 per cent. of dissolved salts), it will, nevertheless, withstand as much salinity as many of the *Chenopods*, those remarkable salt bushes that enliven with their glaucous, or brilliant green, foliage the dreary wastes of Tihama or Batina, between Arab mountains and an Arab sea, gladdening the hearts and loosening the stomachs of the camels, but, generally speaking, too salty a fodder for all other stock.

Without the date-palm the oasis dweller would have no commercial crop to exchange for his imported necessities; and without the date-palm he would have to find other material with which to build his house, coop up his chickens, and make his bed. His search would probably be long if not fruitless. The coconut-palm is the father and mother of the Polynesian: the date-palm, as the Prophet Muhammad said, is the aunt of the true believer, indeed almost a Universal Aunt, able to provide everything.

With the trunk of the palm the Arab makes the doors, lintels, and roofing beams of his house, makes his bridges, jetties, steps down to water, ladder to roof, benches, and supports for his water hoist. He uses it as fuel, especially for coffee making, for it maintains a low heat for a long time.

With the fronds the Arab fences his yard and his garden and adorns his door on holy days. The fronds are also an excellent fuel for cooking.

The mid-ribs, the fronds after the leaflets have been removed, are soaked in water, straightened, and used ingeniously in a variety of ways. Set close together and held by cross members of smaller diameter, which pierce them through, they make light, strong, and durable building boards about six feet long by two feet wide, which form the only walls and doors and roofs and floors of the huts along the coasts of 'Uman, letting in the breeze but maintaining privacy. The mid-ribs are laid on the roof rafters to keep the matting, heavy with its load of earth, from sagging. Beds, cradles, chicken coops, and crates are made from them. In the oasis of Faiyum, near Cairo, the value of the fruit crates made from the mid-ribs of the palms is greater than that of the date crop itself. The mid-rib, the *jarid*, gave its name to the gentleman's sport of a hundred years ago, that of throwing this imitation lance by one horseman at another as they galloped round the exercise ground.

The frond bases are excellent fuel, and are removed from the palm for that purpose in places where other fuel is scarce.

The leaflets are woven, when half dry, into strips of matting four inches wide, which are then sewn together to make baskets, in which most of the date crop of the world is packed. The strips are also made into mats, which are put on the floor and on benches, and which are often

the only bedding of the poor and the only protection of the shivering sailor from the cold wind and spray on a winter's night.

From the fibre which fringes the frond base is made coarse rope and a better quality is made from the stem of the fruit bunch. The heart of a palm that has been cut down is eaten. It tastes like green almonds, and is considered a delicacy. In various parts of North Africa the palm is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to ferment and drunk as an alcoholic beverage, *Laghmi*. From the male flower is sometimes distilled a scent called Tara Water. Finally, the oasis dweller, when he has a splinter to extract, does not use a needle: he cuts a spine from the nearest date-palm. I could make this list longer; but if the camel can carry no more, it is profitless to fill more saddle-bags.

CONSUMPTION OF DATES BY ARABS

It is easier to define a Welshman or an Englishman than an Arab, as the distinguished persons who have essayed the last task have found; but if it be admitted that the Muslim inhabitants of Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, and of all that are called the Arab lands are Arabs, then there must be about fifty million of them. There are probably as many date-palms in the world, possibly more, but hardly less, so that it is likely that there is a date-palm for every Arab. If the annual production of a date-palm were put at fifty pounds of dates, the world production would be a little over 1,100,000 metric tons. Perhaps 200,000 metric tons enter into sea-borne, international trade, and of this quantity perhaps three-quarters are consumed by non-Arabs. The Arabs then should consume the 900,000 tons that do not cross the seas plus the 50,000 tons that do so. If these rough figures are taken as a basis for calculation, the conclusion is reached that on an average the Arab eats daily throughout the year about nine dates, two ounces, an important constituent of the diet of this under-nourished race, or mixture of races. The Englishman eats on an average one-thirtieth of an ounce a day, the American still less.

Lieut.-Colonel H. R. P. Dickson once gave me his estimate of the food of the Badawin of the Arabian desert, the true nomads living on their camels, which, if I remember it correctly, was as follows: A quarter of them normally live on nothing but camel's milk, a quarter on camel's milk and dates, and a half on camel's milk, dates, and unleavened bread.

THE FRUIT OF THE DATE-PALM

Fruit.—The date-palm supplies, firstly, fruit, two to three tons an acre, except in America, where everything is bigger and better, and where the yield is twice as heavy; but those two or three tons are not tons of water, as is most fruit, but a product that is almost two-thirds sugar. If the stone be extracted, the remainder of the date, the flesh, 87 per cent. of the whole, is three-quarters sugar. Sugar is all energy-making food: it is all digestible: it is all convertible into calories. Moreover, the sugar of dates is, in nearly all cases, invert sugar, the form which is more easily digested than sucrose, the ordinary sugar of the cane or the beet. No other fruit, weight for weight, is so nourishing. Dates are not a rich source of vitamins, but

they contain appreciable amounts of vitamins A, B, and D, thereby helping to balance a diet of camel's milk, which is rich in C. They contain also various salts, notably those of calcium, and, with camel's milk and wheaten bread, can maintain life for long periods.

The date is eminently palatable. Other things may give the carbohydrates, but the date gives them with a smile, as it were. Perhaps it will be only the most venerable members of my audience who will remember what was said, or rather sung, by that eminent dietician, Miss Marie Lloyd, namely, "A little o' what yer fancy does yer good!" and it is to be remembered that the housewife of the mohair booth is a wretched cook: without the help of the date the food of the poor Arab is un-savoury indeed. Even water with something of a date flavour is not despised. I remember being received at a house in 'Uman, where, as is the custom, dates are handed round the reception-room on the arrival of a guest. After each person present had eaten his handful, a boy handed round a brass bowl of water in which we all washed our sticky fingers. When we had finished, the boy, evidently not wishing so much sweetness to go to waste, drank the water. I was reminded of the Alcazar and of the mistress of the Most Christian King, Don Pedro the Cruel, Donna Maria de Padrilla, whose bath-water, in accordance with the etiquette of the time, was drunk by the caballeros of the court. Court etiquette must have then been very rigid, for, if what one sees in Seville to-day is a guide, caballeros are not much given to drinking water.

The date possesses another excellence, which fits it peculiarly for its situation and its cultivator: it packs well. To ensure peaches arriving at market in good condition, the picker should wear a kid glove and they should be packed in cotton-wool. Dates, however, are thrown to the ground and stamped into baskets; and the more they are stamped upon the better they keep. Here, indeed, is a product after the Arab's own heart, a man who never takes care of anything but his camel, and, somewhat erratically, his mare. Dates travel well by sea; and there is a large quantity, perhaps 200,000 tons, carried over the oceans by steamer and dhow, though the argosies are not so enterprising as they were when John Keats made them load at Fez:

" And lucent syrups, tinct with cinnamon :
Manna and dates, in argosy transferr'd
From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one,
From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon."

In passing, it may be remarked that there are, of course, no date-palms in Fez.

The skilful Arab housewife is said to be able to prepare dates in a different way each day of the year; but it would be, perhaps, expecting too much to demand 730 different ways from two wives.

Dates, with their stones removed and stuffed with cheese, are pleasant in a salad. They make excellent chutney, and are much used by the British and American pickle manufacturers. A favourite dish in my spiritual, but I am glad to say not now my temporal, home, Basra, is *rangina*. To make this, stuff dates with walnuts. Set them on end tightly together to fill a large circular tinned, copper tray and pour over them a

thick sauce of sugar well beaten up in boiling ghi. Allow the sauce to soak well into the dates and into the spaces between them. This is not a dish of which to eat heartily on a dhow in a choppy sea beating up round Socotra.

What has to be transported on camel back over 100 miles, or 500 miles, of desert needs to be all usable and to have a high value to weight and bulk ratio. The date possesses these desirable qualities. At present, the lower grades of dates, in the queer conditions under which we live to-day, are no more valuable than wheat, but before the war they were twice the price.

If the Arab date cultivator were to sum up his attitude to hygiene, it is probable he would say, "What was good enough for Moses is good enough for me," so that there is a regrettable lack of modernity about all his sanitation. One might, then, expect the date to become infected with such tropical diseases as dysentery or cholera, and to act as a medium for their dissemination; but in fact it is one of the many excellences of the date, and one which makes it especially valuable in hot, insanitary Arab lands, that it does not carry disease germs. The germs, no doubt, settle on the sticky mass of dates, but the concentration of the syrup globules is so high that, by the action of osmotic pressure, the inside is sucked out of any that does so and it dies.

The Date Stone.—The date stone is a good cattle feed. In Basrah alone 7,000 tons of these stones are put on the market annually; and all of this amount feeds the stock in the desert, except a little used for making charcoal for the silversmiths, the Sabæans, who, for 1,000 years, have with great art engraved a date-palm, a camel, and a *mashhuf** in black antimony on a silver field, but who now depict a heart pierced by an arrow with the inscription, "From Sergeant Jones to Mary Cuthbertson" and the badge of the Royal Engineers.

The date stone is an unusual seed: it stores the embryo's food material in the form of cellulose instead of, as do nearly all other seeds, as starch; but, soaked in water for several weeks, the stones soften and are then used to keep alive flocks and herds in the autumn season when the herbage is finished and the storm clouds are only beginning to gather over the highlands of Najd.

The thrifty tribesman carries a pouch of untanned leather at his girdle, into which he slips the stones of the dates he eats, collecting them thus to make a future meal for his *naqa*.†

He who, till his death a few years ago, was the richest man in the Persian Gulf, Hilal al-Mutairi, a millionaire, left his tribe as a penniless youth to seek his fortune, and began his commercial career by collecting the date stones thrown to the ground by the careless and improvident throng in the sandy *sugs*‡ of Kuwait.

In conformity with that continuous and commendable process whereby the manufacturer and the trader strive to make life easier for mankind, date merchants after World War I began to remove the stones from dates to save the consumers the trouble; and by the time World War II arrived, a quarter of the import into the U.K. and the U.S.A. was pitted—that is

* Canoe.

† Cow camel.

‡ Bazaars.

to say, stoned. During the course of the second World-war the intelligent young men in the Ministries of Food and Transport discovered that, if all the pits were removed from dates before they were shipped, seven ships would carry as much of the human-food part of the fruit as eight would carry were the pits not removed; and they gave the appropriate orders; so that, nowadays, all the dates imported into the U.K. and the U.S.A. are pitted. The pits were not much good to either of the Anglo-Saxon belligerent powers, since the cattle in their countries, well fed and strangers to the barren wastes of the Harra or the Hajara, would probably have turned up their noses at them.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I offer the reflection that an estimate of the importance of the date-palm to the world as a whole can be made by supposing that it had never existed. As has been earlier suggested, without the date-palm most of the oases of Arabia would not have come into being, and there would have been almost no settled Arab population. Without the settled population the nomads would have been less numerous than they are and have been, and also less capable of making long journeys. It is, therefore, probable that, if there had been no date-palms in Arabia, the message of the Arabian Prophet would never have had the support of a sufficient body of warriors to carry it across three continents. The whole course of history might have been changed, and what are called the Arab lands to-day might be practising the Jewish or the Christian faith.

YEMEN—A BRIEF SURVEY

By SQUADRON-LEADER ERIC MACRO, R.A.F.

IN the early months of 1948 the Kingdom of Yemen made one of its infrequent appearances in the columns of the English-speaking press, and by May 14 *The Times* was able to conclude its intermittent series of short articles on the disturbances in that country with the headline "Order restored in Yemen."

On February 19, 1948, scarcely a week after the Emir Seif el Islam Abdullah had entertained Mr. Bevin at a reception which he gave in London, reports were received in Cairo that the Imam of Yemen was dead. These reports, although many were conflicting, gave rise to genuine concern as they stated that he had been murdered. To those in close touch with affairs of Arabia, this information came as no surprise. Rumours had long been circulating concerning the ill-health and death of Imam Yahya, and it was known that there was great rivalry between his many sons for the succession. Sixty-year-old Sayid Abdullah Ibn Ahmed al Wazir, previously governor of Hodeida and later Minister of State, and his new Foreign Minister Sayid Husein al Kibsi, cabled to all Arab rulers and Governments that he (Abdullah) had succeeded Imam Yahya. In addition to a certain influence in other parts of Arabia, Sayid Abdullah's family forbears held the Imamate before Yahya succeeded in 1904. Yahya was murdered on February 17 by machine-gun fire from the cover of a closed lorry, and it is known that in addition to the Imam himself, Qadi Abdullah el 'Omari—his prime minister—was also killed at Hezyez, and two of the Imam's sons, Husain and Moshin, were murdered at Sana'a, after an attack had been made on the palace. The grandson of Qadi Abdullah el 'Omari, Abdul Rahman bin al Hasan, who accompanied the Imam, was also killed.

The Arab League decided not to recognize the succession of Sayid Abdullah until an Arab League commission of six, under Azzam Pasha, had visited the Yemen and studied the situation. On February 22, two emissaries of the League, Abdul Monheim Mustafa Bey of the Egyptian Foreign Office and Dr. Hassan Ismail, commercial councillor to the Egyptian Legation at Berne, flew from Cairo to Sana'a for a preliminary investigation.

The Crown Prince, Ahmad, who is fifty-six years old, immediately left Taizz (where he was the stern governor) for the Tihama and establishing his headquarters in the Hagga fortress in the north-west proclaimed himself "Commander of the Faithful and Imam of the Yemen." The mountain tribes, attracted by stories of a British invasion, refusing to recognize Abdullah al Wazir as the new Imam, flocked to join Ahmad at Hagga. In the meantime, the Emir Ibrahim, leader of the "Free Yemenis" or "Yemeni Liberal Party," had left Aden whence he had fled in 1946. Ibrahim, one of Yahya's sons, became Sayid Abdullah's new Prime Minister and Muhammad al Badr, Ibrahim's nephew, publicly declared

himself in favour of the new regime and in opposition to the Crown Prince Ahmad, his own father.

Some Egyptian papers, taking advantage of this flare up to increase her propaganda against Britain whilst Egypt was still vainly struggling for control in the Sudan, proclaimed that Great Britain was behind the upheaval and declared that "Britain will intervene and use Ahmad as a cat's-paw to achieve her imperialistic ambitions." It is not known whether this was an official government statement, but it is likely that it may have emanated from undesirable elements not connected with government sources.

On March 1, Abdullah was reported to be marching against Hagga and to have pledged himself to rule as a constitutional King, stating that he would fight for the welfare of the Yemenis "who had long suffered serfdom and privations" and "who could no longer tolerate despotism and terrorism." By March 5 there was general lawlessness in the country and minor clashes were occurring between Abdullah (who was reported to have chartered two Ethiopian aircraft for the purpose of collecting volunteers—a report later denied by the Ethiopian Government) and the Amir Ahmad's forces. Just over a week later, on March 13, Ahmad's forces entered Sana'a and Abdullah asked the Aden authorities for the loan of an aircraft in order that he might flee to safety. In the middle of February, Abdullah also asked the Governments of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Great Britain for military demonstrations in support of the new "government." An R.A.F. Wellington aircraft from Khormaksar flew over the Yemen to take account of troop movements whilst H.M.S. *Comet* was sent to lie off Hodeida.

Ahmad, on proclaiming himself King, after laying siege to Sana'a for fourteen days, adopted the name of Nasr ad-Din Allah (supporter of God's Faith). Ibn Sa'ud was careful not to recognize Ahmad as Imam until the results of the Arab League Political Committee's investigations were made known. Upon the capture of Sana'a, Sayid Abdullah al Wazir and his chief henchmen were sent in captivity to Hagga, and after summary trial were executed on April 8, and Crown Prince Ahmad appointed Ahmad el Hilali (the Governor of Hodeida) as Prime Minister and Muhammed Raghil Bey, Foreign Minister.

The Arab League Political Committee, in recognizing Prince Ahmad as the rightful Imam, expressed the hope that toleration and magnanimity would be shown to all who had opposed him and stated that the Arab League would offer all aid to achieve reform. This Committee which left Suez eleven days after the murder of the Imam Yahya never reached the Yemen, but observed the situation from Riyadh, whither they had travelled at the suggestion of the Amir Feisal from Jeddah. At the beginning of March, King Abdullah of Transjordan and Amir Seif el Islam Abdullah, another brother of Crown Prince Ahmad's and the Yemen representative on the United Nations Organization and who was currently in Paris, both publicly pledged their support in favour of the Crown Prince.

Elements of opposition to the Imam Ahmad are still extant in the country, and it will be interesting to see whether any further uprisings will take place. British official quarters have kept discreetly silent on the

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On February 19, 1948, scarcely a week after the Emir Seif el Islam Abdullah had entertained Mr. Bevin at a reception which he gave in London, reports were received in Cairo that the Imam of Yemen was dead. These reports, although many were conflicting, gave rise to genuine concern as they stated that he had been murdered. To those in close touch with affairs of Arabia, this information came as no surprise. Rumours had long been circulating concerning the ill-health and death of Imam Yahya, and it was known that there was great rivalry between his many sons for the succession. Sixty-year-old Sayid Abdullah Ibn Ahmed al Wazir, previously governor of Hodeida and later Minister of State, and his new Foreign Minister Sayid Husein al Kibsi, cabled to all Arab rulers and Governments that he (Abdullah) had succeeded Imam Yahya. In addition to a certain influence in other parts of Arabia, Sayid Abdullah's family forbears held the Imamate before Yahya succeeded in 1904. Yahya was murdered on February 17 by machine-gun fire from the cover of a closed lorry, and it is known that in addition to the Imam himself, Qadi Abdullah el 'Omari—his prime minister—was also killed at Hezvez, and two of the Imam's sons, Husain and Moshin, were murdered at Sana'a, after an attack had been made on the palace. The grandson of Qadi Abdullah el 'Omari, Abdul Rahman bin al Hasan, who accompanied the Imam, was also killed.

The Arab League decided not to recognize the succession of Sayid Abdullah until an Arab League commission of six, under Azzam Pasha, had visited the Yemen and studied the situation. On February 22, two emissaries of the League, Abdul Monheim Mustafa Bey of the Egyptian Foreign Office and Dr. Hassan Ismail, commercial councillor to the Egyptian Legation at Berne, flew from Cairo to Sana'a for a preliminary investigation.

The Crown Prince, Ahmad, who is fifty-six years old, immediately left Taizz (where he was the stern governor) for the Tihama and establishing his headquarters in the Hagga fortress in the north-west proclaimed himself "Commander of the Faithful and Imam of the Yemen." The mountain tribes, attracted by stories of a British invasion, refusing to recognize Abdullah al Wazir as the new Imam, flocked to join Ahmad at Hagga. In the meantime, the Emir Ibrahim, leader of the "Free Yemenis" or "Yemeni Liberal Party," had left Aden whence he had fled in 1946. Ibrahim, one of Yahya's sons, became Sayid Abdullah's new Prime Minister and Muhammad al Badr, Ibrahim's nephew, publicly declared

himself in favour of the new regime and in opposition to the Crown Prince Ahmad, his own father.

Some Egyptian papers, taking advantage of this flare up to increase her propaganda against Britain whilst Egypt was still vainly struggling for control in the Sudan, proclaimed that Great Britain was behind the upheaval and declared that "Britain will intervene and use Ahmad as a cat's-paw to achieve her imperialistic ambitions." It is not known whether this was an official government statement, but it is likely that it may have emanated from undesirable elements not connected with government sources.

On March 1, Abdullah was reported to be marching against Hagga and to have pledged himself to rule as a constitutional King, stating that he would fight for the welfare of the Yemenis "who had long suffered serfdom and privations" and "who could no longer tolerate despotism and terrorism." By March 5 there was general lawlessness in the country and minor clashes were occurring between Abdullah (who was reported to have chartered two Ethiopian aircraft for the purpose of collecting volunteers—a report later denied by the Ethiopian Government) and the Amir Ahmad's forces. Just over a week later, on March 13, Ahmad's forces entered Sana'a and Abdullah asked the Aden authorities for the loan of an aircraft in order that he might flee to safety. In the middle of February, Abdullah also asked the Governments of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Great Britain for military demonstrations in support of the new "government." An R.A.F. Wellington aircraft from Khormaksar flew over the Yemen to take account of troop movements whilst H.M.S. *Comet* was sent to lie off Hodeida.

Ahmad, on proclaiming himself King, after laying siege to Sana'a for fourteen days, adopted the name of Nasr ad-Din Allah (supporter of God's Faith). Ibn Sa'ud was careful not to recognize Ahmad as Imam until the results of the Arab League Political Committee's investigations were made known. Upon the capture of Sana'a, Sayid Abdullah al Wazir and his chief henchmen were sent in captivity to Hagga, and after summary trial were executed on April 8, and Crown Prince Ahmad appointed Ahmad el Hilali (the Governor of Hodeida) as Prime Minister and Muhammed Raghیب Bey, Foreign Minister.

The Arab League Political Committee, in recognizing Prince Ahmad as the rightful Imam, expressed the hope that toleration and magnanimity would be shown to all who had opposed him and stated that the Arab League would offer all aid to achieve reform. This Committee which left Suez eleven days after the murder of the Imam Yahya never reached the Yemen, but observed the situation from Riyadh, whither they had travelled at the suggestion of the Amir Feisal from Jeddah. At the beginning of March, King Abdullah of Transjordan and Amir Seif el Islam Abdullah, another brother of Crown Prince Ahmad's and the Yemen representative on the United Nations Organization and who was currently in Paris, both publicly pledged their support in favour of the Crown Prince.

Elements of opposition to the Imam Ahmad are still extant in the country, and it will be interesting to see whether any further uprisings will take place. British official quarters have kept discreetly silent on the

subject of recent events in the Yemen, but there is no doubt that there was cause for some concern by the Aden authorities, particularly in view of the riots which took place at the beginning of December, 1947, in which 122 people were killed in Jewish-Arab clashes.

The greatest significance which can be attached to the Imam Yahya's death and the events which followed lies perhaps in the fact that it follows the present global trend to throw off the yoke of oppression. The Yemenis, till now still living a mediæval life in their mountainous territory, have at last learned enough from the outside world, with which they have only recently made any recognizable contact, to cause them to rise up and rebel against their autocratic and absolute ruler.

At the beginning of May, the Imam Ahmad was still established at Taizz and Great Britain (on April 22) among other nations* had recognized him as the ruler of the Yemen; Ibrahim was still a prisoner at the hands of his brother Ahmad; two other brothers, Yahya and Ismail, were taken prisoner by al Wazir, and Yahya has acknowledged the new Imam. The Emir Abdullah, another brother, whose photograph appears occasionally in the press, is the most Western in his outlook and was his country's minister in Cairo.

Concerning Yemen, the area of these recent disturbances, it may be of interest to give a brief survey of the country's history and geography, its inhabitants and their mode of life, and of the Europeans who have made it their business to visit the territory.

Sheba and Mokha are two names well known, their location vague, if not unknown, to many. Sheba was once the name and Mokha the main port of the area now known as the Kingdom of Yemen, situated in the south-western corner of the great Arabian Peninsula. This remote, isolated country has held at bay down the ages the imperialistic tendencies of great nations. It is through an inborn dogged resistance to foreign penetration that the world today has been kept ignorant of the activities of this important but strange and little known Arab kingdom.

“Arabia situated as she is at the very crossroads of human destiny, half-way between north and south-east and west of the inhabited world, has ever watched with interest and detachment the unrolling comedy of human conflict.” So wrote H. St. J. B. Philby in 1942. If Arabia may be described thus by our leading authority on Arabia, then surely its south-western corner at the narrow entrance to the Red Sea may so be described.

With delineated boundaries only on three sides, the 75,000 square miles of the Yemen suffer from having no eastern frontier. Its three hundred miles of seaboard, which form its western frontier, stretch from Cape Bab-el-Mandeb, on the extreme south-western extremity of the Arabian Peninsula, to a point twelve miles north of Maidi; from there the frontier between the Yemen and Asir province of Saudi Arabia follows an irregular line north then eastward, losing itself in the sands of the Rub-al-Khali in the area of Wadi Najran. The southern frontier fixed with the Turks by the Aden Boundary Commission in 1905 was, in 1934, like its northern counterpart, the subject of a treaty with the Imam of Yemen. By the Treaty of Taif between Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, the demarcation be-

* Pakistan, India, U.S.A., France, Holland, Italy.

tween Asir and Yemen was settled. Likewise in the same year, by the Treaty of Sana'a between Great Britain and the Imam, the boundary between the Aden Protectorate and the Yemen was also settled. The southern frontier runs roughly in a general north-easterly direction from Shaikh Sa'id (where the French once established a coaling station) along the mountain chain, crosses the Wadi Tiban, and finally fades out in the upper reaches of the great Wadi Bana which "flows" through Kharfar into the Gulf of Aden between Aden and Shukra.

Essentially a mountainous country, the Yemen encloses the southern extremities of the great table lands which stretch from the northern limits of the heights of Asir to the south-western tip of the Arabian Peninsula. Excepting the coastal plain, the Tihama, which runs the entire length of the territory, the country is composed of fertile highland plateaux varying between four and ten thousand feet in height. The highest point, the summit of Jebel Hadhur, rises 12,336 feet above the Red Sea coast. Moving eastwards across the Tihama, the width of which averages about thirty miles, the traveller will soon come upon the foothills of the maritime ranges. These ranges in some cases culminate in vast isolated mountains reaching a height of anything between four and seven thousand feet. The eastern slopes of the maritime range fall away into foothills and these spurs of the main mountain system divide the inland plains into large natural fortresses. The enormous escarpment formed by this main mountain system provides the western wall, rising almost sheer out of the inland plains, of the great central plateau, the height of which averages 8,000 feet with several peaks rising to over 10,000 feet above sea level. At its northern and southernmost limits the central plateau falls away in a scattered manner into the hills of Asir and the Western Aden Protectorate. The eastern edge of the great plateau, intersected by many wadis, descends gradually to the Rub-al-Khali at 3,000 feet.

The rainfall on the western slopes is carried away (in exceptional circumstances to the sea) by a series of parallel east and west wadis, the principal of which are the es-Sir, am-Siham, er-Rima, and Hardan. To the north-east commence tributaries of the Wadi Najran and of the great Dawasir system, whilst further south those like Wadi Harid and Wadi Shibwan drain into the encroaching sands of the Rub-al-Khali. Whilst mentioning Wadi Bana and Tiban which drain the southern slopes into the Gulf of Aden, it is worth notice that it is on the south-eastern ranges of the Yemen plateau that many of the minor tributaries of the great trunk wadi of the Hadhramaut rise.

The capital, Sana'a, with a population of some 50,000 people, lies on a fertile plain surrounded on all sides by mountains and is one of the cities of Arabia perhaps least visited by Europeans; this factor, coupled with a unique mixture of Arab and Turkish architectural influences, the wild profusion of colourful flowers and fruit, and the character of the city unspoiled by the European, tends to make Sana'a the world's most fascinating town. It is also one of the oldest. Much could be written of Sana'a: of its three divisions—Sana'a (the old city), Bir al Azab, the luxurious residential quarter built mainly by the Turks, and the Qaa-al-Yahud, the Jewish quarter; of the Imam's recently erected ornate palace, of the Jami' al

Kabir, the Great Mosque; the large cupolas and minaret of the Turkish-built mosque of Al Bakiliye and the colourful aspect of the whole city, which, although the pace of life is slow and easy-going, gives a gay and contented appearance.

Sana'a is connected to the coast by a motor road running to Hodeida, the chief sea port of Yemen. Surrounded by a wall, the inner town of Hodeida is composed of large rectangular stone houses which differ to a great extent from their equivalents in the capital, with their alabaster and brickwork reliefs; for here in Hodeida we see rich and decorative plaster work and architectural styles reminiscent of Suakin on the opposite coast. Hodeida, now accommodating about 50,000 people, whilst not a place of much historical interest, may be said to be the successor to Mokha as the port of the Yemen, and is the only business town in the country. The buildings outside the town wall, the eastern side of which contains a gate flanked by two round towers, form the suburbs, and are similar in appearance to those inside, apart from their being placed in an irregular and scattered manner and being interspersed with straw huts which often serve as supplementary accommodation to the buildings towering above them.

With a population of some 45,000 souls, Taizz, surrounded by a mud wall, has a pleasant air of spaciousness in spite of its constantly crowded market-place. An important town (the third town of the Yemen) situated at a height of some 4,500 feet (in a northerly direction from Jebel Sabir), Taizz lies at the junction of the roads to Aden from Hodeida and Sana'a. The most beautiful city of the Yemen; a city of white minarets showing their domed apexes above the luxuriant vegetation below, and clear blue water cascading down through the town from Jebel Sabir is carefully conserved in tanks fed by plaster conduits; for all its beauty, Taizz has its drawbacks, for there is fever in the city and she takes her annual toll of Europeans and natives alike.

Of the remaining towns in the Yemen, Ibb, Yarim, Loheia, and Mokha are worthy of mention. An old pilgrim road from the Hadhramaut built in the eleventh century passes through Ibb, situated on the summit of a hill on the Taizz-Sana'a road. On the road north-east from Ibb towards Sana'a at a distance of about forty miles, lies Yarim in the centre of a vast cultivated plateau; it was here 185 years ago that Forskal, the botanist with Niebuhr's expedition, met his untimely death. The anchorage of Loheia is most unsatisfactory, and it can hardly be called a port; the bay is shallow and reefs form treacherous obstacles to its approaches.

One hundred and seventy miles down the coast from Loheia, situated on a promontory of the Tihama, lies the town of Mokha. Still famous in Europe to this day, though the reasons for its fame have long since passed away, Mokha is no longer the flourishing emporium that it was in the early part of the seventeenth century when the Dutch East India Company first established trade relations. Nor has it ever regained the great prosperity which it enjoyed when a century later, on January 16, 1709, the French merchant naval expedition made a Treaty with Salih bin Ali, the Governor. When it was bombarded and occupied by the French in 1738. Mokha perhaps began to decay, although that is still a matter for conjecture. A century later, apart from the effects of an excessive coffee taxation,

Aden (after its occupation by Captain Haines' Fleet) and Hodeida began to divert the coffee trade through their own hands. George Wyman Bury, writing as long ago as 1915, said that Mokha was a "dead-alive mouldering town." Today it is worse; there is a little life in the slum quarter at the back of the town, but the place is desolate, crumbling buildings have added their litter to the filth and squalor that abound in the once busy streets; ancient cannons lie amongst the rubble where they have fallen from the disused battlements of this town where once French, Dutch, and English traders parleyed in their handsome dwellings surrounded by flourishing date gardens.

Perhaps the purest bred Arab stock at present in existence are to be found in the Kingdom of Yemen. Coming under the classification of Joktanic Semites, they claim their descent from Himyar, the great-grandson of Joktan, who in turn was descended from Shem the son of Noah. Strong, wiry and frizzy-haired, the purer Joktanic types, the remnants of the indigenous inhabitants, are now only to be found in any numbers in the remoter confines of the mountainous parts of the territory; infiltration and consequent intermarriage by the Ishmaelitic tribes from the north is very marked. A strong negroid strain is easily detectable in many of the inhabitants of the Tihama, and in the coastal towns a cosmopolitan population is to be found—Somalis, Danakils, Abyssinians, and African negroes all rub shoulders in the *sugs* with Jews, Parsees, and Hindus. The Yemenite Jews who live in their own secluded communities are worthy of notice. For hundreds of years before the advent of Muhammad, there had been Jewish colonies throughout the country; tolerated by them, they have lived at a moderate peace with their fellow Yemeni Arabs down the ages. How they came there has never been definitely established, it has even been suggested that they were one of the lost tribes of Israel. Their activities are restricted to a considerable extent and they are afforded very few privileges. Segregated in their own ghettos, they carry on their trades of silversmith or tanner without interference. Now recognized as an important economic factor in the life of the country, they seem to fare better than in former years, and it was the Turkish occupation of the Yemen which secured for them the tolerance which they deserved. They appear happy enough with their lot in spite of the restrictions imposed upon them, and worry little over the politics of the outside world, even in respect to their brothers in Palestine.

The little that we know of the pre-Islamic history of the Yemen has been gained in the main from Himyaritic inscriptions found in southern Arabia by European explorers, and Mr. Philby in his scholarly work *The Background of Islam* has woven all that is at present known into an admirable historical summary of this area up to the rise of Muhammad. Invaded by Egyptians, Romans, Abyssinians, Persians, and Turks, the Yemen has often seen the unwanted face of the foreigner in her country. The Prophet's nephew, 'Ali, in the year 628 entered the Yemen and forced its conversion to Islam, and he has left his mark to this day on their national flag as the "two-edged sword of 'Ali"; it comprises the main part of the white motif on the red flag of the Yemen. After some 900 years of intermittent strife, the Yemen fell under the Egyptian yoke, and in 1538

Suleiman, the Turkish Pasha of Egypt, set up an administration which was to last until 1630, when the Turks evacuated the Yemen on account of the unjustified expenditure necessitated in maintaining this dominion, and it was not until 1872 that the Turks re-established themselves at Sana'a, withdrawing again in 1918. Since then, the Imam of Sana'a had become one of the most autocratic rulers in the world. Imam Yahya, poet, philosopher, and theologian, who, with his own persevering courage, had rebuilt his kingdom out of the ashes of Turkish suzerainty, was regarded as father, King, and teacher by his subjects. It was he who for years kept the outsider from the gates of the Yemen, he who, seldom venturing forth from his mountain fastness of many-towered Sana'a, brought poverty on his country. Perhaps he had not deliberately chosen to be poor; rather the fact that he had in the past shunned exploitation of his kingdom's natural resources prevented the penetration of foreign concessionaires which might have brought him and his subjects untold wealth. The Imam Yahya, well over seventy years of age when he died, had never left his country, and, like his powerful neighbour, Ibn Sa'ud, left much of the affairs of state to one of his sons.

Most of the inhabitants of Yemen are farmers in one way or another. Its high terraced mountains are the most fertile in Arabia, and the Yemen is the most densely populated of all Arab lands. The majority of the townsmen are addicted to "Qat" chewing. Qat, a shrub grown locally, when chewed has a strong narcotic effect, and the addict of this drug, besides shortening his life, soon finds that he is a useless citizen in his community. Fortunately most country people despise this drug, and on their mountain terraces, reminiscent of the Philippines, we find them tending, amongst other crops, their coffee plantations; these grow to ten feet in height in five years, in some cases being planted in only two feet of soil. Grapes, figs, and apricots, peaches, pears, plums, and pomegranates grow abundantly at an altitude of between six and eight thousand feet. Millet, maize, wheat, and barley are their staple crops, whilst quantities of cotton, indigo, tobacco, and the ubiquitous qat are also produced. It is obvious that in such a land the people are mainly concerned with the tillage and irrigation of the soil and the tending of cattle. In the ports are to be found Indian and Jewish merchants and, particularly in the inland towns of Sana'a, Taizz, Yerin, and Ibb, the Jews carry on their ancient and skilled crafts as already mentioned. Here we find no lack of animal stock, and humped cattle, goats and fat-tailed sheep are amongst those that the Yemeni farmer relies upon to earn him his living.

The trade of the Yemen is not brisk. Her chief export, long since killed by foreign coffee plantations, has dwindled to a negligible quantity, whilst her export of sheep, goat, and bullock hides, raisins and grain may be similarly classified. Mention has been made by earlier writers of the existence of lead, iron, and gold mines and semi-precious stones, but it cannot be said at the present that, apart possibly from rich rock-salt deposits near Salif, there is any great natural source of revenue in the country.

The wadis and torrent beds descending from the highlands are the product of centuries of tropical rains brought and deposited on the plateaux by the summer monsoons between June and September. It is this heavy

rainfall, combined with the Mediterranean conditions afforded by the lower temperatures on the high plateaux, which gives this part of the country such fertility. On the foothills of the maritime ranges, rains come in April (as often as not accompanied by violent thunderstorms), and it is in the spring that this hot, parched lowland area begins to come to life. Spring rains also fall on the highlands, but not in sufficient quantities to allow the resulting torrents to reach the sea. On the coast and in the Tihama, the flora and fauna are definitely tropical, and here date palms and millet flourish. The excessively humid atmospheres—temperatures of 115° F. to 120° F. are well known to those whose business or pleasure takes them to the Red Sea ports—whilst the drier, less humid climate of the coastal plains (liable to sandstorms, like those experienced on the Red Sea plains of the Sudan) lacks the enervating dampness of the coast.

In spite of the Yemen's traditionally isolationist tendencies, foreign penetration in one form or another has been known since the earliest times, and it is interesting to note briefly the people who have visited the Yemen under various pretexts and the incentives which brought them thither. Many have been at the heads of invading armies, many soldiers of fortune, explorers, botanists, engineers, spies, doctors, and even missionaries. From ancient Egyptian records, we know of expeditions to the Land of Punt, organized by Egyptians seeking myrrh and frankincense; we know also of the first recorded European invasion of the Yemen twenty-four years before the birth of Christ, when the Roman Ælius Gallus led his army to destruction in the sands of the Great Desert after giving up the attempt at an occupation of the spice lands which he had been sent from Egypt to annex. After the coming of Judaism, and subsequently Christianity, the Yemen was invaded by the Abyssinians in A.D. 400 and again 125 years later, this was followed by the Persian occupation in A.D. 576. Whether Arnold von Harff, a German nobleman and traveller, actually penetrated the Yemen in the late fifteenth century is doubtful, but we do know of Ludovico de Varthema, a Bolognese adventurer who in the first years of the sixteenth century visited several places in the Yemen, including Sana'a. British desires for world trade expansion were responsible for several first-hand accounts of Mokha and Sana'a in the seventeenth century. John Jourdain, a factor, William Revett and Alexander Sharpeigh, seafaring men, all of the East India Company, have handed down narratives of their adventures in the Yemen as has Sir Henry Middleton, the commander of a later East India Company expedition, who was "captured by the Turks in the Yeere 1612" and taken to Sana'a. Another East India Company Captain, John Saris (in 1611) and Captain Shelling of the *Royal Anne* (in 1618) both visited Mokha and succeeded in making trade agreements with the Governor. A century later the French were on the scene, and we hear in 1709 of Capitaine de Merveille deputed his surgeon Barbier and a Major de la Grelaudière to make the journey to Dhamar from Mokha in response to the Imam's request for medical attention. The son of a Danish farmer with some knowledge of surveying, Carsten Niebuhr was the sole survivor of an expedition of five learned men who were sent to the Yemen in 1762, at the instigation of the King of Denmark. Niebuhr's narrative, much condensed in Robert Heron's English translation of it, is

still considered an authoritative work, and is much quoted by authorities on the Yemen to this day. We also have records of letters written during this period by Eyles Irwin, English agent at Mokha.

The turn of the nineteenth century saw a great increase in Arabian exploration by Western Europeans. No fewer than thirty accounts of travels, expeditions, missionary journeys and other sojourns are easily accessible to the English readers. Commencing with Pringle, a British representative at Mokha, and closing with Dr. Samuel Zwemer's visit to Sana'a in 1894, many volumes could be compiled, collating the information imparted by the travellers in that age of discovery. It was George Wyman Bury who, at the turn of the next century, brought the Yemen to the notice of the English-speaking world. One of his three outspoken works, *Arabia Infelix*, which he published in 1915, was the culmination of his many years spent in south-west Arabia. The Yemen was his home: indeed his fiancée had, with her future husband's resourcefulness, persuaded Sir Edward Grey to allow her to proceed to Hodeida, where they were married by special licence. Their honeymoon spent in Sana'a was surely a unique experience for a European couple. Wyman Bury's work is important because he may be called the first European with modern experience of the Yemen. Others like A. J. B. Wavell, Caprotti, Benzoni, and Deutch quickly followed, or were contemporary with him, but each in a different vein. Of those who have been in the Yemen since the Great War, Carl Rathjens and von Wissman deserve attention for their archæological and scientific work spread over many years. Sir Bernard Reilly, as has already been mentioned, made a journey to the Imam's capital in 1934 to carry out delicate negotiations, which led to the Treaty of Sana'a. Philby, greatest Arabian explorer of all, explored parts of the undefined eastern boundary of the Yemen in 1936, while Dr. Scott of the British Museum led a scientific expedition through the country in 1937-38. Dr. Huzayyin was, the year previously, leading another scientific expedition on behalf of the Egyptian Universities. Freya Stark, Harold Ingrams, and Colonel D. van der Meulen, three names closely connected with the Hadhramaut, have been in the Yemen during the recent war and mention should be made of Dr. and Mrs. Petrie, who have lived in Sana'a with Miss Croskery (also a doctor) and Miss Cowie (a nursing sister) engaged on medical work during the war years.

The desire of the Imam to have European medical men in the Yemen was long used as a lever by which Italians effected their penetration of the territory. It may be said with truth that, mindful of their commitments on the opposite shores of the Red Sea, the Italians had long coveted friendly and indeed close diplomatic relations with the Imam. The wealth of Italian literature on the Yemen, published and unpublished since 1850, is much in evidence, and the long residence of Caprotti in Sana'a in the latter part of the last century points very much to a policy of Italian aspirations in this country. The Italian blockade of the coast during the Italo-Turkish war of 1912 had little effect, and in 1934 Italian intentions suffered a halt, if not a set-back, when the Imam's forces were defeated by Ibn Sa'ud; the Treaty of Taif terminated the dissensions between the Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The Treaty of Sana'a, brought to a successful conclusion by the

then Governor of Aden, had similar deterrent effects on the Italians, whom Ibn Sa'ud had insisted should be discouraged from their penetration of the Imam's territory. Subsequent treaties were, however, made between Mussolini and the Imam, the most recent of which in 1937 was accompanied by much pomp and circumstance in the form of a full diplomatic mission from Italy, and Italian revenue was spent lavishly to impress the Yemenis; the increasing establishment of Italian medical men and engineers coupled with the proviso in the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1938, in which Italy and Britain agreed to maintain the independence of Yemen, show the final attempts of Italy to cling to the fringe of the area which she once dreamed might become her South Arabian empire. Immediately prior to the late war, Sana'a housed Egyptians, Poles, Syrians, Russians, 'Iraqis, besides Dr. Petrie and his staff and Dr. Duboissi and his Italian medical men.

Since the second World War and the formation of the Arab League, the Yemen has broken down a large number of her barriers against foreign entry; becoming a member of the League seems to have had an enlightening effect on her, and much has been done to foster relations with other countries. As in Saudi Arabia, American influence has been particularly noticeable in the last two years, as is evidenced again by the ever-increasing American Bibliography on the Yemen. As far as is known only eight Americans ever travelled in the kingdom before 1945.

Following Charles K. Moser, the United States Consul at Aden, who visited Sana'a in 1910, Charles R. Crane visited the Imam in connection with road survey and the construction of irrigation devices. Karl Twitchell, foremost living American authority on the Arabian Peninsula, visited Yemen during this period, with his wife, to study the natural resources of the country, and a year later Vice-Consul James Loder Park paid a goodwill visit to Sana'a. In April, 1946, Colonel William Eddy, an American diplomat with long experience of Arabia, negotiated at Sana'a an Agreement of Commerce and Friendship, whilst acting as head of the Special United States diplomatic mission to the Kingdom of Yemen; the agreement was signed on May 4, 1946. From a scrutiny of the text of the agreement, which contains only seven short articles, and of President Truman's letter to the Imam of March 4, 1946, it appears that the United States have something more in mind than mere desire for friendly relations. It may be mentioned here that it was reported in the Bulletin of the United States Department of State, dated June 8, 1947, that the first American aeroplane had landed in the Yemen. On May 24, 1947, the United States agreed in Cairo to give credit up to \$1,000,000 in order that the Yemen might purchase surplus equipment from the Foreign Liquidation Commissions before January 1, 1948, payment being made in five annual instalments. July saw the Imam's sixth son, Seif al-Islam Abdullah, in New York discussing trade prospects with President Truman. The United States, like Great Britain, had hitherto carried on diplomatic exchanges with the Yemen through their representatives at Aden, and have now in Mr. J. Rives Childs their first Minister to the Yemen, who presented his credentials at the Court of the Imam on September 30, 1946.

Early in 1947 'Iraq, at the request of the Imam and in accord with the covenant of the Arab League, sent a scientific, cultural, and economic

mission to Sana'a, and in August of the same year the Security Council voted admittance of the Yemen to the United Nations. The Yemen will be the sixth Arab state in the world organization. Although not complying with the Yalta decision, and therefore remaining outside U.N.O. up till 1947, she had nevertheless taken an increasing interest in world affairs, and as far back as 1919, the year when the Royal Air Force was used to secure the release of a British Military Mission from Sana'a, the Imam Yahya strove to consolidate his position in the world order by entering into treaty relations with the principal powers. In September, 1926, the first of his treaties with Italy was concluded. Comment has already been made on the significance and outcome of the Imam's Italian relationships. A second treaty was made a year later and gave rise to some acid international comment. Although this second treaty allowed for the provision of arms by the Italians, the Imam was careful not to deliver himself wholly into their hands, a policy which he pursued to his last days. It may be said, however, that he strongly desired Italian support in his quarrels with Ibn Sa'ud (to his north and east) and Britain (to his south). Disagreement over frontier demarcation had led in 1927 to border skirmishes between the Yemen and the Western Aden Protectorate, and in driving the Yemenis back to their old Ottoman frontier, the R.A.F. was used in bombing operations against them in 1928. This small operation has significance as it shows the Royal Air Force in its rôle of Imperial Police and demonstrates its possibilities when applied to this function. The R.A.F. with a force of twelve aircraft gained submission from the Imam after six weeks of punitive action. The campaign, which cost only £8,000 and no British casualties, inflicted only a few deaths on the Imam's troops. A land expedition for this operation would have cost in the region of £10,000,000.

In the same year a treaty was concluded between the Yemen and Russia. In 1933 a further treaty was made, this time with Holland. In February of the following year the long negotiations between Great Britain and the Imam, consequent upon their foray in 1928, were completed by the Treaty of Sana'a, already mentioned. After a brief war with Ibn Sa'ud over frontier disputes (which in 1947 appeared to be reviving) from which the Saudi-Arabian monarch emerged a benevolent victor, the Imam signed with him the Treaty of Islamic Friendship and Arab Fraternity. Pursuing his general policy of maintaining treaty relations with as many countries as possible, Imam Yahya signed treaties during this period with Turkey, Iraq, and the Emperor of Abyssinia. In April, 1936, he negotiated a treaty with France which had recently established a medical mission in the country, and appeared interested not only in the salt deposits at Salif, but in the economy of the country generally. Relations with far-off Japan have been few, but it is interesting to note that the Imam sent one of his sons to Tokyo in 1938 to attend the opening of the newly built mosque. There is no doubt that the pro-Axis tendencies of the Yemen were altered by the defeat of General Rommel at el-Alamein. However, even subsequently to this, no doubt partly because of Axis propaganda broadcasts which were well heard in Arabia, the Yemen's inclinations continued to veer more to the side of the enemies of the Allies than did those of other neutral states such as Saudi Arabia, which actually assisted us within diplomatic limits.

A further treaty was made with 'Iraq in April, 1946, and in the May of the following year Egypt was added to the number of the Imam's growing list of treaty friends. The Power-propaganda of the U.S.S.R. found a willing hearer in the Imam; several feelers have been put out for a renewal of the 1928 treaty with Russia. The most recent visit of importance is that of Sir Reginald Champion, Governor of Aden, to the new Imam of Sana'a. Seif al Islam Abdullah has declared that a British minister would be welcome in Sana'a and it is thought that Sir Reginald's visit may result in an exchange of diplomatic representation.

What does the future hold for this fertile strategically important little Arab kingdom, now only at the dawn of its awakening? With enterprise from the outside, be it American or British, she will prosper with the help of her new foreign relations; surely the Imam must turn a jealous eye to the east on the "Lord of Arabia" Ibn Sa'ud; perhaps he has visions of the oil derricks of Dahran appearing in the Tihama (for it is known that Prince Abdullah had discussions with the leading American oil companies during his recent visit to the U.S.A.), of the railway between Dahran and Riyahd connecting Hodeida and Sana'a in defiance of the miserable failure of the Hodeida-Sana'a railway scheme of 1912. Rumours had been in constant circulation for years regarding the former Imam's supposedly failing health, and the question of the succession had occupied the minds of the thinking men of the Yemen for some years. That there was internal discord, and that there were "whisperings in the bazaars," there is no doubt; dissension between Shaf'i and Zaidi, to a great extent intermingled with internecine jealousy amongst the late Imam's elder sons, had given rise to much speculation within the country. There had been talks of the revival of the old Principality of Hodeida and the "Yemeni Liberal Party." This last, which is organized from Aden, was made the subject of a recent declaration of some vehemence by one of the Imam's many sons, a contestant for the throne.

There is no doubt that England must look to the Yemen, which can control the main lines of communication with her Empire through the Red Sea. With British capital and Yemeni co-operation, the Imam could do a great deal for his country to revive the wealth of the "Merchants of Saba." The history of this territory was the subject of a recommendation of the Middle East Antiquities conference in Damascus. The area of Marib, the scene of the bursting of the great dam during the Abyssinian occupation, is that in which the Cultural Committee of the Arab League hoped to persuade the Imam to permit excavation by Arab archæologists; thus it is hoped to throw further light on the ancient glories of the Land of Himyar before the rise of Christianity.

CHINA AND TIBET

By SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

The following historical note, intended for publication in America, was found among the last papers of the late Sir Charles Bell, who died in British Columbia early in 1945. It now appears for the first time by kind permission of his family.

TWELVE hundred years ago Tibet was one of the most powerful nations in Asia. She fought China on equal terms and frequently defeated her. Then Tibet became gradually converted to Buddhism, a religion which prohibits the taking of life. She took her religion seriously; since then—a thousand years ago—she has never attacked any other country. Her soldiers were disbanded; she found it difficult to protect herself. Still she held on with the help of her Mongol cousins, also by nature a warlike people. But between three and four hundred years ago the third Dalai Lama of Tibet converted the Mongols to Buddhism, and from then the military strength of Mongolia also declined. Yet the fifth Dalai Lama, visiting Peking three hundred years ago, was treated by China as an independent sovereign.

It was two hundred and twenty years ago that the Manchu Emperor, then ruling China, made the first attempt to seize Tibetan territory and hold it, about the same time that Britain was attacking in India. He annexed an area in Eastern Tibet. Since that time other invasions have been made. The most violent and unprovoked was that between 1908 and 1910, when a Chinese army seized Lhasa, the capital; and the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Government fled to India. It is difficult for Tibet to repel modern Chinese invasions, for her population is only about four millions against China's population of between four and five hundred millions—more than a hundred to one. Latterly, Tibet has formed an army for defence, but it numbers only a few thousand men, insufficiently trained and equipped.

During recent years the Chinese have further endeavoured to extend their rule over Tibet by seizing the eastern half, the most valuable half, climatically and agriculturally and with numerous mineral deposits—coal, iron, lead, copper, nickel, zinc, gold, gypsum, asbestos, graphite, and sulphur. China will exploit the minerals for her own purposes, a fact which makes such a large-scale robbery even more shameful.

This seizure they support by the device of marking the land in Chinese maps as two provinces of China, to which they have given the names Chinghai and Sikang. To each such "province" they add part of a populous Chinese province, so as to show a number of Chinese inhabitants in the "province." China's population being dense, and Tibet's but sparse, China can claim a considerable percentage of Chinese inhabitants in the "province," though over 90 per cent. of the area is, and always has been, inhabited exclusively by Tibetans.

The Tibetans cannot make maps. So these Chinese maps are taken by Europeans, Americans, and other foreigners as being correct maps of China and Tibet. By these maps the modern Chinese Government has

succeeded in making the world believe that Tibet is only one-half as large as it really is. Actually, Tibet covers a million square miles, one-third of the area of the United States, extending to Tatsienlu in the south-east and to the large lake, known as Koko Nor, in the north-east. No doubt much of it is at a high altitude, cold, and infertile, but it is the Tibetans' own homeland, in which they have lived from time immemorial. All of it should be permitted to return to the Tibetan people and their government. Let China keep merely the little bits of their own provinces which they have tacked on to it.

Britain and India have taken from Tibet Ladakh, now included in Kashmir, and Sikkim and Bhutan in the Eastern Himalaya. These also should be allowed to return to Tibet.

Tibet is a shy country, almost hidden, and foreigners are naturally hazy about it; many think that it is a part of China. It is not. Tibetans are of a different race from the Chinese, and of a different religion. In Asia race and religion are the two things that really matter. The connection is far more distant than that between England and Norway. Yet Norway does not attempt to govern England, nor England to govern Norway.

It should be remembered that Asia does not think along European lines. During the fourteen years that I worked as the Government of India's Agent for Tibet, the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government always maintained that the Dalai Lama is the spiritual guide and the Manchu Emperor of China his lay supporter. All who are well acquainted with Asia know what this partnership involves. It is the duty of the layman to help his priest in all ways possible, but the priest does not on that account become the layman's servant.

However, when we study the Tibetan treaties and other historical records of the last hundred years, we do find a recognition that the Manchu Emperor was Tibet's overlord. The Manchus were Buddhists in former times, and their Emperor was always so regarded; the Chinese were not regarded as a Buddhist nation. So in 1911, when the Chinese deposed their Manchu Emperor, the political connection between China and Tibet was severed. The Mongols have frequently used a similar argument concerning the connection between China and Mongolia.

Again, when the British attacked Tibet, or annexed parts of Sikkim, a dependency of Tibet, the Chinese afforded no protection to Tibet. Nor did they help in 1841, when an army from Kashmir, composed of Indian soldiers under Zorawar Singh, their Indian leader, attacked Western Tibet and annexed Ladakh to Kashmir. Nor when the Gurkhas attacked Tibet in 1855. Tibet fought all those wars without any help from China. In 1912 the Tibetans drove the Chinese invaders out of Central Tibet, and a truce was made. Yuan Shi-kai, the President of the Chinese Republic, thereupon telegraphed to the Dalai Lama saying that he restored him to his former rank. The Dalai Lama replied that he was not asking the Chinese Government for any rank, as he intended to exercise both the temporal and ecclesiastical rule in Tibet. Thus he made clear his declaration of Tibetan independence.

In 1917 the Chinese broke the truce and attacked, but the Tibetans managed to defeat them, and recaptured most of Eastern Tibet. In view

of the overwhelming disparity between the populations of the two countries, they could not dare to attempt to recapture all their territory up to the Chinese frontier. Indeed, the Chinese attacked again, and took back some of the recaptured territory from them. The position of these few Tibetan troops, guarding their own territory for the last thirty years, is most precarious.

In their dealings with Western nations the educated Chinese have shown themselves cultured and courteous, and their humbler brethren patient and efficient. But to the Tibetans and Mongols they have shown themselves harsh, cruel, overbearing. With their treatment of the Mongols I am not going into detail here. But in their invasions of Tibet they have wantonly destroyed monasteries, killed priests, and put to death prisoners of war, whose only crime was defending their own country.

During peacetime too they have been overbearing and cruel. Putting it briefly, they have interfered with the Tibetan religion, tried to change old customs unnecessarily, and treated the Tibetans almost as savages. In a book dealing with his travels in Eastern Tibet in 1917 Sir Eric Teichman, a leading authority on China, noted that an American missionary of long frontier experience had written during the preceding year :

“There is no method of torture known that is not practised here on these Tibetans, slicing, skinning, boiling, tearing asunder and all. . . . To sum up what China is doing here in Eastern Tibet, the main things are collecting taxes, robbing, oppressing, confiscating, and allowing her representatives to burn and loot and steal.”

Tibet wishes to govern herself, to live her own life. She does not interfere with other nations in a military or commercial or any other way. The Tibetans are a religious people, a peace-loving people, and they are happy in their independence. Why should another nation by brute force take their independence from them?

Tibet is just as much entitled to her freedom as India and China are. She is entitled to be freed from Chinese invasion, just as much as China was entitled to be freed from Japanese invasion.

The districts of Tibet ruled by the Dalai Lama's government are not only governed better than those Tibetan districts which are subject to the Chinese, but better also than the neighbouring districts in China itself. Brigandage is more effectively suppressed, and the whole tenor of the administration is more orderly.

One of the main obstacles to India's unity and independence arises from her two religions, Hindu and Moslem, in strong opposition to each other. None who has worked in the towns and villages of India can underrate the strength, indeed the violence, of this opposition. In Tibet there is no such obstacle. The entire population is devoted to its form of Buddhism.

Hindus, who form three-quarters of the population of India, have been governed by foreigners, mainly Moslem rulers from the north-west, for the last nine hundred years. Tibet has never been governed by others for more than a few years at a time, and seldom, if ever, throughout the whole country. The people never accepted these outside governments, and threw them off before long. But now Tibet could not hope to resist China's large armies, equipped with modern weapons of war.

Though Tibet insists on governing herself, she will maintain her cultural connection with China. Chinese traders, doctors, etc., will always be welcome, but no Chinese governing officials, and, above all, no Chinese soldiers.

Chinese living in Tibet enjoy the privileges of extra-territoriality. America and Britain have recently renounced their extra-territorial privileges in China, and signed treaties with China to that effect. Will China now similarly renounce hers in Tibet, and sign a treaty with Tibet to that effect?

I have written candidly, and I believe that what I have written is the truth. Those who have lived in Tibet, met leading Tibetans, including the heads of the Tibetan Government, and been really able to converse with them in their own language on these subjects—having also had the privilege of talking to leading Chinese—are hardly to be found. Those who have dwelt only in the great centres of China, or elsewhere, do not understand the real facts. And it is the facts that we must face, however unpalatable they may be.

THE NUBRA VALLEY—LADAKH KARAKORAM

AUGUST, 1947

(Ref.: Sheets 52A, 52E, 52F, Survey of India.)

THE Nubra valley (the word means a garden in Tibetan) is in some respects the most important area in Ladakh, as it is abundantly watered, faces south, is comparatively warm, and lies across the main caravan route to Yarkand. It is certainly very fertile and its high hedges of thorn bushes, its wild roses with abundant deep red flowers, its bushes of purple lavender, the many apricot and other well-grown trees, distinguish it favourably from the rest of the pleasant but over-barren parts of Ladakh.

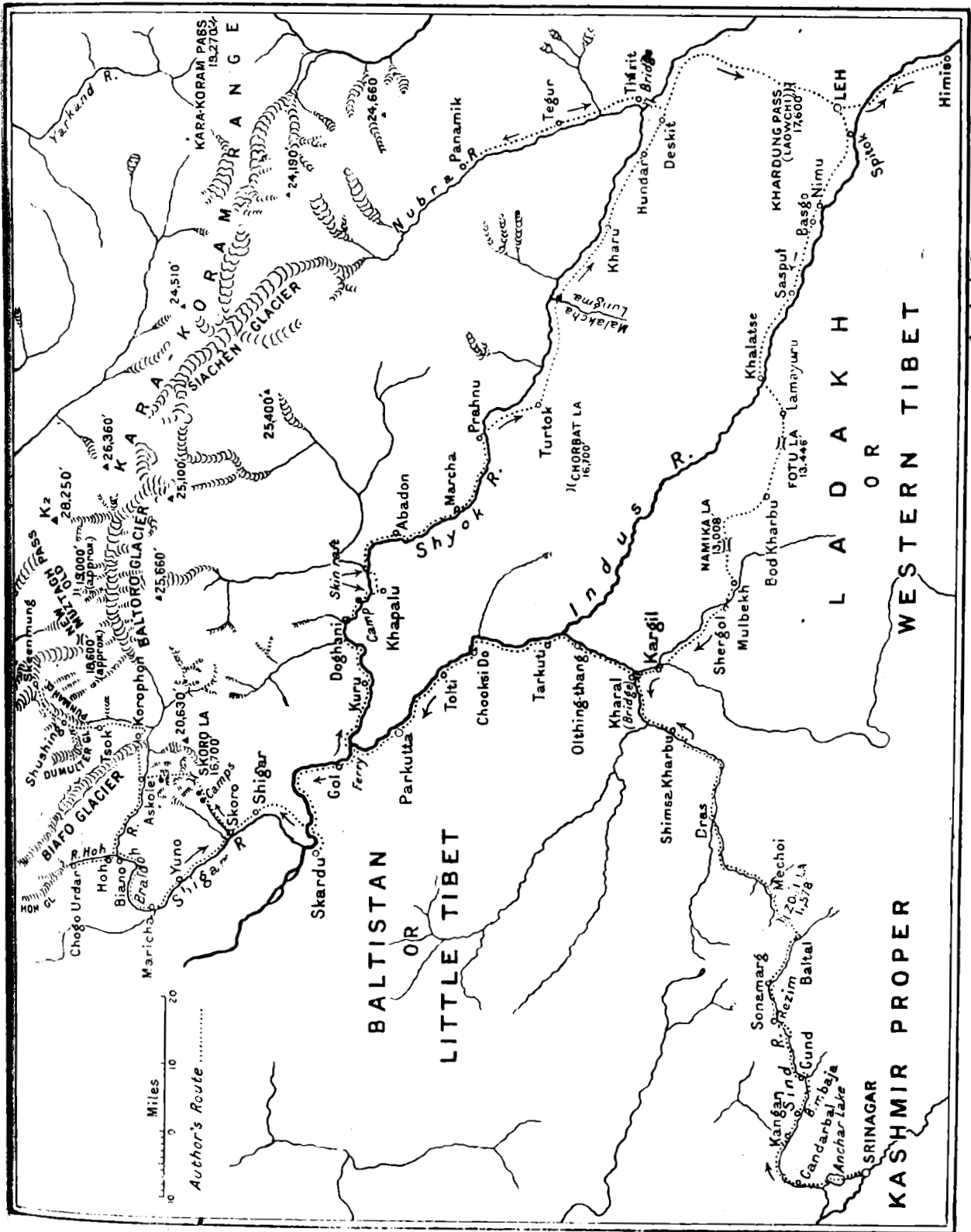
The Nubra river, some sixty miles long, rising in the Siachen glacier, flows through this area. It is fed by the great conglomeration of snow-fields and peaks, which are the core of the Karakoram and which send down to the main stream innumerable tributaries.

Our intention was to go to the Siachen glacier, which has been visited and described, but I have failed to find any detailed account of the approach to it by the Nubra valley. We hoped, moreover, on reaching the main glacier to push on, and even cherished thoughts of crossing the Turkestan La (Pass) at its head.

We followed the caravan route for a few miles above Panamik until below Umlung where the main track turned north. We could see the countless zigzags as the rough path toiled up the face of the hill and which was sadly in need of repair. Now that British control has lapsed, the primitive paths and bridges of Ladakh are neglected and will soon cease to exist.

We plodded up the left of the valley, passing the tiny oasis of Changlung—a delightful spot with clear water, grass, and wide brakes of thorn and willow in the midst of which were the few fields. The hospitable old wife gave buttermilk to our Ladakhis and was disappointed that I would not drink some too. The hamlet was guarded by a red image of a fierce demon who glared at all passers-by and was evidently very effective. Just beyond Changlung we crossed two streams of warm water. Hot springs are very numerous in the Karakoram and at Panamik there was a well-known and frequented spring of almost boiling water.

We now met a serious obstacle in a great bluff that thrust itself across our path. Beyond it we could see the wide tongue of land with the fields and houses of Henache. We tried to work round the foot of the spur, but the river was too high and all our ingenuity failed to make a way. The only solution was to cross the spur, and with great difficulty, loading and unloading the gear, manhandling the animals, and cursing and sweating, we managed to surmount this barrier. The track hardly existed and was fit for only very lightly laden coolies. Our happy-go-



Scale & Government Establishment, London.

By courtesy: MAP FROM "AN UNEXPLORED PASS," BY CAPTAIN B. K. FEATHERSTONE.

(Published by Hutchinson and Co.)

lucky Ladakhis should have known better than to risk attempting it with their pack animals, but they would not have been true to their character if they had looked ahead.

On the other side there were two villages, Henache and Stongstet, divided by a thousand yards of a barren fan. We camped in a park-like place at the latter village, but we had great trouble in finding clean water as at this time of the year the rivers of Ladakh are mere liquid mud. A woman, however, showed us a spring after the rest of the villagers had sworn that none existed. They were afraid it might mean more work and so had lied to us.

I visited the local shrine at Henache, and was given the key and allowed to do what I liked. I was surprised to see a picture of the Yapyum, the phallic representation of the male and female principles, which is usually hidden by a curtain and never shown to visitors. There was also a large willow tree of great age, which had now become sacred and at the roots of which incense was burned and offerings made. Sooner or later, of course, the tree would be destroyed by fire.

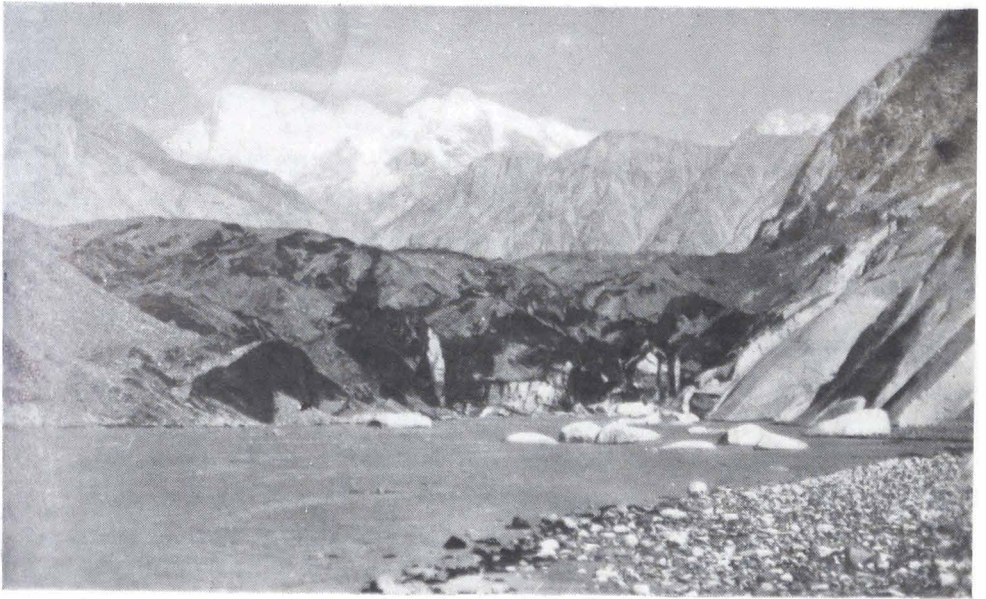
Our next camp was at the Wargitin Lungpa. We had a great deal of difficulty in working our way up as the river again was an obstacle, since its main channel washed against the valley side. The Nubra flowed in a wide stony bed, occupying the whole of the floor of the broad valley. Several fords were shown on the map which, however, at this time of the year did not exist, while at other seasons the river was fordable anywhere. Wargitin was a level sandy plain with impenetrable thickets of thorn and brushwood, and several streams of good water. Above us rose tall smooth cliffs and behind were the glaciers and snows of the Karakoram. Next day, a short way from the camp we turned a corner and had our first glimpse of the Siachen glacier which we decided was very disappointing. A compensation, however, was the spectacle of the great group of peaks of the range of mountains between the Siachen and the Kondus glacier to the west, a really magnificent prospect.

We intended to camp just below the snout of the glacier, and leave all spare kit there and then go over the ice as far as we could. We had a Ladakhi with us who declared that he had been on the glacier and would show us the way.

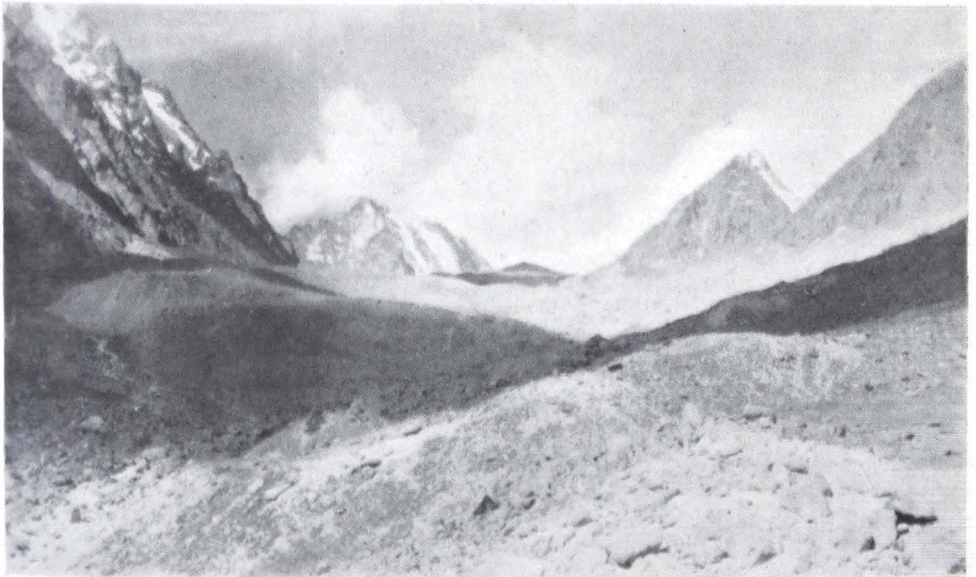
So we halted a couple of miles below the Siachen at the nearest point to it where there was good water and wood, which was just above the Pra Lungpa. When we set out for the glacier the following day, we were taken aback to find that the Siachen had receded and there was no contact with the left of the valley at the point we had expected. The glacier had flowed across to the right and we sadly contemplated the Nubra river below, flowing tempestuously out of a large black cavern under the ice. Above and in front of us, effectively barring all progress, were sheets of sheer boiler-plate rock. We explored every part of this formidable mass, but could find no way of going forward. It was a grievous disappointment. I bitterly regretted not having brought material for making a raft, as four bullock skins would have been enough with a couple of skilled men, and we could have defied the Nubra. In 1946, when going up the Muztagh-Shakgam we had arranged for this, and it was thanks to the raft



MOVING UP THE SHYOK



THE SNOUT OF THE SIACHEN GLACIER



THE SIACHEN GLACIER

and men alone that we were able to carry out the journey. A raft is the only means of crossing these rivers that constantly bar one's way and which are cold, rapid, and unfordable. The natives have the greatest objection to trying to cross any stream unless there is a well-known ford.

The wild roses here were beautiful, a wonderful mass of colour, and their flowers were so numerous as to form an unbroken sheet. As we climbed up the side of the valley we had a fine view of the noble peaks to the north and west, but the sight only increased our exasperation at being unable to move forward. We found, too, fresh spoor of a snow leopard and a cub.

There was nothing else for it but to retrace our steps, and we crossed once more the Henache spur, though we did make one frantic attempt to ford the Nubra so as to avoid this obstacle, but we failed. Our lack of success was because the river changed its course almost hourly, and the scour in its bed made any crossing dangerous as it was impossible to tell what deep and sudden channel lay ahead. Generally speaking, the depth of the river was inconsiderable, but the existence of these deep if narrow pieces of water prevented laden animals from fording.

We returned to four miles above Panamik, crossed to the right bank by a clumsy but serviceable bridge which would not, however, take laden animals—a great defect in this country where the beast of burthen has a burden indeed—and went up the right of the valley. We had, however, no better fortune on the right of the Nubra river than on the left, and we came to a place very like that above Pra Lungpa, where a high cliff of sheer rock cut off all onward progress.

Earlier in the year, when the water is lower, it would be quite possible to reach the Siachen glacier by the Nubra, but on return from doing so very great difficulties would be encountered. If, however, skins for a raft were taken, the Siachen could be visited at any time of the year. Pack transport would, of course, be out of the question, and coolies alone could be used.

EDUCATION IN IRAN NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

By DR. AHMAD ALIABADI, M.A., Ph.D., J.D.

Notes of a lecture given on November 3, 1948, Major-General W. A. K. Fraser, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.V.O., M.C., in the Chair.

Dr. AHMAD ALIABADI studied Geography and History at Tehran University, and then went to the United States of America, where he took his M.A. in Education in Columbia University, a Ph.D. in Education at New York University, and was made a Doctor in Jurisprudence of Washington University.

Since then he has held official posts under the Government of Iran for the last eight years; first as Assistant in the Press and Propaganda Office, later as Adviser to the Minister of Education. After that he became President of the Administrative Tribunals of the Ministry of Education, and his present post is that of Director-General of Cultural Relations and Higher Education in Iran.

EVERY government, regardless of its particular form and the part of the world it rules, must provide a secular education aimed at equality of opportunity for all. This will certainly help the youth to play his part as a citizen in his community, and to employ his intelligence and dexterity both for his own benefit and for the benefit of society.

The responsibility of the state is not ended there: it cannot disregard moral education. The state can prescribe a moral minimum for those who are its wards and also for those who neglect the moral education of their children; while the perfection of moral training has been left to the family, or to voluntary societies, ecclesiastical associations, and similar institutions. Individuals always remain the foundation upon which any civilized social organization rests. The development of a national community depends on the independence of individuals and families, together with their consistently co-related interdependence on one another.

The system of education in Iran more or less corresponds with the French administrative organization, strictly centralized with practically no scope for the local authority to exercise its power or to exert its initiative in any direction at all. Undoubtedly there are arguments for and against the desirability of this theory towards which most democratic countries are moving, some consciously and some unconsciously. There is unanimous agreement, however, in civilized countries that with the present underlying political philosophy which may affect the educational policy of a given territory, consideration must be given to the interrelationship between the individual, society and the school. It is essential to create, maintain and strengthen this bond of mutual interest and reciprocal welfare.

Apart from kindergarten training, which is not nationally practised on a large scale, schooling in Iran is divided into primary (up to 13 years of age), secondary (up to 19 years of age), and higher levels (from 19 years of age). At the end of each level the student must meet the requirements of the

Ministry of Education in order to receive an official diploma. Although provision for compulsory education was made forty years ago and the Compulsory Education Act was passed by Parliament four years ago a good many children of school age are inevitably kept out of school owing to the meagreness of the budget allocated to the Ministry of Education. Only one-twelfth of the whole budget is appropriated to that Ministry, a great portion of which is spent on personnel and other similar items, while the budget of the War Ministry greatly surpasses it. Justly calculated, however, the budget of these two ministries should not be dissimilar; while one is to arm the nation physically the other must prepare it intellectually to cope with national problems, and, furthermore, there is an everlasting bond between the two as both are engaged on the discipline and training of youth. It is my belief that a period of compulsory military service should rightly be combined with secondary education, and that the diploma of secondary education should be granted to those who have both satisfied scholastic requirements and fulfilled their military service. Application of this plan would also require a thorough insight into the country's political affairs and a complete knowledge of its conspicuously critical geographical situation. I pursued this thesis in the dissertation I prepared for my Doctorate of Philosophy wherein I propounded a plan for higher education in Iran. Furthermore, the school curricula of each locality would have to conform with local needs and circumstances as seen by the local authorities and approved by the Ministry of Education. This scheme would remove the danger of depopulation which threatens many localities, as well as the menace of urbanization towards which there is a world-wide and growing tendency. Moreover, a great many vocational and technical institutes are to be established throughout the country as a step towards educating young people in various walks of human life, and to reduce the number of graduates who seek positions in government service, which at present is overcrowded. The public are to be taught the significance of self-dependence and the importance of free enterprise so that they may pursue outside productive work in such a way as to make the best use of their intellectual capacity and to help the national economy. At present the number of such vocational schools is limited, and this results either in a repudiation of the value of education by those who cannot pursue academic courses or in the overcrowding of higher institutions for which they are not fit, thus causing the lowering of the standard of University graduates. The establishment and the increase in the number of technical schools meet the need of re-training the pre-war skilled labourer, who finds himself now unskilled on account of war-time advances in the system of operating new machines.

I am inclined to think that it will be difficult for any form of government in any country to cope with the unemployment problem of the peoples, which is due in part to the low educational standard of workers, in part to the increase in mechanization which puts a great number of labourers out of work, in part to the precautionary restrictive practices taken by large factories and business firms to prevent their eventual bankruptcy, and in part to other undesirable factors and moral corruption. A lackadaisical tendency in human nature, coupled with unemployment and

aggravated by hunger, leads generally to dissatisfaction and uneasiness which can be inflamed by the simplest intrigue and instigations of such trouble-makers as are always on the look-out for an opportunity to satisfy their political aspirations at any cost. Hence, preventive and curative measures must be prescribed to avoid the occurrence of such undesirable accidents. Certain countries like Iran, owing to their political make-up and geographical situation, are more liable to this kind of instigation and excitement and should, therefore, be governed with much prudence and polity. In my opinion a nation-wide development of education will prove to be helpful, provided that it is kept free from politics of any nature and paralleled by the equitable enforcement of law and order, irrespective of social classes.

With due apology for this digression, your attention is again invited to our schools. On completion of secondary education the student obtains his Secondary School Diploma which entitles him to further his studies in higher institutions at University level, after passing the entrance examinations. In past centuries education of a higher character was disseminated in the religious colleges attached to mosques, thus concentrating the curriculum essentially on religious and philosophical studies. This education was imparted to a limited number with the object of perpetuating the ecclesiastical supremacy of a transcendental religious authority, exercised over the affairs of all the people. But scientific discoveries with subsequent industrial revolutions in the West brought about a steady intellectual awakening in certain centres and eventually the establishment in 1851 of the teaching of science and many modern subjects. This movement was further followed by the development in certain ministries of training establishments to provide for their administrative needs, all of which were subsequently put under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Educational policy at first concentrated on training students for various professions, most connected with government service. Gradually, however, some other colleges and faculties were established under the auspices of the said Ministry, which were also supported by the Government and open to a higher intellectual class. All these colleges were, in the last two decades, affiliated to the University of Tehran, which enjoys a semi-independence of the Ministry of Education.

In addition to this University in Tehran, last year the Ministry of Education established a University at Tabriz near the Russian border and has lodged a Bill in Parliament by virtue of which it will be empowered to establish universities in other provincial centres, if and when desired. Yet it must be said that the establishment of the Tabriz University is due to the Coalition Government of nearly two years ago, which included members of the Tudeh Party (which is Communistic in sentiment). Full credit should, however, be given to the Tudeh movement in Azerbaijan for provoking and stimulating the thought of those concerned to establish a university in that province whose industrial, economic, agricultural, and other needs required it. Now, therefore, all the major faculties of a university are gradually being constituted, completed and equipped so that the youth of Azerbaijan and of neighbouring provinces may have the opportunity of higher education near home.

We are thus to have at least two modern universities in the country. One is being completed, the other has been at work for many years past.

For one reason or another most elementary-school pupils do not go on to secondary-school education, nor do all who pass out of high school proceed to universities and colleges to further their studies. It may be stated that about one per cent. of elementary-school children become university graduates.

Some of the colleges, like those for medicine and technology, enjoy more prestige than others; and this is due to certain restrictions which they observe, while the doors of others are open to any individual who holds a secondary-school diploma without passing the university entrance examination. It would be better were this examination applied impartially in all colleges, firstly to maintain uniformity, secondly to retain administrative co-ordination, and thirdly to prevent weaker candidates from changing from one group of studies to another, thus lowering the standard of scholastic attainment.

A university which is a seat and centre of learning cannot survive and will not be worthy of its generation without freedom of teaching and freedom of research. Therefore, one of the duties of the World Peace Organization is to advise its adherents to apply this educational policy and likewise to organize departments for research in their universities which will eventually strengthen institutional bonds between them from which all students will benefit. However, it may be stated that while U.N.E.S.C.O. may ultimately secure and serve the purpose, the effective operation and significant contribution of this institution remain to be seen. It seems to me that the efficiency of operation of the British Council—with no delay and little red-tape—has so far vividly surpassed that of U.N.E.S.C.O., which has already disheartened a great number of educational leaders in many countries. But one should not make a hasty judgment about them both as they are in the embryonic stage of their development; moreover, one is a national and the other is an international organization.

The best brains, together with the best personality and character, must be selected for teaching, administration and research purposes in schools at a university level, as these teachers affect the impressionable minds and conduct of their students who are the country's future leaders. At the same time an adequate salary should be paid to them, so as to enable them to concentrate on their particular functions and remain in their schools to give guidance to students under their tutorial direction.

Unfortunately these educational principles are not consistently applied in our universities and colleges and some such institutions are not free from political lobbying. There are other countries which are under similar restraints, and one can only hope that these shortcomings will be removed and educational administration will be relieved to pursue its blessed duties and obligations. In this connection it must also be said that the co-ordination of the work of university colleges can hardly be secured without a friendly and reasonable spirit of co-operation between all members of the staff irrespective of their personal political views and class differences.

A university is a place of higher education and the business of such an institution is to educate its members with the utmost impartiality. The primary purpose of education, therefore, is the development of the student, which should in no way be subordinated to any professional, individual, or political aim. The advancement of knowledge is regarded, and rightly so, as the function of a university organization. This objective is to be secured, however, through educational research and scientific discoveries, which means that every teacher should be a research worker and all research should reciprocally fructify in teaching.

A university is not a kindergarten and it is not to prolong infancy; it must teach self-government and self-dependence with all the other moral and intellectual virtues so badly needed to save the world from disaster and deterioration. University education must train leaders and teach them leadership in all human achievements as distinguished from secondary schools which train intelligent followers. It must be admitted without reservation that many university students still do not know how best to utilize their leisure time. This is of great importance; it is a sociological problem that may easily create a problem for society.

It seems that education, when looked at from a legal viewpoint, is a contract which is made between the student and his community with unwritten and yet implied binding conditions; and as one party to a contract does not allow the other contractor to do inferior work, so the university administration as the representative of a community should be similarly scrupulous. Higher education figures largely in the government budget, and it is not provided for luxury purposes; it must definitely be safeguarded against misappropriation and waste.

It is very true that every country is faced with a wide demand for university education, but the demand is not always coincident with the capacity and ability of those who so desire to profit from such an expensive privilege. A lowering of standards to yield to such demands may, and eventually will, end in giving nobody what he deserves.

The problems put before you are not the only problems of university education, neither are they peculiar to my country; but rather, being interested in university administration in general, I have treated the subject-matter from a wider and more general point of view. I do believe that university administrations throughout the world must closely co-operate in order to remove these and similar shortcomings and to establish a profound and significant cultural, scientific, and educational relationship, the fruits of which will be reaped by all countries in due course.

SOME NOTES ON THE KAZAKS OF SINKIANG

By IAN MORRISON

THE Kazaks are the second largest group in the strange racial amalgam that forms the population of the Chinese province of Sinkiang. According to the latest Chinese official figures they form 10·4 per cent. out of a total population of 4,055,000, compared with a Turki element of 76·8 per cent. and a Chinese element of 5·8 per cent. In the three northern districts of Ili, Chuguchak, and Altai, which revolted against the Chinese administration in November, 1944, and are now incorporated into the Soviet zone of influence, they form no less than 53 per cent. of the total population. Many more Kazaks, the exact number being unknown to this writer, live in the vast sprawling Soviet republic of Kazakstan to the north of Sinkiang. The Kazaks are said to be a branch of the great Kirghiz family and are a nomadic pastoral Mohammedan people, closely resembling the Mongols both in their appearance and their way of life.

In August of this year I set out with two American friends from Tihwa, the provincial capital (better known perhaps by its Mongol name of Urumchi), to visit the Pei-ta-shan area, north-east of Tihwa, where there have been a number of clashes during the past two years between the Chinese and the Outer Mongolians, and also to try and locate the Kazak chieftan, Osman, who is the leading Kazak figure on the Chinese side.

It took us a day in a dilapidated army truck to reach the little town of Ch'i-t'ai, about 125 miles east of Tihwa. The commander of the Moslem cavalry units who are responsible for the defence of the Pei-ta-shan area, Major-General Han You-wen, received us with great cordiality and talked frankly about the military situation. These Moslem horsemen from Chinghai, heirs to a centuries-old martial tradition, are amongst the finest troops on the Nationalist side in China to-day, and the general, a stocky, decisive, bearded man, impressed us as an able and resolute commander. He told us that on June 5 last year the Outer Mongolians launched an attack with 500 cavalry, supported by bombers, which was designed to capture the entire Pei-ta-shan area. It was successfully repulsed. Since then there had been a number of small-scale clashes, the latest on July 27 this year. One got the impression that it is frontier scrapping of the kind that one would expect in this turbulent part of Asia and that as soon as the Chinese show any signs of weakness the Outer Mongolians will come swarming across.

The general was keen for us to visit the forward Chinese positions in the Pei-ta-shan, whence, he said, we could see the Outer Mongolian patrols down in the plains, but the trip across a hundred miles of rough country in another of those highly unreliable army trucks sounded an uncertain proposition, which would have required the best part of a week, and our time

was limited. Reluctantly we decided to abandon the visit to Pei-ta-shan and to try to see Osman instead. It turned out that Osman was living at a large Kazak encampment in the lower ranges of the T'ien Shan (the Celestial Mountains) about 50 miles south-west of Ch'i-t'ai.

Our doubts about Chinese military transport were not misplaced, for it took us nearly eight hours to reach the Chinese military post 25 miles to the south—in a small walled village at the foot of the T'ien Shan—where we were to stay the night. No sooner had we started than the truck broke down, and the driver, following established Chinese procedure on these occasions, got out his hammer and screw-driver and took the carburettor to pieces. After an hour we started again and then it was found that there was no water in the engine, so two of the soldiers set out with a pail for the nearest watering-point about two miles away. Once we stuck in a boggy patch for half an hour. It was long after nightfall when we reached our destination.

The next morning we set out on stocky little Chinghai ponies with an escort of young Moslem soldiers for Osman's camp. Whatever the excellence of the Chinghai pony, the Chinghai saddle leaves much to be desired unless it is well padded with rugs and bedding (which ours unfortunately were not). Short stirrup leathers which could not be lengthened and the jiggling gait of the ponies made it a not very comfortable journey. However, it was a gay little cavalcade and from time to time the young soldiers broke out into song—wild folk songs, strangely un-Chinese, that accorded well with the rugged scenery through which we were passing. The track soon left the fields of millet and sesamum near the village and started to wind its way up a pine-covered valley. In the distance could be seen the three snow-covered peaks of Bogdo Ola.

After a time we came to upland pastures where Kazaks were grazing flocks of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and even a few camels. Soon some emissaries of Osman, who had had notice of our coming, came down to meet us—fine-looking men in heavy padded clothing, wearing the characteristic Kazak head-dress, plumed and fur-lined, with large ear-flaps. We passed scattered groups of *yurts* (felt tents), or *Yü* as the Kazaks call them, and finally, at the head of the valley, came to the main encampment.

We were taken first to a large yurt belonging to Osman's chief lieutenant, Hanat Pai, who speaks Chinese and handles all negotiations with the Chinese authorities. There were felts on the floor of the yurt and some bright Khotan rugs hung round the walls. We were regaled on *kumis*, fermented mare's milk, which has a slightly cheesy taste and is about as intoxicating as beer. Hanat Pai's wife hovered in the background and occasionally stirred the *kumis* in the large goatskin sack that hung from the wall. She wore the long flowing white dress of the Kazak women, which gives them a curious nun-like appearance. Habas Bator, who commands all the Kazak fighting units in the field, came in and squatted on the floor. He had been awarded the title *Bator*, or Hero, for prowess in battle. Other Kazaks came in and were introduced. Few of them spoke any Chinese.

Hanat Pai explained to us a little of the tribal organization of the Kazaks. They were divided, he said, into three main groups, the Keré,

the Naiman, and the Uwak. The Naiman, he said, lived mostly in Kazakstan to the north. The Keré, to whom Osman and all these Kazaks belonged, lived mostly in Northern Sinkiang but south of the Naiman. "The Naiman," piped up one old man, "regard Russia as their father. The Keré regard China as their father." He emphasized that the tribal divisions were not too distinct and geographically they were very mixed up nowadays. Hanat Pai went on to tell us a little of the administrative organization of the Kazaks, of their system of elected chiefs. It appears that there is a sort of prince of the Keré called the Ailin Wang (with an enormous wife who is the District Commissioner for Tihwa).. Under him there are about thirty subordinate chiefs called *Taiji*. Under each *Taiji* there are three or four *Oğurdai*, each with jurisdiction over 300-600 yurts. And so the system reaches down, through *Zalung* (100-200 yurts) and *Zangung* (50-100 yurts), to *Kunde*, each of whom has jurisdiction over ten to thirty yurts. One of the chief functions of the prince is to summon an assembly, called the *Majlis*, of all the chiefs down to the rank of *Kunde*, which normally meets once or twice a year or when there is any special business to discuss, but this function has been performed by Osman ever since he became District Commissioner for Altai.

One of my American friends was amused when a Kazak asked him: "How many sheep and goats does the ordinary man in the United States possess?"

After a while a messenger came from Osman's camp to say that the great man was ready to receive us, and we all jumped on our ponies to ride to his own little camp about a mile away across the valley. We were ushered into a large ceremonial yurt, made of white felts and hung with some very fine Khotan rugs. Finally Osman himself came in and greeted us warmly, shaking our hands with both of his. We sat down in a circle, about fifteen of us, and commenced a long discussion which we knew, after the fashion of these central Asian nomads, would probably continue for many hours. It was interrupted only once, at sunset, when the Kazaks excused themselves on the plea that they had to go and make their evening devotions.

Osman is not particularly tall, but he is a very large man, who dominates a room (or yurt) the moment he comes into it. He has a large powerful face, long black moustache and beard, a prominent nose, rather light brownish eyes, an arrogant mouth. It was easy to see how, by force of personality, he had risen to a commanding position amongst a people for whom personal leadership still counts for much. He sat there, fondling a small son on his knee, surrounded by his devoted ferocious-looking followers. The bowls of *kumis* were kept well filled. It was a curious scene. In just such a manner must Genghiz Khan and some of the other great barbaric leaders of central Asia have sat in their time, holding counsel and planning those mighty campaigns which made them for many centuries the terror of two continents. Osman too is addressed by his followers as *Bator*.

He is now forty-nine years old. He was born in Altai, the son of a *mullah*, and first came into prominence when he led a revolt against the

tyrannical Chinese warlord, General Sheng Shih-tsai, who ruled Sinkiang with Russian help from 1934 to 1944. (The Russians withdrew in 1942.) It is said that four of his sons and four daughters and his only brother were all killed by Sheng Shih-tsai. During this period Osman co-operated closely with the Outer Mongolians and received much help from them. Later he broke with them. After the Chinese re-established their control over Sinkiang in 1944, they appointed Osman *Chuan-yuan*, or District Commissioner, of Altai. Hanat Pai was his chief of police. When the three northern districts (including Altai) revolted in November, 1944, Osman played in with the Ili leaders and retained his position as *Chuan-yuan* of Altai. In 1946 Osman broke with the Ili regime and came over to the Chinese side, bringing with him 700 of his regular Kazak troops and about 3,000 yurts, or 12,000 people.

Our talk was even more protracted than it would have been naturally, for Usman spoke in Kazak to a Kazak who spoke execrable Chinese, which had to be put into more intelligible Chinese by the Moslem major who commanded our escort. Nor did the frequent interpellations of the other members of the company help to expedite or clarify the exchange of ideas.

The following is a brief summary of Osman's discourse, as he recounted it to us. "On September 6, 1945, 6,000 Ili troops arrived at Ch'eng-hua, the capital of Altai. They wore Russian uniforms and spoke Russian. From that day onwards Russian influence increased daily. The troops were commanded by a Lieut.-General Birkdorff and under him were two regimental commanders called Liesskin and Dostgonoff. [N.B.—These are phonetic renderings via Kazak and Chinese] I co-operated with these people until April 1, 1946, when I left for Pei-ta-shan. A Russian police chief called Sembayeff came with the Ili troops. They summoned me to a meeting in Ili and demanded that I bring all my Kazak troops to Ili, while they garrisoned Altai themselves. This I refused to do. For this reason, and because they started to take Kazak women to Ili, I broke with them."

"The Ili troops took over in the name of the East Turkestan Republic.

"Another demand that I refused to comply with was that we should surrender all our arms. The Ili people also took away 28,600 ounces of gold from the A-shan Gold-mining Bureau, which rightly belonged to the government."

"The Russians are now in charge of the gold and wolfram mines in Altai and are increasing production daily."

"There are three reasons why I am fighting Ili to-day. Firstly, Communism is hostile to religion. Secondly, the Ili people are encroaching on Chinese national territory. Thirdly, the Kazaks stand to get a better deal from the Chinese than from the Russians."

"I am an old and ignorant man, but one thing is clear in my mind, and that is the characteristics of Soviet Russia. The world would be at peace were it not for Russia. Russia is an international enemy, she is China's enemy, she is Sinkiang's enemy. A lot of Kazaks are being oppressed by the Russians. With the help of China, America, and Britain, I want to liberate them."

The reader must feel a certain scepticism about the above facts and sentiments. I did not have time in Sinkiang to check up on them. One thing, however, seemed quite clear, and that is that Osman, despite some of these high-sounding expressions, is far less interested in political ideology than he is in personal power. The Chinese find him useful and they are currently supplying him with arms and money. But they are not likely to trust very far a man who has changed sides as often as has Osman. The Kazaks do not like the Chinese.

When he left Altai he brought down 700 of his old guard and he also commands, under the direction of General Han You-wen, three battalions (each of about 340 men) of *Pau-an-dui*, or Pacification troops, mainly Kazaks, with an admixture of Mongols, White Russians, and others. Last summer 600 of these men went on a long cavalry foray into Altai and penetrated as far as Ch'eng-hua. They claim to have had a number of successful engagements with the Ili forces and since then have been engaged in periodical frontier clashes both with pro-Ili Kazaks and the Outer Mongolians.

Osman claims that last December the Outer Mongolians sent an emissary offering him tempting terms if only he would come over to their side. Although the emissary was a relative, Osman turned him over to the Chinese authorities and he is now in prison in Tihwa.

Late into the night we talked on, trying to unravel the complicated skein of Sinkiang politics and listening to endless tales of Kazak military victories, in all of which the enemy were defeated with overwhelming casualties. It was past 10 o'clock when we finally took our leave and galloped home beneath the stars to Hanat Pai's yurt.

The following morning Osman came with about fifty of his followers, on horseback, to enable me to take some photographs. It was a fine spectacle. Each man had a rifle slung over his shoulder, with a long two-pronged bipod affixed to the muzzle. Osman rode down with us for about a mile and then said good-bye. Hanat Pai and Habas Bator rode another mile, some of the lesser leaders further, in what seemed to be a strict order of protocol leave-taking. We got lost on the way back and, despite an early start, it was well past noon before we reached the little village, where a delicious meal of simple Chinese food had been prepared for us. The truck behaved in exemplary fashion on the return journey and we covered the distance in less than two hours.

It was many days, though, before we recovered from the effects of those Chinghai saddles.

THE ABDALS IN EASTERN TURKESTAN FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW*

By KAARLO HILDÉN, Sc.D.

DURING the years 1906-08 the then Colonel, now the Marshal of Finland, Baron G. Mannerheim made a journey on horseback through the whole of Asia from the Caspian Sea to Peking. During this expedition, of which a thorough report was published as lately as in 1940⁶ he carried out among other investigations anthropological measurements and observations. The material—which was handed over to me for scientific adaptation—comprises partly tribes (Kalmuks, Kirghiz, Torguts) among which anthropological investigations have earlier been made, and partly such as were anthropologically unknown: the Abdals in Eastern Turkestan, the mountain tribes Pakhpo and Shiksho near Karghalik, and the Yögurs on the northern reaches of the Nanshan mountains. The most remarkable among the last-mentioned tribes are, perhaps, the Abdals whose anthropology seems to reflect their strange fortunes and who in other respects too are of considerable interest.

The Abdals have their dwelling-places in Eastern Turkestan, a region which extends over the land-locked Tarim basin with the Takla Makan desert bordered round on the north by the Tien Shan chain of mountains, on the south by the Kuen-lun alps and on the west by the Pamir mountain massif. At the foot of these mighty mountain ridges the waters of the alpine rivers have created a number of verdant oases which have been cultivated from time immemorial and through which old caravan routes pass. In the villages of these oases small Abdal colonies are to be found: in Tamaghil near the town of Khotan, in Hayran Bagh in the neighbourhood of Yarkand, in Paynab at Kashgar, west of the desert, and, furthermore, in Keriya and Cherchen in the south.

Towards the end of the last and at the beginning of the present century these Abdal settlements were visited by a number of famous scientists among whom should be noted the Englishman Sir T. D. Forsyth,² the Frenchmen F. Grenard³ and P. Pelliot,⁴ the German A. von le Coq,⁵ the Swede G. Raquette,^{9, 10} and, finally, the Finn G. Mannerheim.⁶ These scientists have given valuable information on the manners and habits, language and material culture of the Abdals: but anthropological investigations have been carried out only by Mannerheim. His material, though scanty, is therefore of no small value.

In order to get a correct background I think it necessary, before entering upon the anthropological observations, to say a few words about the habits of life among the Abdals.

* The substance of a lecture read before the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Third Session, Brussels, August, 1948.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Abdals are reported to have led a very isolated life of which the rest of the population in Eastern Turkestan knew very little. When appearing outside their villages they were mostly seen wandering from one place to another, shouldering a beggar's bag and carrying a beggar's staff. Subsequently, a part of them settled down as farmers and in some cases even attained a fairly good economic position. The majority, however, remained true to their ancestral way of living—*i.e.*, they continued to subsist principally on professional mendicancy. Apart from this peculiar occupation they busied themselves with making brooms, sieves, spoons, carpets, and sacks to be disposed of during their wanderings.

Professional mendicancy is in itself a peculiar source of livelihood, though other groups of people, too, are known to support themselves in a similar way. Even more striking, however, is the fact that all Abdals, no matter how settled or prosperous, are obliged to shoulder a sack at some time during the year and to wander away to distant parts where they are unknown except in the rôle of professional beggars. "Both rich and poor have to sling a beggar's bag over their shoulders for a certain time every year and wander about the country begging for alms," Mannerheim writes (6: p. 92). It goes without saying that the local population is not particularly fond of these wandering and often ragged individuals, who are, moreover, frequently accused of various tricks. Wherever the Abdals appear they are treated with dislike and disgust; they are a despised and detested tribe and consequently it is only natural that intermarriage with their neighbours seldom occurs.

But what can possibly be the reason for such a strange way of living? The Abdals themselves declare that there is an old curse upon them that compels them to these annual wanderings. "It was said in Eastern Turkestan that they were and had to remain beggars from one generation to another until the Day of Resurrection" Raquette writes (10: p. 3). And according to a Mohammedan tradition, still surviving among the Abdals as well as among the local population of Eastern Turkestan, this judgment had been passed upon them because on the occasion of the outrage at Kerbela, never forgotten or forgiven especially by any Shi'ite, it was said to have been the forefathers of the Abdals who prevented the grandson of the Prophet, Husein, and his warriors from drawing water from the Euphrates close by and thereby caused the death of the descendant of the Prophet. In his hour of death, therefore, Husein is said to have cursed the Abdals and sentenced them and their children throughout the ages to remain strangers and beggars among the nations.

Thus, according to the tradition, the roving life of the Abdals might be traced back to the battle of Kerbela in Mesopotamia in 680—a tragedy which for ever rendered impossible a reconciliation between the two sects of the Mohammedan world, the Sunni and the Shi'ah. That the traditions refer to this very event is also denoted by the fact that, according to the notes of Grenard³ and Mannerheim,⁶ the Abdals celebrate as a feast the day on which the Sarts mourn Husein's death.

But is it really possible for the traditions to have survived for 1,300 years? Is there any actual evidence of the Abdals having wandered from

the Near East to their present location in the heart of Asia? To give an absolutely binding answer to this question is, of course, impossible, but from Mannerheim's anthropological material, certain conclusions may be drawn that are of value for the solving of this intricate problem.

In making his anthropological investigations in Asia Mannerheim followed the instructions contained in *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* (1892), edited by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The observations and measurements according to this scheme are very minute and embrace twenty metric characters, eleven descriptive features, and many additional facts about the persons examined. In such circumstances it is comprehensible that in spite of the appreciable time sacrificed to physical anthropological investigations the number of individuals was fairly small. Thus, Mannerheim's Abdal material comprises only seventeen individuals. The measurements and observations are, however, very adequately supplemented by a picture collection which gives a very good idea of what the examined individuals looked like.

A hasty glance at the photographs is enough to show that although nowadays they live in the very middle of the "yellow" continent the Abdals do not belong to the Mongolid race. Only in exceptional instances some Mongolid influences may be demonstrated. Likewise, Mannerheim's observations and measurements indicate, as plainly as anyone could desire, that the Abdals represent a group which strongly deviates from the Mongolids. Thus, the colour of the skin is generally fair (rosy or pale). In one instance only (a youth of twenty) it is characterized as yellowish. Further, it may be mentioned that the Mongolian fold did not occur in any of the individuals examined, that often the amount of hair is very abundant, which is not the case with Mongolids, and that the profile of the nose is straight in the majority, and in many individuals is said to be even slightly or distinctly aquiline.

In the light of Mannerheim's investigations it is quite evident that the Abdals are a population that belongs to the Europid group of races. But it is as evident that various racial elements or sub-groups constitute the framework of the Abdal tribe. This is proved by our photographs as well as by the recorded measurements.

The values of the measurements all vary very much. However, I cannot here enter upon all the characters but have to limit myself to a few. For further particulars I refer to an essay written by me⁴ containing a complete list of individual measurements.

The maximum length of head from back to front is illustrated by the following figures: $M \pm m = 183.71 \pm 2.03$ mm., Min. 165 mm., Max. 204 mm., $\sigma = 8.38$, $v = 4.56$. The corresponding values for the maximum breadth of head are following: $M \pm m = 150.12 \pm 1.46$, Min. 137 mm., Max. 159 mm., $\sigma = 6.01$, $v = 4.00$. The height of the head, which is illustrated by the projective measure from the vertex to the tragus of the ear, supplies the following values: $M \pm m = 127.82 \pm 2.08$, Min. 115 mm., Max. 147 mm., $\sigma = 8.57$, $v = 6.70$.

If we calculate the head indices on the basis of the absolute diameters, we obtain the following averages :

Length-breadth index $M \pm m = 81.75 \pm 0.76$ (75.5–87.9) $\sigma = 3.12$ $v = 3.82$
 Height-length index $M \pm m = 69.62 \pm 1.04$ (60.7–77.3) $\sigma = 4.28$ $v = 6.15$
 Height-breadth index $M \pm m = 85.10 \pm 1.18$ (76.3–94.2) $\sigma = 4.86$ $v = 5.71$

As is evident, the variability is very great—one need only consider the values of the standard deviation and the coefficient of variation. It is characteristic that in regard to the cephalic index our materials include dolicocephalic (5.9 per cent.), mesocephalic (41.2 per cent.), brachycephalic (41.2 per cent.), and hyperbrachycephalic (11.7 per cent.) individuals. As regards the height-length index the measured Abdals are almost entirely (94.1 per cent.) hypsicephalic. As regards the height-breadth index, however, which is generally more likely to express the height conditions of the head in a better way, all groups—tapeinocephaly (17.6 per cent.), metri-
 ocephaly (29.4 per cent.) and acrocephaly (53.0 per cent.)—are represented. Acrocephaly does, indeed, occur very generally, but only slightly over half of the measured individuals belong to this category.

The facial and nasal dimensions vary to a similar extent—even to a still higher degree than other metric characters. This great variability appears, naturally, also in regard to the facial index and the nasal index, the values of which are as follows:

Facial index $M \pm m = 81.6 \pm 1.1$ (74.1–88.6) $\sigma = 4.46$ $v = 5.47$
 Nasal index $M \pm m = 77.5 \pm 1.8$ (61.1–88.4) $\sigma = 7.48$ $v = 9.65$

According to the conventional limits the means are situated in the euryprosopic and the mesorrhine group, but in reality these groups are not particularly characteristic of the Abdals. In regard to the facial index there are in the material hypereuryprosopic individuals in 29.4 per cent., euryprosopic in 29.4 per cent., mesoprosopic in 35.3 per cent., and leptoprosopic in 5.9 per cent.

Also the stature is very variable: $M \pm m = 163.1 \pm 1.8$, Min. 149.7 cm., Max. 179.0 cm., $\sigma = 7.32$, $v = 4.49$. Judging by the available materials, the male stature among the Abdals varies mostly between the limits of 160 and 170 cm. (5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 7 in.). Short individuals are, however, fairly numerous, whereas really tall individuals are rare.

According to the classification of Pearson and Davin⁷ the variability may be considered small if the coefficient of variation does not exceed 3.49, fairly small if it is 3.50–4.49, fairly large if it is 4.50–5.49, and large if it exceeds 6.00. Among the Abdals the average coefficient of variation for twelve measurements and indices of the head is 5.96, for eight measurements of the body 6.54, for all twenty characters 6.19. The values are thus very high all through.

An examination of Mannerheim's anthropological materials thus shows that the Abdal tribe is a very heterogeneous population. On the basis of our scanty material a detailed racial analysis is, however, impossible, for natural reasons. Judging by all appearances it may be said, though, that among the Europid sub-groups or "races," constituting the Abdal tribe, the Armenid and Orientalid races—to use von Eickstedt's¹ terminology—are the principal elements. As we know, the former race is, among other things, characterized by middle stature, high and very short head, flat occi-

put, longish face, very prominent and curved nose, and abundant hair on face and body, whereas some of the characteristics of the Orientalid race are short stature, long and narrow cranium, narrow and fine-cut face, narrow and slightly curved nose, fairly abundant hair on face. As is evident, these two races differ considerably from each other and accordingly it is only natural that a population embracing these components should show a great variability. When, as is the case with the Abdals, there is an additional admixture of other elements as well, be it only to a small degree, the variability becomes greater still. Hence, the uncommonly great variability that characterizes the Abdals, as indicated by the values for the standard deviation and the coefficient of variation, would be naturally explained by the racial composition of the tribe.

In view of the foregoing it is also indicative and quite comprehensible that fairly pronounced "Jewish" types should occur among the Abdals, a point which has been stressed by explorers and to which our photographs, too, bear witness. As we know, the Armenid and Orientalid races constitute the most important elements of the Jewish people, as is likewise the case with the population in the Near East in general—in present times as well as centuries ago.

In short: the anthropological structure of the Abdals points distinctly towards the Near East. A more accurate localization of their original native country is, however, impossible. All one can say is that it might very well have been Mesopotamia, the country which the traditions point to as the native land of the beggar tribe. In any case it is evident that the Abdals have wandered to their present dwelling-places from far in the west. Linguistic points, too, are in favour of such a conclusion. Philologists like Grenard³ and Pelliot⁴ have demonstrated that the Abdals speak a kind of Turki that is mixed up with numerous non-Turki words, the majority of which are of Persian origin. "Au point de vue linguistique, la plupart des mots non turcs du dialecte abdal son, somme M. Grenard l'a montré, d'origine persane," Pelliot (8: p. 122) writes. The Persian loan-words prove that on their way to Central Asia the Abdals have wandered through Persia—and, as we know, this is the only possible route from Mesopotamia to Eastern Turkestan.

What has been said above seems to prove that the traditions surviving among the population of Eastern Turkestan to a certain extent are founded on reality. The Abdals would thus be the bearers of a millennial tradition and might be characterized as human relics, who through centuries have preserved their individuality, in spite of great changes in their geographical, social, and racial surroundings.

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CHINA TO INDIA—MODERN STYLE

By COLONEL H. W. TILMAN, D.S.O., M.C.

WHEN Younghusband made this journey sixty-one years ago it was considered a great achievement. As recently as the 'thirties the journey was deemed worthy of a book—more than one were written—but nowadays, I suppose, it hardly merits a short article. One can fly from Shanghai to Urumchi in two days, in another week one can reach Kashgar by truck, whence a month's riding or walking will land our possibly disappointed traveller in Srinagar or Chitral.

That I did the journey this year was merely a consequence of having arranged to meet E. E. Shipton at Urumchi for some climbing. To go from here to Central Asia by way of Shanghai reminds one of Chesterton's line—"the night we went to Birmingham by way of Beachy Head"—but it is the quickest way if use can be made of the monthly plane between the two places. I could not, but I did the next best thing by flying as far as Lanchow on the Yellow River in Central China, the H.Q. of what is known as the "North-West," in which Sinkiang is included. Having got permission to go to Sinkiang from General Chang Chi Chung, the North-West commander, I then obtained a seat in the Post bus through the good offices of the Secretary of the C.I.M. at Lanchow. The Post bus service was well run. As far as Anshi both drivers and lorries (5 ton Dodges) were changed at each stage of about 150 miles. The 1,100 miles to Urumchi took twelve days which included four non-running days. Besides mail a certain amount of freight was carried, while the fares of as many people as could be accommodated on top seemed to be the driver's perquisite.

Having met at Urumchi early in July, Mr. Shipton and I spent three fruitless weeks nibbling at Bogdo Ola, a very fine group of mountains some forty miles to the east. In 1904 Grober, who was a surveyor with Merzbacher, made a map of the group, the highest peak of which he credited with a height of over 21,000 feet. A Swedish party which made a geological map of the region in 1929 put the height at 18,000 feet, a figure which we thought was probably correct. A strange conjunction of circumstances, one of which was the desire for ice at the American Consulate, gave us the chance of a second attempt early in August, but this time we were foiled by a heavy fall of snow.

The lower slopes of the group are inhabited by Kazaks, particularly on the north side which is rich in grass and well forested. Although they are nomads most of these Kazaks try to cultivate a bit of wheat. There are just under half a million Kazaks in Sinkiang and about three million in Soviet Kazakstan. Most of this half-million live in the province of Ili, which three years ago revolted against the Chinese and now calls itself the Independent Republic of East Turkestan. Those outside Ili appear to be still loyal to the Chinese, who have recently made use of them in the sporadic fighting which goes on along the ill-defined and disturbed Mongolian border. The Kazak seems more virile and of more independent

ways than his fellow nomad the Kirghiz, ready enough to fight, and withal slightly contemptuous of Chinese, White Russians, Europeans—anyone in fact who is not a Kazak. Their mode of life is like that of the Kirghiz, but the Kazaks of Bogdo Ola appeared to us less well off both for stock and for household goods than the Kirghiz of western Sinkiang. Their clothes are shabbily nondescript; anything will serve, and serves very well when set off by the proud hat the men like to affect. Usually red, it rises to a high point and then descends past the ears to well down the back of the neck, trimmed with fur and topped with an elegant tuft of feathers. Well mounted and thus crowned, their presence helps to enliven the drab streets of Urumchi whither they resort for shopping. Like James Pigg, they never get off, but drive their bargains from the saddle.

In late August we started for Kashgar, travelling in a truck which deserves an honourable mention, for it was the survivor of two 30 cwt. Fords which Sir Eric Teichman used in his drive from Peking to Kashgar in 1935. At the beginning of September we made an attempt on the fine 22,000 foot mountain called Chakragil. It lies on the other side of the Gez defile from Kungur (25,148 feet) and can be reached from Kashgar in three days by Tashmalik, the Gez, and the Oitagh valleys. Mistakenly we put our trust in a Kirghiz for help in carrying our high camp, but at 17,000 feet he collapsed with a severe attack of altitude, so that instead of helping us up we had to help him down. We returned by a pass, new to us, to Bostan Arche and so to Opal.

On October 1st I started for India in company with two mounted "dakchi" (mail runners). Travelling by way of Yangi Hissar and the Chichiklik pass we reached Tashkurghan in five days, a distance of about 150 miles. As the ponies carried mail, fodder, and my loads, with us sitting on top, they could not trot but maintained a good fast walk. All the stages were long and the days becoming short, but by dint of starting early and keeping going—no halting for lunch or frivolities of that sort—the distance was always covered before dark. Beyond Tashkurghan I still travelled with the mail, but now we walked behind three donkeys so the pace was less killing. Between Beyik and Mintaka Post I noticed many more yurts than there were last year, an increase which is due to the influx of Kirghiz from Wakhan whom the Chinese have settled here. The chief of these new settlers, in whose yurt I ate a whole bowl of cream, seemed a man of some standing, intelligent, and well-informed. He had no English at all, but he read with ease on my map the names of places which he knew of or had visited.

At Lup Gaz, on their side of the Mintaka, the Chinese have now established a Customs Post where my baggage was rigorously searched. While this was being done I talked to a cheerful American geologist who was trying to bounce his way into Sinkiang without a visa—successfully, as I heard later. Here, too, were a few of the Kazak refugees who had migrated to India in, I think, 1944. They had come from Peshawar and were existing in very miserable tents awaiting Chinese permission to proceed.

Having reached Misgar I decided that I had followed the beaten track far enough. Once before, on this route, when seeking for variety I had

found trouble, but this time I was determined to keep on the right side, that is the Indian side, of the Hindu Kush. Though I have not heard of it being followed by a European, there is an attractively direct route to Chitral by way of the Chillinji pass, Sokhta Robot, Chilmar Robot, and thence to the Boroghil-Mastuj track which follows the valley of the Yarkun. In the Chapursan nallah, where the villages are all Wakhi though the valley belongs to Hunza, I picked up as coolies and guides two reluctant Wakhis. I was surprised to meet several parties of Kirghiz who had come over from Wakhan by the Irshad pass to buy grain; surprised, too, by the number of pilgrims returning from the shrine of Baba Ghundi.* The saint's tomb, over which dozens of white flags flutter, is enclosed by a six-foot stone wall and by the gate is a huge pile of ibex horns.

We crossed the 17,000 foot Chillinji pass at the wrong end of a long spell of fine weather. I was interested to find that my two Wakhis, whose own village was above the 10,000 foot level, suffered greatly from headache; nor was this the only surprise they gave me, for I presently learnt that they had never been any further, not even to Sokhta Robot. This mistake, like most of the mistakes of this life, was discovered too late to rectify. In mist and sleet we pursued a vague track used, it seemed, only by one man (mounted) and his dog, on their way, no doubt, to mow some distant upland meadow. Beyond Sokhta Robot, which is a name and nothing more, not even a stone shelter, the valley is wholly blocked by a great glacier coming down from the south. Even for those travelling without any animals it is a formidable obstacle. By now snow was falling continuously and next day, when we were within five or six miles of the Karumbar watershed and at a height of over 13,000 feet, a pall of snow hid the track and a pall of cloud all landmarks. "We shall all die" was the disconsolate theme song of my guides as they surveyed the desolate scene, and after casting about vainly for some hint of track or landmark I was obliged to humour them and give the word for retreat.

Back at Sokhta Robot we fell in with three Kirghiz and five yaks who had just come over from Wakhan by the Khora Bhort. They were bound for Imit with butter to exchange for grain, and thither we went too by the rough and difficult Karumbar valley. The Rajah of Imit received me kindly and fed me royally, at which I rejoiced, for from Kashgar I carried nothing but flour, tea, and sugar. Whatever critics may say of our regime in the past, the fact remains that everywhere in the Gilgit Agency an Englishman is sure of a warm welcome.

With fresh coolies I crossed the Ishkuman pass (14,000 feet) in the hope that I might double back to my original route by way of the Darkot pass. But there was a couple of feet of fresh powder snow on the pass, the Darkot is a thousand feet higher, so I acknowledged defeat and went down to Gupis to join the beaten track which I could no longer shun. From there it would have been quicker to go out via Gilgit and Abbottabad, for there is now a "jeepable" road up the Kagan valley to the Babusar pass. But the P.A. Gilgit discouraged this notion on the ground that "snow had fallen on the Babusar" so that I was obliged to tread the weary way to Chitral.

* See Schomberg's *Between Oxus and Indus*.

The departure of the British, regretted by many, seems to have had little effect on life in these parts. The war in Kashmir and Ladakh, which is of course a direct result of this departure, has had more, for by encouraging enlistment in the Scouts and finding honourable occupation for the uncles and brothers of the various rajahs it has sadly diminished the amount of polo that is played. Meantime crops are sown and reaped, at Gupis the Scouts drill as smartly as ever, and a suspension bridge which fell down in 1935 is still down.

A DESCRIPTION OF GILAN AND BAKU IN 1874

FROM A DIARY KEPT BY THE LATE G. E. WARD, I.C.S.

ON May 9, 1874, on the road from Kazvin to Resht, between Kileshan and Dahliman, we crossed the ridge of the hills. I wished for a barometer to ascertain the height; in my opinion it cannot be less than 11,000 feet.*

We had hoped to get a view of the Caspian from the highest point but we did not make it out. As soon as we crossed the ridge the character of the scenery changed. Hitherto nothing could have been more bleak or bare than the ground we were traversing, but now we found trees and shrubs, and grass and cultivation. Crocuses, bluebells, anemones, and dandelions grew by the roadside, and before we reached Dahliman I had picked a lovely bunch of violets. We must have done not less than thirty-two miles that day, and a good part of the distance we walked leaving our mules to follow as they did of their own accord. The Katkhuda of Dahliman showed us every attention and gave us an empty house to stay in, and we were soon gladdened with the sight of two large bowls of milk, but oh horror! when we touched them with our lips to find it strongly flavoured with garlic. This was owing to the cows pasturing on the wild garlic which grows all over the hills. I suppose Dahliman and Kileshan are about equal in altitude. Both are regular hill villages. We noticed that the women were extremely nice looking and very inquisitive. The houses had raised floors made of planks of wood.

The next day we started at 6.30 a.m. and, except for a rest at breakfast-time, marched steadily on till 5.30 p.m. when we bivouacked on the road. All the earlier part of the day we were going down hill, amidst the most gorgeous forest scenery I have ever seen. Beeches, birches, chestnuts, and walnuts were the prevailing trees of which we knew the names, but I remember there was one gigantic species like the Semal tree which we did not know.

When we at length reached the bottom of the hills our road lay through a regular tarai covered with dense jungle. It was not without some apprehension that I found myself bivouacking in a spot of the kind, but we fortified ourselves with strong doses of quinine, and kept up a huge fire of logs piled up against a tree which had fallen across the road, to burn the malaria, and I don't believe we were in the least affected by it.

The next day we started at 6 a.m. and after crossing and recrossing about twenty times a small stream running through a thick thorny jungle we arrived at last at the brink of the formidable Rúd Safid, and to our delight found a ferryboat which in about an hour's time landed us on the opposite side. At 2 p.m. we reached the thriving town of Lahijan.

Since we crossed the hills we had been in the provinces of Gilan, so

* The Tehran-Resht road was made in 1899.

called from its moist clayey soil ("gil"). The contrast between this part and the South of Persia is not more striking in respect of climate and scenery than in respect of its prosperity, peacefulness, and activity. There is no doubt that the administration of government in the North of Persia is better than in the South. The Shah has an inherent liking for the North while he rarely if ever visits his southern provinces. And I suppose its proximity to the capital ensures to some extent the suppression of crimes of violence. But the people too are different. They are a handsome race but more slender than the people of Southern Persia, and they have a less dogged expression of countenance; the women do not veil their faces, and both men and women will readily enter into conversation though, unluckily for us, they talked more Turki than Persian. The houses are built of red brick and roofed with tiles, and their colour agrees well with the bright green hues of the surrounding vegetation. The soft spongy nature of the soil renders good roads a necessity, and good roads at least for horse traffic there are, and we actually saw hired labourers engaged in repairing them. In the province of Shiraz we once or twice came across some almost helpless beggars, who by clearing away stones with their hands had made parts of the track more easy, in the hope of getting recompensed by travellers; but of other repairs there was no sign whatever.

As we approached Lahijan, our road lay through rice lands and along large mulberry plantations, for silk is the staple commodity of Gilan.

I found that Preece was as much astonished as myself at the general air of prosperity and contentment.

On the next day, the 13th, we left Lahijan at 6 a.m. and following a very fair bridle road, which led us past more than one good-sized village, we arrived at Resht at 3 p.m. and very glad we were to hail the English flag waving on the house of the Consul. We found that the steamer did not pass Enzelli till the early morning of the 16th so we had two days to rest, and were glad to think that our foreign friends would still be in time to leave with us.

The Consul and Mrs. Abbott made us extremely welcome and comfortable, and we thoroughly appreciated the luxuries of dining at a table, sitting on chairs, sleeping between sheets, and bathing in tubs. Resht is a pretty place, very green, and the houses of red brick and tiles as elsewhere in Gilan, and with a beautiful view of the range of forest-clad hills which we had crossed, but I thought the air relaxing, and the life of the Consul and his wife must be dull to a degree. They have no society but that of the Russian Consul with whom it is not always correct to be on good terms, and no employment but gardening and such other occupations as they make for themselves.

At Resht we saw some beautiful specimens of the peculiar embroidery of silk upon cloth for which the place is famous. I purchased a tablecloth for about £7 which was extremely admired in England.

On the 15th we left Resht at 1.30 p.m., the Abbotts riding with us as far as the Peera bazar along a well-made road. The children at some of the houses we passed called out to us "How d'ye do" in Russian. At Peera bazar we had to embark in a boat to cross a long lagoon, and with four men rowing, and very little assistance from the wind we arrived at Enzelli.

at 7 p.m. Our first care was to secure a boat to take us on board the steamer as soon as she arrived, for she anchors only for a short time and there is a bar of sand between Enzelli and the open sea which is not always passable. Having engaged a boat and left my servant in her with strict orders for our being awakened in time, we proceeded to the office to get our tickets, and here we found our three foreign friends, and were invited by them to share their dinner which was laid out in an empty room at the office. We then lay down in the veranda and went to sleep. At 3 a.m. we were waked and hurried down to our boat, and in less than an hour were on board the steamer; but we had been a very short time on board when we saw the sea breaking over the bar.

On the steamer nearly everyone was asleep. The Russians are proverbially late risers, and the hours for meals on board were breakfast 10.30 a.m., dinner 4 p.m., and supper 10.30 p.m. A good old stewardess, however, got us some tea, *a la Russe*, that is in a tumbler without milk but with sugar and lemon, some bread and some capital cheese; and then we went on deck and watched with satisfaction the progress we were making from shore. Half of that day I think I passed in sleep on a sofa in our cabin, without in the least impairing my night's rest.

Next day, May 17, we reached Baku about 10 a.m. and it seemed as if all the population had turned out to welcome the steamer. Besides Preece and myself there were on board Captain Jones of Alma reputation, then Consul at Tabriz, the French Consul of Teheran, M. Mechin a merchant, two French lads, the Austrian general whose name I forget, and the German butler who knew Russian pretty well and was often of great service to us. All the other passengers and crew were Russian subjects, though not all of Russian birth. There was an old general, an Italian, who spoke French also, and told me he had been to Khiva and that the caravans were then going from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian to Khiva in eighteen days. The head engineer of the steamer was a Swede. The fuel used for the engines was naphtha which is contained in large reservoirs round the machinery, and is turned on to the furnace through a bored tube, something like that of a water cart only smaller, but water is at the same time discharged from a second tube below it in order to disperse the naphtha more effectually.

The steamer was intended solely for passenger traffic and the general arrangements were for fair weather. The appointments were very good and the fare sumptuous. We had some South Russian wines as the ordinary drink but could get Bavarian beer (*pivo*). The French Consul, however, who embarked at Astrabad told me that one day when there was a slight swell on the sea and the steamer "danced," all meals were stopped because there were no fiddles for the tables.

We went on shore at Baku and the Secretary to the Governor civilly took us round the old Persian fort, which is a very handsome building of stone richly carved with Arabic inscriptions, and of an entirely different architecture from the buildings of the Safawi dynasty.* When Preece was

* It will be remembered that, after conquering the Caucasus, Russia first invaded Persian territory in 1804; that, as the result of several campaigns, Baku was ceded by Persia in 1813, and all territory north of the present frontier in Azerbaijan was annexed by Russia under the Treaty of Turkomanchi in 1828.

last at Baku (I think in 1868) there were hardly any buildings except a few huts round this old fort. Now there are several fine streets, especially that facing the sea which must be at least a mile long and is built entirely of stone. The population is of the most motley description. Persians, Armenians, Tartars, Cossacks, Georgians, Circassians, Greeks, French, Italians, Germans, as well as Russians I can answer for, but no doubt other clans and nations are represented. We had been told that a band would play in front of the Assembly rooms at 5 o'clock but after waiting for it more than an hour we came away. It did play at 7 p.m.

The next day we formed a party to go and see the naphtha works, and the celebrated Fire Temple. We had two carriages, one drawn by three and one by four horses yoked abreast. The Russians are as thorough drivers as the Persians are riders of horses; we went at a rapid pace over roads that were made only by being driven over, turning off into the fields wherever the ruts were unusually deep, up hill and down for about eight miles till we reached the naphtha works. The manager, a German, took us over them but as he spoke Russian to the Swede gentleman who was with us and German to the Austrian general and they talked French to Captain Jones and Preece, and they explained in English to me, and we were all talking together, a good part of his information necessarily escaped me. I learnt, however, that notwithstanding the ease with which the naphtha is obtained and purified, and the extensive system of canals throughout Russia, the producers could not as yet compete in St. Petersburg with the importers from America.

We were taken to a shaft let down into the ground about the depth of an ordinary well, and listening above could hear the sound as of a rushing stream below. This we were told was a river of naphtha, but whence it comes or whither it goes no one knew. I understood that the naphtha is pumped up into large tanks where it is allowed to lie for a time, and is then collected and purified by artificial evaporation. We were not allowed to smoke in these precincts. Afterwards we saw a manufactory, the engines of which are provided with fuel from natural springs of naphtha, at no further cost than that of the arrangements necessary to regulate its admission to the furnace.

We then went on to the Fire Temple, driving at full speed over a very dreary, weird-looking tract. I remember our seeing what we thought to be a lake some two miles long, and as we drove alongside of it we remarked on the clear beauty of the water, when at a sudden turn our carriage dipped down into the middle of it, and we found that what we had taken for water was merely a saline incrustation. The Fire Temple is at the extreme end of the cape which runs out in a circle from Baku and makes it so safe a harbour. The building resembles an ordinary Hindu Thákur-Lwára and the walls inside are covered with inscriptions in the Nágari character, of the same kind of red ochre as is so commonly used in India. We saw several fissures in the ground over which a flame would blaze if a light was applied to them, but in general little brick receptacles like altars had been constructed to hold the flame. This was the case with the sacred fire itself inside the temple. A Hindu Brahman dressed in white was the solitary minister. He told me he had arrived there twenty years before

from a village a few miles from Lahore, and that another Brahman had accompanied him thither but had returned to India. He had a strip of land round the temple which he said had been granted by the Khans, and I suppose there are very few grants in India which date so far back and have survived so many changes of government. I asked him how it was that he, a Brahman, worshipped fire. He replied that God was in everything. He then performed his worship which consisted in his approaching the fire with nothing on but his dhoti and repeating the long string of the Deity's names, which everyone in India must have heard. There were so many in our party and we had so little time that I could not question him further. How and by what route he reached Baku, 1,500 miles at least as the crow flies from Lahore; how he knew of the existence of the temple; how his place will be supplied when he dies, and what account is kept of him in his native country, are questions one would like to have answered; while one might raise endless theories about the antiquity of this worship and the possibility of its dating from a time before the ancestors of the Persians and Hindus separated.

On our return from this expedition we dined at a hotel kept by a Mr. Domenick, and had an excellent dinner at a charge, including wine, of two roubles apiece.

The shops at Baku are extremely good, mostly kept by Frenchmen or Italians, and I suppose the dandies and ladies of fashion there have no difficulty in dressing not more than a month behind the world. I even found an admirable French hairdresser, though from the appearance of the people on board one would suppose his custom to be very small. I had rashly come to the conclusion that hair brushes, scissors to cut hair, combs, tooth brushes, and nail scissors were wholly unprocurable on the Caspian.

We left Baku at 10 a.m. on the 19th, and a large crowd including the Governor and his suite assembled on the pier to bid the passengers good-bye, and handkerchiefs were waved in the air some time after we were off. We had taken on board a large number of passengers including three actors and three actresses with very slovenly manners, but who seemed notwithstanding to be much admired. There were also a number of convicts destined for Siberia, with their guard of soldiers, and the farewells which passed between them and the friends they left behind were very affecting.

The next day we passed Derbend at 8 a.m. but could see nothing of the mountains for a fog, and at 5.30 p.m. we reached Petrofski, where the company of players and a good number of passengers went on shore. We left Petrofski the same evening, but having the wind against us we did not reach the flat in which we were to be tugged over the shallows at the mouth of the Volga till about sunset the next day. There were murky clouds hanging over the sun, and a lurid yellow light mixed with the glow of its setting, and I thought that the flat moored alone in that vast expanse of dead water (for no land was visible, and not a ripple to be heard), presented a picture of solitude such as a poet's imagination would hardly conceive.

The next day we reached Astrachan but had not time to see much of the town, though we went on shore to stretch our limbs and have a bath before transferring ourselves to the river steamer. The general aspect of the town

is more Oriental than European and the majority of the inhabitants seemed to be Tartars.

We left Astrachan about midnight and all the next day were steaming up the Volga in the teeth of a fierce north wind which discharged a continuous volley of rain and sleet. The river was flooded and for a considerable distance was wider than the Ganges at Ghāzipūr during *its* flood. For many miles we saw no villages, only low forests or barren steppes on either side. The villages we did see were very neat and pretty with freshly painted churches surmounted with the cross. The cold was intense, and of the most disagreeable kind; the Russians were enveloped in huge cloaks, lined entirely with fur, and the men at the wheel, in addition to their other clothing, had high boots, caps and gloves of thick felt, the hair on their faces leaving nothing exposed but their noses.

We reached Tzaritzin about 2 p.m. on the 24th and left in the train at 5, having drunk the Queen's health at the station, where there is a magnificent refreshment room. Up to this point I had throughout my journey enjoyed the most perfect health, but the intense cold of the voyage up the Volga, and the discomfort of the railway journey brought on a fever, which under bad medical treatment developed itself at Moscow into a serious illness, so that my further adventures were of interest to myself alone.

REVIEWS

Life of Lord Lloyd. By C. F. Adams. Pp. 318. Illustrations. Macmillan. 1948. 21s.

This is a fascinating story, for it is written just as if Mr. Colin Forbes Adams were telling it. It describes the life of a great public servant whose dynamic energy and love of travel drove him on and on.

Actuated at first by a restless ambition, he gradually developed into a great Imperialist devoted to the interests of his country. His was a singularly complex character. He combined a romantic idealism with a hard-headed shrewdness. He was restless and lived on his nerves: most impatient of opposition and intolerant of slowness in others, though he often wounded people without either knowing or caring, he was the kindest of men and a true friend. He was self-conscious in some respects, especially about his personal appearance, yet in pursuit of an ideal or in defence of what he considered right, he was entirely forgetful of himself. His physical and moral courage were undisputed. The author suggests that, in spite of his undoubted ability, which was of a very high order, he was disarmingly humble in his assessment of his own mental powers. This must surely be accepted from one who knew him so intimately; but it is permissible to submit that this trait was not always apparent to those who came in contact with him.

There were many definite steadying influences in his life. A remarkably happy marriage which was in every sense a true union of heart and mind, many devoted friends, a firm belief in the greatness of Britain's Imperial policy, a great love of music and a strong religious background. This was an unflinching influence which, starting from his Quaker origin, gave him in later life his greatest consolation in the practice and ritual of Anglo-Catholicism.

George Lloyd came of Welsh Quaker stock. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. At neither place was he particularly distinguished in any branch of study, but he coxed the Eton boat with such success that he easily found that place in the victorious Cambridge Eights of 1899 and 1900. He seems to have been very happy during this period of his life; and often afterwards spoke with pride and pleasure of his old school. His natural restlessness did not permit him to complete his time at Cambridge, and he left there without taking a degree, to commence the first of his many travels with a journey to India. This journey was really a turning-point in his career, followed as it was by another to America. It might naturally have been supposed that he would have found permanent satisfaction in the well-established family business. Although he was deeply interested in it, and the business training which he received stood him in good stead in after life, after three years of this training and responsibility his destiny prevailed, and he started his career in the public service by a journey to Constantinople as a King's Messenger, and by a special study of the problems of the Middle East. He travelled and studied for ten years, and, starting as an Honorary Attaché at Constantinople, acquired an expert knowledge of the problems of the Middle East. The book gives a very vivid account of his non-stop travels. But though his outward appearance was deceptive his health was, in reality, far from perfect. From early life he was subject to internal attacks and upsets; and as the result of his travels and of the hardships inseparable from them, he became seriously ill in 1907. There is no doubt that, as he never spared himself, the seeds were then sown of the illness which, recurring throughout his life, eventually cut short a career of infinite promise.

He entered Parliament in 1910 and made his mark in his maiden speech.

He was in no sense an orator. He spoke in a rather harsh voice and in jerky sentences; but he always carried conviction by his intense earnestness and complete mastery of his subject.

His marriage to Miss Blanche Lascelles in 1911 was not only the most fortunate, but also the most influential event in his career. It is interesting to note that though he "never ceased to expound a traditionally Oriental view of the place that women should occupy in the world and in the home," the practice of this maxim was never apparent in a singularly happy and absorbing married life.

Then came the crisis of 1914. George Lloyd "amazed at the vacillation of Imperial policy in the face of so great a danger" intervened as a back-bencher and threw himself into the struggle to achieve a right decision, working fearlessly, with renewed energy to this end. When all doubts were set at rest he received his mobilization orders and joined his regiment, the Warwickshire Yeomanry. He fretted to get on active service, and at last secured a post in Egypt. He gained the D.S.O. in the Dardanelles—did a period of Intelligence work in Mesopotamia, worked with Allenby and Lawrence, and finally was recalled to London to take up the secretaryship of the British Delegation to the Inter-Allied Council, and came into close touch with Austen Chamberlain in January, 1918. Yet at the Inter-Allied War Council at Versailles he was characteristically unhappy. While world strategy was being discussed, half his thoughts were with Allenby and Lawrence's Arabs. This unhappy state was broken into by the offer of the Governorship of East Africa. He delayed his answer so long that the appointment was given to another, which increased his depression. But the sky cleared when Edward Montagu offered him the Governorship of Bombay, which he readily accepted.

Sir George Lloyd, as he had now become, took over Bombay at a time when there were many difficult problems to be solved. After he had acquired a working knowledge of his Province he found that, to a background of political and industrial unrest, three main tasks awaited him. They were the introduction of the reformed Provincial Constitution consequent on the passing of the India Reforms Bill in 1919; the provision of housing for Bombay city; and the problem of Sind, where development of natural resources, to change an arid area into a productive province by using the waters of the Indus, had hung fire for so many years.

It may be questioned whether Lloyd ever believed in Diarchy. Certainly before the Bill became law he fought with all his strength to preserve British interests. But now that the Bill had been passed he was loyal to the Secretary of State, and confined himself solely to pressing the view that "it was far more important to introduce some scheme of reform quickly, than to risk delay in search for an immense scheme that would be as perfect in detail as theory and experience combined could make it." He always believed that the best was the enemy of the good.

In spite of frustration, setbacks and delays, the other two problems have now happily found a solution in the Back Bay scheme which has reclaimed a large area in Bombay Harbour, and in the Sukkur Barrage on the Indus which has fertilized a great area in Sind. His governorship of Bombay was in all respects notable, and he left amidst universal regret. But the arduous insistence of his duties had further undermined his health. He had never spared himself, and, added to the exacting work for which he appeared to have an infinite capacity, his impatient nature was constantly frustrated. The Government of India has never been famous for jet-propelled methods; and the slowness of this cumbrous machine was a constant source of irritation. He was more happy in his relations with Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State, than he was with his respective

Viceroy; but whilst strongly expressing his ideas, and at times insisting on his point of view, as in the case of Mr. Gandhi, he never failed in loyalty to them.

While in Bombay, and later in Egypt, he appreciated the value of ceremony, and paid great attention to it. At more intimate entertainments his charm of manner made him an admirable host. He was noted for lavish hospitality.

His health, which had suffered owing to his strenuous time in Bombay, was partially restored by a holiday in Kashmir and a period at home.

In 1925 he was created a Baron—Lord Lloyd of Dolobran (a place from which, centuries before, his ancestors had migrated under the stress of persecution), and was appointed High Commissioner of Egypt.

He had had a sufficiently difficult situation to face when he became Governor of Bombay, but that was nothing to compare with the situation which confronted him in Egypt owing to the Declaration of the British Government of 1922. Prior to this declaration, Egypt had been a British Protectorate. The Declaration had granted to Egypt a measure of independence qualified by four reservations: (1) Communications, (2) Defence of Egypt, (3) Protection of foreign interests and minorities, (4) the Sudan. This Declaration was the beginning of troubles and of the present deplorable situation.

Lloyd steadfastly followed a policy of firmly maintaining the *status quo*, of protecting British interests, and, what was always with him a sacred duty, of protecting the interests of those entrusted to his care. His period in Egypt has been described in detail in his book *Egypt since Cromer*. It will suffice here to note the unfriendly attitude and interference of the Foreign Office. This culminated in the unprecedented conclusion of a treaty without reference to the High Commissioner, which inevitably led to his resignation.

He left Egypt an embittered man; but he had added to his great reputation as an Administrator of the first rank; a man who was true to his principles and faithful to his trust. Fortunately, in the period which followed, he found great consolation in the happiness of his home and in increasing devotion to his religion, which became more and more the greatest reality of his life. His stature as a great public servant increased, as witness his fight for India during the India Bill, in and out of the House of Lords: his Chairmanship of the Navy League and of the British Council for Cultural Relations. "Our cultural influence," said he, "is, in fact, the effect of our personality on the outside world. We do not force them to think British; we offer them the opportunity of learning what the British think." Lastly, in a review for the Society's Journal, the writer may be pardoned for making special reference to Lord Lloyd's Presidency of the Royal Central Asian Society, a landmark in its annals. As early as 1908 the principal object of the Central Asian Society (as it then was) "to maintain in England a centre for the provision and dissemination of information concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries," made a very strong appeal to one ever mindful of British interests. He first served on the Council in 1924, was Chairman from 1930 to 1934, subsequently an Honorary Vice-President, and President from 1937 until his death, while in office, in 1941. He played a large part in the development of the Society, and was one of its greatest Presidents.

At long last, but appropriately in time of great crisis, he became a Minister of the Crown. The Empire suffered a great loss when the accumulation of periods of illness culminated in his untimely death. But even a short period of office had already set its seal upon him as a great Colonial Secretary, essentially suited by his remarkable qualities to the high office which he held.

In the foreword to this volume Mr. Churchill repeats the tribute which he paid to Lord Lloyd's memory in the House of Commons: "A man of high ability: he had energy, he had industry; and these were spurred throughout his

life by a consuming desire to serve the country and to uphold the British name. All the more do we feel the loss of this high-minded and exceptionally gifted and experienced public servant . . . the good and faithful servant whom we have lost."

There could be no finer epitaph.

J. S. S.

Science Outpost. Edited by Joseph Needham and Dorothy Needham. Pp. 313. Pilot Press. Published 1948. 25s.

Chinese Science. By Dr. Joseph Needham, Pp. 80. Pilot Press. Published 1945. 7s. 6d.

"Dr. Needham is a stout man who is very active in his behaviour." This succinct but rather unflattering remark is quoted from a report published in a Chinese newspaper on a speech by Dr. Needham. From some of the photographs in these books the first half of the statement would appear to be slightly exaggerated, but there can be no doubt as to the active behaviour of the head of the Sino-British Science Co-operation Office. These two books deal with the years 1942-46, which Dr. Needham spent in China, and in the course of which he travelled throughout free China, visiting widely scattered scientific institutions working under appalling difficulties due to their evacuation from areas threatened by the Japanese. The purpose behind the work of this Science Co-operation Office was to break the blockade imposed on Chinese scientific thought, by attempting to supply some of the need for recent journals, books, microfilms, research chemicals and apparatus, and also to transmit to the West manuscript papers by Chinese scientists for publication in Western journals—in short, to ensure that cross-fertilization of ideas required for the healthy development of scientific thought both in China and the West. Such work gave Dr. Needham the opportunity to study the whole of China's scientific effort, and the result of his observations are summarized in these books.

Science Outpost is a miscellany of official reports, speeches, letters, extracts from a journal, and of poems both in English and translated from the Chinese. The main articles give a detailed account of the work, personnel, and institutions visited in the different areas of China. It is noteworthy how the scientists trained in Europe and America are now teaching and leading a nucleus of research workers, expanding the growth of science under primitive conditions with improvised equipment. It is as if the equivalent research laboratories in this country were considered "as having transferred, with the loss of most of their equipment, and no existing facilities, to the shores of Loch Assynt." An imposing list of 139 scientific papers sent for publication in Western journals is a tribute to the value and scholarship of their studies. This genius for improvisation is even more clearly demonstrated in the technological field, where the manufacture of valuable motor spirit by cracking the turpentine produced by dry distillation of pinewood roots is itself an achievement in utilizing a waste product. That the equipment for this process is constructed from old steel gasoline drums, bamboo piping and derelict boilers reveals even more the courage and determination of China's scientists and engineers.

The greatest interest in this book for the general reader is in the letters and extracts from the journals. Here Dr. Needham conveys a brilliant impression of war-time China, and his enthusiasm and instinctive friendship for the Chinese people gives a warmth and life that is missing from the more factual reports. Travelling over roads, covered by landslides or completely washed away, in a truck that at one stage can only be persuaded to move by dripping alcohol directly into the carburettor, adds interest to his journey; a convenient three-weeks breakdown permits the description and photographing of the cave paintings of Chienfotung. Such accounts as these show Dr. Needham as a traveller with a keen eye and an interest for those minor details which evoke a vivid picture. One wishes that these extracts could have been extended.

Chinese Science, a slighter but more attractively presented book than the other work, consists of some ninety-five photographs described by a smoothly flowing continuous text. It is valuable as giving an immediate impression of the achievement and development of science in China, and well illustrates the difficulties under which the work is being carried out.

The Chinese can become extremely competent scientists and technicians, and it is interesting to speculate why an experimental and theoretical science developed in Europe but not in China. This is remarkable since the achievements of the Chinese in the invention and use of paper, printing and gunpowder took place long before similar articles were developed in Europe. The transition from alchemy to science in Western civilization was a simple step, and often one man combined the part of experimental scientist with the mystical searchings of the alchemist. In China, however, that step forward did not occur. Dr. Needham discusses in one of his lectures the causes of this, and ascribes it mainly to the different economic development of Europe with its stress on enterprise and the rise of capitalism, as opposed to the development of an Asiatic bureaucratism in China. It seems possible, perhaps, that it may also be due to the differences in religion. Christianity has been able to accommodate both the mystic and the practical man, and could thus resolve any conflict between these two opposing personalities and encourage the development of both. In ancient China, with the concurrent but opposing thought of Confucianism and Taoism, it might be that a choice would be made of one, to the exclusion of the other. This would lead to a separation between the imagination of the mystic and the realism of the practical man. In the development of science both qualities are essential.

G. H. G.

Malaya's First British Pioneer. The life of Francis Light. By H. P. Clodd. Pp. xiv + 166, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$." Luzac. 1948. 12s. 6d.

In a foreword by Sir Richard Winstedt it is shown that in any other colony Francis Light would long ago have earned a full-scale biography. Raffles would never, in 1819, have been able to secure Singapore had not Light barred the way to the Dutch and secured Penang for the East India Company from the Sultan of Kedah in 1786.

There is a story of a junior sub-editor in the eighties who was asked to write up the Zenana Mission. Having no adequate references, he started off: "Since the light of the Gospel has been brought to this interesting people the Zenanese have made great progress, and are now a glowing proof of the value of missionary enterprise," and so on. It was returned by the editor as a marker under "Z" in the dictionary. The same story might be told of many of our early pioneers of Empire. The names of the chiefs and sultans and the officials and companies vary, but the theme hardly alters. In Light's case we have definitely a more efficient, enterprising and effective diplomat than most. The way he carved out Penang as a Malayan rallying point by unique personal influence must remain an epic in British Colonial history. Having as an honest trader secured a position for himself from Burma to Malacca, he was at last able to interest the East India Company sufficiently in the value of Penang as a base, to extract a quite inadequate posse of soldiers and ships to defeat the now hostile Sultan and bluff the French and the Dutch. Like so very many others right up to 1948, he was allowed to shoulder alone quite unfair risks, and when at last he succumbed to the strain, his successors were, as so often, treated far more generously.

Francis Light was the natural son of William Negus, an influential landowner in Suffolk, and one Mary Light. Well educated, he joined the Navy as a midshipman in 1759, secured prize money, and, being unemployed, found his way to India. In 1765 he commanded a ship in Eastern waters for a Madras firm, which developed into a concession opposite Penang, from the Sultan of Kedah, in 1771. For the next fifteen years he built up his influence, especially at the island of Junk Ceylon and off the coast of Siam, until at last the Indian Governor-General took over the land, with Light in local charge till his death in 1794. Raffles, after some experience with the Company in London, reached Penang eleven years later, and it was on Light's groundwork that he was later able to extend British influence as Governor of Java and founder of Singapore.

The book is well got up, with seven interesting woodcuts and a map. It must have been difficult to create an intimate picture of this vivid personality from the exiguous available official and local sources examined by the author, but the reader is now able more or less to follow the private life of one of our more brilliant if unsung national heroes.

G. M. ROUTH.

The Man-Eating Leopard of Rudraprayag. By J. Corbett. Pp. v and 188, and illustrations. Oxford University Press. 1948. 8s. 6d.

To anyone who has read *Maneaters of the Kumaon* it will be sufficient introduction to say that Colonel Corbett has written another book on his experiences as a hunter. Readers will be wise to buy the first copy of this book that they see, for it will not stay on any bookstall long.

The scene of the present enthralling adventures is the Pilgrim road to Kedarnath and Badrinath at the sources of the Ganges. The author displays again his wonderful gift for calling up a whole landscape in a few exact and vivid phrases; he can use words to convey the hunter's observation of detail and eye for country, and the result is a book that will be treasured as much for its literary merits as for the breathless night vigils in mountain jungles that its readers are allowed to watch.

Those who live in temperate climates with a machine-made civilization find it so easy to forget the energy and time needed for mere survival in the tropics, where the struggle for existence is with Nature herself, that it is well to be reminded how helpless man still is when a natural phenomenon "runs amok." In the grim background of this story is an influenza epidemic in which bodies remained unburied perforce, and a leopard that was able to kill well over 125 persons and to terrorize an area of 500 square miles of mountain and forest, with a village population of 50,000 and an annual pilgrimage of some 60,000 persons.

By the time the last page is reached it is not only for leopards that the Garhwalis "have a familiar smell" and appeal. Their courage, their light-heartedness, even their fatalism about leaving doors open, would endear them to anyone. It is one of its great charms that this book leaves its reader with a nostalgia for the high forest and peak of Garhwal: a feeling that reality would probably swiftly have dispelled, since pilgrims appear in the narrative chiefly as a kind of groundbait, and one ends by sharing the author's uncertainty whether a goat would not have a higher attraction—and smell.

Colonel Corbett's great reputation as a student of wild life is incidentally, and impressively, illustrated in the story where, on giving the call of a leopardess, he was not only answered by the male, but was also overheard by a female leopard in search of a mate who proceeded to cut him out, successfully and without any suspicion that her rival was not a leopardess too.

To his faultless skill as a tracker and a crack shot Colonel Corbett owed his life, and the people of Garhwal the end of eight years of terror. To his gifts as a writer all readers of the present book will pay grateful tribute.

Poems from the Persian. By J. C. E. Bowen. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 10s. 6d.

This little volume of fifty translations or renderings of Persian poems brought to mind a phrase in the preface of the great Matthnawí of Jalálu-ddín Rúmí: "A mouthful of water will show the quality of the lake and a handful of wheat will serve to sample the contents of the granary." Major Bowen's book, which contains poems from the works of twelve Persian writers, from Firdáwsí to Jámí and from one modern poet Qulzum, certainly offers a very satisfying draught from the flowing stream of Persian literature.

Each poem is decorated with the original text in Persian script and a small drawing. A beautiful print, in colour, a modern copy of a picture in the Alí Qapu in Isfahán is a suitable embellishment of this particularly attractive volume.

Sa'adí, the writer most quoted by the Persians themselves in every-day speech, is represented by nineteen of the fifty renderings. His amusing couplet, which in remarkably concise language counsels one not to make friends with an elephant man, has inspired the translator to compose a witty poem of eighteen lines. Much of Sa'adí's wisdom is there, and in particular some of it fills our present needs as this translation of one of his couplets shows—

Live always by your own unflinching toil;
Dig deep, and sow good seed; do all you can
To pay the debt you owe your country's soil—
Then you need not depend on any man.

Only four quatrains of Omar Khayyám are translated, and in these the translator discovers the real Omar. Fitzgerald himself wrote: "Háfiz and old Omar Khayyám ring like true metal. The philosophy of the latter is, alas! one that never fails in the world, 'To-day is ours,' etc." The following—another quotation from Major Bowen's book—surely has the ring of the Omar of whom Fitzgerald spoke.

. . . But we, whatever griefs or fears,
 Make other men repine,
 Will drink, in spite of April's tears,
 The red, the sun-warmed wine.

The choice of poems which form this collection is excellent, there is little of bulbuls, roses and moon-faced beauties, but there is much that reveals the refreshing thoughts of the great masters of the Persian tongue.

C. A. GREENWOOD.

Kurds and Kurdistan. By Arshak Safrastian. Pp. 106, with 4 illustrations. End paper maps. London (Harvill Press). 1948. Price 7s. 6d.

Twenty years ago the oppression of Middle East minorities, Armenians, Kurds and Assyrians in particular, was headline news for all; in 1948 the decaying standards of international morality require a blood-bath on Hiroshima or Belsen scale to achieve news value in a four-page newspaper. Dr. Safrastian's very welcome little book is a brave attempt to bring the cause of Kurdish nationalism back into the public eye. It is a symptom of the difficulties in the way of such publicity that the book had to be printed in Holland.

The main content of the book is an able and well-balanced summary of Kurdish history over the last 3,000 years. If the facts seem to be occasionally rather unduly biased in favour of Kurdish aspirations, such distortion is itself a part of the mythology of Kurdish nationalism. Thus the rather improbable achievements of a character such as Badrkhan Bey, who lived just a century ago, are very relevant to current political issues even if they cannot always be fully verified as historical facts. The author is erudite and cautious in his use of materials, but the reader needs to remember that it is really only during the last fifty years or so that the Kurds as a whole have moved out of the realm of legend into the arena of power politics. The change has not been a happy one.

Being himself an Armenian, Dr. Safrastian dwells more upon the iniquities of Turkish oppressions than upon the strictly comparable crimes of other neighbouring governments, but he concedes that the real troubles of the Kurds only began with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Porte four-fifths of the Kurdish "nation" were the subjects of one administration, however unjust and incompetent. After the failure of the Treaty of Sevres in 1920 the Kurds found their country partitioned among no less than five national authorities, all deeply suspicious of each other's ultimate political intentions.

Wisely Dr. Safrastian makes no rash prognosis of the political prospects of Kurdistan, but it needs no special sort of clairvoyance to suggest that the major pressures of world politics are very likely to bring this area once more into the limelight of world news. On that account I strongly recommend this little book. Some at least of the political confusions of the Middle East both in the immediate past and in the probable future might well become clearer against a background such as this provides.

In the hope of a second edition may I recommend the incorporation of a brief bibliography such as might stimulate further reading and also a properly drawn annotated map in place of the present rather aggravating end-papers.

E. R. LEACH.

The Sheep and the Chevrolet. By François Balsan. Pp. 176. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Paul Elek, London. 12s. 6d.

This is an account of a motor tour in Kurdistan by the author and his wife in 1939. Such a journey in a little-known province of the now efficient Turkish Empire could have been of great value to a Society like ours, but, in fact, the record is irritating, and misses most of the important angles. Worst of all, there is no map, and little hope of orienting the reader without one. In fact, the route was by train to

Malatya, through Cæsarea and Sivas, by horse carriage to Elazik, and on by Chevrolet down the Murad Valley to Van, skirting the southern shores of the lake, then south-east 100 odd miles to the Iranian frontier near Khanasur.

No dates, no mileage, no seasons, no altitudes. One suspects this was a light account of the trip for the children, put later into literary battledress with forty excellent photographs. The writer is a wool buyer, and as such his tour in a forbidden country was encouraged by everyone from Governors down. But he tells us nothing about wool or wool types and markets, and confines his story too much to the more ordinary travelling banalities of breakdowns, hold-ups, and passport difficulties.

Yet his pages do contrive to give a picture of the people and of a well-governed province, in some ways modernized. The Kurds are well treated and content, and the Armenians that were there, are not. None have survived the holocausts of 1893-6, 1909, and, last of all, 1916-17. They passed unregretted and unsung, victims of a savage régime now replaced by a modern Turkish administration.

Marie-Laure and her husband had to cut short this route into Persia owing to currency difficulties with minor frontier officials, which, in August, 1939, was lucky for him, and led to his early reincarnation as an artillery officer scanning targets in Lorraine. Perhaps some day Monsieur Balsan will rewrite his story and give his readers more solid fare.

G. M. R.

Lectures on the Military Operations of the Arab Army in the Hejaz and Syria, 1916-1918. By General Nuri Sa'id. Pp. 78. In Arabic. Baghdad.

1947.

In this small volume General Nuri Sa'id has published three lectures which he gave to the students of the Staff College in Baghdad. The book consists almost entirely of a description of various operations in Hejaz and Syria between 1916-1918, and is illustrated by sketch-maps. The author mentions that his original diaries were accidentally destroyed by his son, Sabah, when aged seven: this has, unfortunately, made it impossible for the author to check certain dates and facts with the accuracy which he would have wished. A copy of this book has been presented to the library of the Society for the use of students of the period in question.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in Aden in December, 1947. (Colonial, No. 233.) London. H.M.S.O. 1948. 9d.

"Ruthless massacres of the helpless in Aden." Thus ran a headline in the New York journal *New Palestine*, dated December 26, 1947. Twenty days before, the *Sunday Times* (London) had soberly stated that on the previous Saturday, December 6, 1947, "Aden was quiet, except for some casual firing after five days of Arab rioting and looting of Jewish quarters." The British press was ominously quiet on the subject of the riots, but during the five months following the disturbances, scathing attacks were made upon the Arabs and the British Administration in Aden by such journals as *Congress Weekly* (New York), *Jewish Frontier* (New York), *Jewish Monthly* (London), *Haolam* (Jerusalem), *J.D.C. Digest* (New York), *Palestine* (New York), *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle* (Wellington), and to a lesser extent by *Commentary* (New York). The publication of the official report therefore is particularly welcome, if somewhat tardy, and it will be a useful document to future historians of the Colony and of the Royal Air Force, for it was the Junior Service that played the leading part in quelling the breach of the peace.

The report is introduced with the terms of reference given to Sir Harry Trusted, the procedure as to rules agrees with Sir Reginald Champion and a brief geographical description of the Colony, giving the disposition and numbers of military personnel, levies, and police. The report proper describes events leading up to and the immediate cause of the disturbance, and proceeds to reply to the question whether the Aden Government had any grounds to apprehend the outbreak, and, if so, what measures were adopted to meet it. After a detailed description of events during the disturbances, recommendations in regard to the prevention of a similar disturbance and the measures to be taken are set forth.

The description of the riots makes fascinating reading, and one is not surprised

(in chapter vi) to learn that 122 persons were killed, and that the effect of the burning and looting of property was considerable. Throughout the report and recommendations there is easily discernible in the minds of both the Commissioner and the Air Officer Commanding (Air Vice-Marshal Lydford) the constant application of the principles of aid to the civil power, minimum force, immediate aid to casualties, and many others which the Staff College graduate will know only too well.

This report should be read by every one connected with Aden in any way; it will serve as a yardstick with which to compare anti-British articles which have appeared in the world's press on this subject over the past year.

ERIC MACRO.

Britain and the Arab States: A Survey of Anglo-Arab Relations, 1920-1948.

By M. V. Seton-Williams. Pp. x+330. Luzac. 1948. 21s.

Miss Seton-Williams has had over ten years' experience of Middle East affairs, first as an archæologist on the spot and then as an official in various British departments and institutions dealing with that area. In this volume she has set herself the task of providing a short political and sociological survey of the Arab States from the period of the 1914-18 war until the present time. Chapters dealing with the individual countries are followed by numerous notes giving the relevant references. The second-half of the volume contains a valuable selection of treaties and other documents dealing with the countries concerned and a good bibliography. The idea of the book is excellent, and as it is clearly and simply written it will be useful to those who require a general outline of the subject and an indication of the sources where they can obtain more detailed information. It is, however, unfortunate that more care was not taken to ensure accuracy and consistency in the spelling of Arabic, Hebrew, and other names. Thus, for example: Madfai appears as Madafai (p. 19); Majid Khadduri as Mafid Khadduri (p. 45); on page 46 Muhammad al Sadr and Salih Jabr are combined to form an imaginary Prime Minister, "Muhammad al Jabr." In the index (p. 138) Ragheb Bey Nashashibi appears as Rashid Bey Nashashibi, on p. 166 as Raghbeb; Rashid Ali, the leader of the 1941 revolution in Iraq, appears sometimes correctly and sometimes as Rashi Ali (p. 46); on p. 14 Muntada appears as Munlada, and Qahtaniyya as Qahtawiya. Similar errors occur in the transcription of Hebrew words. There is also an occasional looseness of phrasing which can be misleading and some definite inaccuracies—e.g., Arshad al Umari had previously been Lord Mayor (Amin al Asima) of Baghdad, not Naqib (p. 41). While the book serves a useful purpose, caution must therefore be exercised in these respects.

D. N. BARBOUR.

The Middle East, 1948. Europa Publications, Ltd. 10½" × 8". Pp. 377. 50s.

In this volume the publishers set out to give factual data on thirteen countries, for the information of "such people as Government officials, diplomats, journalists, librarians . . . bankers, merchants, and ship-owners": no small task. Geography, peoples and religions, history, politics, trade, education, and other subjects receive in turn, for each country, notice which in any single volume must inevitably be brief, though here paper has not been spared.

At the beginning of the book we find the texts of the Covenant of the League of Arab States and of the Cultural Treaty of 1946; then follow the sections dealing with each of the thirteen countries covered—including particulars of educational institutions, bibliographies, lists of commercial and industrial organizations and the like, and of newspapers; and the composition—at the time of going to press—of the Government of the country concerned. The volume ends with: "Who's Who in the Middle East." One good map might have been used instead of the thirteen rough sketch-maps here appearing (the first of which, incidentally, is marked "Iraq" where Iran ought to be).

E. D.



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

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her for membership.*

Proposed

Seconded

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

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

FOR the last few years the journal has carried a notice appealing to members to sign a deed of covenant. We are still only receiving almost £250 in income from this source. Now that members once more are living a more settled life, the Council again appeals for the signature of covenants and would particularly ask that those proposing new candidates for election should point out to them the advantage which will accrue to the Society if they sign such a deed at the time when they take up membership.

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 Council acknowledges with gratitude the following accessions to the Library :

Dictionary of the Lushai Language, by J. Lorrain, 1940.

The Meitheis, by T. C. Hodson, 1908.

George Thompson, by Colonel J. Shakespear, 1937.

The Lushei Kuki Clans, by Colonel J. Shakespear, 1912.

Diaries of the Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, 1890-96, and other papers. Presented by Mrs. J. Shakespear.

The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a new translation into Arabic from the XIIth-Century Hebrew. Original by E. H. Haddad, Baghdad, 1945. Presented by the author.

Mirath al-Islam—The Legacy of Islam, by Sir Thomas Arnold, translated into Persian by Mustafa 'Elm, Tehran, 1948. Presented by the translator.

Tariḫ Nasara al 'Iraq—a History of Christians in 'Iraq (in Arabic), by Rafa'il B. Ishaq, Baghdad, 1948. Presented by the author.

Philosophy of Life, by Chen Li Fu, New York, 1948.

India Divided, by Rajendra Prasad (3rd Edition), 1947.

Stories from the Anwari Suheili—Persian text. Presented by Colonel J. Campbell.

PAMPHLETS :

Gardizi on India, by V. Minorsky. Presented by the author.

The Rock Sculptures in the Gunduk Cave, by H. E. Taufiq Wahby. Presented by the author.

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

The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine announces that a course of instruction in Malaria Control, specially intended for planters and miners is to be held at the Ross Institute (London University), Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1, from July 18 to 22 this year. There is no fee. Those who would like to attend are asked to notify the Secretary of the Ross Institute as soon as possible.

THE KARENS IN BURMA

By REV. J. W. BALDWIN

Lecture given to the Society on December 8, 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: On his mother's side the Rev. J. W. Baldwin is the third generation of the family to serve in Burma. His grandfather, Professor A. R. Hayes, M.A., of Cambridge University, was one of those who initiated the beginnings of the Rangoon University. And now I am going to speak of the lecturer as Captain Baldwin, because he has been all sorts of things. Captain Baldwin was born in Burma and returned there to work with the American Mission Board in 1930. In 1942 he transferred his services to the Karen Mission. From 1940-42 he served with the St. John Ambulance, being one of those who left Burma by the Hukawng Valley. He was honorary chaplain to the Burma Intelligence Corps for a year in the Arakan and Imphal campaigns of Burma. In 1943 he volunteered for service in the Special Forces S.E.A.C., and served as welfare parachute and air-sea conducting officer on the staff of I.S.L.D. until 1946. Captain Baldwin has been the authorized liaison of the Karen Leaders to the Government and had many unique opportunities in those seventeen years of close contact with the Karens to understand their many problems and their point of view towards their position in Burma. It is on the subject of the Karen community in Burma that Captain Baldwin is about to address us.

Captain Baldwin then delivered his lecture as follows:

MY method of approach to my subject will be, as far as possible, to act as the interpreter of Karen thought and sentiment so that you may understand their thinking and feelings on the problems that face them to-day. This in itself is a difficult task, for an interpreter has to lay aside all personal convictions and try to be only the mouthpiece of his interpretation. Therefore, in pursuing this method of approach, I request it to be understood very clearly that in whatever I may have to say in the interpretation of my subject, my own personal sentiments towards all the peoples of Burma, particularly the Burmese, among whom I am honoured to claim many precious friends, are nothing but feelings of a deep and lasting love for every one of Burma's charming peoples to whom my life has been dedicated. Together with all her true friends, my heart, too, sorrows over the sad events she is now experiencing. For if Burma ever needed true friends, it is *now*—to-day; to-morrow may be too late. With this preamble, permit me to turn to the subject of my lecture—"The Karens in Burma."

The scope of my subject is so wide that it could well occupy quite a few lectures, so you will bear with me if I have to hasten over what may seem to be important aspects of the subject. Furthermore, with your permission, I will read most of my lecture, otherwise I may not be able to cover the whole subject adequately in the available time. I will have to pass over many of the interesting features of fascinating folklore, customs, and traditions and use only those which bear on the point at issue.

As a background to this survey of the place of the Karens in Burma, I ask you to note particularly the strong influence Karen traditions have had in moulding every aspect of their lives—their character, morals, temperament; their strong loyalties, depth of love and likewise of hatred,

and most of all its influence on their national development. Furthermore, it should be noted that we are dealing with a country which has a plural society, so we will have to trace the relationships between the Karens in Burma and some of the other peoples who live in the country, particularly the Burmese.

In order to appreciate fully the position of the Karens in Burma it will be necessary to make a brief survey of the comparatively short historical period of Burma, which dates from somewhere about 1044 and ends with the final British annexation of Upper Burma in 1885. This historical period of about 800 years covers the reigns of three Burmese dynasties, interrupted between the first and second dynasties by two centuries of domination by a great Chinese-Shan invasion of early Burma. But in order to grasp the importance of origins, it will be necessary to take a glimpse into Burma prior to this strictly historical period. Very little study has been given to this very interesting period of Burma's beginnings, but some important conclusions are self-evident: The importance of geographical control. Burma is wedged in between two of the world's oldest civilizations and areas of densest populations—India and China. This factor has controlled the earliest settlements of Burma by the peoples on either side of her who brought with them the influences of their own particular civilizations. Thus the Western areas of Burma bore the impress of Dravidian influence, whereas Eastern Burma was influenced by Chinese civilization. Throughout the growth and development of Burma the consequences of this geographical control are apparent.

The Dravidian influence has had a greater impact on the people of the Western migrations in religion, culture, language, and tradition, whereas Eastern Burma has likewise been controlled and impressed by Mongolian influences in language, customs, religion, and traditions. I emphasize the importance of keeping this geographical division of influence in mind, for as we pass through the troubled and blood-stained waters of Burma's history, we see time and again the clash of interests between the peoples from these two geographical areas of migration which has constantly prevented the coalescing of diverse people to form a single united nation. Burma remains to this day a plural Asiatic State with strong contrasts between the peoples of the two migrations, especially in the important aspects of language, religion, and tradition which, had they a common base, would have helped to blend the two entities into one.

The Karens are one of those races of Burma whose origins point to the East. In every way they have maintained and preserved their racial identity; in language, customs, traditions, and even in writing, the peoples of the Eastern migration are different to those of the Western migrations. Harvey, the noted historian, says in reference to the peoples of the Eastern migration, that if they wrote, they wrote Chinese; and it is interesting to note that Karen tradition mentions a writing of their own—their "Leh-Saw-Wear"—"the writing of the Chicken's foot." You can well imagine what script that describes! In recent years Karens have given serious study to re-discover their ancient writing. Present Karen thought feels that early missionaries have done them an injustice in by-passing their original national script and adapting Burmese script to the Karen lan-

guage. Karens, however, understand that the motive no doubt was due to the missionaries' fear of tribal influences contained in the old script. The Lai Keh Karens of the lower reaches of the Salween claim to have discovered evidences of this script in the caves that abound in this area. I have visited some of these caves myself, which tunnel for miles underground as channels of underground water courses.

In contrast to this first group I have mentioned we find that the Burmese are the other or Western migration, with their origins in all respects pointing to civilizations to the west of Burma—namely early Indo-Dravidian. We find them with borrowed traditions, customs, religion, and even language. The races of the two migrations into Burma have never fused and historical events up to the present moment indicate continued cleavage. From earliest times, throughout historical times, there has never been complete domination by one over the other. Whatever conquests there have been, have been nominal, transitory, and loose. The submission of one race to the will of the other has never been achieved. Likewise the creation of a unity even between lower Burma and upper Burma, much less Eastern and Western Burma, has never come about. The closest to an achievement of unity was made during the period of the British administration from 1885 to 1942. During this period Administrative Government developed for the first time, during which we find Burma rapidly growing out of her earlier historical behaviour into an era of great advancement in government, education, and modern science. But note that this progress was shared equally by Karens and Burmese. All this was accomplished through a third outside influence—the central authority of the Crown, the cementing factor and point of unity. But in two brief periods when this central authority was removed, even for a comparatively short time as in 1942, when one out-going authority was being replaced by a new in-coming authority, the historical temperament came to the fore in an orgy of cruel warfare between the peoples of the eastern hills and the plains. On the restoration of British administration in 1945-47 confidence was again returning, but alas 1948-49 has again shown dangerously a return to the old disunity and racial separation of factions, aggravated by the absence of an all-Burma accepted central authority. If time permits, I will briefly describe the present struggle in Burma and show that the formidable task confronting the present Burmese Government can only be tackled successfully if it succeeds in establishing a willingly accepted unity of all Burma's peoples. To this end all her friends should render loyal support.

In order to trace the Karen position in the historical and geographical setting of Burma, we will first deal with the Mongolian migration, for it has been more or less established that it was this race which first occupied Burma, perhaps some time in the early centuries of the Roman era. The direction and line of migration was along the river gaps of the north-east, leading south through the river valleys of the Salween and its tributaries, then down across the central plains of Burma into the western rivers and up its tributaries to the western mountain gaps into Manipur and India. Harvey says that some of these early migrations from China followed the great silk route, which took about three months to make the journey

from the borders of Indo-Burma across the plains of India to Kabul, where they exchanged their silk for Roman gold. Karen tribes no doubt entered Burma with this first migration. Harvey says, "The Karens may have been the earliest of all."

It is interesting to note that even to-day the Karens believe that they were the very first people to enter Burma. There are many stories from their traditions which point back to this early period, the most famous of which is the story of Taw-Mei-Pah, their great legendary chief who led them down into Burma in a long and tedious trek which took them across "a river of sand." The Karens believe their migrations started somewhere in the regions of the upper reaches of the Howang-Ho, or Yellow River. The Taw-Mei-Pah tradition is very strongly embedded in Karen thought. He, tradition claims, obtained for his people the elixir of life by winning the magic tusk by combat with a mythical wild boar. It is Taw-Mei-Pah, says Karen tradition, who will give them strength, courage, and victory over all their difficulties and eventually restore for them their lost country.

Another significant story from Karen folklore told far and wide among the Karens to-day is that of their ancestors who left home and travelled south to find new fields for the family. They finally came to the sea, believed to be somewhere in the region of the Rangoon of to-day. In accordance with tribal tradition they pegged their claim to the land by spreading a *si'blou* or Karen tunic, upon which they placed a big log of wood, called in Karen *pah-hei* or home-wood, the teak of to-day. Having done this they returned to fetch the families down. On their return they found that the log and tunic had been taken away, and "strangers" occupying their claim. Even unto this day the Karen language has only one word for reference to the Burmese. It is *pi-yaw*, which means "stranger." To-day it has taken on a little polish and is interpreted as "guest stranger," but the significance of the word remains. I have always advocated to the Karen Elders that they should help to coin a more suitable word for reference to the Burmese and thus remove the feeling of estrangement.

There are a few other tribal families belonging to this Mongolian group: the Mons, who probably followed in the wake of the Karen migration. The Mons settled all over the Delta of Burma and down along its eastern coastline. They are a cousin tribe of the Karens from a branch of the younger sister's side. Even unto this day the Karens and Mons observe their strict marriage laws, whereby a Karen youth may marry a Mon maiden, but a Mon youth may not propose for the hand of a Karen maiden in respect of her being his elder sister. Perhaps it will be well to explain at this point the position of the Talaings, who once were quite numerous throughout the Delta of Burma till King Alungpya, of the last Burmese dynasty, almost annihilated them when he captured their capital of Pegu in 1757. It is thought that the Talaings are the offshoot of the Mons and Telinga Indians who settled along the coasts of Burma perhaps at the time of their expansion towards Burma. The Mons strongly resent being called Talaings, for they consider themselves of "pure" stock. The Shans are another branch of this same group, but came into Burma much later in 1287 in a great migratory wave which swept over all Burma

and even as far as Assam. The biggest wave of this migration moved more to the east down into Siam or Thailand, the present home of the Thais, of which the Shans are but a family branch. One most significant point is to note the strong link the Karens and Shans still have to-day with their early ancestry. It is in the prefix of their names by *Saw* in contrast to the Burmese *Maung*. Harvey records that the old name of Yunan was Nanchao, or "Land of the South Prince," *Nan* being "south" and *Chao* or *Saw* being "prince" in Chinese.

The second migration group into Burma—the Mohn Kemer or Tibeto-Indian-Burmese migration—no doubt entered Burma via the route of the early Mongol traders. This migration started much further north-west in Tibet, then down the valley of the great Brahmaputra and its tributaries, through the mountain passes of Manipur-Assam into the plains of upper Burma. This migration moved further south into India as far as Orissa and Bengal, and then across the Bay of Bengal into the regions of the coasts of Burma and even as far south as Java. This migration could well be placed about the time of the great Hindu Expansion of the fifth century A.D.

From these beginnings the Indo-Burmese began to settle in the region of Prome, which was their first kingdom, still imbued with strong Indian ties. Here started their historical times. The Pagan dynasty of Burmese kings moved north to the plains of upper Burma, which virtually became the home of the Burmese right up to the time of the British annexation. It is around their capitals of Pagan, Ava, and Mandalay that their historical period centres. We must note throughout this hurried survey that time and again there looms up the clash between the peoples of the two migrations. At the height of Pagan's glory in upper Burma there came sudden destruction from the great Sino-Shan invasion, which spread over all Burma. "Pagan perished amid the blood and flame of the Tartar Terror." Even at this point, 1287, Harvey records, "Not only did the Burmese receive colonization from India in early times, but ever since, right throughout the Middle Ages, they have been mingling with foreign races." However, it is significant to note that in spite of this intermingling, the Mongolian strain of race in the Burmese predominated to such an extent that by the time of Alungpya's great period in 1700 we find the Burmese have wellnigh absorbed all foreign influences and have emerged as a separate entity—a distinct race or Burmese Nation in their own rights of developed language and customs, and, more than that, the custodians of Buddhist culture and religion.

As we continue to follow events of Burmese history, from 1500, we find a series of continued clashes between the two race groups right up to 1885 when the great dynasty of Alungpya ended in the line of King Thibaw. This period carried the Burmese far and wide in terrible wars of "conquest." During this period they had consolidated in upper Burma around Pagan, Ava, and Mandalay. Their conquests were nominal but very severe in effect. They were rulers without an administration. The unity which they endeavoured to establish was artificial and temporary and collapsed with the death of each monarch. This was so, perhaps, because, I think, the Burmese are the world's greatest individualists. They have

somehow developed a strain of character which puts them in a class by themselves. They detest restraint or anything that flavours of discipline and restriction. They enjoy a complete freedom, even though inconsistent with the feelings of others. Thus we read of their terrible ravages in plunder, deportation, and slaughter, and whether of Talaing, Siamese, Chinese, Arakanese or Assamese, or Karen, it had only one important result, that of driving the peoples of Eastern Burma into a closer unification and thus widening the gulf of separation between them. Another result was the large-scale migrations of the eastern groups over the borders into Siam. Harvey, on this question, says: "Migrations like these began about 1595 and continued till the end of Burmese rule. Such 'conquests' as that of the Talaings when Alungpya flung hundreds of Talaing monks to the elephants and burnt their palaces, when 'many of their villages ceased to exist,' are remembered to this day. Feelings were strained between upper Burma and lower Burma that 'the Delta was a foreign country to the Burmese; they did not feel safe among the Talaings.' It is said that the Burmese 'hacked off heads and piled them in great heaps under the walls of the towns they besieged in order to terrify the defenders.' Of the Burmese invasion of Assam it is again recorded that 'to beat the spirit of the people they would drive men, women, and children into bamboo enclosures and burn them alive in hundreds.' The depopulations were such that there are valleys even to-day in which people have scarcely recovered their original numbers. During the seven years of their occupation the Burmese reduced the population of Assam by no less than half."

During a new slaughter by the last Burmese King Thibaw when he ascended the throne in 1878, he annihilated no less than seventy of his rival household alone, aside from the others of his kingdom who suffered as he continued the reign of terror. This resulted in rapid disintegration of the kingdom. The Shans arose. The new Kachin tribe, the latest to enter Burma from the far north, carried fire and sword right down to near Mandalay. During the early months of 1884 a quarter of a million Burmese fled into the British territory of lower Burma.

From this fiery furnace of centuries of strife and exposure to oppression the Karens emerged, as it were, completely "untouched by either fire or smoke." They were still pure in their racial identity, language, tradition, custom, and religion. No people has shown in the course of centuries anything like the same imperviousness as the Karens to outside influences. Even the Jews could not rival the strong family tradition which is so deeply implanted in the Karens. Above all they still possessed the vitality of a strong moral character which has been their strength. Persecutions have not only strengthened their belief in their traditions, but likewise widened the gulf of separation.

During the period of British occupation we find that both the Burmese and the Karens made their greatest advances in progress. It was a respite long yearned for, a respite in which to rejuvenate, to build anew their depleted lives. No race has so readily and rapidly absorbed progress as the Karen. To the Karens the coming of the British was only the substance of the expectation, the fulfilment of their treasured tradition—the

return of the young white brother to them. This is the foundation of their fervent loyalty.

What has been their progress in national development during this period of British administration? There are many who have been in close touch with the administration of Burma but yet have not shown that they have clearly understood the background of current happenings in Burma. If they did they would not have so blatantly asserted that the racial problem in Burma to-day, with particular reference to the question of the British withdrawal, and the Karen determination to establish a separate home state in which they could better contribute towards the building of a strong united Burma, was perhaps only a newly-born brain-fad of the Karens, but more or less instigated by a few foolish die-hard imperialist Englishmen. I make bold to say that if there were those who had a better grasp and understanding of the peoples of Burma to guide her in the delicate period of a new transition, perhaps Burma would not be witnessing the terrible suffering and disintegration she is faced with to-day. The issue of independence is not questioned nor disputed, for loyal friends of Burma have always championed Burma's rightful place among the free nations of the world. But the condemnation is in the hasty method of procedure, in the evasion of solemn responsibilities which were glaring and obvious. Thus, to-day in Burma, instead of finding bonds of closer friendship and trust in British leadership, there is only bitter resentment and strong suspicion which deepens as the people of Burma experience continued sufferings in chaos. The stupefied people suspect some deep sinister British plot. Burmese opinion concludes that British diplomacy was deliberate to see Burma disintegrate at her own hands. This widespread sentiment underlies present Burmese mass reaction of non-acceptance and mistrust of the terms of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty. What, perhaps, was by all good intentions meant to bring about closer friendship and understanding, has turned out to place us as wicked culprits of intrigue. We have lost the confidence of both the Burmese and the Hill Peoples.

The Karens have been politically conscious throughout the growth of their development through the strong influence of tradition on their nationhood, which they have remembered through every stage of their existence. Tradition has filled their hearts with hope and courage in every phase of their troubles. Tradition has given them an unshakable faith in the final achievement of their proper place in Burma. Their national consciousness has been evident from the time of our earliest contact with the Karens. We find that even before the annexation of upper Burma from King Thibaw in 1885, the Karens had already established and organized The Karen National Association, founded to "foster and safeguard the interests of their national identity." This Karen political body was founded in 1881—five years *before* the annexation. This organization has grown from strength to strength into the present Karen National Union, a body which represents Karens from every part of Burma. Then again in 1876 the Karens founded their own Karen college under the leadership of American Baptist missionaries. Karens have very jealously guarded the policies of their educational system which has given the learn-

ing of their language a prominent place second only to their emphasis on their love of freedom of worship. The famous Judson College was the head of a chain of twelve high schools throughout Burma, supported by a large number of middle and primary village schools.

From early 1900 the Karens have had their own National Anthem, composed and set to beautiful music, and, perhaps like all other National Anthems, expressing very proud and lofty sentiments. It is significant that the last note on which their National Anthem ends is the key-note for the opening of "God Save the King," which is actually sung as a fervent prayer.

From early 1900 the Karens have had their own National Dum-flag. On occasions of public and national importance they have hoisted this flag with great pride and honour alongside the Union Jack, a flag which they have highly esteemed. To those who do not know this traditional background, Karen loyalty is attributed to the motives of temporal gain. Karen character is too dignified for such baseness. The unparalleled test of history came in the British defeat in 1942 by the weight of the Japanese onslaught when, for the first time in history, the might and prestige of the British suffered degradation before the eyes of the East—a most propitious opportunity to test the depth of any loyalty. Karen character stood fast. Neither torture, death, nor inducement could move tradition. Their love and loyalty to the "young white brother" remained steadfast. The Japanese were amazed. They gave up their intimidation and accepted the philosophy of Karen thought, but not before thousands of Karens had severely suffered and paid with their lives for their faith. In spite of the odds of battle and reverses which faced the Allies in the early days of the Burma War, the Karens still refused to waver in their loyalty. Those hundreds of Karens who marched in retreat to India volunteered to parachute back into their native mountains and into the valleys and paddy-lands of the Delta. No risk was too great, no fear too strong for them to face. They became the "eyes" and "ears" of Wingate's famous Phantom Army. In every phase throughout the war they responded without hesitation or bargain to the call of the "kins-brother." Three Union Jacks were kept by the Karens throughout the Japanese occupation but not without much trouble from the Japanese, who endeavoured by every cruel means to get the Karens to surrender these flags. The most famous of these Union Jacks was the one held by the Delta Karens. This flag was the first to be hoisted at a Command parade in Bassein after Major Saw San Po Thein's forces had captured the town. On the unfurling of this old war-torn flag, the Karen Police band of Bassein played "God Save the King." It was my honoured privilege to carry this flag home for presentation to His Majesty from the Karens. This was most graciously accepted and is now kept in Buckingham Palace in the silver casket in which it was presented.

Again, in 1928, their late chieftain, known to the Karens as their Grand Old Man, Sir San Crombie Po, C.B.E., came to this country and recorded in writing the national aspirations of his people in his book, *Burma and the Karens*, published in London.

Then in 1946, after they had done their big share alongside their Allies

in liberating Burma from the Japanese, the Karens of all-Burma sponsored a Goodwill Mission to this country to place before our Parliament the problems of their people as they faced the uncertain future in Burma. This Goodwill Mission was sent with great weight of representation from every section of the Karen community who, in a Burma-wide effort, subscribed £5,000 for the expenses of their chosen Elders. Collections poured in from every quarter in small amounts. It took nearly two years to get the amount needed. But, alas, by some curious trick of "fate" the Karen Goodwill Mission was received in this country as "unofficial." It seemed not expedient to receive the Karens in a manner befitting their prestige and dignity. I feel a rare and golden opportunity was lost by not getting this representative body of Karen Elders to meet with the representatives of the Burmese delegation which followed later, by invitation. The criticism levelled against the leaders of this Goodwill Mission was stated to be that they were not forceful enough in either language or manner in demanding their rights. It is not their method. They came as brothers and gentlemen. If their courtesy was misunderstood for lack of spirit, then the onus is not on the leaders of the Mission.

Time will not permit to tell of their marvellous progress in education, music, and social culture. These in themselves are amazing. My display of photographs of "Karens of To-day" will speak for themselves. Never have a people been found with such high morals of truth and integrity, kindly friendship, and hospitality—all inculcated by their deep regard and faith in their all-powerful *Y'wa*, the Eternal God.

What of Burma to-day? No doubt you are aware of the appalling conditions in Burma to-day. Again the Karens have proved their qualities of self-restraint and discipline, and have been the only bulwark behind which the present Government has been able to stand. But poor ravaged Burma is again experiencing the ravages of destruction. All that has been laboriously restored since liberation from the Japanese is being torn to pieces as factions upon factions surge upon the Government. What is our duty? I feel that every loyal friend of Burma has a depth of responsibility towards Burma, especially those who have long enjoyed the friendship and warm hospitality of her charming peoples. To stand aloof or pass over on the other side of the road as Burma lies bruised and bleeding is cowardice. Burma's peoples—Burmese, Karens, Shans, Kachins, and Chins—still look to us for help and guidance in this dark hour of sorrow. Our hands will not be washed free of innocent blood if we do not take our share of responsibility to help Burma to come together in a true unity of brotherhood.

DISCUSSION

Group-Captain H. SMALLWOOD: I have listened with intense interest to everything Mr. Baldwin has said because thirty-five years ago I knew the Karens very well and I have the greatest admiration for them. I would like to pay my tribute of respect to that very gallant race.

Mr. Baldwin said that the Talaings did not appear to exist any more. I travelled a great deal in Burma up the Kaladan river. When I was in the country thirty-five years ago there would be one Talaing village next

to a Karen village. Though they had not a common language they appeared to get on very well together. I should like to know if the Sgaw Karen and Pwo Karen areas still exist. Does the old division I knew, of the Sgaw and Pwo Karens, still exist? I knew and admired these people thirty-five years ago and my son was dropped behind the Japanese lines during the last war, when he had wonderfully loyal Karens working with him.

The LECTURER: Although the Talaings were mostly annihilated as a race, we know that during the persecutions of 1757 there were large migrations of Talaings into Siam. There is no doubt that Talaings do exist in small family groups in scattered areas. Harvey records that they felt safer in Siam than in Burma.

The Sgaw and Pwo Karen family division still exists. The Karens predominate from south of the Shan States right down the whole length of the Tenasserim coast of Burma to the border where Burma joins Siam in the south. Beside this there are large communities of Karens throughout the Irrawaddy Delta, especially around Bassein, Myaungmya, Maubin, and Hendaza and in the Insein district. The Pwo Karens are both in the Tenasserim and in the Delta of the Irrawaddy. There are many wonderful stories from Karen tradition which tell of how the Karens became divided into family groups. To-day there is a great unity among the Karens of all family branches. Persecution has brought them into a very close protective unity. This badge which is worn by Karens all over Burma signifies the new unity.

Mr. DICKSON: Could the lecturer tell us a little more about the Panlaung Conference?

The LECTURER: That enters the realm of politics. The Panlaung Conference was held in 1947 with the object of bringing together an understanding between the Hill peoples and the Burmese people. Arrangements for this conference were made when the Burmese delegation visited London at the invitation of Mr. Atlee. The Karens and Hill peoples were dissatisfied at not being invited to London to discuss the terms of Burma Independence. They felt that the whole peaceful future of Burma depended upon an agreement of understanding between the different races of Burma. However, either in haste or through "expediency" it was made to believe that no racial problem existed. The conference proved to be exploratory if nothing else.

A GUEST: Is it correct that the Karens are united to-day, or is it correct that there are two bodies: one supporting the Government, the other against?

The LECTURER: I can say from a close association with the Karens of all-Burma that they are to-day very strongly united. The Karen National Union is the representative body of Karens from all over Burma. The Karen Youth League, which to-day officially is reported to be co-operating with the Government, was a departmental section of the Karen National Union. When some Youth Leaders were offered positions in the Burmese Government, some accepted office with the idea of achieving co-operation with the Burmese. However, the majority of Karen representation is in the Karen National Union.

Colonel ROUTH: Is there any record of any population in Burma before A.D. 1100?

The LECTURER: Before A.D. 1100? I don't think so. Different Burmese kings of the three dynasties made attempts in sections of their domains to take a census of villages through headmen for purposes of taxation, but it was never on a wide basis. Organized census did not come into being till after the British annexation.

A LADY MEMBER: Are the Kachins and Karens different?

The LECTURER: The Kachins were the latest wave of immigration to enter Burma as late as the late nineteenth century. They were entering Burma at the time of the British annexation. They probably came into Burma from the far north—perhaps from the regions of Eastern Tibet, but, unlike the Burmese migration, perhaps had no contact with India. As I have explained in the course of my lecture, the Karens were more of Chinese stock. Karen tradition has a story which tells how the separation of the Hill tribes came about over a quarrel between the ancestor parents of the tribes. The story foretells that some future day they will be brought together again. Those who followed the father were called "Father Karens" and those who followed the mother "Mother Karens." Each of the separating members of the family were given a piece of the broken rice pot and told to keep it carefully till the day of their reunion when the pot would be made whole.

Major-General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: I understand that up to the time of Thibaw the Burmese paid tribute to China. From what the lecturer said, I gather the Burmese stopped paying tribute after the last incursion of the Chinese into Burma. If so, why do they continue to pay tribute?

The LECTURER: I am sorry I am not quite up-to-date on the details of this question, but I gather from some historical records that the Chinese invading General came to terms with the Burmese General in order to avoid complete defeat. Harvey records that although the Chinese were permitted to return home, their army virtually perished in the return trek through lack of food and the rigours of the long journey. I wonder if Mr. Jee, an acknowledged authority on Burma, could help us out on this question? I understood that the Burmese king, although annoyed at his General's decision to come to terms with the Chinese Commander, considered the war as a Burmese victory and thus stopped paying tribute.

A MEMBER: Is it not true that after the British annexation of Burma in 1886, the treaty with Burma of that year made provision for the continuation of the tribute?

The LECTURER: I am sorry I am not able to give the details of the Anglo-Burmese treaty off-hand. However, there is one interesting point of that treaty which bears on our subject—it is the fact that both King Thibaw, on behalf of the Burmese Government, and Britain agreed to recognize the complete independence of the Karenni States. Strange enough that the Burmo-Japanese treaty of Independence of 1943 likewise excludes the Karenni States from Burmese control, and recognizes them as a separate State under direct Japanese supervision.

Another questioner asked what was roughly the population of the Karens and the Burmese.

The LECTURER: This is a point of great friction and controversy to-day. The Karens believe they are much greater in numbers than they are reported to be in the Government of Burma official census of 1931, which put them down at a little over a million and a quarter souls, with the all-Burma population of over fourteen millions. The 1941 census shows a rise of the all-Burma population to about seventeen millions, but the Karen figures remained static to the last digit! The Karens assert their own number to be in the region of four millions. The Japanese took a very strict census of the Karens in order to check our vast parachute activities behind their lines in which Karens took the leading part. Japanese figures arrived at about three millions. The Karens attribute the incorrect census as deliberate and also to the marking of Karen Buddhist in columns marked "Burman Buddhist."

Mr. HUGHES: There are quite a number of conflicting accounts of the present situation in the Karen country of Burma; in Moulmein and as far north as Shwegyin. I wonder whether the lecturer could say what is the actual position.

The LECTURER: It would seem from the reading of reports from different independent sources that much of the Tenasserim area is controlled by Karens, including Karen areas in the Delta such as Bassein. Reliable reports state that where the Karens are in control, normal life of the people continues, and aside from the control of the police stations the normal administrative officers have been permitted to continue their duties. There seems to be evidence that the purpose of the Karens taking control of areas which they consider to be their responsibility was to avert these areas becoming involved in the same chaos which other areas succumbed to. Large areas of Burma have suffered heavy destruction. Railway lines have been torn up; bridges have been blown and attacks made on a number of large riverine towns. It seems from all reports that there is some liaison between the Karens who have occupied certain areas and the Burmese Government through their Minister appointed for Karen affairs. However, one cannot but consider the whole situation with deep anxiety, for heart wounds are still sore and fresh. Tactful leadership alone can avert further serious breaches of the peace in a land where it takes only a little to arouse unbridled passions. Much of Burma seems to be out of control of the Central Government. More than this I am not able to say.

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

SIAM SINCE THE WAR

By A. C. S. ADAMS

Lecture given on January 12, 1949, 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. Adams came home last November from Bangkok, where he had been First Secretary to the British Embassy. He first entered the Siam Consular Service in 1932 at Bangkok, and has served for three subsequent periods in that country—eight years out of those seventeen. During the last war he took part in political warfare in the Far East and was later appointed First Secretary and head of Chancery at the British Embassy, Bangkok. That has kept him in touch with the trend of political developments between Siam and the rest of the world. He returned to England last year and he tells me he is going shortly to the United States to take up a new post. He seems pleased about that and we wish him good luck.

NOT long ago two friends of mine were dining at a restaurant not far from here. They fell into an argument about the relative merits of different countries, and one of them deplored the general ignorance that prevails about certain parts of the world. He went on to say that he did not suppose ten per cent. of the people in that restaurant even knew, for instance, where Siam was. The other, a lady, took him up on this and put the matter to the test by asking everyone nearby. She got quite a variety of answers, the most accurate of which came from a waiter who said that he always read his newspaper with an atlas and dictionary alongside. He was able to give the latitude, the longitude, the population and a great many other statistics about Siam. A diner, on the other hand, reckoned that Siam was in North Africa—"just to the left of Cyrenaica." So the lady's enquiry produced rather inconclusive results, but showed that, on the whole, many people are vague about Siam. I hasten to add that I impute no such vagueness to present company.

There have been quite a few references to Siam in the British Press in recent months. Many of them have concerned the visit to Great Britain of a Siamese Purchasing Mission. So to give you the general background of my subject to-day I can hardly do better than quote the leader of that Mission (Luang Charan Snidvongs), who broadcast a few days ago saying what his Mission was here for and what it hoped to accomplish. In the course of his remarks he said: "Siam is a sovereign independent state, governed by a constitutional monarchy, lying in a central position in South-East Asia with Burma as her western neighbour, French Indo-China to the north and east, and the Federation of Malaya to the south." I add here that, contrary to fairly popular belief, Siam has no common frontier with China, but there is a very large Chinese population in Siam itself. For a long time past the Chinese have emigrated from Southern China to Siam to make an easier living than they can in their own country. Siam's population is about eighteen millions, of whom three millions are either pure Chinese or partly Chinese. It is difficult to draw an exact line of demarcation to show where Chinese nationals cease and Sino-Siamese nationals begin.

Bangkok, which lies on the River Menam Chao Phya, some nine miles from the sea, is by far the largest city in Siam and accounts for nearly one million out of the total Siamese population, and of that million a large section is Chinese since it is the main business centre and the Chinese are, first and foremost, the retailers and dealers in Siam.

At this stage let me make some brief comment on Siam's politics. A benevolent and tolerant kind of absolute monarchy was displaced in June, 1932, by means of a very neat and gentlemanly *coup d'état*. I will not go into the details of this, save to say that the constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary system were the outcome. And I must add that though political parties came into being in due course, they are not parties as we know them, with clearly-defined and divergent policies. Politics work largely on the basis of personalities in Siam. The two key personalities in this system are the present Prime Minister, a soldier, Field-Marshal Pibul Songgram, and the other, the ex-senior statesman, Nai Pridi Banomyong, who, during the war, headed the Siamese underground movement against the Japanese. They were both, especially Pridi, among those who brought about the 1932 *coup d'état*, but for all that they seem to be mutually exclusive. The Marshal's politics have in their time been far to the Right. Pridi, by contrast, has always been regarded as being away to the Left. About twelve years ago he was actually examined by a specially appointed Tribunal on a charge of promoting Communist ideas, but he was acquitted. The Marshal is in now, as I have said; the *coup* that brought him back on to the scene took place in November, 1947. Pridi left Siam as a result of it and has not yet returned there. Over the years, both men have moved towards the centre politically as they gained experience of administration. Incidentally, in 1937 both received from Great Britain honorary G.C.M.G.s.

Now a few words as to the economic structure of the country, and here I refer again to the broadcast by the leader of the Purchasing Mission now in this country. "Siam is not an industrial country, but essentially a supplier of foodstuffs and natural products which are of value to the outside world. Vast tracts of land are given over to the cultivation of rice, which forms the chief export; in the north are rich teak forests, whilst in the southern provinces high-grade tin ore is extensively mined, and rubber is being produced on an increasing scale." In that respect I would interpolate that the economy of Southern Siam is similar to that of Malaya. "The export of these commodities and of various lesser products of the land has given Siam for many years a favourable balance of trade, save for a brief intermission resulting from the war. In return for these exports we [the Siamese Government] have bought capital equipment for our railway and power stations, etc., textiles to clothe our people and the thousand and one things with which manufacturing countries can supply us. Over the years a substantial proportion of our overseas trade has been with the United Kingdom and with British Commonwealth territories, sometimes more, sometimes less than half of the total." That is a very significant proportion because it gives a fair idea of the mutual interests of Britain and Siam, about which I will speak later. The leader of the Purchasing Mission concluded this part of his broadcast by saying :

“Trade between us has always been on a basis of mutual advantage, for we each have what the other requires.”

That puts the position briefly. I would add that British business has for a very long time played a most important part in Siam's economy, especially in tin-mining, teak extraction, and general import and export business.

As for the Siamese as a people, many of you may know them; indeed, I can see a few present who, to my knowledge, have been in Siam for some time, so I do not think I shall cause any dispute if I say that the Siamese as a people are very agreeable individuals. The key to their character is, I suppose, Buddhism. Siam is entirely a Buddhist country with a substratum of certain Animist beliefs below or parallel with the Buddhist religion. Their Buddhism is that of the Lesser Vehicle as practised in Ceylon and Burma. The Siamese have a good sense of humour; they are very easy to get on with and have excellent manners. They like mixing in Western society and there has long been a tradition of education abroad for bright boys and girls. These students earn Government scholarships, or are the children of well-to-do parents who can afford a foreign education. I am happy to say that Great Britain has had the majority of students who have gone abroad for their Western education. The numbers have varied from time to time, especially when, during the 1930s, times were hard financially and nearby cheaper places were sought, such as Japan and the Philippines. But now a good many Siamese are coming to our country again. I was told recently that soon there will be a full hundred students in England once more, which is satisfactory.

Siamese culture has its roots in India, but the language, which has five tones, probably came with the people when the Thai race to which they belong moved down the peninsula from South-West China many hundreds of years ago.

I will now refer to the months just prior to the end of the Japanese War. Two missions, one political and the other military, got out of Siam before the Japanese surrendered and were able to meet and discuss with S.A.C.S.E.A. (the Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia) what part the Siamese underground movement should play in defeating the Japanese, and so forth. The missions had their talks and returned to Siam. In the event, the Japanese surrender came before the trigger was pulled for the Siamese underground movement to go into action. The surrender came, as you remember, rather more suddenly than had been anticipated. So the Siamese underground movement did not get to grips with the Japanese in any big way. As soon as the Japanese surrender was confirmed, arrangements had to be made for Allied troops to enter Siam. Siam had enormous prisoner-of-war camps in her territory, camps which the Japanese had set up along the line that they built from Siam into Burma. Those prisoners-of-war had to be released, helped and repatriated. It was a big task, as there were many thousands of them. Similarly, there were many tens of thousands of Japanese surrendered personnel all over Siam. They had to be collected and sent back to Japan, and that could not be done in a matter of weeks. It took a year or more, and even to this day occasionally one reads in the Bangkok Press that an ex-Japanese

sergeant, private, or lieutenant has been found living quietly in the remoter provinces of Siam. Generally, if the news comes out it means that a Chinese has been done down, or thinks he has, by the character concerned, and so he gives him away. I cannot say that there are no Japanese left in Siam even at this moment. The troops used for this task belonged to S.A.C.S.E.A., under Admiral Mountbatten, and they were, for the most part, British troops. Very few Americans went into Siam with the regular forces. The British Force entered Siam towards the end of September, 1945.

The next event in the history of Siam was that King Ananda, who had been living with his mother and younger brother in Switzerland and was then aged twenty, returned to Siam because the Siamese Government thought it timely that the king should visit his people. The Royal Family were flown back to Siam by R.A.F. aircraft. I had the honour of accompanying them as far as Rangoon. King Ananda returned to Siam early in December, 1945, and though not then crowned he took on his royal duties and became very popular generally. The only time he had previously been seen by his people as King was on a short winter visit in 1938, when he was still quite a small boy.

On January 1, 1946, Great Britain and Siam concluded what is known as the formal agreement terminating the state of war. Siam had declared war on Great Britain early in 1942. This, of course, had to be undone, whatever value one placed on the declaration of war in the circumstances in which it had been made. So the formal agreement of January 1, 1946, ended that state of war, and Great Britain and Siam re-entered into diplomatic relations. Our Legation was re-opened and the Siamese Legation in London started up again also. Our main concern at that time was food; one might say it is so now also, but then in South-East Asia it was an over-riding concern because the areas which did not grow enough rice in ordinary times for their own needs were far worse off as a result of the period of Japanese occupation than they had ever been; and the areas which did continue to grow rice had been unable to export it to any extent during those years, so that they cultivated much less rice. There was, all round, a very bleak prospect for many hungry people. Siam we look to for a considerable contribution because in pre-war years her economy generally produced well over one million tons surplus each year—sometimes as much as one and a half million tons. Burma used to produce a surplus about twice as large, and Indo-China about the same amount as Siam, so that you can say that, as a rough figure, six million tons of rice yearly had to be produced again in South-East Asia. Therefore, as I have said, rice was the principal consideration immediately after the war. Various means were tried in order to procure the rice that was needed; those methods met with some success but not as much as was hoped. It was known that there was plenty of rice in the country; it was difficult to get it out because the communications were much damaged by the war, partly by actual bombing and partly by inability to maintain the railways, etc. Therefore, one of the methods tried was that of bringing in as many consumer goods as possible to provide an incentive to people, who were hoarding or holding rice stocks throughout the country, to have something

to buy. There had been no new stocks of consumer goods for a long time in Siam and anyone with anything to sell was on a nice wicket.

With all this, there was no great political stability. Governments changed rather frequently. Nai Pridi, of whom I spoke earlier, went to the United States of America and to the United Kingdom, where he was made much of for his signal services during the war. But then on June 9, 1946, a Sunday, the news broke in Bangkok that the king was dead; young King Ananda was said to have been found that morning in his bedroom with a bullet hole in his head. This sad tragedy created a political skeleton in the Siamese cupboard which exists to this day. The Government then in power was Pridi's, and after a certain amount of consultation with the Royal Family a *communiqué* was issued stating that as a result of an accident the king's life had come to an end. That document was issued the same day as the king died.

King Ananda's younger brother, Prince Phumipon, succeeded him. He is the present king, and he left Siam to go to Switzerland about two months after the sad event. He has not returned to Siam since, and the late king remains in his royal urn in a chapel in the Grand Palace at Bangkok.

The immediate political result of what had happened was that many of his opponents made a case against Pridi, some saying that he actually caused King Ananda to be assassinated, others that followers of his for their own reasons had brought about the assassination. Either way, it is difficult to see what evidence or motive could be adduced. Every succeeding Government that has since come into power has started off by saying they would hold an inquiry into the cause of King Ananda's death. Commissions and committees have been empanelled. High police officers have filled up masses of papers and forms. A trial of two pages suspected of causing the King's death was finally opened in the Siamese Supreme Court last August. This trial is likely to go on for some time.

Siam was admitted to the United Nations; her legations in London and Washington were raised to embassies, and the Americans and ourselves did the same, of course, in Bangkok. China, which had never been represented officially in Siam before the war, had sent a special mission to Bangkok soon after the end of the war, the result of which was that diplomatic relations between China and Siam were opened for the first time. Before the war the Siamese had always resisted or by-passed any suggestion by the Chinese that they should have diplomatic representation in Bangkok, because in view of the immense Chinese population in the country the Siamese feared an *imperium in imperio* if they allowed the Chinese a separate national existence. The Chinese, not having declared war on Siam and having taken a rather easy-going attitude towards the Siamese, came along afterwards and said, virtually: We have been pretty decent to you during the war; you cannot now deny us a treaty. Which, of course, the Siamese could not do, and so a Chinese Embassy was the first one to start in Bangkok. It was, indeed, the first embassy at all except for the Japanese before the war, and, curiously enough, the Chinese occupied the same premises as the Japanese had used.

Comparatively shortly after the establishment of fairly normal con-

ditions at the end of the war, Siam returned to France those territories in Indo-China which she had been awarded by the Japanese as a result of the 1940-41 Incident, as they called it, with Indo-China. This was a difficult political decision for the Prime Minister of the time to make, because Siam has long had very strong feelings about the territories concerned. It was because the French had taken them from the Siamese originally that the Siamese had gone to war about them in 1940 and 1941. They got them back with the help of Japanese arbitration, and now, after the recent war, they have returned them once more to France.

In the two and a half years I spent in Siam since the end of the war, starting in April, 1946, and ending in October, 1948, business generally was slowly but surely restored in a great many respects. More goods came into the country after a while; in some ways prosperity had never really departed, for there were many people who had made large money during the war by one means and another, and the Bangkok market seemed in the early months after the end of the war to contain almost anything one wanted—at a price. Later, things became more normal; the rate of exchange was about six times what it had been before the war; that is to say, the pound was worth in actual currency nearly six times as much as pre-war, though, of course, not in buying power. Siam also renewed her contacts with the outside world. Services missions travelled through Britain, the United States of America, and the countries of Europe and elsewhere, in order to study new methods and to enquire about the purchase of new equipment, arms and so on. There were also technical missions to various parts of the world, consisting of engineers, people connected with railways, telecommunications, and all kinds of special subjects. They went to see how other peoples were progressing after the war and to catch up with the inventions and developments which had taken place during the war period. Bangkok became again a great air centre. It has a large airfield situated about fifteen miles outside the city with runways for large aircraft. It is a very convenient crossroads for air services going to various parts of the East: to Singapore and southwards to Australia, up to India and across Indo-China and on towards Hongkong and Shanghai and Japan.

Now I should speak of another item of which you will have read in the Press quite recently, certainly as much as of the economic mission, namely, the Communist outbreaks in Malaya. As I said earlier, Siam has a very large Chinese population. Quite an appreciable part of that population may be, in fact certainly is, Communist. With the troubles in Malaya Siam feels that she is on the border of trouble herself. So far there has been no Communist outbreak in Siam, but Siam is concerned because she has a long common frontier with Malaya, most of which is jungle and very difficult to guard. When our authorities in Malaya make a drive on Communist pockets the Communists just nip into the jungle and over into Siam until things have quieted down in their region, and then they return and start more trouble. Only a few days ago (January, 1949) a conference was held in Southern Siam at Songhkla, also called Singora, the administrative centre for Southern Siam. The conference was between the Siamese military and police authorities and their opposite numbers from Malaya, and I am told

it had very successful results. The Siamese have gone back to Bangkok with an agreement in their pocket on nine points which I believe will be made public shortly. I have not yet heard what they are. They will obviously be aimed at co-ordinating police action on both sides of the border so that when the British on their side drive a bunch of Communists into the jungle over the border, the Siamese will be informed where they are and will take action against them. But that is a joint Siamese-British trouble; the Siamese have potential trouble within their own frontiers. Even if only five per cent. of the three million or so Chinese in Siam are Communists, if they decide to make trouble they can make plenty, and the relationship of the recently opened Soviet Legation in Bangkok to these activities, though it is not plain yet, might later become quite clear. The Soviet opened their Legation—the first Soviet Legation and the first Russian representation in Siam for a long time—about a year and a half ago. You will probably have heard somewhat startling accounts as to the size of its staff; generally, the number given in the Press was 200. I do not know who invented that number in the first instance or why it continued to gain credence, but in fact up to the time I left Siam in 1948 there were about six Soviet diplomats in the official list. I asked to-day if they had increased a good deal recently and I was told that they had not. The Soviet custom is to take all families and all staffs of every kind needed, so that if there are six diplomats and their six wives and an average of two children per family, and several cooks and two or three chauffeurs, a number of gardeners, clerks, archivists and so on, you can soon get a handsome total like thirty-eight, which is, I believe, now the actual total.

Another new mission in Siam is that of the Burmese. They have opened an embassy now that they are an independent power and the Siamese have done likewise in Rangoon; India started with a Consulate and now has a Legation. So far Pakistan is not separately represented.

In conclusion, I will say a word or two more about rice, because Siam's main contribution to a large part of the world nowadays is rice. The leader of the Purchasing Mission said a few days ago: "We have succeeded in the last eleven months in exporting over 700,000 tons of rice, a great part of which has gone to Malaya, Singapore, India, and Hongkong." He went on to say that they could probably do better when they improved their railways. For the next year he says that "On a conservative estimate we should have at least 850,000 tons available . . . for this season's crop shows every sign of being excellent."

As a final word on the conference I mentioned as having recently taken place at Singora to discuss co-operation over Communist matters, I would add that Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia, paid a visit to Bangkok just before Christmas, 1948. I am told the visit was in every way very successful; he got on well with the Prime Minister, Field-Marshal Pibul Songgram, who, whatever his political history, always produces a very good personal impression. I will not say that is solely a Siamese characteristic, but the Siamese have it in a marked degree.

DISCUSSION

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: What has happened to the railway between Siam and Burma, which was built, largely, by the blood and sweat of British prisoners-of-war?

Mr. ADAMS: The railway as far as the Burmese border has been purchased by the Siamese Government. It was not an entirely economic purchase because most of the railway cannot be used, but they have acquired what there was of it and they may, I think, use just a short stretch soon—*i.e.*, at the Bangkok end.

General Sir JOHN SHEA: May I ask what relation Bira, the racing motorist who was in England, is to the present King of Siam?

The LECTURER: I cannot give the exact relationship because the Royal Family of Siam, as you may have heard, numbers many many hundreds. It is safe to say that he is a cousin. What degree of cousin and how many times removed, I would not like to say.

Colonel ROUTH: How far did the Kra Peninsula Canal progress?

The LECTURER: I can say, with complete confidence, that it got nowhere. The Kra Peninsula Canal question has been ventilated, so to speak, on many occasions. It started about the middle of last century and at least one Commission went to look into the possibility of making it. I seem to remember that a Commander Loftus of the Royal Navy produced a report on it, and my recollection is that it was found to be a most un-economic proposition. That did not prevent many people in the mid-30s using the Kra Peninsula Canal bogy as something to frighten us with over the Japanese, though I could not see why. The sailing time round the Peninsula via Singapore is not so very long.

Mr. JARDINE: May I ask whether the lecturer considers that in Siam there is any idea which is likely to be strong enough to withstand the infiltration of Communist ideology? I do not mean the arrest of such Communists as there may be, but something of a more permanent nature, and whether any action has been taken about that?

The LECTURER: Communist ideology is not, I think, at all compatible with the ordinary Siamese outlook. The Chinese, as we know, have got their form of Communism. It may or may not be strict doctrinaire Marxism or Stalinism. The Siamese on the other hand are very property-conscious. They have always lived easily in a rich and fertile country. I do not think that the urge for the sharing of everybody's property lies with them at all. I do not think you need fear a strong hold on Siamese imagination from that point of view; only a political hold might be established on realist grounds. That I do not anticipate for a time, anyway.

Lieut.-General MARTIN: What is the strength of numbers of the Siamese Forces if they should be involved in drives and co-operation with us on the frontier or, indeed, in any operation of their own in case of more widespread trouble?

The LECTURER: I cannot at the moment give the figures for the Siamese Armed Forces, but I have been told only to-day that we have agreed to make equipment, and I suppose arms, available for five battalions of

Siamese troops, which is the size of the force immediately to be used on the border for the job to which I referred earlier.

Mr. LINDT: Are the Siamese a fairly uniform race or are they, like the Burmese, a central body of Siamese surrounded partly by tribal races like the Shans and the Burmese? Burma is surrounded by all sorts of other people. Is there the same situation in Siam or are the Siamese a more or less uniform race?

The LECTURER: I should say there is the same situation in Siam as in Burma, but it is not, perhaps, as marked in Siam. The northern areas, which I do not personally know, contain many tribes of different kinds, probably some that would be found in the Shan States and in the adjacent territories, but there is quite a large Thai element throughout Siam.

Mr. LINDT: That big lower rectangle of the country is more or less solidly Thai?

The LECTURER: Generally speaking, that is so.

General Sir JOHN SHEA: Is the Siamese a worker or is he, like the Burman, totally averse to any form of work?

The LECTURER: I would not describe the Siamese as a worker, but I would not go to the length of saying he is totally averse to work because the Siamese get enthusiasms and go very hard at whatever they are interested in. The peasants do not have to work awfully hard to keep contentedly alive, and most of them do not reckon it is worth doing more than they absolutely must.

A LADY: Is the name of the country Siam or Thailand?

The LECTURER: Siam is the name. Thailand was used at the request of the Siamese Government shortly before the war; there was not any particularly good reason for it, but the Government at the time decided that it was a more suitable name to call the country in foreign languages. The name of the country *in Siamese* has never been affected by the change. We used to call it Siam and have done so for a long time. The Siamese Government said they would be grateful if foreign countries would address them in their own language as Thailand, but that was all washed out again when a change of Government occurred after the war and Siam is once again the name. *The Times*, I was surprised to see, recently called it Thailand.

Colonel ROUTH: How is the teak trade getting on now that Burma is already closed down?

The LECTURER: There is at least one person in this room who could give a more correct answer than I to that question. The main British teak firms are working again. They managed to get back many of the logs which they had had at the beginning of the war and which had been dispersed. I do not know the proportion. At any rate some of the firms are working again. There are several companies: the Bombay Trading Corporation, Anglo-Thai, and the Borneo Company.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: Would it be in order if the Anglo-Thai Company were to return to the original name, Anglo-Siamese, under present conditions?

The LECTURER: They could, but they have established the other name and there is no major objection to it. It is not so tiresome a word as

Thailand, and "Thai" has the justification of being the name of the race from which the Siamese sprang.

Brigadier McLEAN: What nationality were the prisoners-of-war in Siam?

The LECTURER: Usually British, Australian, and Dutch; there were a few Americans because there were airmen who baled out and were captured in Thailand; not very many.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: For what reason is the railway completely useless? The Japanese used it, did they not?

The LECTURER: It was only built as a strategic railway. Those who were unfortunate enough to have to build the line did their best not to make it a particularly good railway, and I should have thought a couple of seasons of neglect would wash out any value it had. The Siamese railway authorities had it surveyed right up to the borders and their Minister of Communications, about two years ago, lost his life on it because the carriage or locomotive in which he was travelling crashed through a defective bridge into a ravine.

Mr. LINDT: Is it not a fact that the bridges and culverts are largely timbered?

The LECTURER: Yes, sir.

Mr. LINDT: That is the answer, of course.

General Sir JOHN SHEA: Has there ever been any opportunity of judging whether the Siamese is a fighting man or not?

The LECTURER: The Burmese used to have an opportunity of judging about two hundred years ago; apparently they thought the Siamese were, because they had some quite serious battles with them over the number of white elephants they should have, and so on. In recent years it has been difficult to decide whether the Siamese are good fighting men. I believe those who served in the Forces against them, for the main part, did not have a very high opinion of their fighting capabilities.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks, moved by the Chairman.

A VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN

By M. PHILIPS PRICE, J.P., M.P.

Being the report of a meeting held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1, on Wednesday, January 26, 1949. Lt.-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. Philips Price, who is to address us to-day, is a member of the Council of the Society and is already well known to this audience. He first travelled in Central Asia before the 1914-18 World War, in which he was a war correspondent in Russia and Iran. He has kept in touch with those areas, and during the last three and a half years he has contrived, in spite of his duties in Parliament, to make long trips to Soviet Central Asia, to Iran, Iraq, Turkey and, most recently, to Pakistan and Afghanistan. Afghanistan seems to be the only one of these countries with which Mr. Price had not a previous acquaintance of many years' standing; and it is of his impressions of Afghanistan that he is going to tell us this afternoon.

LAST autumn while I was in Pakistan I decided to accept the invitation of the Afghan Prime Minister to visit his country. I was there for just under a month and travelled through the centre of the country as far north as the Russian frontier, and then back to the south-east, coming out by Afghan Baluchistan, a journey of about 2,000 miles. My object was to inform myself about the general state of affairs in that part of the Moslem Middle East which borders Russia and is yet open to Western influence. I had in the previous autumn been through Turkey and Iran, and felt it desirable to see something of the Moslem state further to the east. Afghanistan is not yet much affected by influences either from Russia or from the West. In Turkey, of course, the changes have been revolutionary, while in Iran a revolution from above under the late Shah Reza was rather halted in mid-stream and some reaction has taken place. In Afghanistan a reforming King Amanullah in the 1920's forced the pace too hard and was expelled. Since then reaction has been nominally in the saddle but beneath the surface much is going on. I am one of those who think that Russian Communism can only be met effectively by putting up against it honest and efficient government, and by encouraging a state of society where there is civic liberty and not too great a gulf between riches and poverty. In that connection I found that Afghanistan was in an interesting condition. There is no civic liberty exactly as we understand it in this country, but at the same time there is no great contrast between riches and poverty, as there is in some of the countries of the East, as for example in Iran. Afghanistan is made up of various racial groups. Linguistically it has nothing in common with the Indian sub-continent: climatically and geographically also it is separate from India, and is really part of the great Central Asian plateau. On the other hand, India has been much influenced from time to time and in all sorts of ways by what has happened in Afghanistan. Invaders like Alexander the Great, the Mongols, Timur, Sultan Mahmud, the Moghuls, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Durrani Dynasty, have all

used Afghanistan as a spring-board for their invasions of India. The North-West Frontier is mountainous but there are gateways through it. Earlier, however, Hindu influences penetrated into Afghanistan as the relics found in the Bagram mounds, north of Kabul, show.

The so-called Durand line of the North-West Frontier leaves the tribal areas of Waziristan and those of the Tirah and Mohmand in a strip of territory which was not administered of old by British India and is not now administered by Pakistan. It lies between the so-called Durand line and the Afghan frontier, and in that area the tribes run their own show. The suzerain power has the right to keep troops there but it does not administer the country. That was the state of affairs that existed there up to 1947 and that is very much the state of affairs now. I think the fact of the British leaving India has not very much altered the situation: in effect our withdrawal has simplified matters somewhat because, since the authorities on both sides of the frontier are now Moslem, it is not easy for gentlemen like the Fakir of Ipi to raise a Holy War against the Infidel. That notorious character is still there sitting on the frontier waiting for something to turn up. When Pakistan was in the throes of coming into existence the Afghan authorities, perhaps not certain whether it would make good, staked out a claim for Pathan territory on the grounds that linguistically the Pathans speak Pushtu, the native language of Afghanistan. This claim seems to have been dropped by all responsible people in Kabul, and all that is now asked is that Pakistan shall grant some kind of autonomy to a so-called "Pathanistan." There the matter rests to-day, but relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan have much improved in the last twelve months, probably because it has now become clear that Pakistan has come to stay. I entered Afghanistan by the famous Khyber Pass. The policy of the Pakistan Government is to withdraw all garrisons from the frontier now: the strategic railway up the pass is little used. One train a week runs along the line for commercial purposes, and side by side with the railway goes a good metalled road for lorries and cars, and also a camel track which still carries on the old commerce between Central Asia and North-West India. Right in the middle of the pass is a typical Afridi village. The houses are surrounded by forts and there are towers at each end of the village; that indicates the fear of inter-tribal disturbance, and of trouble with the suzerain power which used to be ourselves and is now Pakistan. But everything was quiet whilst I was there. They have established a local militia. The country is barren and the tribes are poor. That is one of the reasons for raiding caravans and the lowlands. They draw part of their livelihood from the soil, but it is not enough to maintain them. In the past their resort has been to raiding and brigandage, and now the only alternative to that is to find them employment. You see them working on the railways, roads and irrigation canals, or employed as lorry drivers. We started the policy of organizing a local militia to keep order, and Pakistan has continued that policy, but it is rather like turning a goat into a garden and hoping the goat will become a good gardener. You frequently have a situation where the policeman has to fight his own brother who is raiding a caravan. But raiding shows signs of dying out. We passed along the road and came to

Jelalabad, the first big Afghan town. Then over the Lattaband Pass, near the scene of a tragedy of the first Afghan war when the British and Indian sepoy were trapped in the Kurd Kabul Gorge by the tribes and perished. The Lattaband Pass is six thousand feet up, and then one descends into the valley of the Kabul river.

On arrival at Kabul I was put up in a government hostel outside the town, and during the week that I was there I had talks with most of the members of the government from the Prime Minister, Sirdar Mahommed Ali Shah, downward. Kabul is a mixture of ancient and modern; a European street is cheek by jowl with a century-old carpet bazaar. Outside Kabul are old forts which are crumbling. All round, the land is rich and highly cultivated. Afghanistan is a great fruit-growing country. On the rocks above Kabul is the tomb of Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty. He was born in Badakshan, now part of Turkestan further to the north. He emigrated to Afghanistan where he became locally important and decided to invade India. He did so and founded the Mogul dynasty which reigned over India for over two centuries. When he died his body was taken back to Kabul. In the European graveyard outside Kabul is the tomb of Sir Aurel Stein, the great archæologist and explorer. He was appointed by the Government of India, and his work in Central Asia is world famous. His last great work was on Baluchistan, following the route of Alexander's withdrawal from India. He intended to work on the great ruins of Balkh but caught a chill, developed pneumonia and died at Kabul.

The Government of Afghanistan is largely in the hands of the royal family. Lately they have widened their circle to include able people from outside. For example, Abdul Medjid Khan, the Minister of National Economy, has done a great deal in preparing plans for the modernizing of Afghanistan. When I was there he was in the United States discussing plans for the development of the country. The government realizes the need to develop Afghan resources so as to secure an increase of wealth and raise the standard of living of the people. Capital investment is required in various projects, which have been given the following priority: First are hydro-electric power stations and irrigation. Second are textile and cement factories. Third are brick factories, and fourth is the fruit processing and canning industry. An American firm, Messrs. Morrison Knudsen, has been working at hydro-electric and irrigation schemes for the last two years. A certain amount of work has been done in that direction. The Americans are the largest foreign community living in Afghanistan because Afghanistan has some dollars and can pay for a certain amount of work to be done. On the Kabul river Morrison Knudsen's firm are damming it to irrigate some considerable area east of Kabul. The Arghandab barrage is another irrigation plant. About that there has been some trouble with Iran, as the river is a tributary of the Helmand which flows into Iran, and the Persians fear that the water taken from here will interfere with the Persian water reserves; but it has been explained to the Persian Government that that will not happen. The Afghans will take only flood water and store it for irrigation; Eastern Iran will get just the same amount of

water as before. Afghanistan exports goods to the dollar countries, the main item in that export being Karakul lambskins. During the war enormous prices were paid for these by the American public, and Afghanistan accumulated dollars at the rate of eighteen million dollars a year. Afghanistan also exports fruit to India, but not to Britain. That is why we are not in a position to do very much trade with Afghanistan. It has to be direct exchange of goods and we have practically no trade with Afghanistan to-day. The British colony, outside the diplomatic, is confined to engineer advisers, teachers in schools, and some doctors. It is difficult to see how we can increase our trade with Afghanistan until we are in a position to do some lending. That may be possible in 1952. Meanwhile Afghanistan's dollar reserves are fast dwindling. The price of Karakul has fallen and there is competition from South Africa and Russia. It is unlikely that she can finance more undertakings than she has now contracted for with Messrs. Morrison Knudsen. The Afghan Government wants to open more textile, cement, and brick factories, but it does not seem possible that further enterprises can be financed without a loan, and the Minister of National Economy is now in Washington negotiating some kind of assistance. It may come to that. Afghanistan seems to be a good risk because she is on good terms with her neighbours, including Russia. Russia has reduced her Embassy staff in Kabul and keeps now only a Chargé d'Affaires. All Russia's attention is now devoted to the Communist drive in China and South-East Asia. She plans no doubt to enclose the two Indian Dominions from the east. This means that Afghanistan is left in a backwater. Hence the relative quiet in this part of Asia, a quiet which can, however, be deceptive. Afghanistan is not neglecting defence. A Turkish military mission has been in Afghanistan for some years organizing the Afghan army, and the Afghans could have no better advisers or abler instructors on these matters.

I found that the Afghan Government was pushing ahead with education as fast as its resources would allow, but the state of the country in this respect is very backward compared with its neighbours in Russian Turkestan, Iran, and more particularly Turkey. Probably only some five per cent. of the population are literate against ten or twelve per cent. in Persia and forty-five per cent. in Turkey. Nevertheless 125,000 children are now receiving instruction. There are over 400 primary schools, twenty-five secondary and six colleges based on the French Lycée system. French educational methods are being adopted by the Afghan Government. Most important, however, is the policy adopted towards women's education. Since the abdication of King Amanullah women have returned completely to purdah. Now, not a woman's face is to be seen from one end of Afghanistan to the other, but the Government is also offering as many facilities for women's education as possible, and no doubt it is felt that once women are educated they will gradually discard the veil. In all the principal towns girls' schools have been opened and there are long waiting lists for them. Opposition from reactionary mullahs has been met with only in Kandahar, where there was some rioting; but the Government stood no nonsense. It arrested and locked up the ringleaders, the schools were opened and are now flourishing.

Early in November I decided to go north from Kabul through central Afghanistan to Afghan Turkestan in the valley of the Oxus, that part which immediately adjoins Asiatic Russia. Afghanistan is cut in two by the Hindu Kush range of mountains, a westerly offshoot of the Pamirs, running into peaks of 14,000 feet and with passes of 9,000 feet. To reach Afghan Turkestan I had to cross this range. I chose the Bulola Pass, which has a fair road over it, and then I would descend through the gorges and defiles of the Kunduz river and so come out into the plains of the Oxus. I travelled in a station wagon that I had hired from Peshawar. The Afghan villages on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush are delightful, with orchards of figs, grapes, and apricots. Everywhere there are observation towers for raiders, but peace seems now well established. There are police and soldiers at various points along the roads. The cattle one sees in the villages are of a rather poor type. They get badly fed, and it would be no use introducing better breeds until the peasants feed the cattle better as the improved types would only revert. But there is one breed called Kunar. Cattle of this breed are hardy and are good milk producers. The Government are working with an expert to increase the breed for the central mountain regions. People seen on the road going north through the passes over the Hindu Kush usually have the typical Indo-European type of face that you may find anywhere in India; and if it were not for the dark skin it would be like a European face. There are strongly European types, principally south of the Hindu Kush and in Central Afghanistan. When you get north of the Hindu Kush you get a Turco-Mongolian type. The peasant dress is picturesque with blue turban, brightly coloured tunic and pointed shoes. The local caravan-serai is no longer occupied only by camels. You see there lorries also on the move. Things are being slowly Europeanized in Afghanistan, but it is nevertheless the one country where you may see people living as they did before the first world war. Here camel caravans still carry more than half the traffic on the roads; that is not the case in Persia or Turkey, where lorry transport is much more developed than it is in Afghanistan. I found the people most friendly and helpful. They seemed pleased to see a foreigner taking an interest in them. The self-respect and quiet dignity which go with Islam were very noticeable. Moreover, these people were highlanders living on plateaux at an elevation of from 5,000 to 8,000 feet, and they were healthier and of better type than the people living in the lowlands. There are, however, nomad tribes in Central Afghanistan, and these sometimes cause trouble. The Afghans call them Kuchis. They summer their livestock on the high plateaus of the Hindu Kush, and in the autumn come down to the lowlands, where they have their grazing grounds. They even go as far as Sindh and the North-West Provinces, and into India. I saw some of these Kuchis on the march. You will see a child on top of a camel and a woman riding a donkey while the men walk. These women are not veiled. Right through Afghanistan and elsewhere in the Middle East it is the rule for women to be veiled, but these women are not. These Kuchi nomads are truculent people and dislike strangers, even their fellow Afghans of the central parts of the country. I found they would not make way on the roads without a lot of

trouble, and that it was not desirable to go near their camps in the evening. One evening I went, but I retired quickly. The Kuchi tents have a ridge pole and are typical of those you see on the south side of the Hindu Kush. North of the Hindu Kush the tents are of a different type—the kubitka, round felt tent. You can draw a definite line between the two kinds of tent.

Society in Afghanistan is patriarchal. It has not changed during hundreds of years. Practically the whole of the population is either peasant or nomad, cultivating the land or raising livestock. The industrial population is probably less than 30,000 out of a total population of possibly eight million. This means that Afghanistan is fairly immune from Communist activities and is a settled society though backward in a material sense. It can be contrasted with Iran, whose industry is much more advanced, having a wage-earning population of about 150,000, and with Turkey, which is even more advanced and has a wage-earning class of nearly half a million. But this primitive patriarchal society of Afghanistan has also disadvantages; it results in the over-population of villages and an absence of industry to absorb the surplus population. That is a common phenomenon throughout Eastern Europe and in Asia, and in the Balkans has led to widespread soil erosion; but hitherto deterioration has not gone far in Afghanistan. Moreover, steps are being taken to set up industry so as to absorb the surplus population of the villages. A little further on I found the industrial centre of Pul-i-khumri with a textile factory employing 2,000 men and with 500 looms—one man to four looms. Practically the whole of the machinery had been produced in Lancashire. Foremen and operatives were Afghans; there were no Europeans. A neighbouring power station was built by Siemens Schukart. Here, too, all the engineers were Afghans. I went up the Kabul river, crossed the Bulola Pass and got on to the high plateau of Bamian—8,000 to 10,000 feet up—and here I entered the famous valley with great sandstone cliffs on either side, honeycombed with caves and with figures of gods and demons carved out of them. It is a weird and awe-inspiring sight. There are no signs of life there to-day. Bamian was a centre of Buddhism from 300 B.C. until A.D. 700. Hsuan Tsang, a pilgrim from China to India, mentioned it in A.D. 630. He said it had 10,000 monks and ten monasteries housed in the caves. You can walk for miles through the cliffs right up to the top, passing Buddhist chapels and little shrines all deserted now. Inside the caves you see the sites of Buddhist shrines. Here and there you come upon relics, but most of them have been taken to the Kabul Museum and are kept there. In the midst is a great image: no one seems certain whether it is a Buddha. It is more like an idol of Baal than a statue of Buddha. When I looked at it, it was in darkness to a great extent but the camera revealed the eyes. My own feeling is that it represents Buddhism in decline, about A.D. 600, when they went in for fetichism. There is nothing in that, I think, of the true Buddha. It is more likely to strike terror than to arouse any other feeling in the mind of the beholder. The whole thing is eighty-six feet high. I went up through the caves, zigzagging, and found myself on the head of this great idol. Inside the cave there are coloured frescoes on the walls: out-

side you see the main range of the Hindu Kush from 12,000 to 15,000 feet high. By the side of the head there were very interesting coloured frescoes. They are wall paintings of Buddha, and of Buddhist saints with two fingers raised and haloes round the head, very like mediæval Christian pictures of the last judgment. One is forced to the view that there must have been a good deal of contact between Buddhism and early Christianity. Buddhism may have influenced Christian art, or it may have been that Christianity influenced Buddhism; but Buddhism is the older religion; and probably there were Buddhist missionaries who met Christians in Alexandria. Numbers of these pictures have been taken away and are mostly at Kabul, but some have been left. The general impression I had of Bamian was that during the most interesting phase of its culture Buddhism must have had tremendous strength, but it died out completely. In the later phase the monks were of little credit to their religion and engaged in idol worship. Finally Buddhism was swept away by the tremendous force of Islam in the eighth century, and Islam has been the prevailing religion for this part of the East for over a thousand years. Islam is still as strong as ever, its only weakness being its relative indifference to the emancipation of women.

I was now in the valley of the Oxus. The Kunduz breaks through forty miles of gorges in the northern range of the Hindu Kush; and passing through them is rather an awe-inspiring experience. A road has been built in recent times and bridges put over the streams, but when Alexander invaded India he could not have gone through these gorges because there were no bridges. He must have gone over the mountains, a tremendous task. The Kunduz river runs through a gorge with great cliffs on either side. The road goes down deep into a canyon with a narrow entrance. The sun may be shining but it is almost in darkness down there. You go down and down, getting further into the darkness, but you can see the sun lighting the tops of the cliffs above you. My car caused me a good deal of trouble. It did not break down in the gorges, fortunately, but it did soon after I got out. Before you come out on the open plain, here and there the gorge opens out into a valley, and then you go back into the darkness again. I came out at Tashkurghan, which means in Turki a "mound of stone." Along here the rivers from the Hindu Kush flow northwards to the Oxus. Some of them reach the Oxus but others dry up in the desert. All are tapped by the peasants to form a whole series of oases along here. Tashkurghan was described by the historians of Alexander the Great under the name of Aornos. You do not see the fortifications which were taken by Alexander in those days but something built very much later, probably in the Uzbek or Arab period. Tashkurghan is an oasis with orchards of figs, peaches, apricots, and pomegranates. The population south of the mountains is different from that in the north of Afghanistan, both racially and linguistically. Pushtu is not spoken in the north, the languages are Persian and Turki. I know a little Turki so conditions were rather easier for me: for the first time I was able to converse with the native population in the bazaars. In the desert near Tashkurghan I had a breakdown with the car. I thought I was lost and the Afghan Government sent out a car to rescue me; but finally

I got the car right. I tried to get down to the Oxus but I got into a desert with sand dunes where a river dried up. If I could have got fifty miles further I should have reached the Russian frontier on the Oxus river, but I decided it was better to go no further.

Mazar-i-Sherif, which I next reached, is the principal town in that part of Afghanistan. It has a beautiful mosque built over what is claimed locally to be the tomb of Ali, the Fourth Caliph, although in truth Ali was buried at Kufa. But this is a very beautiful mosque, typical Persian work of the sixteenth century, with coloured bricks and mosaics. It is similar to the great mosques in Isfahan. This town of Mazar-i-Sherif is an important centre of trade with Russia, but I never saw a Russian the whole time I was there. No one is allowed to cross the Oxus into Russian territory and no Russian is allowed in Afghanistan. All goods are taken down to the banks of the Oxus and ferried across to be delivered to merchants on the Afghan side and to representatives of the state trusts on the Russian side. Afghanistan sends wool while Russia sends petrol, sugar, and cotton piece-goods. In this part of Afghanistan bordering Russia there must be a considerable contrast between the two sides of the Oxus. Clearly in the Russian republics conditions must be better than in the oases on the southern side. Women are emancipated and there has been great material progress. If there is no material progress in the north of Afghanistan the Russian republics will be a counter attraction to restless spirits. But the Afghans seem to want to work out their own salvation and not to be forced to follow the Russian way of doing things. At the same time, relations between Russia and Afghanistan seemed quite correct, and Russia has shown a desire to be friendly by settling a long-standing dispute over an island in the Oxus and over the water rights in the Kushk oasis. There is a lively recognition of the position on the part of the Afghan authorities, and I think means will be found to improve conditions. There is a good deal of malaria in that part of the country, but they are taking that in hand. The Government has plans for developing Afghan Turkestan economically. They have a sugar factory near Kunduz and coal is being worked at Doshi. Oil has been found but not yet worked at Shibar Khan opposite Kilif on the Oxus. Plans are being got out to irrigate the Kokcha river in Badakhshan.

The last place I went to was Balkh. I spoke just now about the work of Sir Aurel Stein. He was aiming to start here in Balkh, forty miles west of Mazar-i-Sherif. The further west I got the less populous were the oases. I think the Balkh ruins are the biggest known and they are absolutely untouched. One of the world's biggest archæological treasures is as yet unexplored. It lies on the edge of an important oasis and consists now of ten square miles of crumbling walls and mounds. First of all it was a city of the Achaemenid Dynasty of Persia; but in 328 B.C. it was taken by Alexander the Great from Darius the Second, then Shah of Persia, and for 300 years it was the centre of Græco-Bactrian civilization. What was the nature of that civilization? The answer to that question lies in the ruins of Balkh which Sir Aurel Stein was going to work when death took him. At present those ruins lie deep down under at least eighty feet of debris, the relics of later civilizations. The Afghan Government has given

a French archæological society the job of starting on the work of excavating the Græco-Bactrian remains, on the top of which the ruins of Sassanian, Persian, Arab, and Uzbek civilizations have been heaped. The French have got down eighty feet and are still in the Arab period. I walked about six miles over mounds and at every step there were fragments of pottery and coloured glazed tiles and bricks, showing clearly that there must be interesting things underneath.

But I must make a diversion about the Karakul sheep. I spoke of the way that Afghanistan earns dollars. This wool is frequently known as Astrakhan or Persian lamb skin. It comes from sheep especially bred by the Turkomans who live in this part of Transoxania, where the fat-tailed sheep do not flourish. When born the lambs are killed at once and the skins preserved. You can get the skins in the bazaars of Kabul and the principal oases. A flock of these sheep is very like the fat-tailed sheep that you get all through Central Asia. But they live on the edge of sand dunes along the shore of the Oxus and on the edge of the Kizilkum desert round Andkhui. On the Russian side they are found in the deserts west of Bokhara. Those are the places where you get the Karakul sheep. In other parts of the world they do not succeed so well, although I understand they are raising them in South Africa. These sheep are a source of wealth to the Turkomans. The Turkomans live on both sides of the frontier. Formerly they were a turbulent people, and they fought a famous battle with the Russians on the eastern side of the Caspian at Geok-teppe; but they are now peaceful shepherds. They make good carpets, red and purple in colour and with typical designs. Their tents are round with felt stretched over ribbing. They are quite different from the Kuchi tents because the climate is much more severe: they get the cold winds from Siberia with nothing to stop them. You do not get the tent on poles with sides that you can easily raise to let in the air: you get a closer tent to keep out the bitter winds. There is nothing here in this vast plain of two thousand miles, absolutely nothing between here and Siberia to break the north wind.

I retraced my steps across the Hindu Kush to Kabul, and thence to the south-east, reaching Afghan Baluchistan and passing through Ghazni, Kandahar, and so on to Quetta. The first place at which I stopped was Ghazni, well known in the Afghan wars. A drawing in Sir Percy Sykes's *History of Afghanistan*, made by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1838, shows the walls of Ghazni very like what they are to-day, but shops have been built where there is a bastion in his drawing. Otherwise the gateways have two bastions, one on each side. The people here show marked Indo-Aryan features, and there are also Semitic types indicating the Arab strain; but Mongol types are few. There is a certain xenophobia and fanaticism in this part of Afghanistan. If you go into a village alone the children will boo you, and the boys will throw stones; but that is the only part of the country where there is any atmosphere of hostility. Ghazni was the home of Sultan Mahmud, referred to by Omar Khayyám. He built a tower to commemorate his victories in India in the tenth century A.D. That tower is outside Ghazni and gives a description of his exploits. In Kandahar is the mausoleum of Ahmed Shah, founder of the present

Afghan Dynasty in the eighteenth century. It is more beautiful inside than out. Here in Kandahar the people are of poor physical type, mongrel Arab and Baluchi, and they suffer much from malaria. I went back to Pakistan by way of Chaman and the Khojak Pass. The railway we built only got as far as Chaman, and it is no longer used except for the traffic of goods. Parts of it were built with the idea of resisting a possible Hitler invasion which did not occur.

Coming away my feeling was that Afghanistan is being steadily moulded into a national unity by the Durrani Dynasty and family. Materially it is the most backward of the Moslem states in the Middle East, but at the same time it is the most attractive and interesting to a traveller because in Afghanistan you still see the East as it has been for hundreds of years. Until 1920 it was closed to all foreign influences, so one cannot wonder at its material backwardness. If left to itself it will follow the Western rather than the Russian way of life. The one thing that rests on my mind is the friendliness and hospitality of the people, particularly in the north and centre, which makes it quite the most fascinating country to travel in throughout Central Asia.

Mr. A. HAMZAVI: You touched on the recent settlement between Iran and Afghanistan on the Helmand river. Will you kindly tell us what in your opinion was the cause of the construction of the dam by Morrison Knudsen, how high the construction of the dam has gone, and whether the tributaries in Persian Seistan are receiving the same flow of water as before.

The LECTURER: What is really happening is that Morrison Knudsen are taking off the flood from the mountains and are building a big reservoir to receive that water. Therefore Iran will not suffer: she does not get water in any case. What Iran wants is a steady flow of water coming down the main stream: what is harmful is the flood water, and that is being taken by the scheme. I was assured that there was really no cause for alarm, and I understood that the Persian Government was satisfied; but I admit that I did not hear the Persian side.

Colonel ROUTH: What is happening to all the big buildings built about 1922 and 1923 in Kabul? When I was there in 1925 the Government was not using them. Are they using them now?

The LECTURER: The Afghan Government put me in a hostel outside Kabul, to the south where these palaces are built. One of them is being used as Government offices: the other one is absolutely untouched since the time it was built. I walked up several evenings; a "solitary ring-dove" was there but nothing else. I think they regard it as a white elephant. But they are using some of them. The megalomania that Anamullah had is causing trouble to the Afghans.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL: When I was in Kabul I found that the portion you talk about was not being used because of a fetish that as Anamullah had caused the construction it would bring bad luck to interfere with his buildings. Another thing is that what you said about Bamian is most extraordinary. I was there in 1939. Then the Government was behind one; now there is nothing behind you, yet you travel all

over the country. But if you travel in Waziristan they will shoot you. The essential difference between East and West was shown when I went up to Bamian. I went to a hotel there, and I found they had very up-to-date water plumbing, but when I turned the tap there was no water.

The LECTURER: Oh, yes, it is difficult there; I had a job to get my breakfast there in the morning, but I did. I did not hear about this feeling that it is fetishism that prevents the use of the building: I think they are really faced with technical difficulties in getting the equipment. That is the problem. They managed to equip one place and have the Ministry of National Economy and the Ministry of Finance in one lower down; but the one on the hill has a sentry guarding and that is all. I think there is no doubt the Afghan Government has got the country well under control. I made a long trip and there was no sign of brigands or difficulty. The North-West Frontier is different. As you know, the tribes are not administered directly. I think it is easier now as I said in my lecture. Since we left it is difficult for the Fakir of Ipi to get up a feeling against the suzerain power as he used to do, although British officers and administrators are there still in large numbers. Practically all the intelligence officers are British, and the Government of the Province has a British political agent at Quetta. Nevertheless the suzerain power is a Moslem power, which I think makes for more quiet on the whole. That is why I think it is in a better position than it has been for some time.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks moved by the Chairman.

CENTRAL ASIA AND THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

By JOSEPH NEEDHAM, Sc.D., F.R.S.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 9, 1949, Lt.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: To-day I introduce to you Dr. Joseph Needham, whom many of you have heard lecture on previous occasions. He is a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and reader in Biochemistry in that University. He has also been a visiting professor or lecturer at London, Oxford and a number of American, Polish and Chinese universities; and is a Foreign Member of the National Academy of China and of the Chinese Chemical Society.

From 1942 to 1946 Dr. Needham was the Head of the British Scientific Mission in China, and also held the position of Adviser to the Chinese Natural Resources Commission and the Chinese Army Medical Administration. Later he was Director of the Section of Natural Sciences in U.N.E.S.C.O. and is now Scientific Adviser to that organization.

Dr. Needham's work in China took him all over that country, and he is going to lecture to-day on the History of Science and Technology in connection with Central Asia. I had the privilege of being in China with Dr. Needham, and I do not think any words from me are needed to commend him; certainly I never met anybody out in China who earned such respect as Dr. Needham did. We are extremely lucky in the fact that he has come to address us to-day.

Dr. Needham then delivered his lecture as follows:

I AM to speak of the rôle of Central Asia in the history of science and technology. This does not mean that Central Asia (by which I have particularly in mind Sinkiang, Tibet, and the countries bordering thereon) was ever itself in history a place where vital scientific discoveries were made. It has never been a centre of scientific or technological advance in the narrow sense of the words, but it does take a very high place as an area of transmission, which is really what I would like to speak about this afternoon. We all know that modern science and technology grew up in Western Europe as a result of the work of such men as Galileo, Harvey, Newton, Vesalius, and others as part of the great concomitant social changes—the Renaissance, the Reformation and the rise of Capitalism. What is not generally realized is the extent to which mediæval science in the West was cut off from that of the Far East; while mediæval technology depended upon Asiatic technology. Scientific thought in Islamic or Arabic civilization may be said to have been part of the community of European science mainly because the Arabic language was the channel through which the great writings of the old Mediterranean Greek authors came to later Europe. All the important scientific books, and many unimportant ones, were translated into Arabic between the seventh and eleventh centuries after the beginning of Islam, and came back again to Latin after the eleventh century; one does not find direct translation from the Greek into Latin, other than through Arabic, until the twelfth century. Actually an Englishman, Robert Grossteste of Suffolk (b. A.D. 1175), played an important part in that regard. But Arabic was not the only language through which these discoveries came; Syriac and Hebrew played minor but important parts.

On the other hand one may say that East Asiatic science was not incorporated into the science of Europe after the twelfth century because for some curious reason, perhaps because the names of such men as Aristotle, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, etc., were known as semi-legendary intellectual heroes to mediæval Europeans, they only translated those works. Those who translated back from Arabic into Latin only selected the works of the ancient Greeks and did not choose any of the works in Arabic dealing with Far Eastern science, the science of the Chinese and the Indians.

To illustrate the fact that the knowledge of the Chinese and Indians was available to the Arabs—and I mean those of Arabic language because, in fact, they were mostly Persians and Spaniards with a few Egyptians, though we may call them Arabs—one may take the example of al-Biruni who went with Mahmud of Ghazna on his conquest of India in the eleventh century, following which he produced his book entitled *Tarikh al-Hind*, which was a great exposition not only of the history and geography of India but also of the science of the Indians. And here is an example or confirmation of what I have been saying; it was not until A.D. 1888 that that work was translated into a Western language. There were also the cosmographers and travellers like ibn Batuta in the fourteenth century who has been described as the greatest traveller of Islam and the greatest, not excepting Marco Polo, of all mediæval times.

Some of the personal contacts which took place between East Asiatics and Western Europeans in those days are most interesting. For example, few realize the international character of the astronomical observatory established about A.D. 1260 after the capture of the city of Baghdad by the Mongols. Hulagu Khan entrusted a Persian, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, with the construction of an astronomical observatory in the city of Maragha in Azerbaijan, and astronomers from China were sent to Persia to elaborate the work (we know the name of one of them, Fu Mêng-Chi) and there they met with men from as far west as Spain. For example, al-Andalusi published astronomical tables and other books from Maragha, including a monograph on the astronomical calendar of the Chinese. Imagine in the thirteenth century a Spaniard making so long a journey and writing a book on the astronomy of China!

The examples I have given—and I could give many more—show there was no lack of contact between Arabic and East Asiatic science, but it remains true that East Asian science generally failed to filter through to Franks and Latins, namely ourselves, to precisely that part of the world where by a series of historical accidents modern science and technology were later on developed. But the important point I want to make, especially as regards Central Asia, is that this barrier or filter was only operative in the case of pure science. In the case of applied science it was not effective at all. We may say that technological discoveries and advances in technology show a slow but massive infiltration from East to West throughout the whole Christian era, up to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. We are all familiar with the case of paper and printing, but before referring to that in detail I would like to mention iron-working.

It is an amazing historical paradox that while modern Western

European civilization, which has become world civilization to-day, is so dependent upon the working of iron and steel, the Chinese were 1,300 years ahead of the West in regard to cast iron. Cast iron was a rarity in Europe until the fourteenth century A.D. Already, however, in the first century B.C. in China (28 B.C. to be exact) we have record of a cupola furnace exploding, so the Chinese were habitually engaged at that time in foundry technique metallurgy of iron. T. T. Read has suggested that the ores which they used had a high proportion of phosphorus, causing melting some 200° lower than other ores. That is not established but is rather plausible.

At another extreme, iron technology being a complicated affair, take the humble wheelbarrow. At first sight, it is a somewhat extraordinary statement that the simple expedient of putting a wheel at the front of a hod should be unknown in Europe before the fourteenth century, but that is so. It was not used until about A.D. 1300 odd in Europe, whereas in the second century A.D. in the time of the San Kuo (Three Kingdoms) period we have a record of the invention, attributed to Chuko Liang, of the so-called "wooden ox" which is convincingly described as a wheelbarrow. This may be relevant to the subject of the present paper because no doubt such a device would have come to Europe across Central Asia and would have been known in Sinkiang before it was known in Western Europe.

The map will remind you of the routes across Central Asia. We are all familiar with the Tarim basin in Sinkiang and with the old Silk Road running up from Lanchow city on the Yellow River, crossing the Gobi desert and going on to Kashgar and through Bactria into Persia. To the north of it lies the steppe country.

The next illustration is well known, namely, Carter's picture of what he calls the thousand year journey of paper from China to Europe; you know how in A.D. 105 we have the record of its invention by Tsai Lun in China; how it appears in the third century at the oases in Central Asia; how later it appears in Tabriz, in Persia, where paper money is found from A.D. 1294 onwards. An intermediate date is A.D. 750 at Samarkand where paper was being made; then in Cairo and up into Europe. It is possible to make out a similar line for the transmission through Central Asia of printing, because it starts with the printing of books in West China about A.D. 880. There is the remarkable record of a man enjoying looking at bookstalls on the south side of the city of Chêngtu in A.D. 883, and there were earlier block printings known in A.D. 770 in Japan; also in A.D. 868 there was the printing of the Confucian classics. Altogether a more interesting and rapid passage than in the case of paper because already in A.D. 950 in Cairo they were printing excerpts from the Quran, and that continues until the fourteenth century. Printed playing-cards appeared in Germany in A.D. 1400, and we may say that the chain of travel was completed about in time for alphabetic printing in the fifteenth century, about A.D. 1440. We know also of the independent invention of metal type in Korea about A.D. 1390, and of the original invention of movable type made of earthenware, in A.D. 1045 by Pi Shêng.

Those facts are all familiar to the members of this Society, but to pass

to what may not be so familiar I will speak, first, of deep drilling. There are three technological advances of which I hope to speak and which I think came over Central Asia. These three technical advances are, firstly, the art of deep drilling; secondly, the invention of the efficient horse-harness; and, thirdly, the invention of iron-chain suspension bridges.

As regards the art of deep drilling, the province of Szechuan, which is some 1,200 miles from the sea, possesses great deposits of brine probably associated with old oil deposits. A very important district which some of us visited during the war was that of Tzu-Liu-Ching in Szechuan. I show modern photographs depicting the derricks for these wells, which are frequently 3,000 feet deep; also a picture taken from the *Thien Kung Khai Wu*, a very important technological book of A.D. 1638, showing the derricks, the bamboo bucket with valves ascending and descending, the winding gear being a horizontal drum worked by water buffaloes, or oxen. Another picture from the same book shows the fire wells and you see the natural gas escaping from one of them, also gas being conveyed to the different vessels which are evaporating the brine.

A modern picture shows the salt being evaporated in pans. If Szechuan had not had its salt industry it could not have been an independent kingdom; if the salt had not been available it would have been very much more difficult for China to have held out during the last war when the Japanese had control of the whole coast. We know from references in the *Han Shu* and other books that these salt wells began to be exploited about the first century B.C. In *Chêngtu* I was given a rubbing of a Han dynasty brick in relief which shows derricks dating from the first century B.C.

The method of boring the wells is peculiar in that it includes the jumping on and off a beam by a team of men, and this process was also used in the first petroleum wells bored in California, a process known as "kicking her down." It seems to me possible that some hints of the Chinese technique may have been derived by the Californians from knowledge on the part of the Chinese workers who were brought in to build the railways in the beginning of the nineteenth century in California. That, however, as yet remains a conjecture. What one does begin to wonder is whether the boring of artesian wells derives from the same source. Artesian wells are so called because the first in use was bored for a monastery in Lillers, in Artois, in A.D. 1176. They are called self-flowing or artesian wells because they gush out owing to the existence of a porous layer between two impermeable strata.

A pamphlet was printed in Nantes in 1829 dealing with artesian wells and I was attracted to it and bought it because the author refers specifically to the deep drilling carried out in China and suggests that the knowledge of artesian well drilling may have been brought to Europe from China. One may doubt whether the actual technique is likely to have come from there, but it is possible that when the first artesian wells were tried in the twelfth century in Europe somebody was emboldened to make the effort because he had learned that it had been done successfully elsewhere. Hence it is noteworthy that al-Biruni about A.D. 1012 (one hundred years before the first drilling in France) at Damascus gave a description

of deep drilling and explained the phenomenon of self-flowing wells. So it is possible there was transmission through the Arabs.

I must turn away from this question to another technological complex, namely, the question of horse-harness, which is, I think, quite definitely something which came from Central Asia and which has not yet been sufficiently discussed. People ordinarily look at animals drawing vehicles without seeing what the harness is. It never occurs to them to notice it. That was the case with me, at any rate for the first forty-seven years of my life. When I looked at horses and other animals drawing vehicles it never occurred to me to notice the harness. After one's eyes are opened one begins to see that this is an extremely important question because it concerns the efficiency of the animal's tractive force. It raises social questions such as the problem of slavery because if there is inefficient animal harness it is necessary to use human labour as the tractive force, or conversely if abundant human labour is available, nobody bothers to invent an efficient harness. The man who opened the eyes of European scholars to this question was Lefebvre de Noettes, a gifted French amateur; not a professional scholar but a soldier who wrote a book entitled *L'Attelage à travers les Ages* after he retired from military service. He asked the simple question, when did modern harness originate? and no historian was able to tell him. So Lefebvre de Noettes collected photographs, reliefs, medallions, and all possible evidence, and having put them together and studied them he arrived at a general theory of the situation, actually now no longer a theory but a cold historical fact, namely, that, believe it or not, for thousands of years in the West the harness used was totally inefficient. It is known as the "antique" harness or the "throat and girth" harness, and was used in Sumeria, Chaldea, ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and indeed by every people in the Western part of the world until about the twelfth century. Then it died out and by 1200 one may say that the modern or "collar" harness was completely adopted in Europe. The throat and girth harness suffocated the animal so that its tractive force was greatly impaired. Collar harness doubles or trebles the tractive force of an animal. Now the fascinating point is that the only ancient people who had an efficient horse-harness were the Chinese. That is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. In all Han bas-reliefs you will find what some call the "breast-strap" harness or what is called in modern Europe the "postillion" harness where the strap in front bears right upon the shoulder of the animal so that the tractive force is fully exerted. A Han chariot was a 'bus compared to a Greek or Roman chariot. The ancient Egyptian chariot had hardly any handrails and at most two people standing. In Han chariots six or eight people are frequently seen riding.

In a drawing of a horse copied from a Han relief we see the antique names for the various parts of the harness. The breast strap was called the *yin*, but this and many of the other technical terms used have been obsolete for centuries. The tractive force was conveyed to the chariot by a curiously curved wooden shaft (if two horses there were three such shafts) which was connected with the trace at its central point and therefore took the pull from the shoulder of the animal. But what is the connection between the postillion harness of the ancient Chinese and the

modern or collar harness? And secondly, what can be found in Central Asia which bears upon the question of this transmission?

On thinking about it, one can easily see that if the modern collar harness were not stiffened by wood or metal and padded with felt it would in effect approximate to the anterior part of the postillion harness because the pull would tend to deform it, and this is the morphological reason for the connection between collar and postillion harness. All that would be necessary to make it still closer would be to move forward the point of attachment to the chariot, and that seems to have been done, for we find examples of it on mural paintings in the cave-temples at Tunhuang, a place which I need not expatiate on further to the members of this Society. This cannot be intended to represent an "antique" harness. Another picture from the caves at Tunhuang, of about the same date, also shows the attachment to the lower point of the collar. Moreover, in these mural paintings we find in some instances the actual modern collar harness shown as early as the seventh century A.D. So the evidence is that somewhere in Central Asia the postillion harness transformed itself by insensible stages into collar harness between the sixth and twelfth centuries.

A French scholar named Haudricourt has continued the work of Lefebvre de Noettes in this respect, and has adopted a method which had not been previously much used in such studies, namely, the linguistic method. It may be known to those practically acquainted with harness that the sides of the collar harness in use to-day are known as *hames* in English. It is a peculiar word. If you look in the Oxford English Dictionary you will find the word was not known in England before 1300 but Haudricourt examined the question of its origin and found it to be Central Asiatic. I cannot remember all the languages in which the word *hame* occurs, but Mongolian is one; Kirghiz, Tartar, Russian, Finnish, and Lithuanian are others. He listed about twenty-five languages. It is not very far removed from the old Chinese word 'ak which refers to a similar thing and which in some dialects is aspirated.

Now we come to the most interesting part of Haudricourt's theory, and one which I find quite plausible. He found, when he examined the word, that in some of the Central Asiatic languages it does not mean the same horse collar as in Europe but rather the semi-circular padded apparatus which is put round the two humps of a Bactrian camel for the transport of merchandise—*i.e.*, the camel pack-saddle. That semi-circular padded apparatus had only to be applied to a horse's neck at the front end of a postillion harness in order to become the modern harness collar.

The whole story acquires still more plausibility from the fact that felt was a Mongolian invention. There is a special monograph by Laufer devoted to the origin of felt. It would be just in Central Asia that the padding of a wooden collar type of harness with felt would be thought of. So, we may suppose, it gradually came to Europe.

Exactly what connection this may have with the social history of Europe will remain a matter for argument. Lefebvre de Noettes was definite in his idea that it had a relationship with slavery, but others such as Marc Bloch have pointed out that in fact slavery in the decline of the

Roman Empire actually ended long before it is possible that the collar harness came to Europe. However, one cannot say that there is no connection because it is regarded as probable that one reason why technical discoveries were not adopted in ancient Mediterranean civilization was because of the availability of almost unlimited servile man-power. Perhaps when social conditions changed and the labour was no longer available people were driven to have recourse to more efficient machines. Harness must certainly be considered one of the earliest applications of engineering.

Another subject in which I have been taking a good deal of interest lately is that of suspension bridges. I do not know whether one can say that Central Asia acted as a transmission area in that regard also. It is more difficult to say with certainty, but in any case the facts are that in West China and the Tibetan borderlands suspension bridges have played an important part from an early date. That alone is not perhaps so unique because no doubt in Peru, for example, and other South American countries, one finds liana bridges used as part of primitive technology. I do not think it was so remarkable a discovery to shoot across a gorge an arrow attached to a string and carry across a bamboo rope after it. What was important was the use of iron chains in suspension bridge construction, and that seems to be considerably older in West China than anywhere else in the world.

I will give you evidence. In a typical West China bamboo bridge you will note the pillars round which the bamboo cables are wound. We ought, of course, to distinguish between suspension bridges proper and catenary bridges. A suspension bridge has a flat deck suspended from the chains or ropes thrown across the river, whereas a catenary bridge is one across which you walk on a deck which actually follows the curve of the cables hanging freely between the two points of support. Most of the Chinese bridges seem to have been catenary and not flat-deck suspension bridges, but the difference is rather small.

When a bridge cable is formed of twisted bamboo the tensile strength can be extremely strong. During the war aeroplanes and gliders were made in China of very strong bamboo-ply which was developed by the Chinese Air Force Research Bureau. Bamboo is certainly usable for bridge spans up to 300 feet. The most famous bamboo bridge in China is that at Kuanhsien on the Min River, and it there forms part of an artificial irrigation system which, in itself, is extraordinary since it dates in its present form from 270 B.C. One of the great sights of the place is this suspension bridge across the Min River. Each span is an average of 200 feet.

I could not show a more beautiful or better type of suspension bridge than that over the Mekong, a bridge remarkable for its flat character; it does not sag to any great extent. The danger of all suspension bridges is that they sway; they have little lateral stability. In the gorges over which the bridges are built there is probably no great wind force, and provided a bridge is renewed every fifty years it will be quite satisfactory.

An iron-chain suspension bridge was set up in 1628 on the borders between Kweichow and Yunnan, but few people now know of it as the modern motor-road does not pass over it or even by it. A special book was written on it about A.D. 1650, and a copy is now in the Library of

Congress at Washington; in that book is a rather interesting drawing of the bridge showing the use of chains not only for the basic catenary but also for the guide ropes; this might afford an intermediate stage to the true suspension bridge because all that would be necessary to do would be to flatten the deck and use what were once the guide ropes as the supporting members.

The question arises as to the antiquity of these bridges. I have recently been going into that and the results are quite definite. One finds in the literature a persistent story of the building of a wrought-iron chain suspension bridge at a city called Chingtung, south of Tali in Yunnan, by the emperor Han Ming-Ti about 65 B.C. We have traced the origin of this story, and the truth of the matter is that the bridge was repaired in the Yung-Loreign period, which is about A.D. 1410, and only local tradition ascribed it to Han Ming-Ti's time. But the bridge had been there for a long time in A.D. 1410. I do not see any reason why the Chinese should not have built a chain suspension bridge of wrought-iron chain links in A.D. 65, but it certainly cannot be said to be definitely proved. What is definite is that at another place in Yunnan, Chungtien, near Lichiang, a bridge over the Chin Sha River was definitely put up with iron chains between A.D. 580 and A.D. 618 and we have the names of those who built it, so that we can certainly go back to the beginning of the seventh century. Another bridge of this type, which is quite old, is the San Hsia bridge in Szechwan for which there are records going back to A.D. 1367.

Against this we have to ask, what was the situation in Europe? In Europe it is clear that the first suspension bridge using iron chains was built in A.D. 1550 in Italy, put up by Andrea Palladio. That was successful, but the second one (A.D. 1591) was a failure. It was not until the eighteenth century, from about 1720 onwards, that iron-chain suspension bridges began to be fairly general in Europe.

There is an architectural book by Fischer von Erlach of Leipzig in A.D. 1725 which depicts the bridge at Chingtung in Yunnan, and the author illustrates it as a practically true suspension bridge where people are not walking on the catenary, but I believe that to be a mistake. In any case, the point is that the bridge was being shown as a great marvel in A.D. 1725, so that it is not surprising that after miserable attempts in A.D. 1550 Europe should have gone on building plenty of them until we come to the splendid work such as the bridge across the Menai Straits in 1819. The fact seems to be that the Chinese developed the use of iron chains for suspension bridges and that something like 1,000 years elapsed before they were successfully used in Europe.

In conclusion, it may be said that few have any idea of the extent to which mediæval European technology was indebted to the Far East. This has to be brought out because while it remains true that the Chinese had nothing analogous to the great systematizers such as Aristotle, Ptolemy, or Euclid, yet on the other hand mediæval Europe was a quite barbarous place compared to mediæval China. I should say that for technology before the Renaissance Europe was enormously indebted to the Far East. The best summing-up is one which I came across recently in a book by an Arabic author, an excellent remark made about A.D. 830 by al-Jahīz in

Damascus: "The curious thing is that the Greeks are interested in theory but do not bother about practice, whereas the Chinese are very interested in practice and do not bother much about the theory."

DISCUSSION

Group Captain H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD: Many years ago when I went to Outer Mongolia I found that the Mongol saddle was an almost exact representation of the hollow between the two humps of a Bactrian camel. It occurred to me that our modern saddle was derived from that invention of the Mongols. Their first riding animal was a camel, and when they started to ride a pony they thought they would erect something on the pony's back which would make it similar to the back of the Bactrian camel to which they were accustomed.

Dr. NEEDHAM: That, I should think, is most probable. I think the saddles used in Mediterranean antiquity and even in India were practically nothing but a cloth thrown across the back of a camel. I believe the modern saddle to be a late mediæval construction, derived from the stiffened saddles with cruppers of the Han dynasty.

Lieut.-General H. G. MARTIN: There appeared to be a retrograde practice in regard to harness on the part of Europe. When I joined the Army as a gunner about the beginning of the present century we had in use the modern horse collar. We shortly afterwards abandoned it and returned to the breast harness or postillion arrangement precisely as shown in the early Chinese print we saw on the screen. We continued to use that until mechanization came in and we no longer had need for harness. Would Dr. Needham say we have been obscurantist in abandoning the collar?

Dr. NEEDHAM: That was obviously a historically backward move, but perhaps there was some rational reason for it.

Mr. AMEER ALI: Is there any record from Central Asia of the invention of the stirrup? That was a late-comer into horsemanship. The ancient Roman cavalry never had a stirrup. I believe the first time it was used with effect was by the Goths in 378 A.D. when they overthrew the Emperor Valens outside Adrianople. Is the stirrup a Chinese invention of those early times and when did it come Westward?

Secondly, I venture to make an assertion. Dr. Needham was a little inclined to say that Arab scientists, both Arabic speaking and Arabic writing, were not of the Arabic race. My father went into that rather carefully in a note to his book *The Spirit of Islam*. The same remark was made by the great Ernest Renan some years ago, but more categorically. He said that practically none of the great philosophers and scientists of Arabic fame came from Arabic stock. On the other hand, as my father had pointed out, most of them were men whose surnames or family or tribal names were derived from Arab tribes, and they were just as much Arab in race as Eddison or Bell in the United States was of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic stock.

I would be grateful if Dr. Needham could tell us anything with regard to the stirrup.

Dr. NEEDHAM: The stirrup is a little obscure; the literature is available

but I have not prepared it for to-day. I would not like to say offhand what the history of the stirrup really is. One fixed point is that the panels on the tomb of the first T'ang Emperor in the seventh century clearly show stirrups. I believe Professor Minns has found evidence of their use in Scythia and that the Russians have excavated and obtained evidence of second or third century A.D. stirrups from South Russia; and the tendency seems to be to think that it was a Scythian invention which travelled to the East quicker than to the West. On the other hand, only last week my confidence in that was shaken again by a friend at Oxford who said he had been looking at the Wu-liang-Tzu Han tomb bas-reliefs and that they show, if not stirrups, at least a set of horsemen in attitudes which would hardly be possible without stirrups. This would be evidence in favour of a first century B.C. Chinese stirrup. If you consider the whole of Asia, no doubt the stirrup originated somewhere there in the steppe country from the Crimea to Manchuria, but when or at which end of the country it originated, and who got it first, I am not prepared to say. It seems certain, however, that the Chinese had the stirrup before it was used by Europeans.

As to the question in regard to people of Arab stock, I ought to have been more precise. What I ought to have said was the scientists of the Arab centuries. My reason for saying what I did was that when I was reading the book by Aldo Mieli, *La Science Arabe*, I happened to make a table of the birthplace of each of the great Arabic scientists. The statistics showed that the great majority were of Persian or Spanish birth. There were a few Egyptians and a few Maghribi and still fewer Arabs from Arabia proper, but the majority were from the two ends of the Islamic area. That only applies to scientists. In regard to literary men it may be different.

Mr. AMEER ALI: I agree, but I think you will find on further reference that many of them are descended from Arab *emigrés*.

Dr. NEEDHAM: Yes, they might have been Arabs who settled in Persia or elsewhere; it is, of course, very difficult to be sure as to those matters. For example, there is a controversy now going on about ibn Sina who was born at Bokhara and is now claimed as a Turk. Whether being born at Bokhara made him a Turk I would not like to say.

Mr. AMEER ALI: I think ibn Sina was a man of partly Turkish descent.

Dr. NEEDHAM: I would like to know whether ibn Sina has any connection with China—whether his grandfather was Chinese.

Colonel ROUTH: Should not Persia have more to do with this chain of knowledge coming across to Europe? I think of the leather factories in Hamadhan. It would be interesting to know whether leather tanning was practised in China before or concurrently with the Persian.

Dr. NEEDHAM: I should need notice of that question. I agree that Persia must have been important in this regard. I should think it more probable that the transmission was going on via the Silk Road rather than over the Tibetan massifs.

Professor TRITTON: May I point out that there is no evidence that the name ibn Sina has any connection with China, because the Arabic word for China "Šīn" is written with a different "S."

Dr. NEEDHAM: I thought somebody would say that, only for other reasons I like the idea that he was connected with China!

The CHAIRMAN: On your behalf I thank Dr. Needham for his most interesting lecture and all the information he has given from his vast store of knowledge. We hope that you will come again, Dr. Needham, and give us more valuable information. Meantime, we thank you very much indeed.

THE DAFLAS OF THE SUBANSIRI AREA

By MRS. U. BETTS

Mrs. Betts, née Miss Ursula Graham Bower, first went out to Assam in 1938. In 1940 she settled at Laisong, a village of the Zemi Nagas, as an anthropologist. As a result of her friendship with the Zemi and Kuki Naga tribes, when the Japanese invasion came Miss Graham Bower was able to enlist the help of the Nagas in a scheme of watch and ward and guerrilla activity behind the Japanese lines, which was of great value to General Slim and the whole Burma Force.

In 1945 Miss Graham Bower married Colonel F. N. Betts, an officer in the political service, and accompanied her husband when he was posted to a mountain district in the north of Assam.

YOU have already heard from Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf of his work of exploration in what was then the eastern part of Balipara Frontier Tract. After his remarkable expeditions had given the Government of India a clearer idea of what lay in that remote and inaccessible region, it was detached from Balipara and formed into a separate charge under the name of the Subansiri Area. In 1946 my husband was posted to it as its first Political Officer.

It remained in essence the same virgin wilderness as when Dr. Haimendorf and his wife entered it in 1944. There was no base. The few clerks of the establishment worked in a vacant building in the Police Lines in North Lakhimpur; the doctor lived in a room in the Travellers' Bungalow, and we in one in the Inspection Bungalow. In the area itself, which consists of some of the most difficult terrain in the world, there was no road of any kind. Dr. Haimendorf's second route to the Apa Tani Valley, that via the Panior Basin, had been to some extent improved, and the original and appalling path via Kempin was no longer used; but that was all. The only buildings were one or two huts on the site of Dr. Haimendorf's old camp at Duta and a few odd shelters on the way up.

The problems and expense of porter transport had up till now prevented any such long stay in the hills as was now intended, and it was only made possible in the first place by air supply, which in its turn was only possible because of the airfields constructed in Assam during the war. Our first task was to march as far into the hills as we could, receive an air-drop, and, with six months' stores on hand, build an outpost and start making a track outward from the Plains. In November of 1946 we set out from North Lakhimpur on the venture.

As the Subansiri Area's own porter corps was still being recruited, we were dependent on local Daflas, who are almost the worst porters I know. They are slower than one can credit, grumble without ceasing, and tie each load up in such an unbelievable cat's cradle of unnecessary cane that the time wasted in untying the loads each day must run into hours. Even these Daflas were so hard to find that most of our baggage had to be left behind for lack of porters, and we left with only the barest necessities. The first march took us through *terai* jungle and up exceedingly steep and broken foothills, mere piles of eroded washings at the foot of the main ranges, to a first camp at 2,000 feet. The second brought us over

Tasser Puttu, a magnificent and very steep-walled ridge whose pass is just short of 6,000 feet; and from there we slid straight down through dense forest to the Panior Valley, at an elevation of about 1,500 feet. An up-and-down march up the river bed and in and out of the ravines giving on it brought us to the Pite-Panior confluence and what was generally known as Pite Camp; and from there our porters went back, refusing to continue further. The nearest villages were unwilling to supply others, and while Siraj, the indefatigable Transport Supervisor, was trying to raise men and we were camped forlornly with our baggage on the edge of the river, the R.A.F. came over on their first reconnaissance and passed over without, of course, having seen us under the screen of dense woods.

The situation was now serious. Unless we could somehow make a forward move by next day and put out the ground-signals somewhere in the open grass-country beyond, where alone a drop was possible, all operations would be cancelled for the year. At that moment five strange Daflas appeared over the long cane bridge spanning the river in front of the camp, and, on hearing of our dilemma, offered to help, as they were friends of a Government interpreter. We immediately packed the flags and a few days' rations, and my husband, two riflemen of the escort, and the Daflas set out at once, about four in the afternoon. They marched till dark, slept where they were, set out again at dawn, and at nine o'clock reached a small, flat rice-field which was a possible, but not ideal, dropping-zone. Not daring to go further, they laid out the signals there, and at that precise moment the reconnaissance aircraft came over.

For most of November we remained in camp beside the dropping-ground, collecting the stores and building sheds and go-downs. The drop over, we moved north to the large Dafla village of Talo. As I expect you will remember, the Apa Tani Valley forms a thickly-populated and relatively-civilized enclave in the midst of the more primitive and widely-scattered Daflas, and Talo was a major Dafla centre where routes from north, south, west, and the Apa Tani Valley on the east converged. It was therefore on a hillside to the east of Talo, between it and the Apa Tani Valley, that we established the outpost known as Kore.

It stood on an open, bracken-covered hillside, among light woods of alder. Behind it the slope rose for another thousand feet to the forest on the hills enclosing the Apa Tani Valley; Kore itself stood at about 5,000 feet. In front of it the whole vast Panior basin rolled away in a view of fifty miles or more to the distant and unexplored hills where ran our undefined frontier with Balipara. Directly below the outpost a small stream, the Pein, ran southward to join the Panior, and on the bare and eroded ridges which flanked this were the Dafla long-houses of Talo. It had been clearly established by Dr. Haimendorf that a peaceful approach to the tribesmen, however hard at the time and wearing to the patience, was in the long run less expensive and produced more lasting results than the use of force, which, though it might achieve its immediate object, merely laid up trouble to come. Kore, therefore, was an open settlement, but, as it was necessary to have some force behind one, fifty Assam Rifles were stationed there, or rather, fifty were supposed to be stationed—for most of the time transport and other troubles were such that we only had

twenty-five. A defended strong-point to which we could retire in case of attack was planned, but in fact was never built or needed.

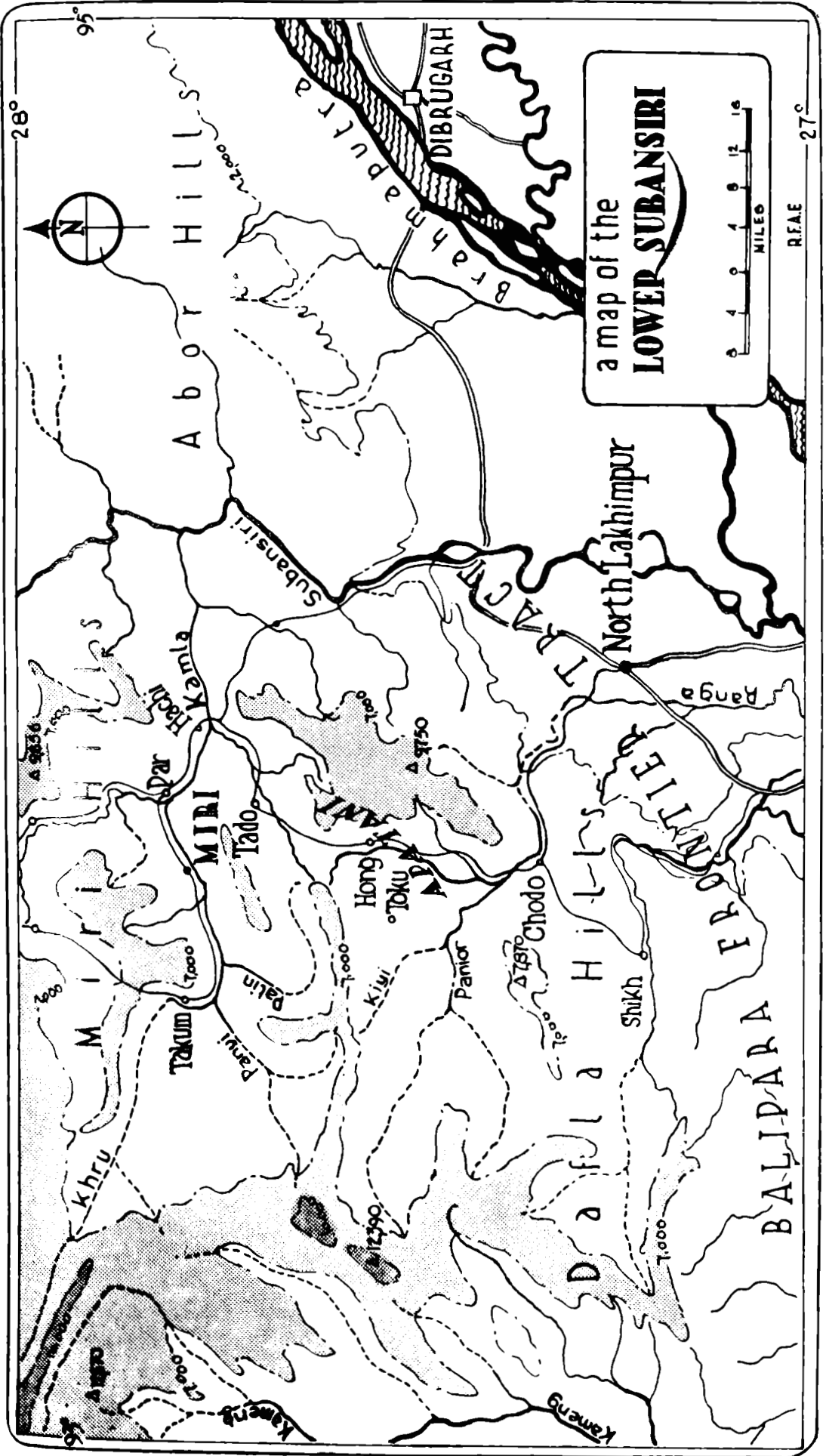
On Christmas Day the flag went up for the first time over Kore, which must have been the last outpost founded in the Indian Empire. Early in January we left the Assam Rifles and the Civil staff to settle themselves in, and ourselves moved off to the north-west in the hope of penetrating the unexplored areas, which began a march or so from our front door and extended over almost all the Subansiri Area.

Once more profiting by Dr. Haimendorf's example, we travelled in a small, unescorted party. From Kore we marched to Pad Puttu, a peak some miles to the north-west, and spent the night a little below the summit; and the following day we moved down into the Kiyi Valley and camped outside the village of Nielom.

The Kiyi Valley was the home of two particularly warlike and brutal groups of Daflas, Likha occupying the lower part of the valley and Licha the upper. Nielom was by no means friendly, but though the people bolted at the first sight of us, believing us to be an attacking force, they came back on learning that we were not and we were not molested. We called next day on the leading man of the place, Nielom Sera, a typical Dafla warrior of some reputation, though I understand he prefers to organize raids and share in the spoil rather than take an active part himself. Our third march brought us to Kiro, the chief village of the Likha group, and one which, with its neighbour Bagi, had been the object of a punitive expedition two years previously. Camping in the middle of it, we waited there for supplies from Kore and guides from the country ahead.

Some time before this Siraj, the Transport Supervisor, had met in Talo a group of men from Hidjat, an unvisited district on the edge of the unexplored Palin Valley. He had persuaded them to invite us there, and, once arrived, we hoped to be able to move on further. They were, however, extremely nervous, as if other villages in the Palin took exception to us they would attack our hosts by way of reprisal. This mesh of feuds and the intricate web of lies, deceit, and intrigue which goes with it is the chief drawback of the Dafla country. There is no conception of the Government as a neutral and adjudicating power, and both sides do their best to use it as a pawn in their personal quarrels, either willingly—to which end they first try persuasion, blackmail, and bribery—or when they fail so, they turn to gross misrepresentation of the Government's actions and intentions.

With this type of intrigue we had now to contend. Both Talo and the Hidjat men in concert, by a system of deception and veiled threats, tried to prevent us continuing unescorted, as they wished their enemies in the Palin to believe that Government was supporting them in their private quarrels. That failing, our Hidjat guides, who had now arrived, tried to mislead us about the length and difficulty of the route, Kiro co-operating with them by telling us that Tasser, the village commanding the main pass into the Palin Valley, intended to resist us. Tasser was, as it turned out later, perfectly friendly, but all those Daflas at feud with them wished to play us off against them.



a map of the
LOWER SUBANSIRI

We reached the Hidjat area at last by a route up the bed of the Kiyi River and over the range in which the Kiyi rises, the distance proving two marches instead of the four the Hidjat men alleged, and the Kiyi a couple of feet deep instead of four or five. Dadum, or Khoda, our hosts' village, was a small, scattered settlement four miles to the east of the Palin proper, and we strongly suspected from their appearance that they were far more raiders than innocents raided against, as they claimed to be.

We had now crossed the watershed between the Panior and the Khru-Kamla-Subansiri drainage areas, and from our campsite on the Dadum spur we looked out north-westward at a magnificent view. In front of us, to the left, was the lower part of the Palin Valley, and beyond it we looked almost straight up the line of the Upper Khru. The whole country was a monstrous tangle of forested hills and ranges of 9,000 feet or more and was cut up and intersected to a fantastic degree by steep and tremendous gorges; but, although a ridge beyond the Palin prevented us from looking into it, the Upper Khru Valley itself appeared to be a long and relatively low basin running right up to the foot of the snow mountains. Dr. Haimendorf had remarked on the Tibetan goods traded down from this unknown area and on the reports of Tibetan people living there, and the general appearance of the valley now gave colour to that belief. The snow-ranges, still a long way from us, ran right round the northern horizon; right at the head of the Khru stood a group of sharp fangs, and I shall not forget in a hurry the sight of them from the tent-door at dawn.

The ridge, which cut off the direct view into the Upper Khru basin, ran down from the south-west and presumably divided the Palin and Panyi Rivers. It was not more than three days' march from us, and we determined to reach it. The men of Dadum, backed by Talo, refused to take us forward unless we agreed to support them in their quarrels with the Daflas of the Palin. The deadlock was resolved by the Apa Tani interpreter, Chigin Nime, a noted priest and warrior who had worked with Dr. Haimendorf. He went forward as our emissary at considerable risk to himself and made personal contact with the Palin villages; and at this Dadum gave in and took us forward one stage to the first settlement in the Palin Valley proper. This was Gami, a fair-sized village on the east side of the valley.

The Palin proved to run much as shown conjecturally on the Miri Mission's map, and the chief surprise was its large population. All round the valley on the 4,000 feet contour, which put them half-way down the valley side, were villages of considerable size. To the north of Gami was Liasso; then, moving clockwise round the valley, Gami itself, Tasser at the southern end, and, on the west bank, Lemba, Blabü, Beuri, and Dolong, which overlooked the Palin Khru confluence and the deep gorge in which the Khru here ran.

We were now dependent on local portorage, paid for in salt and goods, and began to suffer all the usual hold-ups. On our asking to move to Dolong, Gami told us that Dolong was very hostile, that there was no path (it ran, quite plainly, just in front of the camp) and that the intervening Palin River was neck-deep. After a few days' patience, the difficulties dissolved, and we suddenly found ourselves on the way to

Dolong. But, unfortunately, only a few of those prepared to porter were willing to go to Dolong. The main body would only carry to Beuri, due west on the other side of the valley; so we sent Siraj there with most of the stores, and we ourselves went on with what we could to Dolong, hoping to be able to move on from there.

At this point our luck failed. We suddenly had word that the spring air-drop would be a month early, which left us with only a fortnight more in hand; and Dolong refused to take us on to the next village, claiming that it was hostile and that there was no road. The choice lay between leaving what men there were at Kore to deal with the vital air-drop, if they could, while we waited and moved northward slowly, and turning back there and then to return to Kore. With great regret and bitter disappointment we decided to withdraw, and the next day rejoined our main body in camp at Beuri.

Siraj met us with startling news. Beuri, though the villagers were concealing the fact, covered the main route through to Paba Tayi, Lebla, and those half-legendary centres on the Upper Khru which we were trying to reach. Three people from Lebla were in the village then—we caught a glimpse of them in the crowd and noted that the woman was dressed in madder-dyed Tibetan woollen cloth. But Beuri, controlling as they did a profitable trade-block, were out to prevent all contact between us and the Khru people. They sent the Lebla trio running for home before we could meet them, and flatly refused to help us proceed north-westward. Chigin Nime, however, had friends in Beuri village, and privately arranged for them to take him on after we had left. We therefore provided him with presents of various kinds and whatever stores he required, and moved southwards, back across the river, towards the Yapup Pass and Tasser.

Of all the Dafla villages we ever saw, Tasser was the most scattered, for purposes of defence. The several houses were each a quarter-mile from any of the others. The men of Tasser had a tremendous reputation as warriors, and all were variously hacked and scarred; their leader, Tasser Tad, was the terror of the country for days in every direction. Unexpectedly, they were the most frank and reasonable Daflas we encountered, not only on that trip, but on any other, and Tasser Tad later honoured his informal friendship with us and refused to harbour raiders or murderers who fled to the Palin from the Kore-controlled zone.

We reached Kore again without event. It remains to tell what happened to Chigin Nime. He reached the Panyi Valley, which he described as large and thickly-populated, a report borne out by recent air-surveys, crossed the Panyi, and entered Paba Tayi, a large Dafla village. This was a week's journey for porters from Beuri in the Palin. He was then, he was told, a day's march from Lebla, which was pointed out to him on a distant rise; but he did not actually reach it. He met no Tibetans, who live, it is to be supposed, well up the Khru if they live there at all.

The next few months were occupied with routine touring, and the extension of light administration over the more accessible villages. No other party had previously remained in the hills after May for fear of bad

conditions in the monsoon, but we proposed to stay. When the monsoon broke, it was found that most of the rain fell on the outer ranges and that most of our fears were vain—while communications were bad and difficult, the summer climate of Kore and the Apa Tani Valley was very reasonable indeed.

By staying we were able to see what Dr. Haimendorf had only heard described—a *gambu*, or Apa Tani mass-duel. The whole of Apa Tani is geared in the most intricate way to the agricultural calendar, hunting, trading, travel, and so on all having their appropriate seasons, so as not to interfere with the cultivation. In the same way, as we found to our amazement, there is a season set apart for the settlement of intertribal disputes. It begins at the end of the millet-transplanting, about the third week in May, and terminates with the beginning of harvest. While all Apa Tani disputes are settled, if possible, by consultation between the *buliangs*, or village councillors, sometimes it happens that one party turns obstinate and refuses to accept the settlement; at which the other side, and often the whole of the rest of the tribe, expresses its disapproval and enforces obedience by an armed demonstration, culminating, should the object prove recalcitrant, in damage to his fields, groves, and house. Should his own village, however, think his cause just and turn out in his defence, the demonstration develops into a mass-duel which may have—though the *buliangs* do their utmost to prevent it—fatal results.

The demonstration takes place on any suitable stretch of ground in plain view of the troublesome village, and the several contingents, one from each village concerned, march to the spot in single file—it is almost impossible to march in any other way in the Apa Tani country, where all paths run along rice-field bunds—and there form up in line of battle, which may be a quarter-mile long. They wear cane helmets, stout tapestry gorgets and hide corselets; they carry hide shields, and are armed with daos or Tibetan swords, bows and arrows, light bamboo javelins, and immense bamboo pikes fully thirty feet long and nearly as flexible as a fishing-rod. The demonstration opens with charges by the contingents in succession, their pikes levelled, while their supporting bowmen loose off showers of bamboo arrows. In the second phase the contingents leave their point of vantage and demonstrate again, with charges and shrill yells, at a point nearer the enemy; and should the other side decide to make a counter-demonstration at that moment, the flooded rice-fields, knee-deep in wet, puddled mud, are the most unsuitable battle-field possible; and as the main intention of the *gambu* is to bark without biting, casualties occur not of set intent, but accidentally, because the victim was bogged and couldn't dodge. Should such an accident happen it is a disaster. By Apa Tani custom, blood can only be paid for by blood, and not, as with the Daflas, by sufficient cash, and a state of war and disruption exists in the valley until the feud is ended. When one of the enemy is killed in settlement of such a feud, his hands are cut off and brought back and the *rop-so* ceremony and its appropriate sacrifices performed. Unless this is done, the killer will die himself. At the end of the *rop-so*, while the concluding incantations and sacrifices are still going on at the *nago* shrine of the killer's clan, the warriors of the village parade the streets

in full panoply, only omitting their long *gambu* lances, and grow more and more worked up with drink and the general excitement. When the sacrificial *mithan* has been killed the head is flung to and fro over the bamboo spirit-house erected outside the *nago* shrine, and finally individual warriors leap to and fro over the bleeding carcass with shrieks and yells and amid inconceivable turmoil.

We remained in the Subansiri Area until March of 1948, but the political changes in India affected the general situation in the area from June, 1947, onwards. To mention one point only, the withdrawal of the R.A.F. removed our air-support and forced us to supply Kore by porter-transport. We had pinned our hopes on a second exploring expedition to the Upper Khru in the winter of 1947-48, but the Kiyi and Palin Daflas, unsettled by rumours of political change, mistook the six-monthly relief of the Kore garrison for a complete retirement and made a treacherous and horrible attack on one of the villages in their own group—one which had assisted the Government. Most of the cold weather, when alone exploration is possible, was taken up in restoring order, and hardly was that done when the Apa Tanis fell out among themselves and there was an unfortunate clash between two villages, life being lost. All attempts at penetration into the interior had to be abandoned; and at the end of March we left the Subansiri Area to my husband's successor and returned to England for the first time in nine years.

A MEMBER : Did the people of the area take part in our war at all?

Mrs. BETTS : No; they were completely secluded right up on the north bank. In Dr. Haimendorf's time there were rumours that we had been driven out of Kohima and that the Japs had won and penetrated into the hills. One or two of the chieftains refused to co-operate with Dr. Haimendorf and were insulting, but subsequently they climbed down. The war did not touch them at all.

Asked what kind of birds there were in the Subansiri Area,

Mrs. BETTS replied : My husband is the person to answer that; he has been collecting the birds in the area. As to marriage customs, the leading Dafla men are polygamous. A Dafla chief can have as many wives as he likes; he has one head wife, who is his real wife, and a large number of secondary wives. The taking of a wife is a means of alliance between Dafla villages, and it is largely indulged in. A man can have a dozen or so wives; one is known to have taken thirty-five, and his descendants populate three separate villages. The man and his wives all live in one house, the head wife ruling the roost. The Apa Tanis have, as a rule, only one wife, but the leading men have often three, but they live in separate houses and have separate households and are merely co-equal. The Daflas are exclusively polygamous.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES : From whence did the Apa Tanis come—from what part of the Himalayas?

Mrs. BETTS : That is a difficult question to answer, but I think it fairly safe to say that the *Pinus excelsa* and the peach and quite a number of other trees and plants which they are known to have brought with them into their present area are found in the foothills along the base of the

Himalayas. We took a party of Apa Tanis with us into the Balipara Frontier Tract up towards the Se La, and in that part, which runs along in front of the Himalayan range, they recognized all their characteristic plants, including *Pinus excelsa*, which grows wild there, plants not found in the Dafla country from which the Apa Tanis had to migrate to get to their present site. It is fairly safe to say their migration was from the foothill part of the Himalayas at the foot of the snow range. Where they came from before that is another question. They are said to show a very remarkable resemblance to the Nagas, but I am not competent to say precisely what the similarities are. Nevertheless, even to a casual observer like myself there are notable points of resemblance. Dr. Haimendorf is an authority on the Apa Tanis and he commented on their resemblance to the Nagas.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES: When did they come from the Himalayas?

Mrs. BETTS: There is no record, but some of the pine trees at Soro were the oldest cultivated pines, and they must be of very great age; they have certainly been there for four or five centuries. It is impossible to fix a date.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES: What about the languages? Are they tonal?

Mrs. BETTS: There is a general resemblance to the Naga languages; they belong to the same group. I do not know enough about them to make a real comparison.

Mr. BOURKE BORROWES: Is there any information as to there being a civilization at the back of beyond?

Mrs. BETTS: It cannot be a very high civilization. The intervening Daflas do not spin or weave, but from the interior, from the Upper Khru, you get well-woven cloths which are not as good as the Apa Tani, but very nearly, and which are beyond the weaving powers of the Daflas living between. These cloths are of characteristic pattern. They are bordered with the black Tibetan wool. Whether there are passes there, or whether the cloth comes from a cross-country route through the Subansiri gap, we do not know; it would be extremely interesting to see pieces of the actual wool which come down. There is some connection there with the back of beyond.

Asked whether the late Government of India had had a Resident Officer in the area,

Mrs. BETTS replied: Before 1944 the people were left entirely alone, except for one or two punitive expeditions sent in as a result of small raids. In 1944 it was decided to do something about these vast unknown areas, and Dr. Haimendorf and his wife were sent up to make a preliminary reconnaissance and report. The following winter they returned. The Apa Tanis had appealed for aid against a powerful group of Dafla villages who had raided them. A party went off with Dr. Haimendorf and a punitive expedition was made against the culprits. Unfortunately, they had no hill base and they had to return before the matter was cleared up because the rains broke. We went up in 1946. The idea then was to find an outpost and to extend administration, the medical service and everything else, such as are found in more advanced districts on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. But one of the main difficulties arose in

regard to communications, because the outpost was intended to be supplied by air. After the second air-drop air communications ceased because the R.A.F. were withdrawn and we were dependent upon road transport, which meant that penetration by the aid of porters was almost impossible. Every porter was occupied in carrying rations. I cannot quote from memory how many pay-loads of rice had to be carried over the sixty-mile line of communications, but of any twenty porters who started up only six carried loads which were ours; the rest of them carried their own rations. It was an extremely difficult place to maintain. Whether the Government of India will succeed in opening up those areas I do not know. It largely depends on air transport.

Asked were the natives pleased to see the foreigners and what sort of reception did they give to Mrs. Betts and her husband,

Mrs. BETTS said: The Daffa's idea is to use you as long as you are there with a lot of Sepoys; when you have served his purpose in connection with an enemy village he will say: "Thanks very much, and now you can carry your own baggage home." The Apa Tanis were glad to see us. At first they were suspicious, but when trouble broke out amongst themselves they were anxious for us to settle it at all costs because they had discovered the value of a neutral observer and somebody who could hold the King's peace. There were heart-broken protests from the Apa Tanis when my husband and I were ordered downhill and had to depart; they were discovering the value of a comparatively stable neutral party in the area. On the whole, they were quite pleased to see us and we got on well with them.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a vote of thanks and the meeting closed.

A RECENT VISIT TO THE CRESCENT MOON LAKE

By IAN MORRISON

MOST travellers in Central Asia have heard of, even if few have visited, the famous Crescent Moon Lake (Yueh-ya-chüan), which lies seven Chinese *li* south of the town of Tun-huang in the remote western corner of Kansu province. Tun-huang is about eighty miles off the main trunk road that runs from Lanchow to Tihwa (Urumchi) and is about 720 miles from Lanchow. It is more famous, of course, for its proximity to the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien-fo-tung), often called the Tun-huang Caves, which contain the finest surviving examples of early Chinese painting. There are buses and trucks operating on the trunk road and an occasional truck runs down the branch road to Tun-huang. If the traveller relies on local resources and travels as what the Chinese call a Yellow Fish, or hitch-hiker, he will be lucky if he covers the distance from Lanchow to Tun-huang in less than ten days. The writer, having travelled most of the way from Peking as a Yellow Fish, was fortunate in Shantan, where Rewi Alley runs his celebrated Bailie School for Chinese co-operatives, in finding a party of Chinese members of the staff, together with some students, about to leave for Tun-huang in one of the school trucks.

After spending four days at the caves, studying the paintings, we returned to Tun-huang town and thought to go out to the Crescent Moon Lake in the cool of the evening. The local inhabitants assured us that it would take less than an hour to reach it. As always happens in China, there were innumerable delays, one of them occurring when a Chinese soldier tried to commandeer the ox-wagon carrying our baggage. We were two hours late in starting and as some of us privately expected, it took us nearly four hours instead of one to cover the distance. It was nearly midnight when we came round the last of the high sand-dunes that surround the lake and saw it gleaming in the moonlight below us, with the temples by its side. An old priest came out with a rush-light and guided us to the guest rooms. Ravenously we fell to on the melons we had brought with us.

My travels in Sinkiang last summer will always be associated with this delicious and refreshing fruit which, in a fantastic number of different varieties, abounds in the oases and cultivated regions of Central Asia all through the summer months: enormous green *hsi-kua*, or water-melons, with red flesh and black seeds; long *Hami-kua*, the shape of a rugby football, most famous variety of all, such as the oasis of Hami used to send each summer to the Imperial Court; succulent *Wallace-kua*, propagated from seeds that Mr. Henry Wallace brought with him from America when he flew from Russia to China via Hami in 1943, a name that will survive probably long after his political activities have been forgotten;

t'ien-kua, or sweet melons, and *sulien-kua*, or Soviet melons: the memory of them still makes my mouth water. I started with a prejudice against them, remembering the fly-covered slices that station vendors sell to rail travellers in India and China, and associating them automatically with dysentery. But it was not long before my consumption was to be measured in gallons per day. Nor did I ever suffer any ill effects.

The lake is roughly 300 yards long and 50 yards across at its widest point, lying east and west. A spring rises at the eastern end and there must be some subterranean outlet at the western end. A group of small temples is situated on the inside curve of the crescent. The sand-dunes rise to a height of more than 300 feet and along the northern shore they come down at an angle sharper than forty-five degrees. Behind the dunes immediately surrounding the lake are others rising to even greater heights, perhaps 1,000 feet.

What has given the lake its peculiar fame? is the question which has posed itself to generations of visitors—"Why doesn't the lake fill up with sand?" The superstitious believe that the lake is constantly and mysteriously filled with water from the Milky Way, which the Chinese know by the picturesque name of T'ien Ho, the River of Heaven. The sceptical Westerner is more likely to attribute it to a curious configuration of the land which causes the prevailing winds always to blow the sand *upward* from the lake. It was a curious fact that whenever the wind was blowing it was always sweeping the sand upwards and away from the lake's shores.

Here, in this delightful spot, we spent two days, bathing, lying in the sand, sleeping, gossiping, eating from some enormous cart-wheels of bread we had brought with us, drinking green Chinese tea, and, of course, putting down vast quantities of melons. The dunes are so steep and the sand of such a consistency that I feel sure one could ski down them if one had the necessary equipment. One day about fifty young Moslems from a Chinghai cavalry detachment stationed in Tun-huang rode out on their sturdy little ponies and made merry by the lake's shores. They made a fine sight as they rode away in the evening, silhouetted against the skyline on the topmost ridge of the western dunes. As we lay down to sleep at night on the baked-earth *k'ongs* the bells of the temples tinkled in the breeze and there was another visitor who played to himself softly in the evening on a bamboo flute, a sound perfectly at harmony with the surroundings.

According to an inscription in one of the temples there was a lake here in Han times called *Wo-wa-ch'ih*, which might be translated "Big Pond." Another tablet records a bad drought which occurred early in Ch'ien Lung's reign. The magistrate of Tun-huang ordered a platform built whereon were placed the images of the town's tutelary deities. Water was brought from the lake and sprinkled on the images. Immediately rain began to fall. The grateful people, led by the magistrate, then erected a temple by the lake, dedicating it to Lung Wang, the Dragon God. My notes record the other temples and shrines as being dedicated respectively to Lui Tsu, the Thunder God; Lü Tsu, one of the P'a Hsien, or Eight Spirits; Yao Wang, the God of Medicine; Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy; T'ien Shen, the God of Heaven, his image bearing many heads and hands;

Yu Hwang, the Jade Emperor, a Taoist deity, housed in the largest of the temples, a two-storied structure; Lao Chung Yeh, the founder of Taoism; Ch'i Chiu Shih, seven brothers of the Sung dynasty who became Taoists and were later deified; Niang Niang, a goddess who bestows children on childless women; and Wu Liang Chiu Shih, whose name was translated to me as "He who has done the highest deeds," a prince who became a Taoist.

The temples are looked after by a kindly old Taoist priest called Ho Tsung-hsing, who came here from Chinghai province twenty-six years ago. Under him are seven other priests and acolytes. They own seventy to eighty *mou* of land in neighbouring villages and, in addition, visitors pay for accommodation and hot water. Their chief problem is fire-wood. If they do not buy it in Tun-huang town they have to go 140 *li* to collect it.

The priest had staying with him an old Chinese man, a retired shop-keeper from Tun-huang, who often comes to rest and meditate in the temples by the lake. He was a delightful old character, with his straggling white beard, his long pipe with its jade mouth-piece, reed stem and small brass bowl into which he put small quantities of finely shredded tobacco. On his nose he wore those peculiar spectacles, much affected in western China, consisting of two circular panes of glass, not magnifying at all but slightly tinted, joined by a high ornamented metal bridge.

In the evenings we often foregathered for a talk with these two old men, who were full of local lore and legend. One of the most famous legends connected with the lake concerns the Han emperor Han Wu Ti. He was once staying here and became extremely homesick. One day, as he was wandering disconsolately round the lake, a fabulous white horse suddenly emerged from its waters and took him back to his capital in twenty-four hours. According to a variation of this story, the people captured the horse as it came down to drink at the lake and presented it to their emperor. It had the head of a man, the body of a horse and the tail of a tiger and was known as T'ien Ma, the Heavenly Horse, or Ch'ien Li Ma, the Thousand *Li* Horse, because of its ability to travel 1,000 *li* in a day.

A seven-coloured grass which comes from the lake is found helpful by women in difficult labour. The sand from the dunes, "five-coloured" sand as it is known locally, is a useful remedy in the case of digestive ailments. The old man told me that he often took it, about a tea-spoonful at a time.

A large fish, ten feet long, is supposed to live in the lake. A few years ago when some soldiers were living in the temples one of them was drowned. They recovered his body, but the arms and legs had been eaten away, and as they were hauling it in, they saw an enormous fish following it. Every year there are two or three men drowned in the lake. About three years ago a man was drowned at the western end. A man from Sinkiang, a very powerful swimmer, reputed to have been a "water-pirate," dived down into the waters. He could not find the body but reported seeing two huge eyes glaring at him from the depths "bright as the moon."

Like so many of its kind, the Crescent Moon Lake is said to have no bottom. One winter, when the surface froze over, the magistrate of Tun-

huang made a hole in the ice and lowered a weighted line down, without touching the bottom. Again in 1932, when some soldiers were here, their commander made a raft and lowered one of the soldiers down weighted with rocks. After 120 Chinese feet had been played out he was hauled up again. He is said to have come up clutching some long grasses fifteen feet long and to have passed out at once, remaining unconscious for twenty-four hours.

One of the most curious features of the lake, which I could not observe for myself but which has been attested to by other travellers, is that always, two or three days before a high wind, a low rumbling sound comes from the dunes. The old priest said that whenever he heard this noise, which he himself likened to the sound of distant aeroplane engines, he could be certain that there would be a strong wind. When I asked him what he thought the explanation was of this strange phenomenon, he said that underneath the big dune to the north there was once a flourishing village which was overwhelmed and completely buried in a violent sand-storm. The noise which we heard was made by the ghosts of the villagers drumming to warn people of the approach of a strong wind.

The retired shop-keeper remembered Sir Aurel Stein and he had known the old Taoist priest Wang at the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas from whom Stein obtained those priceless manuscripts from the great Buddhist library which are now in the British Museum.

CHINA'S CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES, WINTER, 1948-49

By THE REV. NOEL SLATER

(Secretary of the China Christian Universities Association)

Lecture given on March 2, 1949, Lt.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: We have to-day someone to address us who knows a great deal about China, Mr. Slater having worked for twenty-seven years in the Fukien Province of South China, under the London Missionary Society. He went there in 1913.

In 1942 he accepted his present post of Secretary to the China Christian Universities Association, and in the autumn of 1948 he went out to China again to visit all the principal universities. In the course of his tour, Mr. Slater visited almost every part of China, from Mukden in the north to Canton in the south and Chengtu in the far west. His account of China to-day will therefore be based on evidence from a very wide area. Not only that, but he will speak as one who has recently been in the country. Events are changing so quickly there just now that it is hard for ordinary people to keep pace with them.

I AM going to try to take you with me, in imagination, to the various centres I was privileged to visit, and I hope in this way you too will be able to share something of the "feel" of the present situation in China. I did not realize when I left England on September 24, 1948, how significant the period of my visit to China was likely to be. Things were moving very, very rapidly right through October, November, December, 1948, even more rapidly than they are at the moment. By sharing with you some of my experiences in the various centres I visited, you will be able, I hope, to gain some definite impression of the actual situation in China and understand something at least of the background of the big changes that have taken place there, and all that is going on there now.

When I reached Shanghai I found it more crowded than ever. One item in the general picture which was new to me was the pedicab (rickshaw drawn by a man on a cycle); not having a car I found this form of transport useful, but terrifying in traffic and difficult to pay for (one had to bargain in a strange dialect before starting!). At times I found it simpler to walk.

The pot-holes in the roads were also most noticeable. I realized that Shanghai—and it was so in other cities—was very much "down at heel." After all, none of us ought to be surprised at this. It was, I feel sure, not due to sheer inefficiency on the part of the administration but rather to the fact that over 80 per cent. of the Budget was being spent on civil war; there was just no money to spend on such matters as road repairs, etc.

On the day after my arrival I called on the Mayor of Shanghai, K. C. Wu, and was tremendously impressed with the courage and determination that he was showing. He was tackling an exceedingly difficult situation in a wonderful manner and with very little help. However much we folk from the West may criticize things in Shanghai, if any one of us had been

in his position, we should, I am sure, have felt that if we had done as well as he did, we had done very well indeed.

During the next day or two I called on several of my business acquaintances in Shanghai, the heads of British firms, and I was much struck by the amazing patience they were showing in face of a difficult situation. They were being frustrated on every hand, but they were determined to carry on, come what may. That determination still holds.

I next went to Nanking and spent two days there visiting the British and American Embassies. I saw the *Chargé d'Affaires*, Mr. Lamb (Sir Ralph Stephenson was home on leave at the time), and I saw Dr. Leighton Stuart, the American Ambassador. Later I had the opportunity of calling upon various Chinese Ministers and Vice-Ministers and talking over with them the problem I had come out to study, that of education in China, particularly as it affected the Christian universities. I received from all these friends great courtesy and help. I agree entirely with what Mr. Gerald Samson and also Sir Frederick Whyte said at the Royal Empire Society when they paid tribute to those individuals in the present Government of China who have, in spite of all the criticism levelled at them, rendered excellent service not only to China but to the world. I feel that especially at such a time as this one ought in all fairness to pay tribute to many who have given to China of their ability, influence, time, and energy. I doubt very much if they will ever receive adequate thanks from their own people or from the people of other countries for what they have done, but thanks are undoubtedly due. In spite of all the known inefficiency and corruption, unquestionably there are many officials who have rendered excellent service and who have given of their best. When we talk of corruption we must bear in mind that some of it at any rate is due to utterly inadequate salaries (a legacy handed down from a long past). What I have just said, however, is only one side of the picture. There is definitely another. During that first visit to Nanking it was quite evident that those who were high up in the Government were exceedingly worried, nervous, and anxious about all that was taking place. There was much coming and going between Nanking and the North. The Generalissimo himself was away in Peiping and many of the officials must have seen "the writing on the wall."

From Nanking I too went up to Peiping. It was my first visit there and a wonderful experience it proved to be. No one can know China unless he has been to Peiping. I was met at the airfield by the Acting Provost of the Yenching University, and went with him straight up to the University, which is situated about five miles from the city. Many of you have no doubt been there and know the main campus with its wonderful buildings in perfect Chinese architecture with their green-tiled roofs and their black and red columns, and will be able to picture it all with the trees and flowers, the lake and the summer-houses dotted about the grounds—a truly wonderful sight. Outside this main campus there is the Chinese village, and I was interested to note that most of the British members of the staff seemed to prefer to live there. Beyond the village is another but smaller campus. In the University I noted an atmosphere of real friendship and understanding between teacher and student and

between the various members of the Faculty; there was, too, an air of real scholarship about the whole place. Much of this is due to the influence of Dr. Leighton Stuart, who was the President of the University for so many years. Dr. Leighton Stuart had to leave Yenching to become American Ambassador in China, a post he still holds. There are a number of British members of staff at Yenching and their contribution to the work of the University is greatly valued.

As many of you know, during the war Yenching, like almost all the other universities in China, had to make that great trek to the West. When they returned after the war they came back to largely empty buildings and empty laboratories, but when I arrived at Yenching in October I found that the situation had greatly changed. Members of staff in the two or three intervening years had been hard at work, and when I reached the place they had the power plant working again, the workshops were going at full strength, and the laboratories were moderately well equipped. They were, of course, still in very great and urgent need of further goods, but I was especially glad to see some of the equipment and some of the machinery sent out from the China Christian Universities Association and despatched to China through the courtesy and generosity of British United Aid to China. Some of that equipment and some of the goods had been donated by British firms. These pieces of equipment were pointed out to me with great pride, and I was asked to express to the British people and to all concerned the real sense of gratitude and indebtedness felt by the University authorities. It was the same in most of the other universities I visited.

Whilst in Peiping I began to make enquiries as to whether there was any opportunity of getting to Mukden, and I was fortunate in finding that a plane belonging to the Lutheran Mission was at that time going to Mukden twice a day, taking in grain and bringing out refugees. The pilots (American and German) were getting up at 4 a.m. every morning, going out to the airfield, and off to Mukden and back again by midday; then a twenty minutes' turn-round, off to Mukden and back to Peiping by 5.30. It was a joy to travel with men who were rendering such a fine piece of humanitarian service. It was, too, a wonderful experience to fly from Peiping across the great peaks of Manchuria and over Communist-held territory into the beleaguered city of Mukden. Before we set out the pilot told me we were not going to fly directly over the area in which fighting was taking place, as the last time he had done so he had had a bullet in one of the wings of the 'plane (he pointed to his war scar with pride). Thus we saw none of the actual fighting. When I entered Mukden I realized at once that the people were having a very grim time, that the rickshaw men were too weak to do more than walk along very slowly, and that running was quite impossible. I saw too, along the sides of the streets, goods of all kinds, and my friend told me that people were trying to sell anything they had in order to have cash wherewith to buy food. Food was coming into the city every day, but it was for the Army only. More than half the population were living on bean-cake and husks, food they usually gave to the cattle. The people were starving and so it was hardly surprising to find that they were no longer interested in

politics; they did not mind who was in charge in Nanking as long as the siege could be lifted and once again they could secure food from the surrounding country. They were desperately anxious for peace; they were not politically minded, but they knew they must have food.

Naturally, I was specially interested to see the Mukden Medical College, the College which has for many years rendered such magnificent service in providing first-class doctors not only for Manchuria and North China but also for other parts of China as well. It was a privilege to meet some of those doctors and nurses who, during the Japanese occupation, had carried on throughout those terrible winters in a hospital which had no heating whatsoever. Talking with Dr. Leo and Dr. Gau one realized what splendid men they were; they had "been through it" with a vengeance and they knew that once again they would in all probability be cut off from the outside world for another lengthy period. Nevertheless, they were prepared for anything. One of them said, "We will see what the real spirit of service and Christian love can do." In Mukden I met a large number of missionaries from the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. They are there now. So far little news is coming out from the city.

I left Mukden (which actually fell about two weeks later) and flew back from there to Peiping and eventually back to Nanking. During my first visit to that city I had not officially been to the universities, but on this second visit I went all over the University of Nanking and the Ginling Women's College. The former is housed in lovely grounds and has one of the leading agricultural colleges in China. It has also an excellent visual aid department, and we have in our possession at the C.C.U.A. one of their Technicolor films which has been shown on several occasions and much admired. The University is doing really first-class work.

Although a mere man I was allowed to stay in the sacred precincts of the Ginling Women's College for four or five days and I greatly enjoyed the experience. There I met once again my friend Dr. Wu Yi Fang, one of the most outstanding women in China, a woman of vision, statesmanship, courage, and a Christian outlook. Dr. Wu has had a great influence over her students—several of them are at the present time in this country and already have many friends amongst the British people.

Whilst in Nanking I gained further insight into the general political situation and formed the impression that the rapid set-back in the Government's military position was due to many causes, including stubbornness amongst those at the top and an almost entire lack of any will to fight on the part of the ordinary soldier.

From Nanking I went on to Shanghai, and during this second visit to that great metropolis of the Far East I got a very clear idea of the attitude of the general public to what was going on. Frankly, I found many of the people in Shanghai angry. One of the chief causes of their anger was the handling of the so-called currency reform. As you know, suddenly in August, 1947, the Government instructed the people to change their money for the new gold yuan notes and especially to pay in their gold and silver or any precious metal they had in exchange for these new notes. When I went to Shanghai first in the latter part of October the pound was

valued at twelve gold yuan. The last time I saw any figure mentioned (some days ago) it was 15,000. It meant that the people—and they knew it almost from the start—were exchanging the savings of years for practically worthless currency. As a consequence, almost everybody went in for what they called “a spending spree” and the shops were crowded with purchasers. The great thing was to exchange these paper notes for something that later on they could sell; something, at any rate, that would not change its value overnight!

Also during that period it was very difficult to obtain food. There was a “ceiling” placed on prices, and so farmers and merchants refused to sell. Farmers just would not bring their rice into the city and the people were getting desperate, and there was some looting. Knowing the difficulty my host and hostess were experiencing in this matter, I myself felt as if I ought to eat nothing! I remember their telling me one morning, “Our cook went out this morning at 4 a.m. only to be told by the butcher ‘It is no use your coming at 4 o’clock; you ought to come at 2.’” But in spite of all the regulations made by the Government black market prices were rising all the time and people turned more and more against the Government. They said, “Here we are spending 80 per cent. or more of the national income on civil war and what is there to show for it? Every day comes news of one military defeat after another, whilst we starve!” They realized that the Government was letting them down. Actually, wherever I went on my many journeys all over China I heard hardly one word in real praise or support of the Government.

That anti-Government feeling was certainly more definite in the North than in the South, but it was to be met with everywhere, in greater or lesser degree, and even in Government quarters the line taken was more of apology than actual support. The people were anxious for one thing and one thing only, and that was peace. If they thought at all, they knew perfectly well that the only alternative Government to the present one was one that would be Communist controlled, but that did not seem to worry them to any great extent. Again and again I heard them say, “Any Government must be better than this one.”

From Shanghai I went on to Wuchang and to the Hua Chung University, where I saw my great friend the President, Dr. Francis Wei. Hua Chung has little of the outward beauty of Yenching or Ginling. Indeed, at first sight it reflects the austerity which is somewhat characteristic of the President; but it certainly compares well with other universities in scholarship, Christian atmosphere and the spirit of service. Dr. Wei is a great scholar and a great Churchman, as well as being one who possesses a real gift of humour.

Whilst I was in Hankow I saw the Government University of Wu Han. It is on one of the loveliest sites of any university in China, and overlooks a large and lovely lake. The buildings themselves too are picturesque and most imposing.

From Hankow I went right across the country to West China, to Chungking, China's war-time capital, the city of many hills. I was amazed at the skill of the Chinese pilot as he flew his plane right down through those almost terrifying hills on to the tiny airstrip in the middle

of the river. I stayed the night in Chungking and my host called attention to his garden, which I thought quite attractive but very small, whereupon he said it was the largest piece of flat ground in Chungking, and that all the receptions were held there simply because there was no other piece of ground at the same time as large and as flat as that garden! I realized the significance of what he said: Chungking is indeed a city of hills.

I travelled from Chungking through to Chengtu, the site of the famous West China Union University. What a contrast between Chengtu and Chungking! Chungking is nothing but hills, whereas Chengtu is just one flat plain. It was a joy to pass in from the rather dismal surrounding to a place with such a peaceful atmosphere as that of the campus of the West China Union University. I arrived on Sunday and attended the morning and evening University services. The University has an excellent Medical School, and a School of Dentistry which I believe is the best in China and is very efficiently run. The whole institution has too a reputation throughout China for its scholarship and its service to the community (especially in the West), and one that was enhanced during the war when it acted as host to four other universities which were evacuated from the coast (Cheeloo, Yenching, Nanking, and Ginling). Good work is being carried on in all departments, which, apart from the Medical and Dental Colleges already mentioned, include Arts, Science, Pharmacy, Agriculture, and a very important Museum. The latter has a large and most valuable collection, the result of much research work on the part of archæological experts.

From Chengtu I went back straight through in a day to Shanghai, from which place I visited the University of Shanghai, the University of Soochow and part of the Cheeloo University. Cheeloo is a Christian university which has its base in Tsinan; but last summer it decided to evacuate a majority of its students and members of staff. Had the situation been as now, I doubt if it would have done so. However, its Science Colleges did evacuate to Hangchow, the well-known beauty spot of China. There they are housed in a monastery. Although the beauty of the place is, of course, unsurpassed, I strongly objected, as I told them at the time, to the amount of fresh air which they allowed in! There was no heating whatsoever, and most, if not all, of their classrooms are open to the four winds of Heaven. It is a pretty grim experience for the occupants, and I myself was glad not to be spending more than three or four days there. However, a very useful piece of work is being carried on and the cold did not seem to trouble either the members of the staff or the students, at any rate to any great extent.

Also in Hangchow there is the Hangchow University (another of the Christian universities). Here they are carrying on an important Engineering College, in addition to Colleges of Arts, Science, and Commerce.

In due course I went back to Shanghai and had my last talks with friends there. On that occasion I had the privilege of meeting the new Consul-General, Mr. Urquhart. I was delighted with my talk with him and the spirit he was showing. Mr. Urquhart has already gained a very fine reputation although he has been there only a very short time. He told me he was glad to find the business men of Shanghai had every intention of remaining where they were, come what may. He was quite sure that

was the right line to take. Talking, before leaving, with the heads of British business houses, I found that they were more determined than ever to stay where they were and that they had good hopes of being able to enter into trading relationships with any newcomers.

I left Shanghai for the last time on December 1 and went south to Foochow, where the Medical College of the Cheeloo University is temporarily located. The Fukien Christian University and Huanan Women's College also have their bases in Foochow.

My last port of call was Canton to visit the University of Lingnan. This is another of the very attractive universities of China. It is situated by the river, has many buildings of Chinese architecture and possibly more extensive grounds than any of the other Christian Institutions of Higher Learning. That university is maintaining a high standard of work in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry. The University has close contacts with Hongkong and Malaya, and its students go out not only into South China but all through that part of East Asia and are making an excellent name for themselves.

The universities already in Communist-controlled areas are the Mukden Medical College in Mukden, Yenching University in Peiping, and part of the Cheeloo University in Tsinan. The latter place was captured by the Communists on September 24. We have two Britishers there, and are receiving fairly frequent letters from them. One of them in his last letter said: "I suppose we are in the unique position of having a Communist University and a Christian University side by side in the same campus, and the relationships between us are friendly and pleasant." I am sure, in my own mind, that these friendly and human contacts that are being formed to-day, between groups and individuals whose outlooks and ideas differ so greatly, are of the very greatest importance and should prove to be invaluable in the days ahead. This view is, I know, shared by others.

I have been accused since I returned to England of being far too optimistic. It is, to my mind, not a matter of being optimistic or pessimistic, but of being realistic, and having the right approach to a new situation. I realize fully all the implications which may be involved in any change of Government in China. Personally I do not think any new Communist or coalition régime will find it any easier to administer China than did their predecessors. Perhaps they will find it far more difficult. Anyone would find it difficult. I suppose there is no other country in the world so large and so difficult to organize and to administer.

I end by saying that I feel very strongly indeed that this is the time for us not only to maintain but to strengthen the links between Great Britain and China, or perhaps I should say more correctly between the people of Great Britain and the people of China. People are continually asking the question, Is the Communism we see in China to-day Marxist Communism or Chinese Communism? For my own part, I believe that the Communism of the leaders is definitely that of Marxist Communism, but the Communism which they are seeking to establish will be Communism in China, and as such can hardly fail to take over some of the great and important characteristics of the Chinese people. China is a country to itself and, as a Chinese friend of mine recently wrote, in

speaking of any situation in China it is difficult to apply to it ordinary principles. In any case, whatever happens in China those of us who know her people will not change in our love and admiration for them. To-day they need our help and understanding more than ever, and so I would plead that in every way possible we should not only maintain but strengthen those links of friendship between us and those from whom we have received so much and with whom so many of us have entered into friendly and close relationships.

In answer to a question the LECTURER said: I should like to take this opportunity of saying that I hope the moment we see one piece of news about China in the papers we will not immediately jump to the conclusion that it is an indication of the way in which things are going throughout China. We must be prepared for a long time to come to hear from China varying and contradictory reports.

Captain HUGHES ONSLOW: It has been reported that the Government troops did not want to fight. I wonder are the Communists full of zeal?

The LECTURER: It has been said that Communist victories are not as much due to the zeal of the Communist troops as to the fact that Government troops did not withstand them; they withdrew. There is, however, one remark I have frequently heard, and I pass it on for what it is worth: and that is that there is a closer relationship between the officers and the soldiers in the Communist army than is the case in the Nationalist army. That is probably true. As a matter of fact, success following success does breed zeal.

A CHINESE GUEST: Could the lecturer give some idea of the conditions in the parts of China which have been conquered by the Communists? From what I have read, it seems there is more peace and quiet in the parts of the country the Communists have conquered. Also, what has been ascertained as to the attitude of the people towards a Communist Government, and vice versa?

The LECTURER: To answer the second question first, I know that many students, especially those in the North, had a very anti-Nationalist Government feeling. But such anti-Government feeling does not necessarily mean they, and the people generally, are themselves Communist in outlook. The two do not at all necessarily go together. Actually quite a large number of students in North China are already in the Communist ranks and a great many are sympathetic. They are, at the same time, critical of some of the methods used by the Communists and I feel that may continue to be so.

As to the administration of the country, it is too early to say anything very definite. The Communists have only just begun to administer the big cities. They have been in control in the country districts, but they have only just started in on the cities. It is difficult to say what will happen because in the first stages of the proceedings, at any rate, they will have to make use of people who are already used to carrying on the administration under the Kuomintang. Whether the Communist-controlled administration will be more effective or not we do not know. It would be a mistake to try to prophesy at the present time.

Group Captain SMALLWOOD: A friend of mine here asks if Mr. Slater can possibly give any indication as to a possible future for British trade in China, even if the British traders stay on there?

The LECTURER: I have, as I said, talked with many British business men in China and whilst I was in Hongkong I had talks also with some of the Communists who were in close touch with the Communist authorities in the North. The latter gave me every indication that they had every hope of carrying on trade with the West. I learned only to-day that the Communists had said they would welcome trade and that they were prepared to import machinery into Communist-controlled areas without any import duty. Whether that is an actual fact or not I cannot say. The general feeling seems to be that there are good prospects for trade the moment things become organized, but that has not happened yet. Mao Tze Tung is, I believe, not only a Communist but also a realist; he knows perfectly well that if his régime and his people are to make any attempt to put China on her feet again they must rely not only upon Russian help, but also on help from the West. The feeling of the business men with whom I talked in Shanghai was that they could not but believe that the Communists, when they came into control, would definitely want to carry on trade.

Miss WINTER: What attitude is likely to develop in China towards religion?

The LECTURER: I am glad that question has been asked. It was evident to me during last autumn there had been a distinct change of approach on the part of the Communists. Before the summer I should have said that a great deal of the treatment meted out, to Christians at any rate, was, in some places, pretty rough. Since the summer there appears to have been a change of attitude. When, for example, the Communists came into Tsinan they put up such posters as "Freedom of religion; protection of churches and monasteries; protection of all foreigners willing to obey the new law." We do know that last Christmas the University of Cheeloo put on a full Christmas programme of services, concerts and so forth, and it was reported that the University had had the best Christmas they had ever known. On the tower of the University church there was erected a large cross brilliantly illuminated and seen for many miles round. The services were attended not only by students belonging to the Cheeloo University but also by the students of the Communist University as well. So far, therefore, the Communists have been true to their promise.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

AZERBAIJAN ANCIENT AND MODERN

By T. BURTON-BROWN

Lecture given on March 30, 1949, General W. A. K. Fraser, C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: We are fortunate in having with us to-day Mr. Burton-Brown, who has recently been carrying out archæological explorations in Persia. For the past twenty years or so he has been actively interested in the ancient history and archæology of the Near East. In 1939 he was awarded the Leverhulme Fellowship for exploration in Armenia, but he was not able to take that up: his work was interrupted by the war, during which he served in the Middle East, in India and in Burma.

In 1948, fortunately, he was able to realize his wish to do some work in Persian Azerbaijan, in the area south of the town of Rezaïyyeh, better known in history as Urmia. Persian Azerbaijan is interesting from many points of view. It has always played a prominent part in various aspects of Persian life and was recently brought prominently into the news as a result of Russian intrigues. It will be interesting to hear how it is settling down after the upheaval of recent years. As a field of archæological interest I think I am right in saying that Azerbaijan is relatively little known. I shall probably not be wrong in assuring Mr. Burton-Brown that everything he has to sell us on the subject will be to us shafts of light.

I WOULD like to begin this lecture by saying how honoured I feel by your invitation to address you, and how little I deserve that honour, since I cannot claim to know much about the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. I have, in fact, visited that interesting country but once, and have remained there for only a few weeks. It is an area which is interesting in several ways, but the only aspect that I am qualified to discuss in detail is its ancient history, which I have had the unusual opportunity of studying on the spot. I therefore propose to talk mainly about that subject, but I will try not to be too technical about it, and in any case I hope that the photographs that I shall show will give you some idea also of what the country looks like. The history of recent events in Azerbaijan, such as the rise of the Democrat Party, must, I am afraid, be left out of the discussion, at least so far as politics are concerned. One reason for this is that I know nothing about those events, and, while doubtless some of you do, part of the audience to-day are members of the Iran Society, whose regulations say, I believe, that politics shall not be discussed at lectures. But with that one exception, I shall be glad to try to reply to any questions which you may wish to ask afterwards.

Azerbaijan, once called Atropatene, seems to me to be the most attractive district in the whole of Iran, not only because of its grand scenic beauty and interesting architecture, but also because in it can be found a variety of inhabitants of great interest and remarkable capacity, while it is also a land with an extraordinarily important history, especially from the social and religious points of view. The capital city of mediæval and modern days, Tabriz, has, of course, been visited by many foreigners, but the country parts are comparatively little known. Its botany and geology are almost untouched subjects, while almost none of its antiquities have been studied.

That part of Azerbaijan which lies west of the Lake of Rezaiyyeh was called Parsua in ancient days. From there came the forbears of the Achæmenid family, one of the greatest and most successful families ever known. These people set out to move southward before 800 B.C., and went along the line of the Zagros hills, finding their journey necessary, perhaps, because of pressure from tribes living to the north of Azerbaijan. They found a new home in the country north-east of Susa, which area they called Parsamash, perhaps in memory of their former home. At about 700 B.C. they were being ruled by a king whose name was Hakhamanish, or Achæmenes, a man who was considered by later Kings of Persia as their eponymous ancestor. His successor was King Chishpish, or Teispes, at the time of whom the Scythians occupied the kingdom which had been formed in Media, and this king led his people down the valleys away from the Scythians, going still further south, and east, to the district where his descendants built two famous cities, Pasargadæ, built by Cyrus the Great, and the beautifully decorated Persepolis, built by Darius. These Achæmenids, who were conspicuous for their ability and, on occasion, very democratic personal behaviour, became the rulers of almost all the world of their day, except Greece. It is a very remarkable fact that the Greeks at this time carved sculptures similar in details to those at Persepolis. It has been assumed that the similarities are due to the importation of Greek sculptors to work in Iran, but it is also possible to hold that a single artistic tradition was common to Greece and North-Western Iran, and that this resulted in a similar treatment of details in both lands.

The Achæmenids were much influenced by a remarkable religious leader, Zoroaster, a man who ranks as one of the very greatest of those who have influenced the thought of the world. He also came from Western Azerbaijan, in all probability, and may have been born before the emergence of the Achæmenids at about 800 B.C. He did not create a new religion, but built on the old, taking over, and reforming, the then existing religion of his part of the world. What that was like has been indicated by Herodotus, who tells us that the Persians worshipped the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, fire, and water. Agathias, another Greek historian, quotes several authorities for his statement that, before the Zoroastrian reform, the Persians had the same gods as the Greeks, though under different names. Besides the considerable element of spirituality in the teaching of Zoroaster, there was another factor, that of practicality, for he laid stress on the necessity for men to live as prosperous land-owners and generous hard-working men as well as good fathers and quiet citizens. In just the same way that certain details of the carvings at Persepolis remind us of Greek carving, so does this teaching remind us of contemporary Greek thought, as described by Hesiod, who lived at about 800 B.C.

Our knowledge of the early history of Azerbaijan is very limited. What I have just told you is somewhat theoretical (for example, some people do not believe that Zoroaster was born in Azerbaijan), and in any case is almost entirely derived from literary sources, and not from concrete material. Of earlier epochs we know still less. But a beginning has been

made to remedy this, and this beginning I want to describe to you in this lecture.

Geographically, Azerbaijan begins when one crosses the Kizil Uzun river at Mianeh, where the railway ends, or, rather, which is the last station in use for the trains from Tehran. The track actually goes further towards Tabriz. Mianeh is a town which has long been notorious for its poisonous bugs, perhaps unfairly. At any rate, I did not get bitten there myself, or even see any, despite a very watchful eye. At once the road begins to go uphill, and after a little one finds oneself in down-land, with a tremendous range of hills to the north, beyond which is Ardabil, the shrine of which once housed a wonderful carpet now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Close by is the site of what were described a century ago as very extensive iron mines, but so far as I know they are not worked. All this part of Azerbaijan is a most excellent wheat-growing district, and has been for over a century, at the least. I have seen no grain fields to compare with those of this area in any other part of Iran. This district may have associations with Zoroaster, since the highest peak of the range to the north of the road to Tabriz, a peak called Savalan, some 15,800 feet high, may be "the mount of the two holy communicants" mentioned in the Avesta, where Zoroaster spoke with Ormazd. Further west towards Tabriz, and south of the road, is the mountain called to-day Sahend, also, perhaps, mentioned in the Avesta under the name of Asnavand. This peak of Sahend, which is 11,600 feet high, has snow still lying on its northern slopes as late as July. The mountain looks to me very reminiscent of the Coolins of Skye as one sees them from the road coming down the slope to Dornie Ferry.

Still further west is Tabriz, a city of great charm, despite its very considerable modernization. Little now remains of its ancient monuments, except for the Ark and the ruins of what must once have been one of the loveliest mosques ever built, the Blue Mosque, of A.D. 1465, of which the plan and some of the details are unique in a Moslem building. It is extraordinary in having two large rooms, one being what was once a big domed chamber for the congregation, while the other, which is separated from the first by an archway, is quite like the chancel of a Christian church. The Ark was built, so it has been said, as a mosque between A.D. 1312 and A.D. 1322, though I personally feel that there may be something wrong with this statement. If it were true, the Ark would be unique, for it is unlike any mosque in the Near East, so far as I know. Its massive walls have withstood earthquake shocks better than those of the Blue Mosque, but, even so, the original plan of this structure is not easy to discover. The word Ark may be, and probably is, the same as the Central Asian word Erg, a name, I believe, in use twenty-five years ago at Bokhara, where it was applied to the palace of the governor. It seems to be similar in meaning to the castle of mediæval days in Europe in being a combined strong-point and official residence for the local baron. There were Arks until recently in many towns and cities, such as Tehran and Rezaïyyeh. The word is possibly to be related to the Latin word *Arx*, which means a citadel, or place of enclosure and protection, and *Arx* in its turn is doubtless from the same root as *Arca*, which is the Latin for

a chest, something which can, in fact, be closed or locked up. (One might compare the German Schloss.) Arca is the word used by St. Jerome in the Vulgate for the ship described in Genesis, and our word Ark for that ship is the anglicized version of the Latin Arca. The words used in the Septuagint and in the Hebrew for the same both mean a chest, or box. I felt quite embarrassed while taking this photograph, for to get it I had to climb up on to the roof of a public bath. It was worth trying, as one gets much the most complete view from there, but I felt horribly exposed to the public gaze doing it. Officially, photographs may not be taken in Iran, and I was afraid that a policeman would endeavour to deter me. But, as always in Iran, I received the utmost courtesy, consideration, and sympathy from the Iranians whom I encountered on this occasion.

As the traveller passes along the road from Mianeh to Tabriz he sees several Tepes, as ancient city sites are called in Iran. I was pleased at this, but quite surprised, as an American aerial survey carried out some fifteen years ago did not mark any at all on this road. I have examined a few of these Tepes, but the pottery that I found was almost entirely of the latest periods of occupation, and not very instructive. But the very fact that there are any sites at all is of interest, for there are very few between Tehran and Mianeh, except for a group along the river on both sides of Kasvin, and two little ones at Sultaniyyeh, which is not far to the west of Kasvin. At Tabriz there are none, I feel sure, for I have examined this area fairly exhaustively, but there are some rather small ones between Tabriz and the Lake of Rezaïyyeh. North of that lake there are a few, notably at Marand and Khoi. The land is fertile there, very much so in some places, and it is odd that there are not more Tepes to be seen. The country between Marand and Khoi is a wide, flat valley, almost uninhabited, and the air is so clear that one can see the peak of Ararat, nearly a hundred miles away. South of Khoi one comes to the very fertile plain of Rezaïyyeh, where there are an astonishing number of Tepes. This plain is the land of Parsua, and, maybe, the home of Zoroaster. Many mediæval writers, such as Ibn Khordadhbah, who wrote in A.D. 816, and Yakut, four hundred years later, associate him with the town of Rezaïyyeh, and also with a particular hill, called Bakchikala, ten miles north of that town. Another sacred connection with the town of Rezaïyyeh is given by the tradition that it is the burial place of one of the Magi, who died there, so they say, on his return from his journey to take gifts to the infant Christ at Bethlehem. His burial place is still pointed out, in a little modern church. The Magians may have been a clan of priests at home in this part of the world. At the time of Herodotus, the division between their usages and Persian beliefs in general was well defined.

It has long been regretted that the Bronze Age and Iron Age pre-history of North-Western Iran should be so little known, and when I proposed to the authorities in Tehran that I should go there to make a trial excavation, they were most co-operative, helpful and speedy in smoothing my way. Within two months of arrival in Iran I had set out from Tehran to excavate at the site of one of the biggest of the ancient cities of the Rezaïyyeh plain. This site is a few miles to the south of

Rezaiyyeh, and from it can be seen a charming view of the mountain of Buzo-Daghi, or Mountain of the Cow, a mountain said to be, geologically speaking, partly volcanic. There is still a town at this site, which is now called Geoy Tepe, inhabited by Assyrian Iranians, who are members of the Nestorian Christian Church. In 1922 this town of Geoy Tepe was plundered and burnt by Kurds and Turks, after which the inhabitants went to live in camps established for them by the British in 'Iraq. Some of them have returned home now, but they have not yet regained their former wealth, and now number only a bare thousand, a fifth of their former total, and live in much poorer houses than their fathers, judging by the ruins left behind by the Kurds. The name Geoy may be a corruption, or a mispronunciation, of the Turkish word Gök, which means sky, or heaven, or blue. There are many Gök Tepes in Central and Western Asia, and perhaps this was once among their number. The word heaven is, I expect, not unreasonable for a very high Tepe, which this is. The surrounding country is amazingly fertile. There is sufficient water from a fair-sized spring for the summer needs, while at other times the water in the stream beds around is enough for the extensive vineyards, plantations, and pasture lands which surround the town and extend at least half a mile in every direction. Not far away to the west are the Kurdish hills, along one ridge of which runs the frontier between Iran and Turkey. The country here does not give the impression of being, by nature, particularly productive, for when I was there during August and September last year it was just like a desert, brown and dusty and dried up, and treeless everywhere except where irrigation was carried on. But, as a result of the hard work and ability of the inhabitants, the fruits, especially the grapes, have become famous. They are so successful in their farming that they have got even the olive to bear fruit there, though only in a limited area near the lake. That seems to me to be a remarkable achievement at over 4,000 feet, in a country where the winters are said to be cold and snowy. There are a few Moslem Iranians at Geoy Tepe, but they form only a very small minority. There are Kurds in the adjacent villages, in the hills, but, from what one hears about them, they seem to be an unruly and domineering people. I was told that they had come down to a little farmstead and cut down the fruit trees, simply because the trees bore better fruit than they themselves could get to grow. There seem to be no such commercial crops as cotton grown on any large scale, and not very much tobacco or silk is cultivated, compared with what might be, I think, but the virtual stagnation of trade seems likely to be due largely to the lack of capital, or people ready to risk it, and also to the lack of facilities for transport to markets.

Azerbaijan has been for a very long time a promised land for archaeologists concerned with prehistory, but they have tended to do nothing about it. The author of the classic *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, Morier, noted the presence of extensive iron mines not far to the north-east of Tabriz, and many archæologists have said, but without any proof, that the discovery of the process of preparing iron for use was made there. But many types of weapons, jewellery, seals, pottery, ways of writing, and even ways of interment which are to be found in various parts of the

Near East, such as Egypt and the Ægean, have also been found in Azerbaijan. I will not weary you by describing them now, and mention them only because they indicate that some of the peoples of ancient times in the Mediterranean area seem to have been related to the ancient Azerbaijanis.

The top of Geoy Tepe is at least 80 feet above the original ground level. I do not know what the first few villages were like, for I dug down to a level only 53 feet below the top of the Tepe, so that there were 25 feet of earth below left unexplored. The earliest pottery of which any quantity was recovered was a pale buff-coloured ware, often decorated with designs painted with dark brown-black paint. There were also some red pots similarly decorated. The shapes included saucers, and bowls, and large pithoi, or jars of the Ali Baba variety, about three feet high. This pottery is similar, in some ways, to the well-known al Ubaid pottery of 'Iraq, which is dated to about 3000 B.C. The imposing buildings were made with walls two feet thick, of mud-brick, just as to-day in Iran, and, as also to-day, the lowest mud-bricks rested on two or three courses of stones. This method of construction is found also in Ancient Greece and in 'Iraq, but oddly enough it is rare in later prehistoric days at Geoy Tepe. There were also some very large bricks which had been baked so much in a furnace that they were red all through. These are interesting, for baked bricks are uncommon at all times and in all places in prehistoric days. Seals were used at this time, probably to identify property, being pressed on the lumps of clay which were used to close pots.

The people who used al Ubaid pottery in 'Iraq lived before the time of the invention of writing. They were not aboriginal dwellers in 'Iraq, but came there from somewhere outside. But though we have found traces of similar people at Geoy Tepe, it must not be thought that they were aboriginal inhabitants of Azerbaijan. Actually they lived only quite a short time at Geoy Tepe, for the stratum containing their pottery is only two feet deep, which means that they were there less than a century. Traces of similar pottery, and therefore probably of similar people, have been found at Rayy, near Tehran, but not elsewhere in Iran, and it must be presumed that they came originally from outside Iran, possibly from Southern Russia. They knew how to make things of metal, and we have some pieces of copper, or bronze, of their epoch, from Geoy Tepe.

The next people to settle at Geoy Tepe made fine grey polished pottery, some pots being given high collar-shaped necks, sometimes adorned with decoration stamped on the clay when it was soft, or modelled in relief. The spiral motif appears in this decoration. This spiral motif is curious, for it appears and disappears from time to time all over the Near East, but its original home is unknown. In the Ægean it appears at the beginning of the Bronze Age, soon after 3000 B.C., a date which is also that of this grey polished pottery in Azerbaijan, so it seems. Both areas saw, at that time, grey polished pottery, relief decoration and the spiral motif, and that time was, I would remind you, the time of the beginning of the Bronze Age in the West, when metal began to be widely used. The knowledge of metal was doubtless brought to Greece, rather than discovered there, for the metals used for the earliest Greek tools, copper and

tin, with the impurities of nickel and arsenic, do not occur in the Ægean area. But they do occur in an area which was in touch with both the Ægean and Mesopotamia, possibly Azerbaijan or somewhere nearby. Perhaps the first wandering smiths passed by Azerbaijan on their explorations. Something like that would account for the pottery similarities between Azerbaijan and the Ægean.

At this time at Geoy Tepe they had gaming pieces, some of animal bones, others being incised balls of clay. They also had models of animals, and one which we found is a little cow, with long horns.

Before 2500 B.C. a new people came on the scene in Azerbaijan. Their pottery is black, but with an irregularly shaped silvery-grey edge and a line of alternate incisions and round depressions horizontally below the rim. I have not seen any pottery like this anywhere else. The period when it was made lasted many centuries, and towards the end belong two little racquet pins, a type of pin of which there is already an example in England, made of gold and found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur.

A couple of centuries or so after 2500 B.C. the black polished pottery disappeared, and a period of rather disturbed life ensued, when civilization was at a decidedly low level. This was followed by an occupation of the site at Geoy Tepe by people who built immense fortifications and used quite new kinds of pots. These were of the kind called Susa II, which is dated to about 2200 B.C., and included pottery gaily decorated with two colours, and called polychrome ware. This latter is painted with red and black colours on the buff-coloured clay, with both geometric and naturalistic designs. Very similar polychrome pottery has been found in Asia Minor and the Ægean, and it is possible that a branch of the Iranian makers of polychrome pottery made their way westward to Anatolia and beyond to the Greek Islands. It is possible that descendants of these Iranian people also went to Syria, and eventually reached Egypt. For polychrome pottery occurs in Syria and Palestine, and the people who were called the Hyksos people of Egypt, and who date from after 1800 B.C., used pottery which is similarly decorated. Thus a single style of ceramic decoration might be the mark of a people who spread widely. By great good fortune we know something of the details of the civilization of these people at Geoy Tepe, since we found some of their tombs, and have recovered therefrom both objects and skeletons. The latter have not yet been studied, but the skulls have been seen by Professor Cave of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and he has described them as appearing to be fine examples of the Nordic type. The Hyksos were, partly at least, an Indo-European people, and it has sometimes been said that the first Greeks, also an Indo-European people, to enter Greece came thither at about 2000 B.C. Thus a chain of evidence begins to shape itself, suggesting that before 2000 B.C. Indo-European peoples appeared in Azerbaijan, spreading both westward through Anatolia to Greece and south to Egypt, taking with them their characteristic style of decorating pottery soon after 2000 B.C.

The tombs of this time at Geoy Tepe, which were built of slabs of stone, were sometimes quite big enough for bodies to be stretched out. Graves cut in the earth were also used. The walls of the built tombs

were often of small slabs placed on one another horizontally, and the roofs were of larger slabs stretching from side to side. Sometimes the floors were of earth, and sometimes of stone slabs. One small built tomb, four feet six inches by two feet seven inches, had seven people buried in it. But this was unusual, for tombs were often bigger, and contained fewer bodies. One tomb, six feet seven inches by three feet two inches, contained two bodies. In this there were three bowls, which had contained joints of loin of mutton, and three copper or bronze pins. Both end walls and one side wall in this tomb were built with orthostatic slabs, slabs standing on their edge, that is, while the fourth wall was built of stones in the more usual way. This tomb had a door, the only one found, and this door, which was a big slab on its edge, closed the upper half of the east end of the tomb. To enter one had to step down, as if into a sunk bath. Generally speaking, every burial had a pottery bowl, or a necklace of beads, or a copper or bronze bangle. Some obsidian arrow heads were found, of a type found also in South Russia, and some toggle pins, a type found widely all over the Near East. A double tubular bead was also found, and this is interesting, since parallels to this bead have been found elsewhere. An exactly similar one was found by Dr. Schliemann in the First Shaft Grave at Mycenæ in Greece. This dates to 1600 B.C. Another, found in Egypt, not precisely identical, dates from about 2200 B.C.

After a few centuries the people who made the polychrome pottery left Geoy Tepe, and were replaced by others, whose plain polished pottery, which was red, grey or buff in colour, was made with such shapes as teapots and tall cups with a high collar neck. This type of cup has been found elsewhere in Iran, and can be dated to about 1400 B.C. The teapots are similarly dated by quite different evidence. Other pots were wide flat bowls, little rough cups and wide jars with straight sides. A single tomb of this period was opened. It was built of stones in the usual way, but the walls leant inward slightly. The roof was of big slabs. It contained twelve bodies in a space six feet five inches by four feet three inches.

The latest period of occupation, during prehistoric times, was characterized by yet another kind of pottery, plain red or grey, and with novel shapes. It cannot be dated precisely, but may be of the time of about 1200 B.C., when there were very considerable movements of people all over the Near East. Egypt was unsuccessfully attacked at this time, and the Hittite Kingdom was destroyed, while foreigners appeared in the Ægean. The pottery in Azerbaijan included a kind of alabastron and the ring stand, both types being well known in the Ægean and in Egypt. The handles of the pots of this period are interesting. They often have knobs for the thumb to rest on, while others seem to imitate a bit of rope, and still another type is modelled in representation of the head of a horned animal. All these types occur in the Ægean at about 1200 B.C. and later. But the animal's head handle seems to be earlier in the vicinity of Azerbaijan, for it is shown on pots represented in a fresco in Egypt as being brought by men of Keftiu, at about 1400 B.C. And, as Mr. Wainwright has so brilliantly shown, the Keftiu people were connected with the area of Van, not very far from Rezaiyyeh. In Greece the first animal's

head handle is the one on the pot called the Warrior Vase, which was found at Mycenæ, and dates to about 1200 B.C., a time when there seem to have been many contacts between East and West.

It would be interesting to study the connection between Greece and Iran which seems to reveal itself, not only in the material mentioned above, but also in other ways. But I cannot do more now than to refer to one or two such indications. For example, as I said earlier, Zoroaster was born at a time fairly early in the Iron Age, and his ways of thought seem not unlike early Greek ways. Other parallels, rather later, between the two areas are in the treatment of sculptural details. Again, there is the close alliance between early Greek and the Armenian language. There are, in addition, many other similarities, especially shown in pottery fabrics, as well as the fact that the knowledge of iron, now at last widely spread, is normally supposed to have been discovered in Asia. Perhaps there was a wider community of ideas than has yet been recognized between Greece and North-Western Iran, due, I would suggest, to the spreading of people, perhaps to some extent from East to West.

There were some stone animals lying on the ground at Geoy Tepe, and these were replaced on their paws for photographing. They include a tiger, simply enough modelled, but for all that with plenty of vitality, and quite effective in his rather menacing look. There were also some fat-tailed sheep, rather smaller, of agreeable if somewhat fatuous mien, one of which has some hieroglyphs carved on its side. There were also some curious reliefs, which look as if they had been intended for use as lintels of doorways. Animals and reliefs were, presumably, made originally as decoration for buildings. Since those days they have suffered a sea-change, for their most recent use has been as tomb-stones in the Christian cemetery there. When they were made is not known, but as it is likely that they were easily obtained for their latest use—for who would dig deep to get a tomb-stone?—they must have been near the surface or on it. Probably, therefore, they belong to the time of the latest occupation, maybe about 1200 B.C. Similar animals have been noted by other explorers on both sides of the lake, but I have not seen them, and they have not had their pictures taken.

It is becoming clearer, as archæological research continues, that insufficient attention has been given in the past to the international aspect of the history of the Ancient World. Very few things seem ever to have belonged to one era alone, unless they were very inconspicuous, or unfitted for a great range of climate, while it is at least probable that the really significant events of any one country can be fully understood only by reference to events in neighbouring lands. But local variations in execution can, and do, obscure common possession of ideas. As a result, the study of the parallels and connections between widely separated areas in ancient times is not an easy matter. To make such study successful one must do two things: First, one must not be over-influenced by local variations, a task which requires great self-control when there is available much material, but from a few sites only; secondly, one must get for study an adequate amount of material from each of several sites, very carefully chosen over a wide area. The excavation which I have just

described to you was designed with this latter in mind. It was a small one, and not costly, considering what was found. But it should prove useful in extending the scope of those interested in international connections.

I would like to conclude by saying how kind and helpful everyone was to me in Iran. I feel, too, that we shall all remain most deeply grateful for the sympathetic understanding by Dr. Bahrami, Director of the Tehran Museum, and his colleagues, of the problems of study of the excavated material, which permitted the export of nearly everything to this country, in order to avoid the very great difficulties which inevitably follow the separation of finds. This act of international co-operation for the sake of scientific results merits our highest appreciation.

The CHAIRMAN said: We will all agree that we have listened to a lecture of absorbing interest and fascination. We have seen a number of pictures, some extremely beautiful. Mr. Burton-Brown tells me that he would like some day to go back to carry on his work in that field. That, I am sure, all here cordially hope he will do and that he will return to tell us some more of the extremely interesting finds he has described to-day. Meantime, we thank him most warmly for his lecture.

THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM

By ARCHDEACON A. C. MACINNES

THE whole question of Arab refugees has, in the last six weeks, been given considerable prominence in the Press. Well informed articles have been printed and a number of letters have appeared, while appeals for help have received greater attention. At the same time not nearly enough is being done, for people are so easily sidetracked by their political or racial feelings into discussion about responsibility instead of need.

It was with some trepidation that I accepted the invitation of your committee to speak on this subject, for you are accustomed to hearing experts and I cannot claim to be one of them. However, I am a refugee. Though not an Arab, I was born in the Middle East and have lived three-quarters of my life there. Though not homeless, I have been compelled to leave my house in Jerusalem and most of my possessions have been looted. I have also had the experience of being wounded and then taken to hospital by Arabs at considerable risk to themselves. With other wounded and sick—almost all Arabs—I was lying in the French Hospital when it was captured and occupied by Israeli forces. Finally, like some who were too old or too seriously wounded to be regarded as combatants, I was evacuated with the help of the British Consulate and the International Red Cross to the Cathedral at St. George's, just inside the Arab lines. This explains such right as I have to speak to you on this subject. I have been through some of the experiences which thousands of others have had, with this great difference, that I did not have the disadvantage of having no land to which I could return.

We lived in a part of Jerusalem called Musrara. It is a thickly populated quarter just to the north of the Old City. The majority of those who lived there were Christian Arabs, though there were a large number of Moslems and a few families of Jews. Many of the houses had been well built, but the district had "gone down" and in most cases a number of families lived together in each building, many of them having no more than one or two rooms. Children swarmed everywhere with no playground but the streets and a few pieces of waste ground. The various communities had lived there in comparative peace, though in times of tension it was not a very healthy quarter in which to live as it was just on the border where Arab and Jew met.

Such tension had been rising after the war, until early in 1947 it was decided to evacuate British women and children and to set up a series of zones surrounded by barbed wire, within which most British people lived and which enclosed Government offices and sections of the city occupied by the Army or R.A.F. This practically partitioned Jerusalem with zones acting as buffers between Arab and Jewish quarters. An R.A.F. zone and the prison and the broadcasting station provided this sort of buffer between Musrara and the Jewish quarters to the East.

However, incidents continued and eventually all Arab and Jewish

quarters established their own road blocks manned by locally appointed guards—at first unarmed but later armed and supported by municipal police. Just before this happened the Jewish families in Musrara became convinced that it was no longer safe for them to remain. I appealed on their behalf to the police, who helped to remove them and their possessions to a Jewish quarter. I was immediately besieged by Arabs who wished to leave Jewish areas and wanted the rooms vacated.

The Evelina de Rothschild school, which was almost next door to us, remained there until Christmas. The principal had always had friendly relations with her Arab neighbours but the strain was increasing. Though the Arab local committee assured me that neither staff nor girls had anything to fear, the extent of their control was open to doubt especially after three bullets had come through the office window one night. Soon afterwards we were able to arrange for an exchange of buildings with our Jerusalem Girls' College, most of whose pupils were Arab though the College was in a Jewish quarter. This caused general satisfaction and enabled the Evelina de Rothschild school to reopen for the spring term with its full numbers.

For our school the change came too late, for a number of the wealthier people had begun to send their families out of the country. In many cases they put their sons and their daughters into schools in the Lebanon or Egypt. The number who did this may not have been very large, but it seriously affected our fee-paying secondary schools. In cases where the menfolk went with their families there was a good deal of bitter feeling among those who remained, and I never found any evidence for the propaganda put out that the Arabs were ordered to leave by some higher authority. The really great difficulty was that there seemed to be no higher Arab authority to whom anyone could appeal. In Musrara in the early spring a very definite attempt was made to prevent people leaving. A special licence was required if anything was taken out of the quarter.

It was on a Sunday afternoon at 5 p.m. some time in February that Musrara had its first experience of mortar bombs. I do not know whether there had been any provocation for this breaking of the afternoon's peace. The first bomb struck a balcony where a young man with his wife and two children were enjoying the spring afternoon. Several others were killed or injured. We called on the bereaved, and found that many were for the first time realizing what might have to be faced.

In the meantime things were happening in a block across the road. The people there were Christian Arabs and Jews. Some of the Arabs became nervous and moved away. Their houses and shops were occupied. A half-dozen young men, afraid that Jews might make some move at night, took it by turns to be on guard. One of them eventually bought a German officer's revolver and a few rounds of ammunition. Not many days later a group of young armed Jews took possession of a room on the roof of a neighbouring house which commanded the whole block. They claimed that a band of the Arab Youth Movement had taken up positions there and that they had come to protect the Jews who lived there. Tension continued to increase until an Arab youth from another

quarter tried to throw a Mills bomb at a Jewish shop. Then some of the women and children moved down to us for the nights because they feared reprisals. Finally, an elderly Arab carpenter was shot dead by a sniper as he chatted to a friend outside his house. After an appeal to the police the Arab families evacuated their houses. The same thing was happening in other quarters. Rumours, threats, an unfortunate incident, and innocent citizens felt that it was no longer safe to remain in their homes.

Then one evening in Musrara I met a stream of exhausted, wailing women and little children from Deir Yassin. Some were so overcome that they had to be carried. They had seen men and women shot down and killed. They had been taken and robbed and were finally released on the Jewish side of the R.A.F. zone through which they had been allowed to pass. Here was a further warning of what the future might bring. There was some further exchange of mortar fire. Children began to disappear from the streets. One met people carrying what they could into the Old City. Supplies were more difficult to come by. Arab irregulars began to appear in place of the local guards. Then the news was brought that the Arab Legion, who were guarding the broadcasting station, were to be withdrawn. It was clear that we could not remain. It was too late to move more than the bare necessities, so, like other families, we bricked up most of our possessions under the church and moved away.

Others moved too, some to the Old City where they thought that they would be safer, and others to Jericho or Transjordan. Those who moved first took many of their possessions with them—those who stayed as they could saved very little—the cost of moving became almost prohibitive. That was what happened in the towns.

During April and early May I also had to travel about the country. At the end of the month I had to go to Ramallah for a funeral. The little town was crowded with refugees. Everywhere I met friends from Jaffa—townspeople like those in Musrara—officials, shopkeepers, small merchants. It is said that 25,000 of them had come up from Jaffa when a part of the town had been occupied after bombardment. Every room in Ramallah seemed full and rents had soared high.

A little earlier in the month I had been in Gaza, where again I found a number of refugees from Jaffa. It was not until later, however, that the position had become really serious, though local doctors were planning to treat wounded without charge and to give voluntary service to the very poor.

I then travelled over Transjordan. In the north some refugees had arrived from Tiberias and Eastern Galilee. In Amman I found many families from Jerusalem. In Salt there was a Jaffa family in each room of the school I visited. They told me of their escapes—of how their mukhtar had been killed on the truck which brought him and his family away as they passed a Jewish orange grove. They told me of how they had been compelled to pay £150 for a truck to bring them 100 miles from their homes. They all hoped that they might soon return home as their savings were being exhausted. After visiting families in the town of Salt, I went up to our hospital on the hill above. There I saw some

wounded. One man told me that he was a mechanic in Jaffa, working in a garage when mortar bombs rained upon them and he was severely wounded. His family had then packed what they could into a truck and brought him over to Salt. What the future would bring he could not say. I also found a young man whom we had employed to look after the C.M.S. hospital in Jaffa. I had handed it over to the Arab Medical Association, who had the backing of the International Red Cross. He told me that the bombing had become too bad and that doctors, nurses, and patients had been compelled to leave. Before I left I met some of the young men from Musrara who told me that they would have liked to have stayed in Jerusalem, but nobody seemed to wish for their services. Many people had expected some sort of conscription, but nothing had been done and those who stayed to defend their homes had, for the most part, to buy their own weapons. This was not difficult provided that they had the money, for arms and ammunition were being sold openly in the streets. One could choose the make of cartridges one preferred—English, German, or French. (One sportsman offered me a revolver for £25 as I came out of the gateway of our hospital in Gaza and I had had to move his stall to get my car out of the gate.)

That was what had happened before the British Mandate had been terminated, and it was one of the things which made Arab refugees feel most bitter about the treatment which they had received from Great Britain. Whatever irregular forces might have done to give cause for Jewish attacks upon them, how could we allow peaceful citizens, many of whom had served the Mandatory Government most faithfully for long years, to be driven from their homes in Haifa, Jaffa, Katamon or Talbieh in Jerusalem? One evening in May, for example, I was called up by two families who said that fighting was going on all around them and all they wanted was help so that they might get out.

Some, of course, stayed where they were sometimes, only fleeing into convents, churches, or hospitals at the very last moment. I think of one woman who used to come to talk to me after I had been taken wounded to the French Hospital in Jerusalem. At the end of the first week in May, she and her husband had moved from Katamon with their three children, her brother-in-law and an aunt. They had taken refuge in a large convent in the Mamillah Road. There, first her husband and then her brother-in-law had been wounded inside the convent grounds. Her husband had been taken to the Government Hospital, her brother-in-law to the French Hospital. On May 14th, the day British forces left Jerusalem, she had gone early to see her husband and then to see her brother-in-law. While she was there fighting broke out all around and she could not leave. About five days later her brother-in-law died of his wounds and had to be buried in the garden. She could get no news of her husband, who was in the Government Hospital—by then in Jewish hands. Nor could she get any news of the small children she had left behind. What was she to do? In the hospital I met a number of others who had fled from nearby houses and did not know what had happened to relatives and friends. In one or two cases younger men were taken away from the hospital as prisoners.

I have spoken of these townfolk at some length, because I saw most of them and they are apt to be forgotten when the miseries of those who have always lived nearer to the starvation level are being described. I hear fairly often from people of this class. Only recently I heard from one who has been fortunate in having employment in Beirut, but he wrote of some three hundred, who used to attend the Arabic Anglican Church of St. Paul's in Jerusalem, who are for the most part out of work in that Lebanese capital. The Government of the Lebanon was faced with a fairly serious unemployment problem when British forces were withdrawn a few years ago, and it has not been able to afford, except in special cases, to employ foreigners—as the Arabs of Palestine are—for fear of aggravating this problem. It had probably been this same fear which had in so many cases made the Arab refugees feel that they were not wanted. They have told me that the Palestinian was so unpopular that they could not bear to remain, and I know of several such families who have returned to Arab Palestine.

In Syria this problem of unemployment has apparently not been so acute. A number of those who had technical qualifications have been given employment and are being very well treated. Engineers and teachers in particular have found good openings.

In Transjordan the situation is rather different again. According to some (an article in *The Times* newspaper) the Arabs of Transjordan are the most willing of all to accept the Palestinian and are likely to benefit most from having an influx of men qualified for various kinds of work by their experience under the Mandatory Government. A number have been given employment, but the Palestine Arab has not shown much anxiety to become a citizen of Transjordan. One letter recently spoke of the unwillingness of some, at least of the educated refugees, to accept anything but temporary employment as their chief anxiety was to get back to their more developed land as soon as might be. They do not consider that Transjordan is their land.

The position of these first refugees was serious, but it was not beyond the capacity of the Arab states to deal with it in some measure, at least temporarily. At first most of these people were not destitute, they had some savings and the Arabs in the surrounding countries did what they could for their guests.

It was in mid July that the refugee problem suddenly began to become desperate. Just before the end of the first truce, June 11th to July 9th, there had been a considerable evacuation from the Old City where mortar shelling had caused a number of casualties in early June. Then came the Israeli attacks upon Lydda and Ramallah, using what the *Palestine Post* described as blitz tactics, and we suddenly became aware of the immensity of the problem which was about to face the U.N.O. These villages in the plain had been crowded with refugees from Haifa and Jaffa. Now they were driven out and in many cases robbed of the few things which they had tried to carry away with them. Ramallah became the centre to which these thousands poured. Some were lucky and were able to get transport—many had to struggle up the weary miles on foot. Women with small children had lost their menfolk, some of whom were dead and others

prisoners of war. The little summer resort of 10,000 people suddenly found itself faced with an invasion of 70,000 people—mainly women, children, or the aged—who had nothing but what they stood up in. I was still in Jerusalem unable to move, but people who went out to see what was going on told heart-breaking stories of what they had seen and heard. Thousands were camping under the trees, a blanket hung from a branch was the only shelter—most of them had no means of cooking and though the bakeries of Nablus and the Transjordan Government did what they could to supply them with bread it was little enough that could be done. Some had collapsed and died on the journey, some had lost their children and were wandering from group to group trying to hear news of them. And then there was the problem of water. There is always a danger that supplies may run out during the summer months and the numbers were far too many for the water available. One day we were told that the supply could not last for more than about three days. That meant that these people must be moved on to other villages or across to Transjordan. A lot of excellent work was done by volunteers who tried to get particulars of the people and to pass them on to other districts in as orderly a manner as possible.

I have described what happened at Ramallah because I had first-hand evidence of what was going on. The same sort of thing was happening in Galilee from which people were fleeing over the Lebanese and Syrian borders as the Israeli forces pushed north. A large number of refugees moved into Nazareth and it was reported that some 20,000 Arabs had taken refuge in that area.

Up to this time Arabs were anxious to cope with their own problem in their own way. They were not over anxious for refugee organizations, except the I.R.C., to come in to organize relief. As the problem grew ever more appalling they were glad of whatever help the United Nations could give. There were, however, some splendid pieces of individual work which must not be forgotten, such as the emergency hospitals organized by Arab doctors in Jerusalem after the hospitals which used to cater for the Arab population had been captured. There was the orphanage and a convalescent hospital run by Moslem ladies; there was relief work undertaken by the various Christian Churches and there were some generous gifts from abroad, but it hardly touched the problem.

On July 21st Count Bernadotte appealed to the Secretary-General of the U.N.O. for help. He saw that the problem had what he called three phases :

- (a) Immediate relief of absolute basic needs.
- (b) A programme from September to December, 1948, based on exact figures obtained by experts.
- (c) A long-range programme to keep the people supplied until August-September, 1949, when harvesting will be completed.

It is important to realize that the long-range programme envisaged the return of some at least of the people who had fled or been driven from their homes by August 15th, 1948, if possible and it assumed that they would be able to till their lands in the winter and spring.

Telegrams were sent to many nations and promises of help in the way of supplies were received. A good many voluntary organizations also promised supplies, and the International Red Cross organized much of the transport of these goods and medicines. It was very much feared that there would be a serious outbreak of disease, but the figures which I saw for typhoid seemed to indicate that the preventive work done with slender resources had been remarkably effective.

Those summer months saw the formation of many committees and there was a good deal of discussion about organization, though the actual work was sadly held up for lack of supplies. It was a great relief when we were told that bales of clothing and supplies of food were on the way and that the British Government was making tents available to help with the appalling problem of housing. It was not until October that supplies in any quantity began to get through and the tents which had been supplied had been put up in organized camps.

The problem before the Disaster Relief Project, organized under the chairmanship of Sir Raphael Cilento, was very great. A large number of voluntary organizations (a list of them appears in the Mediators' report) had to be welded together into some sort of unity. The liaison between them was not always good.

Then again there was the question of transport. Supplies arrived in Beirut, but the railway could not carry half of the weekly tonnage which needed to be carried. The obvious alternative was motor transport, but much of this had been commandeered by Arab army authorities and the rates demanded by those who were left were prohibitive.

Yet another difficulty, of which many have written, has been that though the organization at the top has been on a grand scale, the contributions from the countries to whom an appeal was made have not been forthcoming as quickly as they were needed. What is more, when it comes down to the actual cash available to the voluntary organizations doing the distribution for the employment of local workers to distribute relief it has been found over and over again that the allocation has been insufficient. There are many hundreds of trained Arab social workers and teachers of whom use could be made if funds were available.

Yet a further problem has been the fact that though many of the poorest class of refugees have been gathered into camps there are vast numbers crowded into towns and villages in many different areas of whom it is difficult to keep track. There are hundreds more living in caves or sleeping in trenches as their only shelter. To look after these scattered people is in itself a work of great difficulty. The camps do simplify the work of distribution, but the conditions in them were often very bad.

I heard of a large camp of 40,000 near Tyre and of camps in Syria, mainly around Aleppo, but those of which I have had most information are at Jericho and Shuneh, on the west and east sides of the Jordan Valley. The camp at Jericho was considered to be one of the best organized, with a very able and experienced Belgian in charge. He had so organized it that families from the same village were as far as possible kept together. An English doctor from Jerusalem helped to organize the medical side of the work, but found the terrible lack of equipment very

hampering. The climate is fairly warm in the Jordan Valley even in winter, and there was not the danger of people being frozen to death in their tents as happened in Ramallah, but conditions were pretty grim, though, in addition to relief, the Y.M.C.A. did endeavour to introduce activities for the children and other social work.

The camp at Shuneh, which you may have heard described by Sister Jordan in her appeal for help in the work being done there by the British Red Cross, was one of the worst. When it was first established there was but one Arab clerk in charge with 17,000 to 20,000 to look after. He had had no experience of such camps—he had no medical assistance though there were many cases of smallpox. No one even knew how to mix the powdered milk sent by U.N.I.C.E.F. for distribution to mothers and babies. A doctor who went there and established a clinic for the day in a hut had to pack up when the mobs who wished to see him caused the collapse of the hut. An appeal was then made to the Church Missionary Society at Salt, and arrangements were made for the doctor and nurses to visit the camp several times a week until the British Red Cross could take over, though it meant closing the hospital to in-patients.

In the meantime voluntary workers were able to start distribution when food supplies began to arrive through U.N.O. and U.N.I.C.E.F.

Only the other day I received an account from an English missionary nurse of the progress of her work in Salt. She described poky rooms and damp caves into which the refugees were crowded. She described how she was able to open her centre on October 25th. She had intended to supply milk to 300 children, but after a time the numbers increased so greatly that she was asked to confine herself to children under two and nursing mothers. She had 746 on her books. Receiving supplies of meat and margarine, she also started a soup kitchen for 364. She was able to add rice, lentils, and vegetables to the rations received from U.N.O. This was made possible by the generosity of the local people. All went well through November, but then supplies failed and were not resumed until January 24th. It meant a desperate struggle, for prices in the local market were terribly inflated, but they could not bear to see the people starve. Even when food was provided it was not always easy to make the poor peasants appreciate what was given to them. It was not always the kind of food to which they were accustomed. Workers have spoken of the difficulty of persuading people that Swiss cheese was not bad though its taste was so different from what they were accustomed to, nor was it very easy to cope with Norwegian tinned foods with instructions for use in Norwegian.

The granting of these preliminary supplies was followed towards the end of November by the decision of the United Nations to make a contribution of 32,000,000 dollars, but this sum was calculated on the basis (a) that the number of refugees was in the neighbourhood of 360,000 Arabs and 7,000 Jews; (b) that a long-range project would be terminated by August, 1949. Even while discussions were going on some 200,000 more people were leaving their homes and pouring into the surrounding districts. This was particularly in the southern part of Palestine following Israeli moves in the Negev. It was then that I began to hear from workers

in Gaza of the appalling conditions of these people who were flooding into the area. It seems to be true that the number of deaths in the Gaza area has been higher than anywhere else.

In mid-December it was decided that the relief works should be re-organized under three main bodies. The International Red Cross (Swiss) continued its work in Palestine and became responsible for all Arab refugees in that area. The League of Red Cross Societies became responsible for the administration of relief in the Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan, while in Southern Palestine the American Friends Relief Service was to assume responsibility. This meant for the first time that workers trained for relief became available in the refugee camps and those volunteers who had struggled to carry on had adequate support.

This was all the more important as such institutions as Mission hospitals had been finding it almost impossible to carry on in face of increasing expenses and the almost complete loss of the fee income on which they had in part depended. In Gaza the doctor wrote to me in November to say that they needed about £700 a month extra if they were to carry on. The three new societies, who assumed responsibility on January 1st, were very prompt in getting to work and those who were already there were only too thankful to co-operate. In Gaza, for example, the C.M.S. Hospital has become the centre of a big scheme for medical relief. New staff have brought new hope to the over-burdened doctors and nurses, who now can see a work developing which is at least bringing temporary relief to the stricken people around them.

The same thing has happened in Transjordan, where the C.M.S. has handed over its hospital and equipment to the British Red Cross. This has become their base hospital. They have also taken over the work which had been begun at Shunah in the Jordan Valley. I have already referred to the moving appeal made on Palm Sunday by Sister Jordan who is working there. She told of the appalling need which still exists. At Zerka, where two English ladies and other helpers have been at work since October, a qualified Red Cross nurse has been able to take over supervision of some of the medical work. An admirable account of the work there has been printed. In Palestine itself the Anglican Bishop's Hospital in Hebron is being opened by the I.R.C. All these ventures are a great improvement on what has been in the past, but there is still a great deal which has not been touched.

I have referred already to the lack of sufficient funds to pay workers or finance projects of those actually dealing with the refugees. I have heard of nurses buying drugs with their own money because they could not get supplies. I do not know how many thousands of pounds the British Red Cross have paid out of their own funds. Two months ago I was told it was £45,000. The Anglican Bishop is spending at least £700 a month to support relief work. At Zerka, in Transjordan, £180 a month from gifts is being spent to keep the work of distribution services going. A generous gift through Lady Spears has been an absolute god-send. Every one of these societies or individuals has a real claim upon the generosity of their fellow-men. Without voluntary organizations the whole work would break down.

But the distribution of relief is not enough. Take, for example, the children. The most recent figures I have seen (April 12th) state that 39 per cent. of the refugees are children under the age of fifteen. Well over 300,000 children to be looked after. Here again voluntary workers have been doing what they can. I have heard of one large building in Lebanon which is to be evacuated during the summer months so that it may be used as a school. The evicted refugees will spend the summer in tents (Baaklen). In Ramallah I have heard how an Arab lady with great educational experience has started a school of 250 girls in the Friends Meeting House which has been put at her disposal. "It is all very makeshift," writes a correspondent from Ramallah at the beginning of this month, "but the girls seem so eager and absorbed that they even forget to shiver. Even in this bitter cold many had nothing on their feet." (Other letters, too, beg for shoes.) Most of them were in the cotton frocks in which they were carried out of Ramleh and Lydda. Inside a class in turn had an oral lesson while the rest studied quietly. Outside another group cheerfully jumped up and down and did exercises in their efforts at once to keep occupied and warm. The English Friends, the Lutheran World Federation, and the Church World Service are financing this venture and some equipment is supplied by local authorities. The preparation of a hot meal for the children is done by a volunteer staff in return for rations. The families of 300 more girls are demanding a school and some even infiltrate, especially at soup-time. The whole cost is under £1100 a month.

The same letter informs me that though the Government schools are so crowded that there are at least eighty in a class there must be 1,000 boys in Ramallah alone who cannot get in to school. Who is going to educate them?

Added to all that I have said about the terrible condition of the people in crowded rooms, in caves, camping under trees or a dozen in an army hut, they have had to face the worst winter for very many years. A letter of April 6th spoke of snow that morning. Tents have been blown down by the gales and hundreds have died of exposure. Clothing and blankets have been sent out but they are still not enough. Now there is the problem of heat: 70,000 are moving from the Jordan valley to the hills, partly because of the heat, and partly because of an outbreak of typhus and meningitis in Jericho.

And what of the future? Owing to the delay in sending supplies or paying over grants the money is likely to last beyond the end of August, but the end of August is the time when the present plans are to finish. I had a letter a fortnight ago asking what was to be done with the hospital in Gaza when the Friends Relief Service ceases work—without their help we should simply have to close down. Fortunately another letter has come in since to say that they hope to continue after the end of August. May I remind you again that Count Bernadotte's long-range scheme envisaged the return of the people to their land in time to plough and sow their fields. Even if they were allowed to return to Israeli-held territory the next harvest could not be gathered in before August, 1950. I have not yet heard whether the U.N.O. has yet faced this fact.

At least a year must be added to the nine months long-range relief

voted by the U.N.O. Also plans must be made for the relief of far more than 360,000, for the number of refugees has been steadily increasing. I have avoided figures, but the calculation dated April 12th is that there are now 875,000 homeless Arabs—nearly three times as many as there were when the Mediator made his report in September. And that number does not include those who have not had to flee but can now barely afford to live in their own homes.

I feel sure that plans for settlement in Syria or 'Iraq or Transjordan have been considered. We are told that there is room for such settlement. The Arab States must find it hard to discuss such plans, however, until the Israeli State and its boundaries have been determined and the question of the return of the refugees solved. But even if they accept the situation and agree to settle these people, they will need the support of the world for very many years to come if they are to be settled and rehabilitated. For this refugee life is the most deteriorating possible and every month makes things worse. These people can see no hope. Their plight they see as the direct consequence of the British policy in Palestine, which has left them helpless to face the consequences of a decision of the United Nations which ignored the justice of their cause. What is to be done?

Day by day their hopes dwindle.

Only a few days ago I had a letter from one who had visited Bethlehem. Is there any chance, he asked, of these people we have educated getting to the Colonies or to the Dominions? For they can see no hope in the Middle East. I have in my case a letter from another asking if I will support his application for British nationality. That is the way many of them are thinking. Another is meeting me to-morrow to discuss how the social services, which are not considered as a relief fund responsibility, may be kept going when the funds left by the Mandatory are exhausted. And what of those hundreds of thousands who cannot raise their voices and are waiting hopelessly to find out what their fate will be?

It is easy to apportion blame. It is easy to say that the U.N.O. should do more, but the fact is that :

Public opinion must be roused so that immediate relief is continued and increased.

The voluntary organizations of a humanitarian and non-political character must be given a vastly increased support by people of this and every land if they are to administer sympathetically the relief which U.N.O. gives. That is what our experience shows.

And immediate steps must be taken to resettle these people on the land and rehabilitate them. If, as seems inevitable, Israel declines to allow more than a small percentage to return other plans for them must be made.

A very great responsibility rests upon us.

REVIEWS

The Jungle is Neutral. By F. Spencer Chapman, D.S.O. Foreword by Field-Marshal Earl Wavell. Chatto and Windus. Pp. xiv + 436. Index. 5 Maps. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. 18s. net.

It is generally agreed that this is a most remarkable book, from many angles. Lord Wavell's foreword, more eloquent than any review, describes the "story of endurance and survival beyond the normal human capacity for survival." "Inevitably," he says, "Colonel Chapman's adventures and achievements recall . . . T. E. Lawrence, who also endured greatly and survived by the high quality of his spirit," reference "chapters 31, 32 and 81 of the *Seven Pillars*." (He might have mentioned 80.) "Though his [Chapman's] tale is well and simply told, with many a keen and humorous turn of phrase, and though his pen has recaptured some sharply focused snapshots of the natural life of the jungle, he has not T. E.'s literary genius; nor his introspection."

Against this Harold Nicholson in the *Telegraph* remarks: "Although he modestly refrains from introspection, he conveys a clear idea of the kind of character and intelligence which can alone enable a man to face such isolation and so many terrors."

The *Observer* considers that "the high quality of the book springs from the author's power of description, which is that of a very considerable natural writer . . . who, without literary polish or grace, evokes whatever he wishes by an unerring use of plain language." Compton Mackenzie puts the volume in the top class for boys—literally and slangily—terrific. Lord Mountbatten gives his opinion: "I very much doubt if anyone else can equal his adventures or achievements." Also he says: "Colonel Chapman did more single-handed than a whole division of the British Army could have achieved."

So much for the views of some who ought to know.

Colonel Chapman is a schoolmaster in the middle thirties. He had found time to join in and write about a Greenland Arctic air route expedition, a visit to Lhasa, and climbing in the Himalayas. He was to have attacked Everest in 1940. And so, in our British way, after taking advantage of his ski skill in commando training with Lord Lovat in Lochailort, Switzerland, and other places, he was posted to train Australians in jungle warfare, on Wilson's Promontory in Victoria. And some Malayan experts were sent to Switzerland to learn ski-ing! But Chapman's all-round training—in maps and direction finding, fitness, cooking, kit, tracks and tracking, ambushing and escaping—stood him in good stead. Even his Eskimo notation for diaries was useful in case of Jap capture.

In August 1941, five months before Pearl Harbour, the author was transferred to Singapore, to inaugurate with Lt.-Col. Gavin, R.E., No. 101 Special Training School, which trained all types in irregular warfare, intelligence, demolitions and general sabotage. Detailed plans for stay-behind parties were at once prepared, but after some delay were turned down by a shellback headquarters in October. Had such plans been developed, with full, rather than conditional, Australian co-operation, resolute official backing, *and* a bit of luck, the story of Malaya might have been different. About Christmas, Chapman, Warren and Sartin reached Kuala Lumpur. Then followed fruitless

efforts to persuade various generals to land personnel for delaying action. But the reactions of senior officers to such unseemly employment of trained battalions were not favourable, and our fire-eating adventurer set off on a personal reconnaissance behind the enemy lines. He saw joints in this armour which were to be useful in the days ahead. On the evidence, three officers organized demolition schemes, but were delayed in execution by a ten-mile cross-country journey which took them twelve days, in which hunger and exhaustion nearly cost them their lives. They did not know this jungle.

Then followed "the mad fortnight." With half a ton of explosives the bag was fifteen bridges, eight trains, forty motors and a thousand Japs. And wasn't it fun! The tempo was fiercer than Lawrence's in 1917-18 while it lasted. But when Singapore had fallen there was little point in continuing such efforts.

After various perilous interludes, the author joined the Chinese guerrillas in March 1942. By this time the jungle had become more neutral. The white man's signal was the tawny owl's hunting cry, for recognition the "Lambeth Walk," and for torches fireflies in bamboos.

In view of post-war developments in Malaya, it is interesting to study these Malayan Communist Party Organizations. Their goal was the Communist Republic of Malaya, and Chapman was useful to them because he could instruct and supplement their very rudimentary military knowledge. Also, when he knew their hide-outs, it would have been awkward if under Jap torture he had revealed their secrets. He was brave, but stupid, some thought, because he always told the truth. Command was highly centralized and everything was delayed by reference to Communist H.Q. Discipline was severe, and policy, ethics, ideology and even routine were drastically regulated from above. Chapman was for years virtually their prisoner, discouraged from learning Mandarin as possibly unwise knowledge by a British officer in their hoped-for future. They had traitor-killing camps whose methods are described. Their daily programme, 4 a.m. to 9 p.m., is given in detail (pages 163 to 175). But for Hiroshima, results in 1945 might have been, in Lord Wavell's words, "an innings defeat for the enemy." For as Lord Mountbatten explained to the Royal Geographical Society in December 1946, the Japs swallowed our bogus orders about landing in Kedah, and there were only a thousand men to oppose "Operation Zipper" at Port Dickson. In the five hundred intervening miles our liaison officers and this anti-Japanese army were waiting for them, on the only road and the only railway, with modern weapons.

But it is a melancholy thought that this same training has no doubt added much to our post-war difficulties in pacifying Malaya.

There are interesting parallels with "the war in the desert" of 1917-18. Lawrence faced traitors and hostile Arabs, snakes, heat and cold, wounds, malaria, hunger and fatigue, but he was in tune with his hosts, supported from above, buoyed by recognition and success, and had breaks in Cairo and elsewhere. Chapman was alone for three years, for a year he saw no white man, and for a month he was alone in the jungle, unhelped by even the frightened Sakai. A price likewise on his head, he must avoid Indians and Malays and not a few Chinese. Often wounded, he suffered from pneumonia, chronic malaria (too little quinine), dysentery, black water, beriberi and scabies. Septic ulcers, mostly from leeches, were always with him. Besides venomous snakes, he had, often unarmed, to watch out for pythons, tigers, Malayan bears; bison, scorpions, elephants, crocodiles and poisoned darts. British prestige was at a very low ebb and there was little support he could count on. Those atom bombs robbed him of a wonderful finale as a result of his work, which might have been a really worthwhile compensation.

His food, when not confined to tapioca, oats and rice, was more varied than fell to his prototype. At times there was prawn curry and shark's fin and chicken, not to say durian. At other times pot-boilers like monkeys, pigs, turtles, snakes (a coassin tastes, he says, between chicken and lobster), monitor lizards and their eggs, in fact almost anything that moved. Once a mysterious dish tasted less rank than monkey, but not so good as pig. Later he learnt it was Jap.

Like Lawrence he reacted to danger. Lawrence laughed at a hold-up by bandits, who thereat lost their nerve and let him escape. Chapman also laughed, at dozens of grimacing Japs shouting Killy Kollack, exactly as caricatured. His escape that night was a masterpiece. Once at Mile 90, his six Chinese in a small car met the headlights of a Jap lorry, with, as he learnt later, forty-two soldiers. The Chinese dispersed in the jungle. The author gently lobbed two grenades into the lorry "as a diversion," and then hid under his car. Eight soldiers were killed and many more wounded. Often one wondered whether those stories of instant heroism by Anthony Hope and others could happen in real life. Lawrence and Chapman show they can.

It is idle perhaps to speculate whether the one, with like training and opportunities, could have achieved the results of the other. The idea calls for an abstruse weighing of the relative obstacles to survival and relative vitality and force of character. Here perhaps T. E.'s later years give the relevant pointer. This edition, slightly longer (it is about 170,000 words) than the 1935 edition of the *Seven Pillars*, will undoubtedly be reprinted. Though from the purely literary angle Lawrence scores, Chapman is the more normal Englishman and therefore at times less dramatic; his work must appeal to a larger public—the soldier, the explorer, the nature lover, the sociologist, and, last but not least, the boy of ten. Lawrence first used the camel like an admiral of the Bluewater School, to attack from the unseen desert. Chapman's efforts showed many facets, no doubt being studied at the War Office.

Equipment for jungle warfare has yet to be perfected. One inference is the need for some portable bicycle, lighter than the army folding type or the Corgi motor-scooter. The French "Petit-Bi" of the 1948 Paris Exhibition seems relevant here.

About the five maps. They are much better than most such, but not, one is convinced, up to the author's own standard. The folding map at the end is part of the "million" sheet. This key map should record inset the locus of the smaller "half-million" maps (7·89 m. to 1 in.). Efforts should be made to ensure that the various place names in the text are shown on the maps. It would help if dates and arrows were shown along the route lines. Since the total area involved is only 180 miles by 70, it might well be that two half-million sheets could meet most requirements. Five one-inch insets would be useful—for the ten-mile journey in twelve days, for the mad demolition fortnight, for the month after the escape from the northern bandits, and for the submarine pick-up. These sub-maps should be openable for perusal after and while reading the relevant chapter. If there is no room for a place name, a number in colour might suffice. Some readers regard such aids as important.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance of this work. It may be that in the reprint the author, who, like Lawrence, lost his diaries, may be able to add some of those dramatic touches, those dreams of semi-consciousness, which will give his ideas of neutral jungle immortality. Long years we hope lie ahead of this modern version of Sir Francis Drake. We also hope that those undoubted national assets embodied in this definitely live wire are being utilized in the proper quarters.

G. M. R.

The Background of Eastern Sea Power. By F. B. Eldridge, M.A. Pp. 386. 8½" × 5½". Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. London: Phœnix House, in association with Georgian House, Melbourne. 1948. 18s.

This is the London edition of a book first published in Australia in 1945. The author, Instructor in History at the Royal Australian Naval College, has taken as his geographical field the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and treated it in long historical perspective, divided into four periods: the Ancient East (in which he includes the Middle Ages of Western chronology), the Coming of the European, the Dutch and English, and the Establishment of British Maritime Supremacy in the East. While he modestly claims to have said nothing new or original, the result of this courageous venture in "wide-angle" synthesis could not fail to be useful to a wide public. The remarks that follow are intended, not as detraction, but as suggestions for improving a study which deserves, with some revision, to become a standard text-book.

The present reviewer is qualified to judge only those sections dealing with the Middle East. In this field the author has conspicuously failed to consult a number of recent and authoritative works, not perhaps realizing the amount of vital research done in the last thirty years. There is no reference whatever, for example, to the Sumerians, who were probably the pioneers in commerce between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley c. 3000 B.C.; Mr. Eldridge mentions no date earlier than the thirteenth century B.C. He has thus been led to exaggerate the importance as pioneers of the Phœnicians in the Arabian seas. Coming down to the Græco-Roman period, he has not apparently used Rostovtzeff's two great *Economic and Social Histories* or even the *Cambridge Ancient History*. He may be forgiven for not having heard of the recent discovery of "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India" (R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishna Deva, *Ancient India*, No. 2 (July, 1946), pp. 17-124); but his neglect of archaeological evidence is general. The bibliography for the chapter on the Arabs is equally defective: there is no reference to that mine of information, the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, or to the chapter "Geography and Commerce" in *The Legacy of Islam*. Subsequently, Mr. Eldridge might have cited the relevant volumes of that excellent series, the *Pioneer Histories*, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.

The variant transliterations of Arabic names used by his sources have produced such unnecessary tautologies as "Zaid (or Zeyd)," "Sulaiman (or Soleyman)"; and either the author or his indexer did not realize that al-Biruni and "Albyrouny" are identical, but *not* identical with "Edrisi" (pp. 371, 375).

The "exhaustive" bibliography would be improved by the inclusion in all cases of the frequently-omitted authors' initials and the dates of publication. The frequent entry, "*Encyclopædia Britannica*: various articles," is completely unhelpful. Notwithstanding the "rich collection of illustrations" to which the jacket refers, both the appearance and the usefulness of the book suffer from the weakness of the author's sketch-maps, which need to be re-drawn by a competent draughtsman with firmer outlines, larger and better lettering, and the insertion of the scales which are invariably lacking.

GEORGE KIRK.

Delhi—Chungking. By K. P. S. Menon. Pp. 245. 19 illustrations, 2 maps. 9" × 5". Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.

This is the diary of a journey to and through places which have not been visited by many British or Indians, and from the story the reader will see how well the author, now Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, is qualified for his present job. He has travelled widely in Europe and Africa as well as in Asia, and has made friends with many interesting men, a great number of whom are in high positions. He possesses, moreover, the faculty of keen observation, a great sense of humour, and is very well read.

The stages of his journey to Gilgit need no remark other than a protest against the inclusion, in a reference to Nanga Parbat, of a dramatic but happily premature

account of the death in 1937 and subsequent exhumation of Paul Bauer. That great mountaineer is still very much alive and during the war became the father of two fine girls. Mr. Menon apologizes, and hopes one day to meet him, after disposing of him so romantically.

Mr. Menon describes vividly the arduous marches up through Hunza across the Karakoram by the Mintaka Pass, and on to Yarkand, interspersing his narrative with bits of Hunza history and legend, and quotations from two great Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hsien and Hsuan Tsang. These two had visited Sarikol, the "silk country," in about A.D. 400 and 600, and Mr. Menon fully appreciated the privilege of following in their steps.

From Yarkand, in the company of Mr. Gillett, his host in Sinkiang, a visit was made to Khotan, and thence, still by car, back along the "Silk Road" through Yarkand to Kashgar. Though Kashgar itself was comparatively dull, many interesting contacts were made before starting the thousand-mile journey to Urumchi. The onward route lies, for the most part, parallel to the Tian Shan and is one of the great caravan roads of history. Mr. Menon gives an outline of the Tungan rebellion, and also tells of a meeting with a Chinese Christian general who once baptized a whole regiment with a fire hose. He describes the scene from Urumchi as one of incredible loveliness: the blue skies, the purple-hued bare willows, the half-frozen blue and white Urumchi River, and the white peaks of Bogdo Ola, the "Spirit Mountain," sacred to the Mongols.

Under the heading "Return to Civilization" he describes various functions and interesting contacts during the nineteen days' wait for a plane to take him on to Lanchow, where, in a lovely glen surrounded by hills standing like sentinels, is the tomb of Genghis Khan.

Chungking, the final stage, was reached on December 10, just six months after leaving Delhi. The numerous apt and interesting quotations from Chinese and other travellers, philosophers and historians enhance this most interesting diary. It is, moreover, a pleasure to note here and there the author's affection for his own Malabar and its people.

H. W. TOBIN.

The Chinese Language. By R. A. D. Forrest. Faber and Faber, London (*The Great Languages* series). 1948. Pp. 352. 35s.

Although the Chinese language is spoken by a bigger proportion of mankind than any other, has over three millennia of written history, and consequently might be expected to offer much material of value for the general study of philology, it has in fact received the attention of scientific investigators only during the last half-century. On the other hand, it has perhaps been a compensating advantage for Chinese linguistics that the subject has been approached with the apparatus of philological science already elaborated from studies of other languages. Mr. Forrest's synoptic work reveals how much has been accomplished in that half-century—by Maspero, Karlgren and others. It treats of the Chinese language in all its aspects. Proceeding from a general account of the written character, the author describes the exploration of its "signific-phonetic" system, as well as of rhyme tables, early pronouncing dictionaries and mutual transliterations of Chinese and foreign loan words as clues to the language of earlier ages. A comparison between Chinese and neighbouring tongues—from which emerges its affinity to Tibetan and T'ai—completes the groundwork, from which the author goes on to the development of the language through the various stages determined by Karlgren in his *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* to survey the forms it presents in its modern dialects. The concluding chapter gives an account of the reaction of modern Chinese alike to the development of the country's internal communications and to contact with the languages and cultures of the world at large.

Much of this material seems to be new: amongst such items may be mentioned at random the explanation of Chinese classifiers by comparison with Miao and T'ai usage (pp. 156-7); observations on the evolution towards, and later away from, monosyllabism of the earliest and of modern Chinese; and the position outside the

direct line of descent of Pekingese to be ascribed to the court language of the T'ang Dynasty and to the "learned" speech forms of Fukien, especially Amoy, which Mr. Forrest regards as its descendant and which he aptly terms "T'ang Min." Also new is the great attention paid to southern dialects. Much of the material collected by earlier scholars, too, is here presented in an easily accessible publication for the first time. As yet regrettably little research appears to have been undertaken into Chinese semantics. An outstanding merit of the book is its use of the international phonetic alphabet for all transcriptions—an improvement on the obscure idiosyncrasies, for instance, of Karlgren, as also on the ill-conceived "Gwoyeu Romatzyh." But with the advantage that these symbols are easily understood and precise goes the necessity to employ them with precision. Unfortunately the book offers examples not only of the use of two symbols for one sound and of one symbol for two sounds, but also of inconsistency in the transcription of the same word on different pages: recurring examples are hesitation between upper and middle even tone marks, symbols for open and close vowels of *a* and *o* series and symbols for the palatal fricatives. The question arises whether many of these graphies represent direct recordings of Chinese at all, or rather adaptations from dictionaries and grammars transcribed in less precise systems. The doubt increases in the transcriptions of Cantonese: the very common descending diphthong *eu*—as in the Hong of Hongkong—is throughout the book written *œ*, an unaccountable error which first occurred in Dyer Ball and Eitel—though corrected in Genähr's edition of the latter—and was copied thence by Parker (in Giles) and even by Karlgren. Mr. Forrest must know Cantonese well, and it looks as if he has copied too closely from Karlgren despite what his own ear must have recorded.

The price of the book seems high, and doubtless one reason is the reproduction of "literary extracts" to illustrate the historical development of the language. But experts will learn little from this brief anthology, whilst readers unfamiliar with Chinese characters will make nothing of them. If conformity with other books in the same series required their inclusion, then at least they should have been prepared as decent examples of calligraphy—not necessarily at any extra cost. As it is, the scribe has used a European pen and is neither above scratching out his mistakes nor above leaving them uncorrected (*e.g.*, the extra stroke in *han*, "seldom," on pp. 279 and 285). The brush that copied the character index in indifferent *Sung-t'i* likewise gave No. 282 a stroke too many and No. 514 one too few. Nevertheless philologists—including the numerous amateurs who pursue that study—have at last a scholarly but well-balanced description of a hitherto all but inaccessible tongue, whilst conversely at least one student of Chinese has derived fresh courage from the realization that after all it is a human language like any other!

DENNIS J. DUNCANSON.

A China Manual. By N. Whyment. Pp. 352. Illustrations. Chinese Government Information Office, London. 1948.

This is a convenient handbook for reference—giving statistics on every side of life in China, with historical, geographical and linguistic information which remains of value even when political conditions are changing as rapidly as now in China.

Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki. With translation and notes by G. Jarring. Pt. II. Pp. 183. Gleerup, Lund. 1948.

Dr. Jarring has published the second volume of a work that it is intended to complete in three parts, at a moment when Sinkiang is perhaps more cut off from the rest of Asia than at any time in her history, and when the outlook for the future is quite obscure. All students of the history and development of Turkish and allied languages will be glad to know that such a work of scholarship has accurately preserved at least some examples of Eastern Turki dialects for the benefit of those who may hope to visit Central Asia in happier days to come, as also for the use of students of comparative philology and phonetics.

The tales, riddles, verses, and geographical descriptions recorded here are printed

in the international phonetic script and are accompanied by a word-by-word translation into English. Those accustomed to read Turki in Arabic script will find the phonetics take a little time to become easily recognizable, but for Dr. Jarring's purpose they are essential, as the normal spelling of course ignores local variations in pronunciation. This work must be of permanent value since the dialects here preserved may soon cease to exist in anything like their present forms. Contacts with the U.S.S.R. have been greatly extended during the past ten years, and the Eastern Turki, which among living languages is nearest to the archaic speech, is thus tending to become assimilated to the Western Turki dialects of the U.S.S.R. in Central Asia.

It is a pity that for purposes of comparison it was not possible to include an extract showing the colloquial Turki spoken by a well-educated man, preferably from Kashgar; of such there is here no example at all. The philological interest of the present collection is great, but to hand it to someone who wished to learn to speak Turki would be rather like handing a would-be student of English an anthology of stories written alternately in broad Zumberzet and Cockney. For the same reason one wonders why the local pronunciation of names has been repeated in the English translation, where, instead of the normal English spelling of common Muslim names, or the phonetic spelling of the Turki text, a French spelling has been unaccountably substituted. The most obvious of these are the spellings used for, p. 3, Yusuf Hajji and Rabi' Khan; p. 4, Abdullah Jan, Rahim-ud-Din Jan, Hassan Akhond; p. 5, Akhond and Kuchar.

A question that Dr. Jarring may be able to answer is whether the frequent omission of "r" by Turkis from Yarkand and Aqsu is a peculiarity of local dialect (which some of his material in Part I of the present work would seem to deny), or is possibly an effect of the goitre from which the unfortunate inhabitants of those two oases generally suffer?

Perhaps when this book comes to be reprinted it may be feasible to accompany the phonetic form of each story by a transcript to show how the words would appear in Turki text. This would serve to show the beginner in Turki how variously the same written expression may be pronounced or contracted in speech. Objection might be taken on the ground that written and spoken sentences are never framed quite alike in Turki. But if the present tales can be translated into an English unknown to the idiom of England, there seems no reason why they should not also be printed in Turki script, provided that the reader is forewarned that he is here meeting the spoken and not the literary form of syntax.

For those who are not using this book to study phonetics alone, the most enjoyable section is the collection of verses from Tashmaliq, a small village in the countryside of the Kashgar oasis. One of these, on p. 165, No. 15, is a verse also known to the woman Dr. Jarring met from Kashgar, which might be rendered:

You may be the flower of the meadow,
I am its nightingale!
You can trust to your pretty face,
I am the servant of God!
*(i.e., I put my faith in God and do not mean to be
 enslaved by you!)*

Verse 18, in complete contrast, expresses a deep religious feeling in sorrow:

I have never hitherto passed this way,
 But Abraham was before me on the road,
 It is God Who has parted the lover from his Beloved.

Like its predecessor, this volume is admirably produced and printed, and the careful arrangement of text and translation makes it a pleasure to read. It is good news that the third and final volume will shortly appear to complete this unique and valuable source-book for spoken Turki.

Adventures with God in Freedom and in Bonds. By J. de Mayer. Evangelical Publishers, 366, Bay St., Toronto. Agents: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London. 11s. 6d.

A volume which has just been republished in America under the title "Adventures with God" is the record of incidents in the life of Jenny de Mayer. This lady was a *personnage* of Central Asian life, where her *rappports* with the Tsarist court ensured her the respect of all consulate officials.

It is such books as this which, when the story they relate is pieced together, make real historical records, and there is much to be learnt from the detailed account of one who experienced first-hand dealings with difficult nations in remote places. She is a woman of great culture and spoke twenty-two languages in the course of her missionary life among many tribes. She notes the exertion of attempting to think, read and speak in so many tongues. It was a colossal task and her work of bringing Scriptures to so many people called for amazing adaptability and energy. She moved in and out among the most rigid Moslems as the only unveiled woman many of them had ever seen, and everywhere she found well-wishers and those who accepted the Bible from her hands.

Her days of free movement were under Tsarist rule, but when the Soviet took control her position was different and she found herself in prison for propagating a religion which was not in accord with their dictates. She passed through all the tortures which are meted out to-day to those who are taken captive by these people—the icy cells, the midnight interrogations and the mental distress caused by the prolonged questionings, the verminous conditions and general ill-treatment. She was kept in eight different prisons for varying periods, and once she even found herself in a gaol which had formerly been a depot of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Her fearless evangelistic work must bring its own reward and her courage and faith should be an inspiration to all who read the volume. She is now a free woman and lives in America, where she exerts herself to do all that lies in her power for the redemption of her beloved Russian people.

F. F.

Early Indus Civilization. By Ernest Mackay, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A. Luzac and Co. 17s. 6d.

This second and posthumous edition, with a foreword by the author's wife, has been made, Mrs. Mackay tells us, at the request of Indian students, as a résumé of the extensive excavations made over a period of years at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and Chanhu-daro.

Harappa, in the Montgomery district of the Punjab, is the centre of the pre-Aryan civilization of India, contemporary, as Mohenjo-daro excavation has revealed, with the early Dynastic III period of Sumer, c. 2500 B.C. The pictographic script of the Harappa people bears resemblance to Proto-Elamite script, and, according to Sir Alexander Cunningham, may be the derivation of the Brahmi alphabet.

Dr. Mackay was in charge of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro from 1926 to 1932, and at another Harappa site, Chanhu-daro, from 1935 to 1936, and although the only extant inscriptions are very brief, and found only on the seals and amulets and a few tools and weapons, the excavations of the city of Mohenjo-daro have provided a mass of material from which it is possible to obtain a picture of the Harappan life and culture.

The bed of the Indus has risen twenty feet since Mohenjo-daro was built beside it, so it has not been possible to reach the lowest levels for excavation, but a sequence of five cultures has been established—Harappa I, II, and III, Jhukar, perhaps the forerunner of the Aryan invasion, and finally the Jhangar, perhaps only an isolated and wandering tribe.

Sir Aurel Stein in 1927 discovered Harappan-type remains in Baluchistan, proof probably of a thriving trade carried on by the Harappan peoples, and Sir John Marshall, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, is satisfied the Harappan

culture spread as far as the Ganges Valley, embracing an area considerably larger than either Egypt or Sumer.

Dr. Mackay's book gives a detailed account of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro, with their implications, with chapters on Architecture, Religion, Dress, Arts and Crafts, Tools and Weapons, and Customs and Amusements, which provide comprehensive information concerning the city and its inhabitants, and should carry out what Mrs. Mackay says was the wish of the writer, to encourage the patient work in the field by which the fascinating knowledge that lies buried can be harvested.

E. K. FORSYTH.

India of My Dreams by Mahatma Gandhi. Pp. 129. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Rs. 2.

An anthology in English from the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, compiled by R. K. Prabhu.

New Weapons for Old Enemies. By F. L. Brayne, C.S.I. Pp. 16. London. 1948.

Published and sold by the India Village Welfare Association to provide the latest instruction, in English, on the use and value of paludrine, DDT and gammexane in the prevention and cure of malaria.

Im Garten der Göttlichen Nanda. By R. Jonas. Pp. 167. 93 illustrations, 3 maps.* L. W. Seidel und Sohn, Wien.

This is an account of the Expedition to Garhwal in 1938 in which five Austrians and one German took part, with whom, for liaison as well as for climbing, was Whitehead of the Indian Army. Publication was delayed by the war, but the appearance of this book now is opportune, for it enables close comparison with the recently published narrative in *Montagnes du Monde* of the Swiss Expedition of 1947 to the same region. The leader of the 1938 party was Professor Rudolf Schwarzgruber, and the author, Rudolf Jonas, was the doctor.

Though this part of the Himalaya is comparatively easy of access owing to the sacred shrines about the sources of the Ganges, the great mountains hard by had received less attention than the still greater peaks further east, such as Trisul, Nanda Devi and Kamet.

The book begins with a brief history of climbing in the Himalaya, and a comparison with that in the Alps. There follow descriptions of the climbers and their Sherpa porters. Of the latter, Wangdi Norbu (also known as Ongdi) was outstanding, for he had been on no less than five expeditions—on Kangchenjunga 1929 with Paul Bauer, Kamet, Everest, Nanga Parbat and Mana Peak with Smythe. He was later on the Swiss Expedition of 1947 and nearly lost his life on Kedarnath in the second major accident of his career as a "Tiger."

There is an interesting discussion of the origin of the "heavenly Nanda," from which the book takes its title. Nanda is often found in Himalayan nomenclature—viz., Nanda Devi, Nanda Ghunti, Nandaban, Alaknanda. The Sanskrit dictionary gives the meaning as "joy" and also as a name for Vishnu. Nandā is a synonym for the goddess Durga. A Garhwali legend tells of a Kumaoni princess Nanda whose lover, though turned away by her father, nevertheless continued to strive for her. Eventually the princess sought refuge on the unconquerable peak of Nanda Devi.

* "Meader Col," just north of Chaukhamba on the Gangotri map, is only some 30 miles away from "Meader Col" on the ridge joining Ibi Gamin East with Kamet.

Schwarzgruber's party were favoured with exceptionally fine weather, for the monsoon ended early. Dividing forces, they acclimatized themselves gradually with ascents of the lesser peaks of Bhagirathi North (21,364 ft.) and Chandra Parbat (22,073 ft.). Thus encouraged they decided to try Satopanth and Chaukhamba, twenty-three-thousanders, the two highest mountains in the district.

On the former, Ellmauthaler, Frauenberger and Whitehead, with two Sherpas, encountered great difficulties, and Whitehead, though not fully recovered from his illness developed on the way up from the plains, took over most of the load from a sick Sherpa. His illness was subsequently diagnosed as sprue, and during the expedition he lost over 30 pounds in weight. They concluded that Satopanth should be attacked pre-monsoon by the north-east ridge, which was in fact the route successfully taken by André Roch in 1947.

On Chaukhamba, Messner and Spannraft spent more than four weeks examining the approaches from all sides. Only that from the north-east by way of the Bhagirathi-Kharak glacier seemed feasible, but here unfortunately their porters failed them after an avalanche swept over the tracks they had just made, covering them with ice-dust. In view of the avalanche disaster in 1939 which overtook Roch's party in almost the same spot, killing two porters, it appears there were some grounds for the Sherpas' hesitancy. Roch also inspected the western approaches in 1947 and agrees with Messner and Spannraft that the most promising approach is from the north-east.

Meanwhile Schwarzgruber, who was just recovering from a severe attack of dysentery, Ellmauthaler, Frauenberger and Whitehead had been tackling Kedarnath (22,770 ft.) from the north-north-west, but were brought up by a dangerous ice wall. As they were directly in the track of avalanches they decided the risk was unjustifiable and returned to base camp at Nandaban. They agreed that the route tried by Marco Pallis in 1934, up the long ridge between "White Dome" (as the Swiss named the eastern satellite) and the summit, afforded the best chance of success, especially in the pre-monsoon period. It is interesting to note that the Swiss party, who successfully used this route in 1947, decided to descend directly to the Kirti glacier, thus avoiding retracing their steps along the ridge, and must have followed approximately the proposed route of the Austrian expedition.

Sri Kailas (22,742ft.) was the next and final objective and was scaled in intensely cold conditions on October 16 by Schwarzgruber, Ellmauthaler, Jonas and Frauenberger. They were surprised to find themselves on the northern edge, as it were, of the Himalaya, looking down to and over the plains of Tibet. Jonas questions the name of this peak. Kailas, the real Olympus of the Hindus, lies some six score miles to the east. Sri, of course, means "holy," but it seems strange that a mountain so far from the pilgrim track should be named Sri Kailas, the "holy of holies."

No account of the Gangotri region would be complete without reference to Shivling, mountain of Shiva the destroyer, the "Himalayan Matterhorn," which towers, mighty and majestic, above the base camp at Nandaban, inspiring the hearts of the climbers. Though at first a vision of utter inaccessibility, Shivling soon became more familiar and almost like a guardian sentinel. Indeed, they so far forgot their awe as to plan routes for some further ascent.

The first illustration is a very fine colour photo of Shivling, and the many other photographs in the book are of exceptional quality.

The book ends with a few medical notes and a résumé of the accomplishments of Austrians in the Himalaya. Though his last paragraph is touched with sadness because it must be so long before his countrymen can climb again, Dr. Jonas does not doubt that there will be many more Austrian climbers playing their parts in the future exploration of the Himalaya.

Dr. Jonas has given an excellent account of the expedition, and has added materially to our previous knowledge of the Gangotri region.

To conclude with a banality: Dr. Jonas waxes ecstatic on the subject of the British plum cake, which, he writes, "is to be found wherever Britons live." (Alas that we must now substitute "was" for "is to be"!)

The Arabs. A Short History by Professor P. K. Hitti. Pp. viii + 208. Macmillan, London. 1948. 10s. 6d.

An abridged edition of Dr. Hitti's well-known history, which will be invaluable to all who, for reasons of space or expense, are unable to have the larger work in their library.

A Handbook of Diplomatic and Political Arabic. By B. Lewis. Pp. 73. Luzac. 1947. 4s. 6d.

A most useful supplement to the Arabic Dictionary for those in any official position in an Arab country: the titles and other expressions are given in Arabic text, pointed fully where necessary, with the English translation in a parallel column.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,
ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL.

SIR,

It has recently been brought to my notice that I omitted to mention in my article on the Yemen the name of Harold Jacob, whose connection with the Yemen during his tour of official duty at Aden is well known. In such a summary intended to cover the history of the last hundred years sins of omission are bound to occur. But I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to his work and also to that which has been and is being done by Mr. Basil Seager, C.M.G., O.B.E., at present British Agent, Western Aden Protectorate. Seager's work is, of course, well known to those in authority, and since 1934 no Englishman has surpassed him in his deep knowledge and understanding of the kingdom and its people.

Mr. Seager has been particularly reticent about his achievements, and has shrunk very emphatically from any publicity. It was with this in mind that I decided not to mention his name. I hope, therefore, that he will forgive me any embarrassment which this note might cause him, prompted as I am to remind your readers of his great accomplishments.

Yours faithfully,
ERIC MACRO.

NEWBURY,
March 23, 1949.

ERRATA

By a printer's error, the following footnote was omitted on p. 86 of the Journal (January, 1949, Pt. 1):

This description of the Naphtha at Baku may be compared with the Map facing p. 26 of this issue of the Journal.

On p. 49 line 42 (8 lines from the bottom) the sentence should read: "A century later, in 1709, the French were on the scene, and we hear in 1711 of a French captain deputing his surgeon Barbier . . ."

On p. 90, 12 lines from the bottom, the sentence should read "Lord Lloyd first served on the Council in 1910"; 1924 was the year of his second period of service on the Council of this Society.



Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXXVI JULY—OCT., 1949 PARTS III. & IV.

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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 military 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.)

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

FOR the last few years the journal has carried a notice appealing to members to sign a deed of covenant. We are still only receiving almost £250 in income from this source. Now that members once more are living a more settled life, the Council again appeals for the signature of covenants by those who pay British Income Tax, and would particularly ask that those proposing new candidates for election should point out to them the advantage which will accrue to the Society if they sign such a deed at the time when they take up membership.

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 Council acknowledges with gratitude the following accessions to the library :

Iconography of Southern India, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

The Sportsman's Guide to Kashmir, by A. E. Ward.

A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs, collected by Rev. J. Geegan. Pamphlets and reprinted articles on Central Asia. All presented by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg.

The Population of the Soviet Union, by F. Lorimer. 1946.

Contributions to the Anthropology of the Soviet Union, by Henry Field. Presented by the author.

Caucasia in the History of Mayyafariqin, by V. Minorsky. Presented by the author.

Ancient Libraries of Iraq, by G. Awad. (Arabic text.) Presented by the author.

Al Ma'assir and fragments of *Kitab al Wuzara' of Hilal as-Sabi*, by M. Awad. (Arabic texts.) Presented by the author.

In the American *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2, for 1949, appeared an interesting paper on the connection between the incidence of malaria and neglected irrigation systems in the Selemya region near Hama in Central Syria. The author is Mr. N. N. Lewis of the Middle East Centre at Shemlan. He gives an account of the local *foqqaras* (elsewhere called *qanat* or *kariz*) on which most of the irrigation depends. Control of malaria and conservation of soil in the hills go together. Local jealousies sometimes prevent the water of a *foqqara* (underground conduit) reaching the whole area that it should irrigate. Fifty deaths from malaria at Tell et-Tout in 1941 were due to that village having deliberately blocked a *foqqara* whose water should also have irrigated their neighbours' lands. The author recommends Government schemes of regional development to cover work for irrigation, soil conservation, grazing, malaria prevention, and similar problems whose solution depends upon co-ordinated activity.

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

The attention of members is drawn to the announcement (see p. 229) that the Annual Dinner will be held this year on Tuesday, October 18th, at Claridge's Hotel, London, W. 1. The cost of tickets will be 25s. a head, exclusive of wine, but including waiters' tips.

OBITUARY

COLONEL C. B. STOKES, C.I.E., D.S.O., O.B.E.

THE death of Colonel Stokes in December, 1948, after a long period of indifferent health due to heart trouble, will recall to many older members a vigorous and attractive personality. Persia and Trans-Caucasia attracted him when he was adjutant of the 3rd Skinner's Horse about 1904, and a few years later, when Military Attaché in Teheran, he became an international incident, his removal being demanded by Russia. He saw clearly then that appeasement was no method for dealing with Russia, and he detested the "Partition" of Persia under the Convention of 1907.

Back there again in 1918, it is no exaggeration to say that he was the most forceful personality in South Russia and North Persia in the cause of a settlement which would give peace to the small peoples—Persians, Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis—under the protection of the League of Nations. All this clattered to the ground, but Stokes was the last Englishman to leave Trans-Caucasia in 1922, struggling to the end to protect his wayward and, not surprisingly, very frightened charges from the Bolshevist invasion.

On reaching home he was surprised and immensely gratified—for he was a modest man—to receive from Lord Curzon in person warm praise for his work. He was not so surprised to be informed that the Government of India considered he had been away unnecessarily long and they had no further use for his services either in the Military or Political Departments. So he retired to the Riviera, where he served till the fall of France as a Vice-Consul.

Stokes lived out of his time. In these days he would have been an excellent personal representative of the Prime Minister. Not perhaps a Hopkins or an Ismay, but his humour and resource allied to his unusual range of foreign languages would have been of great value. However, he was too old, too ill, and too much of a back number to be employed in the last war in a position such as that occupied with such distinction at Chungking by our present Chairman of Council. It is true that Stokes often forgot the Duke of Wellington's saying that "men who correspond over a space of 10,000 miles should watch their pens, for ink comes to burn like caustic when it crosses the sea." Communication between the Caucasus and London was at one time tedious—an eighteen-hour sea journey to Persia, thence cable via San Francisco. So a caustic reply to platitudes a fortnight old was not always successfully resisted. When, however, Stokes did get to those that mattered—such as Lord Milne, Sir Henry Wilson and Lord Curzon—his views were given full value. He even went very near to carrying into effect the Big Four's plan that Italy should take a Mandate for the Caucasus. Only Stokes and the late Duke of Aosta—who died later in Ethiopia in the last war as our prisoner—could have so nearly achieved success. The Mussolini march on Rome

destroyed what seemed then to be a plan with many attractions, however absurd now in retrospect.

Stokes did much for the Royal Central Asian Society in the early days, joining in 1907 and being a member of Council in the early 1920s, before he went to France.

W. M. T.

POPULATION PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

By W. B. FISHER, D.Sc.

A meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1, on Wednesday afternoon, May 11, 1949, and Dr. W. B. Fisher delivered a lecture on population problems in the Middle East. Lieutenant-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., etc. (Chairman of Council) presided.

Introducing the speaker to the meeting the CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen—Dr. W. B. Fisher belongs to the Department of Geography of the University of Aberdeen. He studied at the University of Paris, where he took his Doctorate just before the war with a thesis on the population of France. He then became a geographical editor on the staff of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Then the war came, and he joined the R.A.F. and served in the Middle East, including Tobruk. He was then sent as a liaison officer with the French in Syria. During the last ten years Dr. Fisher has been making a special study of the geography and population of the Middle East, and has a book on the subject about to be published. He has been studying these questions particularly since the end of the war, when he joined the staff of Manchester University, and during the last two years at Aberdeen. It is the population problem of the Middle East that he proposes to discuss to-day.

FROM time to time it seems that man feels a need to “mortify the flesh.” To this end the aborigines of Australia are accustomed to cut off fingers, we are told that the priests of Baal “gashed themselves with knives,” whilst in this country we either read Economic White Papers or go in for the study of population trends and statistics. The reason for the latter pursuit is that most parts of the world seem to have a population problem, with either too large or too small numbers.

As regards the Middle East, its countries have both of these extremes. In some areas, such as Lebanon and Egypt, the population density is very high, whereas in Iran and perhaps Iraq numbers are regarded as being insufficient for the full development of the country.

This afternoon I propose to make a very brief survey of the main facts connected with populations in the Middle East and to suggest to you one or two answers to the problems so raised.

The first point we have to consider when dealing with the population of a country is that of the census. In this country we can take the census figures for granted—but in the case of some Arab countries no useful census has ever been made. There have been obstacles in the way of preparing such records. Arabs as a people often do not have what Dr. Bonné describes as “the exact and numerical approach to reality.” One can sympathize with that attitude, for, as we here have good reason to know, it is often not convenient to have things written down on forms for permanent record against us. Then, too, it is only thirty years since the end of Ottoman rule in the Near East, and recollection of their methods still lingers. The two usual results of a census in pre-1918 days were an increase in taxation and conscription into the army. The automatic effect was that villagers either used to hide all their young men in some place outside the

hamlet while the census officials were there, or else used to minimize numbers as a whole. Since 1918 we have also come across the opposite fact, that in countries run on the basis of religious confession or sect it has now been brought home to the enlightened that an apparent increase in numbers will mean enhanced prestige for their denomination or creed by reason of increased voting-power. Fourthly, under the Muslim way of life, it is not polite to enquire as to how many wives a man has or where they reside. In Syria in the 1930s a census was taken. The work of collecting statistics was undertaken by university students, since most of the population was illiterate and could not fill in forms. They were sent round the country to make compilations, and, being enthusiastic to get the right figures, they asked in the Bedouin tents they visited just how many inhabitants there were. One student never returned from the enquiry.

Lastly, in Palestine particularly, the population figures are a matter of politics. Highly ingenious methods of indirect investigation have taken place, and the proper procedure for the indirect computation of the number of nomads has been argued with the assistance of the calculus and other forms of higher mathematics.

The published figures for these countries are hence a kind of residue left after all those matters have been overcome or allowed for, and I suggest that some results are accurate neither in detail nor in bulk. But for what they are worth we must use them, as there is nothing else; and it is reasonable to say that the population of the Middle East lies somewhere between 50 and 55 millions; 19,500,000 is the suggested figure for Egypt and 1,600,000 for Palestine. For Iran, where no census has been made, guesses as to the population vary between 8 and 17 millions. A similar situation holds in Saudi Arabia. For Arabia it is usual to assume as a basis that the average family numbers five; but when you know that H.M. King Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud has had forty-two sons and the number of his daughters is uncertain, you will see just how useful such a basic figure is. The Yemen is a closed country, and estimates of its population vary from 2 to 5 millions.

Another point is that the geographical distribution of population is very uneven indeed. The people are crowded very closely into a few good areas. The Nile valley around Cairo has 6,500 people per square mile, but a few miles away in the desert the population is only 7 to the square mile. If we consider countries as a whole the Lebanon has the most people per square mile. Palestine comes second, then comes Syria, and fourthly Cyprus. All these are to be considered as fairly densely populated. I have not mentioned Egypt because most of that country is desert and empty of population, with 99 per cent. of the people in 4 per cent. of the area.

The reason for the variations in density of population is that natural resources are so unequal. Some places are very fertile—*e.g.*, the Nile valley and the plain of the Euphrates and Tigris, both of which can support a large number of people. Other regions owe their dense population to having good communications. For example, Syrian nationalists sometimes say that the Lebanon has a large population because it benefits at the expense of Damascus and Aleppo. They argue that if the two countries were all one the trade from Damascus would go out through Syrian ports,

and that as it is the Lebanon has a sort of artificial privilege and advantage from being separated from the main Syrian state.

The main factor governing population distribution would seem to be rainfall. The problem of the Middle East is water supply, and so a population map is very similar to a rainfall map: heaviest rainfall, most people. The higher mountains of Turkey and Persia do not entirely come under this rule, but that is because parts are covered with snow. Otherwise it applies pretty generally, except that in a few other parts the distribution of population has been disturbed by political events.

In Cyrenaica the Italians admitted on their own figures that they had decimated the number of cattle between 1925 and 1935. The result was that there were fewer resources and the Arab people died off. In Iran, Riza Shah went in for a policy of ending tribal organization so as to force nomadic tribesmen to give up wandering, settle down, and adopt a different form of life. But when the tribesmen stopped moving around they ceased to leave behind encampments which had become insanitary, and epidemics of disease broke out. Moreover, there was not enough sustenance in any one spot to maintain people permanently, so there was nothing to eat. As a result, it is reckoned that some Persian tribes lost as many as 80 per cent. of their numbers in the ten years before last year. Then there have been massacres, such as that of the Armenians in Turkey in 1915, in Iraq in 1933, and again the events in Palestine during 1948. Massacres must therefore still be considered an element in producing changes of population. This is the background of what I have to say. Resources are sufficient for large numbers in some areas, but in most of the Middle East conditions are quite against a dense population.

Social changes have affected the population problem in the Middle East. Among primitive people it is found that the birth-rates and death-rates are both high—sometimes from 40 to 60 per 1,000. A large number of children are born, but they soon die. Forty is a very good age for a Bedouin Arab, and the average expectation of life is round about thirty years. Most of the population is, as a result, under twenty-five years old, giving a rather different aspect from what we have in this country.

On the other hand, turning to the most advanced communities with the highest standards of living, we find that birth-rates are low, and so are death-rates. The result is that in both communities, primitive and advanced, there is a rough balance: a number are born and the same number, more or less, die. But in those communities which lie in between—*i.e.*, are evolving towards higher standards (communities such as those in Egypt or Syria at present)—we find that the death-rate tends to drop quite suddenly as material conditions improve, but the birth-rate stays just as it was, so that an "intermediate" community has a high replacement rate with a large excess of births each year. In a primitive community many children are born and many die, so that the community stays at more or less the same number. In the most advanced communities few children are born, and the total deaths may even exceed the births. Therefore with "advanced" groups it can be, as it was in France until two or three years ago, as it is now in Sweden, and as it will be here before long: the population is stationary or stagnant.

In summary it comes to this: most people agree that if you spend public funds on lowering the death-rate you will get very quick results. Money spent on hospitals, irrigation, education, and material amenities has a marked effect in lowering the death-rate. That has been very much the case in Egypt. One can, however, spend a great deal without achieving a significant change in the birth-rate, because other factors, social and psychological, are involved. Over much of the Middle East there has been valuable work done in establishing hospitals and in undertaking irrigation, with the result of saving people who would probably not have survived otherwise. There is still an extraordinarily high birth-rate, and hence more and more people as time goes by. For example, in Egypt the population in 1800 is supposed to have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. There was no proper census then, but that is a rough idea. In 1900 it was estimated at 10 millions and it is 20 millions at the present time. The population has doubled in fifty years, and it looks as if it will double itself again in the next fifty years.

That sort of thing raises many problems. Put in one way, the population doubling itself from 20 millions is going to mean—if Egypt maintains the standard of this country—one new school in less than a day—in fact, ten schools a week—in order to cope with the increasing population. That is just to keep level, not to improve. We obviously encounter all sorts of difficulties in keeping up with the change. For Egypt the problem is that while the people double in numbers they do not double in food resources. They cannot always get twice the amount of food out of the same amount of ground.

I should like to consider exactly what the position is. Originally, under the Pharaohs, the people of Egypt relied on the Nile rising once a year and thereby laying down a layer of silt. Then they grew crops in the fertilized lands. Generally they got one crop a year, but occasionally they might get two by picking the right sort of plant. Within the last hundred years the Egyptians have built irrigation barrages and increased the area for producing crops, thereby doubling production. They get from two and a half to three crops a year, and occasionally four, and this has allowed the population to grow from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 millions. They have also gone in for cotton growing and manufacturing, and this has provided another source of livelihood. But now the Nile is used more or less to the limit, and from the volume of water now entering Egypt there does not seem much possibility of increasing irrigation further. Practically every drop of water that goes into the country is used up. There may still be room for small extensions of irrigation, but nothing spectacular like the great dams of Assouan and Assiout can be done; it is a matter of minor improvements on a local scale.

If the fellah gets only one crop a year the Nile mud takes care of fertilizing, but if he takes three or four the Nile silt alone is not sufficient. For the first time in history, then, Egypt is importing fertilizers, half a million tons a year, to make up for the Nile silt, which is no longer adequate. Egypt is consequently pulled into the circle of international trade and must export to pay for this import of essential material. What was enough for the Pharaohs with the Nile renewing fertility is now inadequate, and the traditional way of existence, which has gone on for

thousands of years in Egypt, is in process of breaking down. It is not a cheerful view, but I am putting the facts as agreed by most contemporary observers. During the 1939 war, when Egypt could not import fertilizers, the yield of crops went down, and since they have been importing again the yield has gone up. That is shown by recent figures.

There is also another problem: in a hot country if you put water on the soil too frequently the soil can often turn saline. We will not go into soil chemistry, but now the position has been reached in parts of the Middle East that irrigation by itself is not sufficient; and one has to consider carefully what happens after the water is put on. It is no good saying that the answer to all problems in the Middle East is simply more water or more irrigation. This was shown in 1941, when there was a big shortage of food, and the British Government spent a million pounds on irrigation in South-West Iran. In two years an expanse of what had been virgin country turned saline and was quite useless. As regards Egypt we can actually say that the main problem now is not irrigation but drainage. Irrigation is now more or less at its limit, and what we have to think of in Egypt now is getting the water away from the land when it has been used, because parts of the Nile delta are showing ominous signs of increasing salinity following over-watering. That is the view of a Syrian economist well acquainted with the country, and I think it eminently well founded.

Another point is that from a given area of land certain crops produce more food than others—*e.g.*, there is more food produced from growing cereal crops than by using the land as pasture and producing meat. It can thus be regarded as uneconomical to live on meat. Measured by the area of land required to produce it, one pound of meat represents six pounds of wheat and ten pounds of maize. In other words, if you feed your population on farinaceous things there is more bulk than if you feed them on meat—a point which has been well understood by our British Ministers of Food. Living on farinaceous food has been practised in the Middle East for a long time and meat is definitely a luxury. But of cereals, certain species may yield much more than others for each square foot of ground—*e.g.*, rice gives much more food per acre than wheat—and so to increase food supplies further people turn to rice and maize instead of the traditional wheat and barley. Barley cultivation is disappearing in Egypt and maize is taking its place. But if a population lives exclusively on those crops there is a risk of acquiring the diseases beriberi and pellagra, owing to vitamin deficiencies in both rice and maize. Moreover, in order to grow rice the land must be flooded for a period of a month or two each year, and this allows the development of mosquitoes and therefore of malaria. It is unfortunate but true: in many parts of the Middle East the cultivation of rice has to be limited by law because of the demands on available water and the risk of increasing disease. The governments do not like rice cultivation; they have to allow it so as to get the people fed, but it is at the expense of a certain amount of disease. Here is a little sample that was actually taken. Kem Ombo, an ancient temple site in Egypt, was irrigated in 1900. It was desert then, but is now under cultivation and supports about 45,000 people. We now discover that 84 per cent. of this population is sick, 24 per cent. from hook worm and about 60 per cent. from malaria.

The larger proportion of the people have both those diseases and almost everyone has one. Irrigation is not therefore a complete answer to the problem. You can irrigate a place but other factors enter in as well, and so when thinking of the Middle East problems it is not altogether a question of engineering. One can lay down pipes and make larger canals, but improvements must not stop there or there may be unfortunate results.

Carrying things a little further, there is this fact that has recently been disclosed. Because of the great increase of population the standard of living in Egypt seems to have gone down. Again local observers have suggested the view that the people of Egypt are now eating very much less than they did twenty years ago. The total consumption of the major foodstuffs is down, yet the population has doubled. As the land under cotton grows so the amount of wheat eaten becomes less; in some cases it is below the 1920 figures. In other words, many people are making do on a great deal less foodstuffs. The only things that have increased in consumption are tea, sugar, and tobacco. Does it not recall the "hungry forties," with a population living on sweet weak tea and dulling its sensibilities with tobacco instead of having necessary food? Consumption of tea and tobacco has increased enormously.

My last point about Egypt is that conditions such as I have indicated are serious, and this means that a good many people may feel there is need for a change. Here is a very unfortunate social background; and how long will it continue? By present showing, fairly shortly the population will double, but it would seem unlikely that the food supply can also be doubled again. It might thus appear that the future points to increasing social distress and hence to the possible spread of extremist doctrines such as communism.

I would next like to consider the Lebanon, though not in so much detail. Here the country is very mountainous, and there is no great valley such as that of the Nile, where large numbers can be supported. It is a question of cultivating fertile patches in the valleys and on the slopes of the mountains. In such areas there has not been much to retain the population, and a great many Lebanese have emigrated. Figures cannot be got exactly, but certainly large numbers of the people are abroad. That fact was brought home to me when travelling in the remoter mountains of the Lebanon. I wanted a drink and asked in my best Arabic for a beer from the lady in a café. She replied in a strong American accent, "Do you want it in a glass or in a bottle?" I said, "How long were you in the States?" and it transpired that she had been ten years in Utica, N.Y., and had come home and set up as a proprietress in a remote village. Most Lebanese can name some relation who is either abroad now or has been and has come back. This has a very important result, because those who are abroad send money home and help support a number of people in the Lebanon who might not otherwise find a living. One can go on with a small job that does not bring in a living wage if one has a supplement. A Lebanese economist, Professor Himadeh, said it was greater than the profit on exports; remittances actually exceed the total of exports in some years. When outside help was cut off by the war of 1914 some Lebanese starved. Another side of the problem of the Lebanon is the number of people who

live by education. The number of schools is surprising considering the small country that it is. There are a large number of missionary activities, teaching and helping the Lebanese, and they bring in students from outside the country. The American University of Beirut was responsible, according to President Dodge, for bringing in a million dollars per annum to the Lebanon in fees and purchasing power. Students come from Turkey, Iran, and other countries, and provide a market for local produce. There is also money from America to support this and other institutions. The Americans are, however, not the only ones, and, added up, French, British, German, and Italian contributions to philanthropic enterprises come to a respectable item. Before the war one would have said that was a strange system of living, but now we regularize it and call it Marshall Aid. Then, the Syrian and Lebanese countries were under mandate and the French spent a certain amount of money on them. It is perhaps invidious to say how much, but the fact is that they built buildings. These may have been barracks or parliament houses, but erecting them provided money for craftsmen and labourers, so some sort of outlay was provided which might not have been there. Then also the Levant as a whole has very strong religious connections. Pilgrimages—Moslem, Christian, and Jewish—bring in tourists and travellers, and the total amount of money accruing can be quite a useful kind of trade item. In the Lebanon there are pilgrimage and tourism together because of the great scenic beauty of the country; and in Syria and Palestine there are shrines of world importance. Between them these activities provide a living for hotel keepers, drago-
mans, and others. Each individual visitor may not spend very much, but the aggregate sum is important.

There was also before 1939 another source of income, because companies (chiefly Italian) that were anxious to establish a footing in the Middle East would advance loans, and often on favourable terms, to Arab enterprises even although the security might not be good. The Italians, particularly before 1939, would give loans to business houses in Damascus or Jerusalem. Sometimes they lost their money; it was not a good business risk, but they thought it valuable to have a connection. The Italians also offered scholarships for students to travel in Italy in the hope that when the students got back they would buy Italian produce and be favourably inclined to Italian aims.

That was the way some of the Levant people lived—a rather unusual sort of revenue, because foreigners subsidised them in one way or another. Outsiders went there for holidays, there were religious and political organizations receiving funds from elsewhere, children were sent there to be educated, so that by and large it was possible for a population to live as Cambridge lives, by outside interests and rather special activities.

In contrast I turn now to under-populated areas: in Iran and Iraq there are not enough people to use what resources are available. Cultivation tends to be in scattered patches, and as a result there is not much use of machinery, since it is not worth it for a small area. Holdings are isolated, and it is not easy to build a road when there is no one living on it for perhaps a dozen miles. So also with railways and airfields. It is not worth while to provide these amenities if there is nobody to use them. As it is,

cultivators sow some land and raise a crop, then after a while the land decreases in fertility, and they find a new field a few miles away in another patch of land and take that instead for cultivation. We get a shifting population which extracts everything out of the land, exhausts it, and then passes on. That does not lead to good methods. The farming is primitive and wastes the land; trees are cut down and without any replanting. In the area of the Euphrates and Tigris it is reckoned that if people remained on one holding of land they would pay more attention to it and would in the end get better and more consistent yields. That seems to be the root of the matter in the areas mentioned.

Finally, some of my listeners may be heartily relieved to hear that in the Middle East there are some areas in which there is no population problem. For example, in Turkey, where there is land with an adequate rainfall over much of the country, at present only half the cultivable area is actually used. Turkey has plenty of land to spare and enough people to organize its full utilization. Incidentally Turkey has shown a remarkable stability during the last twenty years; the recent rise of Turkey is one of the phenomena of modern Middle Eastern conditions. On reflection it is curious how affairs seem to go in cycles. During the nineteenth century we built up Turkey as a possible ally. Then in 1916 we acquiesced in her dismemberment, and now in 1949 we seem to be entering into friendship again with Turkey. In the face of another and greater enemy, Britain and America are engaged in propping up Turkey and the past is forgotten. The mantle of Disraeli has fallen on President Truman. From the population angle Turkey can support her population, and although this is going to increase there is plenty of room for more, and population conditions are not threatening.

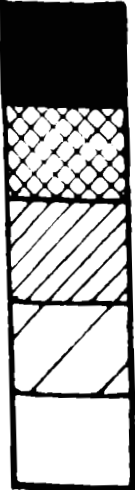
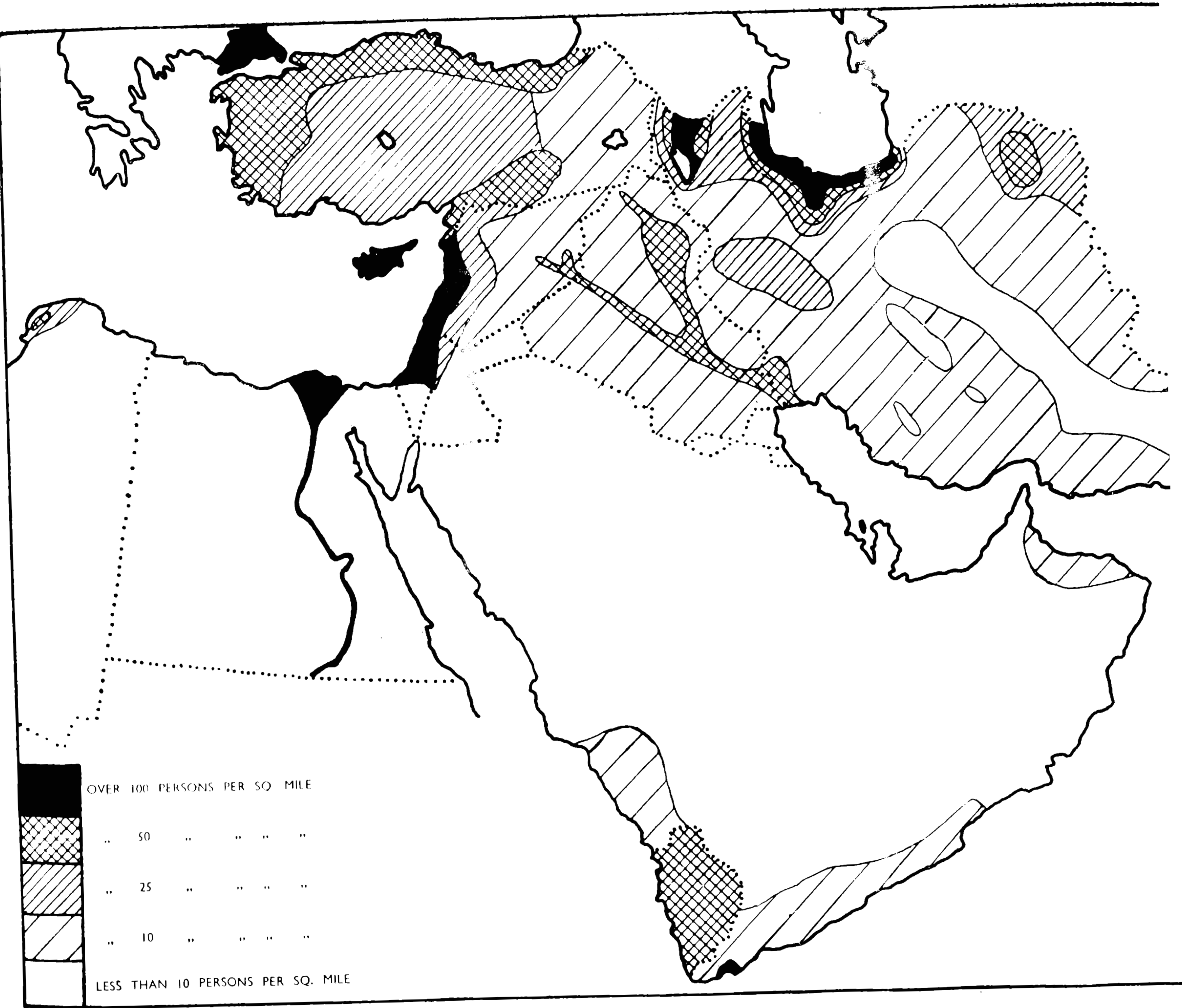
In other parts of Arabia, and to some small extent in Aden, the development of oil resources is going to provide work for a good many nomadic Badawin; it will give them money and thus allow them to import Western food. They cannot grow food on a large scale in their own country, which is too arid for agriculture, and imports will be essential. A good many Arabs are now able to do that. Some time back I was reading a book describing the physique of the nomadic Arabs. In the desert they are small and often stunted because they have not always enough to eat; in the oilfields they have a cash wage, are able to buy imported food, and so have improved physique. It points to some line which we might pursue in the future: oil resources properly developed can have a part to play in supporting a bigger population.

As a last topic I should like to suggest one or two possibilities for the future. What can be done about these problems? What is the possibility of a reasonable solution? First of all, in the Middle East the trend has been to regard the people who live by agriculture as the salt of the earth, the real "people who matter." It is considered that you are doing the right and proper thing if you live in one settled village and engage in sedentary farming. But because of deficient rainfall, cultivation is not always possible, and so in other areas it is necessary to keep animals and move about. Like Jacob, of whom we read that he was a plain man dwelling in tents, some Arabs have to move about and find a living by stock rearing. How-

ever, in view of the restless nature of a good many nomads, such groups have been a problem to the governments concerned with them. The nomad is liable to take the law somewhat into his own hands; hence, acting from the point of view of internal stability, governments have sought to limit the wandering of the nomads and to turn them into cultivators. That is all right when viewed from the political angle, but looked at from the economic angle it has its drawbacks. In a large part of the Middle East you simply cannot cultivate; if you tried to make the nomads grow crops in arid areas, these people would die of starvation.

The future thus may lie in expanding stock rearing, breeding better types of animals, allowing more scope for investigation into the problems of animals, and not being afraid of the growth of the nomadic population. In Egypt the Nile valley ends as desert, but it is possible to farm on the edges of the cultivated land by bringing animals into it at one period and taking them out to the desert at another. If agriculture were not too often regarded as the only solution to the economic problem more people might be supported; if governments would pay attention to stock raising there might be a solution of population difficulties. Then there are other problems concerning animal husbandry in the Middle East. Animals are not of the best and the methods of the herders are not always the most enlightened. That is why I put an improvement in pastoralism first in the list of possible solutions. Secondly, there is the question of progress in growing better arable crops and using the land to greater advantage. That turns on a number of points, such as more capital and improved farming technique. One can see fields of wheat with little stalks eighteen inches, or at most two feet high, and with ears far smaller than in Europe. The crop is always subject to such plagues as devastating locust swarms, mildew, and rust. These handicaps could be fought more than they are if there were international control. For example, the locusts devastating fields in Syria may not have bred in Syria at all, but may have come from Saudi Arabia. If things could be managed on an international basis, with all the countries concerned helping, independently of whether the swarm originated in Egypt or Saudi Arabia; if one could get an approach to a real co-operation in this and other matters, the result would be seen in better economic plans, better yields, and more food.

It may also be necessary to consider some form of land reform. That is a very vexed question. I have no time to say much about it now, but, as I see it, unless there is some change soon, it does not look as if the methods that have served so far will go on being useful. There are various ways of looking at the problem. If land is re-allocated frequently amongst all the village community, then everyone gets a fair share of both good and bad land. But in the Middle East fruit takes twenty or even eighty years to develop. An olive tree will give nothing for ten years, and so if a farmer is told that after five, two, or even one year the land is to be changed round, that seems fair on the surface, but he does not plant olive or fig trees. It means that the cultivation has to be limited crops which give a return in the shortest time. Cereals grow in a few months, and the grower can be sure of a return before the land goes to his neighbour. That is one form of land tenure which might be considered for alteration.



OVER 100 PERSONS PER SQ. MILE
.. 50 .. " " "
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.. 10 .. " " "
LESS THAN 10 PERSONS PER SQ. MILE

Then there is the serious political problem of actual ownership of land. Is it the best way to have a large landowner and a great number of very poor tenant farmers? That is a social and political problem which I will not attempt to answer. There are people in the world who might be glad to suggest an answer, and that is relevant, I think.

Then also there is the question of water supplies. It is no good trying to organize drainage and long-term supplies if you are only a "small" man. The water is not always on your own ground, but has to be brought through someone else's holding. Co-operation and development of large schemes on a regional basis would probably do something to improve things.

What about turning over to industry? That has been the answer to population problems in this country. We have increased the population and fed and maintained it by developing manufactures. But, as I see it, there is not a great deal of potentiality for industry in the Middle East. There is no coal in the Middle East except for a small field in Turkey. Oil is the chief resource, but it goes elsewhere. Under the Marshall Plan Europe will get 80 per cent. of her oil from the Middle East in the next few years. What can be manufactured? Egypt has the best cotton in the world, but it also has a population at a low standard of living which cannot afford Egyptian cotton. The people have to buy cheaper cottons; although excellent cotton grows in their own country they have the supreme disadvantage that it is beyond the reach of the average fellah to buy, and the expansion of industry in that country is hampered. Otherwise there is very little possibility of expanding industry; they have not the resources in great numbers. It is unfortunate, but that is the inescapable geographical verdict; there is no iron and very few other minerals on a large scale. There is no crop like the jute of Bengal. Fruit growing might be expanded; Jaffa oranges are an example. But this is risky. Markets tend to be in Britain only. If we go out of the market the fruit rots in the streets of Palestine; I myself saw that in Haifa during the war. Citrus fruit exports were nil in 1943, and those engaged in orange farming had to depend on a government subsidy. That sort of farming is fluctuating and does not always provide a final answer to the problem.

Another matter to be considered is social life. In the Middle East all the trades are in the towns, and if you live in the country conditions are distinctly harder than if you are close to a city. Ninety per cent. of all the doctors live in the towns. As a result death-rates are higher for the country, and no one lives there if they have money and can avoid it. In this country we have the social attitude that if one has means one buys a country estate and retires to it for most of the year. In the Middle East, on the other hand, you buy a town house and visit the country only to collect your rents. This has led to disproportion between country and town. Wealthier people live in their town houses; in the country there are very few good dwellings, and until something is done to alter the balance the country will be at a disadvantage. Towns have the leadership because the enlightened groups, the heads of society, and the professions tend all to be in urban areas, and the countryside is poor and neglected. Civil servants, if they can manage it, prefer the town and try to get promotion out of the country

districts. Altogether there is produced a rather inharmonious relationship between the peasant cultivator (who feels that his problems are ignored) and the townspeople. The peasant looks upon the town as being in touch with the West, open to enlightenment and in receipt of information, scientific knowledge, and wealth, but unable to attune its ideas to those of the country. Here is a big social problem in the Middle East, and one which will increase.

Another point necessary to mention is that there may have to be a balance in improving social services. Putting it very crudely and plainly, we have so far taken steps to lower the death-rate by introducing irrigation and providing more hospitals, but if nothing else is done some countries will be in the position that instead of a lot of people dying quickly by flood or famine they will be preserved to live another twenty years and then to die of malnutrition. Babies born in the hospitals may survive when they would have died earlier, but if there is no living for them when they grow up, what then? That has been the problem in India. It seems harsh and a negation of progress to say that there ought to be a slowing down in the provision of hospitals and other social amenities until the standard of living can be improved, but such ideas have already been expressed. It is no use keeping people alive if they are to have too little to eat. What happens to patients after discharge from the hospital where they have been treated for beriberi? They go away and in three months they can have it again, and the disease may stay with them all their lives. We have come to such a situation in parts of the Middle East.

Summing up, I may say that problems of population may seem at times theoretical and a little divorced from reality, but they are nevertheless going to be of increasing importance for several reasons. First, the Middle East has close relations with its northern and western neighbours. On the north is Russia, with an actual land frontier with Turkey and Iran, and farther away are North-West Europe and America. If internal social problems arise and are not settled in a way liked by the larger number of the inhabitants of the Middle East, then they are always at liberty to turn either to the West or to the North, from which interest and intervention are too often forthcoming. So far there has not been much attempt to turn to the North, and the West has had the predominating influence; but there is no saying that such a situation will continue. If we in this country want the problems to be solved our way we shall have to give the Middle East more thought and attention.

Secondly, there is this to consider: Moslems are replacing their members faster than either Christians or Jews. There is one Christian state, the Lebanon, and there are minorities of Christians and Jews in various parts of the Middle East, but if present trends continue these communities will gradually be swallowed up. The Copts in Egypt are losing ground to the Moslems, and their present importance will probably decline during the next few decades. Similarly, in Palestine the Jewish birth-rate is lower than that of the Moslems, and the majority of the Lebanon is only precariously Christian.

Lastly, there is the question of social distress. If a community grows in numbers there must be a growth in food resources; failing this, internal

distress and political trouble appear, leading ultimately to intervention from outside. There are plenty of powers who are willing and anxious to intervene in Arab affairs, and unrest in the Middle East would be their opportunity. Surely it is in the interest of Western countries to find a solution to Middle Eastern difficulties before there is a solution on the Chinese model. The Middle East repeats on a smaller scale the problems encountered in India and China, and in neither of these latter areas have events been settled in a way wholly acceptable to us in this country. In China we have had a severe loss of face, and as regards India, can we honestly say that as the result of British occupation the standard of living is everywhere higher? I suggest that we ought to take an interest in these problems, that we could well devote more attention to standards of living, to crops, and to other economic matters. This is not just interference. It could be, I think, a method of dealing with possible trouble half-way. Let us for once in this country anticipate an unpleasant situation before it really develops and not take hesitating steps when it is almost too late. The trouble seems to be that too often we take action only when we are kicked into it by pressure of events—the old cry of too little and too late. What has recently happened in China is a typical case and a warning. The development of a crisis in social and population conditions is perhaps slow. A sharp, difficult point does not suddenly arrive, situations take shape slowly and inexorably, and if we don't try positively to mould events in the way we want them to go, we may find them turn away from us and that the final answer is no longer in our hands.

Colonel DIMMOCK: There were two problems mentioned—salination and the destruction of timber. One saw both of those in Iraq very strongly from Kut to Qurnub. Is there any method of controlling salination? Are there crops which will absorb salt? You have a marshy area in Iraq that you cannot drain.

The LECTURER: One can make some attempt at washing the salt clear and there are certain plants which are more resistant to salt than others. Cotton is the least tolerant of salt and that goes out first when land turns saline. Oranges are not so bad and you can improve things a little by very careful watering and draining. As regards forestry, it is a very difficult question to make people realize what is being done. If you say, "You must not raise animals here," tribesmen say it is an infringement of their rights: and to keep the place empty until the trees can grow up is not easy. Most has been done in Cyprus to combat this evil. In Iraq replanting has been done only to a very limited extent because of the difficulties in the way.

A VISITOR asked a question about the British irrigation scheme in Iran in 1941.

The LECTURER: It was in Khuzistan, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

Mr. TOMLIN: You did not mention the possible transfer of population.

The LECTURER: That was an omission, and I am glad it was brought up. I wondered if I had time. Proposals have been put forward which deserve very serious consideration about organized migration, particularly from Egypt to Iraq, where the geography is roughly similar. Both coun-

tries have rivers which flood, although it is at different times of the year, and the farming routine which would do for the one country might do for the other. There might be a very useful improvement by organized and carefully controlled changes of population. There is a political aspect to the transfer of population which I am not anxious to go into, but I think if well done—that is the proviso—it could be a most useful contribution to a solution.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the lecturer on behalf of all the members for his interesting lecture, from which they had learned a lot.

OIL IN KUWAIT

By C. A. P. SOUTHWELL, M.C., B.Sc.

A lecture given on February 23, 1949, Lt.-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. Southwell is Managing Director of the Kuwait Oil Company. He has specialized in petroleum developments and has travelled widely in the Middle East and in many parts of the world where oil has been found. No one knows more about the astonishing development of oilfields in Arabia, including that at Kuwait, on which he will now speak.

WHEN I received an invitation to address members of the Royal Central Asian Society on "Oil in Kuwait" I not only felt greatly honoured but also particularly pleased, since for many years I have been indebted to the Society for the valuable information and great pleasure obtained from its Journal and am only too glad to be able to repay, even in a small way, that debt.

I do not intend at this time to consider either political or sociological problems concerning the Middle East, but to confine myself to an illustrated talk on the progress made in the development of one of the oilfields in Arabia. It is, however, necessary to provide a background to the oil picture.

Kuwait is an Arab Shaikhdom situated on the north-west corner of the Persian Gulf. All desert, some 6,500 square miles in area—a little larger than Yorkshire—it has an average rainfall of some $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches a year, practically no drinking-water, and limited vegetation to support Beduin flocks. The bay on the southern shore of which the town is situated is some 20 miles long and 5 miles wide, and provides a good harbour for small ships. The population of the State numbers just over 100,000, of whom about 90 per cent. live in the town of Kuwait.

The walls of the town, which extend for about 4 miles, were built in eight weeks not long after the first world war as a protection against Wahhabi incursions.

The Shaikhdom of Kuwait has been ruled for nearly two centuries by the Subah family, and it is most appropriate that I should be giving this talk to-day because to-day commemorates the entry of His Highness Shaikh Sir Ahmad al-Jabir as-Subah into the twenty-ninth year of his rule. He is a wise and progressive ruler, a staunch friend of Great Britain, and in special treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government. He is a personal friend of Ibn Saud, whose territory adjoins Kuwait on the west and with whom he shares sovereignty over the Neutral Zone to the south.

In 1934, when a concession was granted to the Kuwait Oil Company, conditions in Kuwait were very different from what they are now. Kuwait then comprised a smaller Arab community than it does to-day, a community of traders, boat-builders, and pearl-divers. Of recent years, as is common in many Arab countries, there has been an enormous surge forward in municipal and commercial development which is only partially due to the

oil industry. I wish to make this point because Kuwait is now going forward in these respects at an enormous speed, and public works and new buildings are much in evidence.

The photographs which I have shown have indicated the changes which are now taking place in the State. The ruler's guards are being trained by Arabs from the former Palestine Police. An extensive programme of street widening is in progress in the town of Kuwait, where the verandahs erected at the sides of some of the streets give welcome shelter from the sun to shoppers. Close by the Customs premises new warehouses are being constructed, each of which is a modern building with an aluminium framework to overcome the difficulty of procuring steel. At the Kuwait schools, staffed by Arab teachers, a high standard of education is provided. The Directorate of Education is housed in the imposing building shown here, and there are many other administrative buildings of this type. A new State hospital has just been completed.

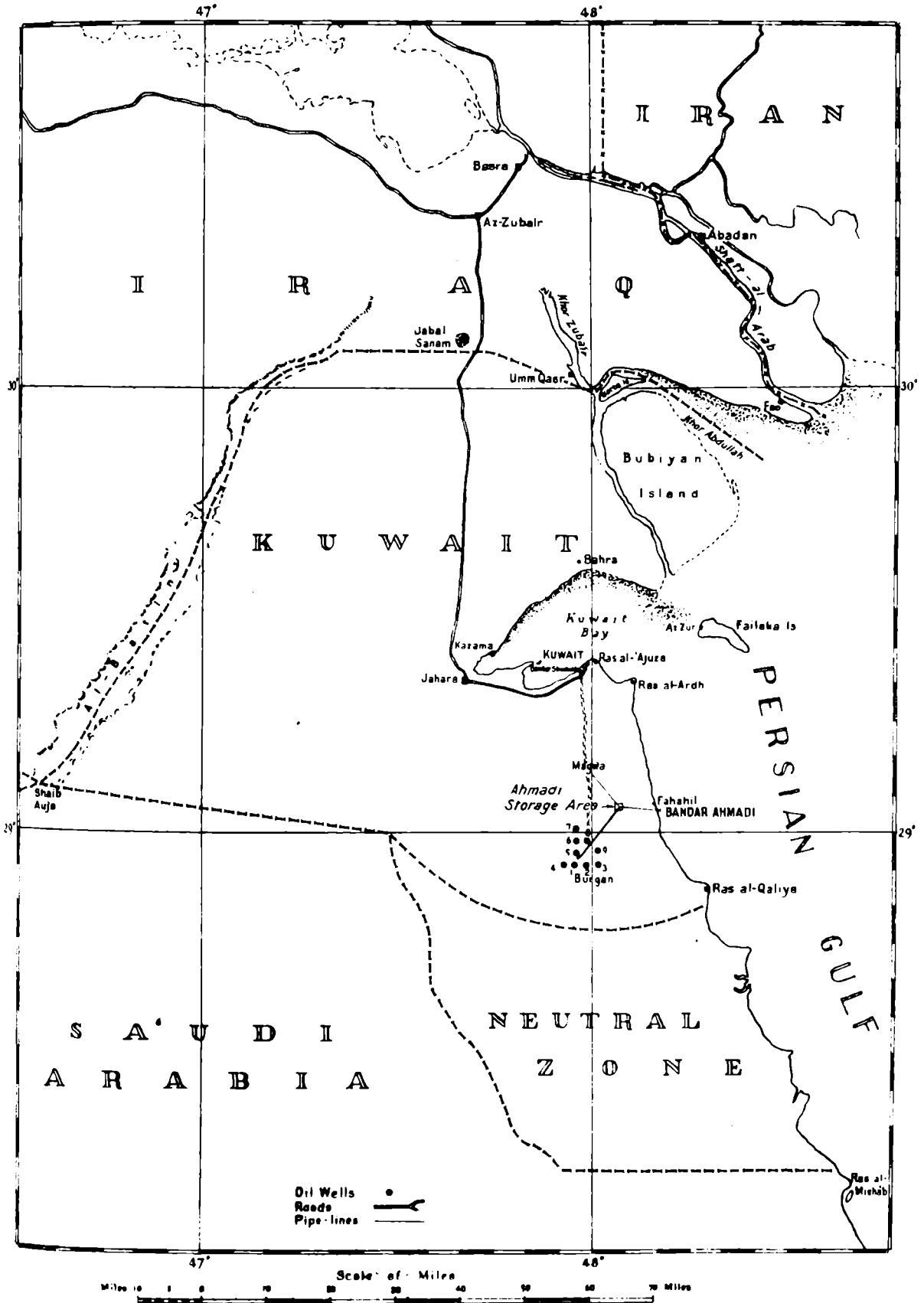
New commercial enterprises are now springing up. An example is the cigarette factory, equipped with the most modern machinery. Not many years ago cigarette smoking was uncommon.

With these illustrations of the advances now being made, I now turn to oil. As I have said, in 1934 a concession was granted to the Kuwait Oil Company. This company is composed of an equal partnership between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Gulf Oil Corporation of America and utilizes both British and American capital. Following the grant of the concession a geological team set to work to study the geology of Kuwait. Kuwait is unkind from a geological point of view, because there are few rocks which can be examined at the surface to provide information of underground conditions. There was, and is, surface evidence of oil in Kuwait. North of the bay there is an oil seepage which is well known locally for its effect on migratory birds. Alighting on what they think is a pool of water they are trapped in sticky pitch, from which there is no escape. But despite evidence of oil in Kuwait, the company had to use modern sub-surface radar methods to determine the nature of the underground structures. Teams of geophysicists were brought in to employ the special technique which the oil industry has developed to measure the seismic waves reflected back from the underground rock, and to plot the best structure on which to drill. The second test well drilled in 1938 proved oil.

At that time the number of men employed was relatively small and their presence hardly affected the daily life of the Kuwaiti.

The next phase was to test out the extent of the deposits, for one oil well does not prove an oilfield and does not justify large capital expenditure on development. Further testing drilling went on from 1938 until 1942, when, with the war at its most critical phase, operations were suspended in view of the need for steel and man-power for short-range war requirements. By 1942, however, eight additional wells had been drilled, indicating that there was a sizable oilfield although its exact extent still required to be ascertained.

In 1945 the war in the Pacific received the full attention of the Allies, and it was decided, as a project to assist the war effort in the Pacific, to



install the minimum of facilities needed to develop Kuwait's oil for export. Plans were laid to put in tankage, pipelines, and other installations, and to drill the wells necessary to produce at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of oil per annum. At the opening ceremony for the first export of oil on June 30, 1946, I was in Kuwait and had the honour of welcoming the ruler at the company's shore installations. In his speech Shaikh Ahmed thanked God for the opportunity that his country had been given and hoped that this development would enable him to take steps to improve the living conditions of his people and increase their happiness.

At the beginning of 1947 plans were prepared for a considerable extension of this initial programme. This extension has proceeded to the stage when Kuwait ranks amongst the large oil-producing centres of the world, exporting at a current rate of some 10,000,000 tons per annum. As the photographs show, plans had to be made on a large scale.

One of the company's major problems was to provide in time of short supply all the necessary equipment required. Everything had to be brought into Kuwait, including water, food, building and all fabricated materials. There were no satisfactory arrangements for off-loading; cargo ships lay off some 5 miles out in the bay and materials had to be barged to the shore. It was necessary to build a jetty out into deep water so that time could be saved in unloading; 1,000 tons of material per day, or, in all, some 300,000 tons of equipment and materials, were off-loaded at this jetty.

The number of people employed increased steadily and, with no drinking water in Kuwait (plans had been prepared to install a large-scale sea-water distillation unit), it was necessary to provide immediate means to give drinking water to the company employees. Dolphin installations were set up at a point off the southern shore of the bay, where 1,000-ton tankers could bring about 500,000 gallons of water a day from the Shatt-el-Arab some 70 to 80 miles to the north. The water when pumped ashore from these dolphins is pumped into the main distribution system after treatment.

Throughout the carrying out of the whole project there has had necessarily to be a large amount of improvisation.

So far I have not mentioned drilling, one of the most important activities in a development of this kind. Drilling in Kuwait is relatively simple. Oil can be found at a depth of just under 1 mile—a depth which the oilman likes, since it is neither so deep as to cause serious drilling problems or so shallow that gas pressures are dangerous. The drilling at Kuwait is entirely conventional, the only particular feature being that the whole of the drilling machinery, including the 136-foot derricks, is towed across the desert from one site to another without dismantling. The drilling machinery is towed by six or seven D-7 tractors.

Drilling is carried out by American personnel and British trainees. At the present time a large British and American drilling team is employed.

The wells are drilled approximately 1 mile apart, and the oil flows from them through 6-inch pipelines to the gathering stations. There the gas is removed from the oil and reduced down to atmospheric pressure. The oil is then pumped to the main storage tanks for measurement. There are actually four of the gathering stations you see in the photograph, though one has not yet been commissioned. Each will deal with over 10,000 tons

of oil per day. The horizontal separators illustrated here are of a design which has been perfected by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

In view of the limited supply of skilled labour it was necessary to import the greater part of the company's skilled labour force. The training of Arabs is progressing, but it has not been possible to wait until the number required were fully trained. British, Americans, Indians, and Pakistanis skilled in the various trades have therefore been employed.

The oil, having had the gas separated from it to make it into a safe liquid for pumping, is forced by pumps situated at each end of the gathering stations through 10 miles of pipelines to the tank farm at Ahmadi situated on a ridge 400 feet above sea-level. The Ahmadi tanks, some of them amongst the largest in the world, hold 169,000 barrels, or about 24,000 tons of oil each. Ten of these tanks have so far been erected. After measurement the oil flows through gravity lines to the coast. From the shore, pipelines, 12 inches in diameter, run out on the sea-bed for some 6,000 feet, an arrangement which gives the quickest means of loading oil into tankers. The method of laying these lines is for them to be welded on shore, lifted on to bogies travelling on railway lines, and then for them to be pulled out into the sea by a ship. Such a pipeline has 10 lbs. per foot negative buoyancy, so that it will slowly sink on to the sea-bed. To the ends of the pipelines are attached flexible hoses 8 inches in diameter, and these in turn are attached to buoys. The oil tanker berths at these buoys, picks up the hoses and loads with the oil, which flows by gravity from the storage tanks.

In order to provide proper marine installations for the large-scale export of oil at Kuwait it was necessary to build a harbour and modern steel jetty. These were constructed near Fahaeel, and a new oil port named Mena-al-Ahmadi was brought into being. Prior to this, ten submarine lines were run out in pairs as a temporary measure in the manner described, and this enabled five tankers to be loaded at one time. The subsequent introduction on shore of pumps has allowed loading to be accelerated. The new port has been laid out to avoid the congestion of the waterfront which is found in so many such projects which have been started without having a complete plan at the outset.

Although at first we did not think we should find very suitable rock in Kuwait for harbour building, the geologists found a type of rock which hardened on contact with the sea-water and so proved suitable for our purpose. The jetty extends just over a mile into an open roadstead in the Persian Gulf, where storms of considerable force occur, and will provide facilities for two ships of 30,000 tons and four of 20,000 tons.

Only a few weeks ago what we believe to be the largest single shipment of oil ever carried was loaded at Mena-al-Ahmadi; a cargo of 28,500 tons was loaded into a tanker in just over twenty hours.

On the shore, behind the oil pier, arrangements have been made for a refinery to provide bunker fuel and other products needed to meet local requirements.

I have mentioned already the great amount of improvisation that has been necessary. When laying out the industrial area in Kuwait it was impossible to get steel for original construction, but war-time disposals

provided many substitutes. The hangar you see is from Windsor Great Park. This was brought out and erected in Kuwait, along with other hangars, to serve as a main store for the large amount of materials used for the project. Pumps from "Pluto" circulate the main water supply. The company now employs, either directly or through contractors, some 18,000 men at Kuwait, but this number will be reduced when the peak construction period is over.

The design of the new township to house the men who are going to run the organization in future incorporates the most modern features of town planning. Administration problems connected with food, sanitation, medical attention, and welfare matters were complicated. The production of oil at Kuwait presents no special difficulties, especially in view of the vast amount of technical experience and knowledge now available. The problem of providing adequate living conditions for all employees was, however, far from simple, and it has been necessary to use tents for the men to live in in the early stages. In providing the necessary accommodation we have utilized prefabricated buildings of many types, both in the building of permanent and temporary accommodation.

A fairly modern type of housing of wooden construction is used for American labour working on the jetty buildings which will later be used for permanent accommodation.

The larger houses for the British and American staff are built of blocks of sand and cement; these are specially erected and air-conditioned from a central plant. Air-conditioning in Kuwait is a necessity in the case of men who have to work in the heat of the day and who are accustomed to more temperate climates. Much progress has been made with the building of these houses, which have been arranged in attractive avenues.

Those of you familiar with war-time buildings will recognize from the photographs what is known as "Ministry of Works hutting." There was much argument as to whether it would be worth while shipping such structures out to Kuwait owing to the risk of damage. This was, however, successfully accomplished by the use of special packing.

Another form of building developed especially for Kuwait in London is that utilizing steel or aluminium moulds into which is pumped a mixture of cement and sand. When this has hardened the mould is removed, leaving a very satisfactory main structure for a house.

There are restaurants at each centre of the company's operations, and the food provided is of a high quality. Naturally, with people of several nationalities to cater for, feeding arrangements give rise to some of the greatest difficulties to be overcome. Some 3,500 Indians and Pakistanis are employed as clerical staff and skilled tradesmen. In addition there are British, Americans, and Arabs to feed. For the British and Americans there are five restaurants situated at the main operational centres.

One of the earliest problems which presented itself was—to use an American expression—that of "hospitalization." The employment of untrained labour gave rise to a large number of accidents of a minor nature and it was necessary to have perhaps greater hospital facilities than would be normal for the development of a similar project under easier conditions. To provide these facilities buildings were converted into a temporary

hospital of 200 beds. This hospital has a large staff of British, American, and Indian doctors, and the wards are in charge of British Nursing Sisters.

There is already a British and American school staffed by four British teachers.

The laundry you see, which is a very up-to-date plant, now deals with the incredible quantity of 30,000 lbs. per hour of laundering.

All forms of recreation are keenly supported by the various groups of employees, and soccer, hockey, and tennis matches are frequent. For those who are keen on sailing in Kuwait Bay we have had sent out four X-Class boats built at Bembridge in the Isle of Wight.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the company's achievement of building up oil production at Kuwait to the point of 10,000,000 tons of oil per annum has only been accomplished by team work, greatly helped by an element of competition between British and American. The results have been possible because both the ruler and the people of Kuwait are most co-operative. They are very naturally extremely interested to see that the company makes a success of its programme. It means so much to them from the point of view of the conditions under which they live. They have all been exceedingly co-operative and helpful, and the work has benefited by the constant co-operation of the ruler, Sir Ahmad al-Jabir as-Subah, and his Government.

Group-Captain H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD : Does the bar outside Kuwait still exist? The lecturer spoke of ships of 30,000 and 20,000 tons putting in alongside. In World War One I arrived at Kuwait with a shipload of horses, and we were unable to tranship them from one vessel to another because of the gale then blowing; we could neither unload the horses nor could we get alongside. From what the lecturer has said it appears there must have been some considerable advance in shipping facilities.

Mr. C. A. P. SOUTHWELL : Perhaps I did not make myself very clear when I spoke of shipping facilities. Can you visualize Kuwait Bay with the coastline running down? The bar, which is still there, has, I believe, 14 feet of water. The large tankers now being used—up to 30,000 tons—draw more water, so that the modern installation has been put in some 2 miles down the coast at Fahaheel, right on the open sea in the Persian Gulf.

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

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2, on Wednesday, June 22, 1949, 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. (President), in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT called on General Martin to present the Honorary Secretaries' report for the year.

HONORARY SECRETARIES' REPORT

Lieut.-General H. G. MARTIN: My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It falls to my lot this year to present the Honorary Secretaries' Report. The Council, I know, would wish me to begin by saying how very much the Society as a whole, and the Council in particular, regret the retirement of two of our Honorary Secretaries. Colonel Newcombe joined the Society in 1922 and has been Honorary Secretary since 1942. For many years before the last war he was Dinner Club Secretary, and during those years, together with Lord Lloyd, he brought in literally hundreds of our members. He was also on the Council prior to the war. With his unique knowledge of the Middle East he has never missed the opportunity to get a worthwhile speaker to come and address the Society on Middle East affairs. Also he has been tireless in the help he has given our Secretary and our staff. We owe him a very great debt of gratitude.

The other Honorary Secretary who is retiring is Sir John Pratt, who joined the Society in 1937 and became Honorary Secretary in 1945 on the death of Sir Percy Sykes. His intimate knowledge of China and his advocacy of the Society's cause in learned and Government circles have been of enormous value. We have good reason to regret the retirement of two such friends.

During 1948-49 the Society has continued to grow, but not nearly so rapidly as in the first two years after the war; in fact, the net increase was 4, and we ended the year under review with 1,736 members. Our Honorary Treasurer, I feel sure, will tell us that we have to do better than that. Our slogan must be: Recruit more members or die. Fortunately the high quality of the 99 new members elected during the year more than compensates for the lack of numbers, for they are enthusiastic and directly connected with the countries in which the Society is concerned.

There is fortunately a decrease in the number of those who forget to notify the Society of a change of address. They lose their Journal and the Society loses their subscriptions, which is much more serious.

The Council regrets to report the death of 29 members, among whom were Brig.-General E. W. Costello, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O.; Lord Derwent; Mrs. Steuart Erskine; Dr. Hening Haslund-Christensen; Colonel R. A. Lyall, D.S.O., D.L., J.P.; and Colonel C. B. Stokes, C.I.E., D.S.O., O.B.E. (a former member of the Council).

An award of the Lawrence Medal was made during the year and will be announced by the President later in our proceedings.

Twenty-one lectures were given during the year. In September last the Society held a reception and had a lecture from Dr. Bayard Dodge, who was passing through London on his retirement from the American University at Beirut, in which he had held office for twenty-eight years. During those years Dr. Dodge educated almost all the leading men in the Middle East and more than any other living man has been responsible for the cultural background of the Arab world. Both before and after his retirement he worked untiringly to get a fair hearing for the Arab point of view in the United States. When he gave his lecture to the Society we had with us His Highness the Amir Zaid and representatives of the Syrian, Transjordan, and Lebanese Embassies.

Mr. T. Burton-Brown gave the Persia Lecture, which covered his recent archæological discoveries in Azerbaijan. Dr. Aliabadi, Director of Higher Education in Iran, lectured to the Society in November; there were three lectures on recent events in China and the Far East, and others on Tibet, Afghanistan, Turkey, on oil development in Arabia, and on the problem of the Arab refugees. Dr. J. Needham lectured on the part played by Central Asia in the history of Science.

As most members will have heard, this year there is to be an Annual Dinner of the Society on October 18th at Claridge's. Two hundred applications have already been received from those who wish to come. The room will hold 250, so that I have been asked to warn those who put application off too late that they may be disappointed.

The PRESIDENT: Arising out of the Honorary Secretaries' report, I feel that the meeting will not want to let pass the retirement of two such valuable Honorary Secretaries at Sir John Pratt and Colonel Newcombe without some expression of their sense of gratitude for all they have done. They have been, as I think you all well know, two of the most valuable members of our Society, Sir John Pratt principally in the matter of China and Colonel Newcombe in the matter of the Middle East. In addition, we also owe Colonel Newcombe a considerable debt of gratitude for what he did in finding our new premises in Hinde Street; that was a most valuable contribution to the Society, and those who have seen the premises will agree that they are eminently suitable for our purposes. So that I suggest that the meeting should pass a vote of gratitude to these two Honorary Secretaries on their retirement and show them how much we appreciate what they have done and what we owe them.

The vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty applause, the retiring Honorary Secretaries expressed their thanks for the gratitude and good wishes of the Society.

HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT

In the absence of Major E. Ainger, the Honorary Treasurer's Report was presented by Sir John Pratt, as follows:

As I told you last year, the present balance sheet and the income and expenditure account which you have in front of you do not represent the

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1948.

1947	EXPENDITURE.				1947	INCOME.			
£		£	s.	d.	£		£	s.	d.
	To <i>Office Expenses:</i>								
704	Salaries and National Insurance ...	889	5	9	1,750	By <i>Subscriptions received</i> ...	1,792	10	0
271	Rent, light and heat ...	150	0	0	214	„ <i>Journal Subscriptions and Sales</i> ...	191	1	3
19	Telephone ...	12	12	11	49	„ <i>Interest Received</i> ...	55	0	0
88	Stationery and printing ...	204	9	9	252	„ <i>Income Tax Repayment claim</i> ...	336	8	3
94	Postages ...	113	4	8					
46	Cleaning and upkeep of premises ...	173	19	7					
5	Audit fees ...	5	5	0					
7	Insurances ...	7	15	4					
8	Bank charges ...	7	8	6					
19	Repairs ...	14	6	2					
67	Sundries ...	42	15	9					
150	Removal expenses ...	0	0	0					
		1,621	3	5					
	<i>Less: Contribution from Palestine</i>	£	s.	d.					
	Exploration Fund ...	150	0	0					
	Removal expenses over-reserved								
	in 1947 Accounts ...	109	9	6					
		259	9	6					
1,478		1,361	13	11					
	„ <i>Journal:</i>								
630	Printing ...	594	12	10					
38	Postages ...	52	18	6					
76	Reporting ...	61	16	4					
		709	7	8					
131	„ <i>Lectures</i> ...						152	15	0
1	„ <i>Library</i> ...						1	15	6
46	„ <i>Legal and Professional Expenses</i> ...						15	15	0
6	„ <i>Lawrence of Arabia Medals</i> ...						0	0	0
7	„ <i>Persia Fund Lecture and Subscription to "Iraq"</i> ...						6	16	0
2,413							2,248	3	1
	Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to								
148	Balance Sheet ...						126	16	5
<u>£2,265</u>		<u>£2,374</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>£2,265</u>		<u>£2,374</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1948.

1947 £			LIABILITIES.			1947 £			ASSETS.										
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
	<i>Capital Funds :</i>									<i>Investments (at cost) :</i>									
236	Life Subscription Account	...	267	5	0						£811 18s. 7d. 3 per cent. Savings Bonds,								
656	Entrance Fee Account	...	739	8	0						1965-75	821	0	1					
600	Legacy Account	...	600	0	0						£1,165 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds	1,165	0	0					
97	Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund	...	96	11	0						£273 13s. 2½ per cent. National War Bonds								
573	Persia Fund	...	578	4	10						1949-51	279	2	4					
98	Investment Reserve Fund	...	97	18	7					1,986						2,265	2	5	
											(Market value of above Securities at December 31, 1948, was approximately £2,277.)								
2,265						2,379	7	5			<i>Society Premises Account :</i>								
	<i>Income and Expenditure Account :</i>										Balance as per last Account	110	19	3					
	Balance, January 1, 1948	...	219	1	7						Additional Expenditure during year to date	31	6	0					
219	Add : Surplus for year to date	...	126	16	5					111						142	5	3	
						345	18	0		305	<i>Sundry Debtors and Payments in Advance</i>						347	13	10
706	<i>Creditors</i>	...				332	11	3			<i>Cash :</i>								
											Deposit Account : Post Office Savings Bank	356	4	11					
											Less : Bank Current Account overdrawn	53	9	9					
										788						302	15	2	
£3,190			£3,057	16	8	£3,190										£3,057	16	8	

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

We have examined the above balance sheet, and have obtained all the information and explanations that we have required. In our opinion such balance sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and explanations given us and as shown by the books of the Society.

DASHWOOD HOUSE,
 OLD BROAD STREET, E.C.2.
 April 27, 1949.

WILLIAMS, DYSON, JONES & CO.
 (Chartered Accountants).

true position of the Society, and therefore there are no remarks of any importance which I feel called upon to make, except to say that so far we are keeping our heads above water and that a certain amount of the additional expenditure involved in our new situation already shows in the Income and Expenditure Account.

A word of explanation may be advisable on two points. Last year we over-reserved some £100 for the expenses of the move, and therefore the true balance of our income over expenditure this year alone is negligible, but offsets the excess expenditure apparently incurred last year. The only other point on which clarification is necessary is the apparent excessive rise in stationery and printing, £204 odd against £88 in 1947-48. That is accounted for by the fact that a new edition of the Members' List was published this year, which is not a recurring annual charge.

Sir JOHN PRATT added: That is all that the Honorary Treasurer feels need be said on the subject. Therefore I now move the adoption of the accounts which are already in the hands of members.

The motion having been put to the meeting and questions invited, General Sir John Shea seconded the proposition, and the accounts were unanimously adopted without discussion.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL FOR 1949-50

The PRESIDENT: I have to announce that for the coming year the Council has elected as Chairman, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., and as Vice-Presidents Mr. C. J. Edmonds and Mr. Peter Hume. I know you will all be grateful to our Chairman for remaining in office and also to the Vice-Presidents.

I now put to you the following names *en bloc*, whom the Council recommend for election this year: As Honorary Treasurer, Major E. Ainger. As Honorary Secretaries, Lieut.-General H. Martin, Mr. W. Harold Ingrams, Mr. Oswald White. As members of Council to fill the vacancies, Mr. A. Stanley Clark, Mr. Alistair Gibb, Brigadier S. H. Longrigg, Mr. Trevor Powell.

On the motion of Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, seconded by Colonel E. F. Barker, the meeting unanimously resolved that those whose names had been announced be elected.

AWARD OF LAWRENCE MEMORIAL MEDAL

The PRESIDENT announced that an award of the Lawrence Memorial Medal had been made for 1949 to Sir Henry Holland, C.I.E., M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S.E., for his remarkable work for the people of Baluchistan and Afghanistan, where he has been a doctor for the last forty-eight years.

The PRESIDENT added: Unfortunately Sir Henry is not with us to-day to receive his award, but I can pay personal tribute to what he has done in India and Baluchistan and other parts of the world. I am sure you all agree that he is a most worthy recipient of the award. As I have said, Sir Henry is not here; in spite of having officially gone into retirement I believe he is still working somewhere.

That concludes the formal business, unless any member has any point he or she wishes to raise.

There being no further comments the members adjourned for tea, reassembling to hear

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

I have not made an address to the Society since you did me the honour of electing me as President two years ago, and it is therefore fitting that I should at this meeting say a few words to you on the affairs of the Society and its aims and prospects for the future.

It is getting on for fifty years since the Society was founded, and we shall soon be celebrating our jubilee. That will be an occasion for looking into our past records; to-day I should prefer to concentrate on our present and our future, with some brief reference to the past.

We call ourselves the Central Asian Society, but in actual practice we claim, in sporting terms, shooting rights over the whole of Asia except India and China, which we have regarded as the preserves of other friendly Societies. We like to know how the birds on their estates are doing and whether the vermin are being kept down by the keepers and what are the prospects. To the north we have a neighbour, Russia in Asia, of whose intentions we have always had the deepest misgivings. To continue for a moment the sporting metaphor, we have always suspected him of poaching proclivities, of shooting for the pot, of encouraging rather than suppressing vermin, and of generally un-neighbourly conduct. In fact, the foundation of our Society was largely inspired by the threat to British interests of the Russian advance in Asia; and I think that one of the Society's main aims has always been to keep a watch on that advance and to be prepared to warn our people of its dangers and to keep them informed of its progress.

The menace of Russia has continued to loom over Asia. There have been two uneasy periods of truce when we have been temporarily bound to Russia by what Kipling calls "ties of common funk"—a fear of the might of Germany. But they were periods of truce only. Russia has never been really friendly towards Great Britain and has never forgotten its Asiatic ambitions. I remember our Military Attaché in Russia during the First World War telling me that some of the railway material sent to Russia to aid her struggle against the Germans was actually used in extending Russian lines towards the Afghan frontier. For the Russians are an Oriental people and Russia is essentially an Asiatic power; I do not believe she has ever had the wish to dominate Europe. The Russian front towards Europe is, I believe, defensive, even at the present time when it appears aggressive to many. Naturally it would be to her advantage if by bullying, lying, and fifth column methods she could spread her pernicious doctrines as far westward as possible. But I personally believe that Russian policy in Europe is dictated by the memory of Germany's brutal ravaging of her western provinces in the late war, a determination that Germany shall never be in a position to do so again, and a mistrust of the intention of the Western Powers to re-arm Germany against her. I believe, how-

ever, that Russia's eastern front has always been and is still aggressive, though it has the slow, ponderous roll of the bear rather than the fierce swiftness of the tiger. It aims at gradual occupation with as little fighting as possible rather than armed invasion.

So that Russia has always been in the foreground of our picture of Asia, the principal figure on the canvas, the evil genie of our Eastern tale. It was just before the foundation of the Society, it may even have given an impulse to its foundation, that Kipling wrote a poem probably well known to some of you, "The Truce of the Bear," ending with the line:

"There is no truce with Adam-Zad, the Bear that looks like a Man."

But how changed is the whole background of the picture in the half-century, almost, since the Society's foundation. To combat Russia's ambitions in Asia there were then four seemingly solid Powers: Turkey, dominating Western Asia and Arabia; the British, firmly and to all appearances permanently established in India; China, mighty in numbers and area but already in the ferment of change; and the island Empire of Japan, with which Britain had lately formed an alliance. Now, as a result of two great wars, there is nothing solid in Asia at all. Turkey has abandoned her Arabian Empire and has drawn back into her own home shell, so to speak, and is stronger for having done so, but is small and weak in face of the Russian colossus. She has given up both the spiritual and military leadership of Islam. The British have withdrawn from India, which is divided and of course far weaker. China is in chaos, and the dominant party is, in theory at least, of the same political religion as Russia. Japan, which forty-five years ago checked the Russian advance in Manchuria, is prostrate, and Russia has regained its lost influence in that province. Everything seems set for Russia to make fresh Asian encroachments and conquests. But there are weaknesses too on the Russian side. In the first place, Russia itself was torn and battered by the war to a state of almost complete exhaustion and is in no mood for foreign adventure. No one can tell with certainty what tinfoil armour the Iron Curtain may conceal, how weak the bolts of the Curtain itself may be; but I think we may be sure that all the structure behind is not iron nor steel. Then there is a new Power in Eastern affairs, the U.S.A., with no territory in Asia but with very wide interests in it, and with the resolution and at need the material strength to defend those interests.

On the spiritual side the great factor in Asia is the fall in the prestige of the Western races as the result of their suicidal struggles with each other, and the awakening of a national consciousness in the Asiatic races and a desire to manage their own affairs without Western domination. But the material power, the industrial, financial, and military resources still lie with the Western races, who could if they so chose again establish themselves in the East by force. But they would find no easy or willing submission, as often in the past; and they themselves have lost the urge towards territorial expansion and physical dominance.

A poet wrote some seventy years ago of the impact of West on East in these lines:

“ The East bowed low before the blast
In patient deep disdain,
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.”

That period is past now; the East is awake, and more concerned with action than with thought.

Then there is the clash of creeds in Asia, in itself a fascinating study and fraught with the gravest consequences for the world. The influence of Christianity, the white man's creed, was never perhaps very great in Asia, and is now on the retreat with the white man. What is the future of Islam, now searching to replace the temporal and political unity once given by the authority of Turkey with some framework that will enable the Muslim peoples of Western and Central Asia—of Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan—to pursue a common defence of their religion and their way of life? Their leaders have a difficult task. “Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel,” is still a true prophecy of the Arab race; and unity amongst the followers of Muhammad, the speakers of the Arabic tongue, is still far to seek. They are at present suffering from the irritation of what they regard as the Jewish cancer which has established itself on the edge of their body politic; it seems to have passed the stage when it was hoped to remove it with the surgeon's knife, they must now concentrate on preventing its spread. This vehement, progressive, militant Jewish element in Palestine is a new factor in the affairs—religious, commercial, political, and even military—of Central Asia; one that this Society must certainly study.

Hinduism and Buddhism lie rather outside our scope. They too must be affected by the sharply changing shape of world affairs. And they have, with Christianity and Islam, the common enemy to face, the creed without soul and without God, the communism of Karl Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, men without mercy or charity.

There are two main material factors in the revolutionary change that has come over the strategical aspect of Asia. One is air power, the other is oil. Air power has of course affected strategy all over the world, and I do not propose to deal with it in any detail in this address. Some of the main air routes of world travel and transport pass through the area with which we concern ourselves, and a study of these air routes and bases is obviously our business. Oil, which is the source of air power, concerns very deeply that part of Asia with which this Society deals, since the principal known oil reserves of the world lie in the Persian Gulf. The next great struggle for world power, if it takes place, may well be for the control of these oil reserves. It may centre on Western Asia, the Persian Gulf, the approaches to India both on the north-west and on the north-east. This may be the battleground both of the material struggle for oil and air bases, and of the spiritual struggle of at least three great creeds—Christianity, Islam, Communism—and of the political theories of democracy and totalitarianism. In such a struggle the base of the Western Powers must surely be in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Western Asia.

This rather crude and hasty summary will give you, I hope, some idea of the importance of the work of this Society and of the functions which it should perform. The portion of the world with which it deals is of vital interest from a strategical and political point of view. It is surely necessary to interest as many people as possible in it, to put before them the problems of the region, to encourage enterprising travellers to visit the countries concerned, and to collect the results of their observations. I believe our Society is of greater importance than ever before, and the more members we can enlist the better.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C.): I wish, on behalf of all present, to thank Lord Wavell for having presided at our meeting to-day and for his Presidential Address. We know that he has very little time to spare and we all the more appreciate his kindness in coming to our meeting. We thank you very much, sir.

The meeting then terminated.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM

By THE EMIR DR. KAMURAN 'ALI BEDR KHAN

Lecture given on July 6, 1949, Brigadier S. H. Longrigg, O.B.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a great honour to be in the Chair for this meeting although I am only a deputy, for we have the pleasure of welcoming the Emir Dr. Kamuran 'Ali Bedr Khan, who speaks to us as a most loyal Kurd. He is a member of a very ancient family, and he belongs to a people who have very strong claims on our sympathy and interest and, in some ways, our admiration, but they are one of those peoples who, by historical accident, have not achieved the position of a nation.

The Kurds, as many know better than I, have for centuries, almost a millennium, been a homogeneous vigorous people in a specific part of the world within defined limits, about which our lecturer will tell us. They have been uniform in their way of life and in their national characteristics for all that time and made an impact upon all who came their way. They have, however, never become the nation which it has been their dream to become, either through some accident of history—which is, after all, capricious enough—or possibly because of some difficulty or defect of their own, which the lecturer, again, will speak of, if it exists; or it may be by the mere blind influence of events that the Kurds have been denied the achievement of nationhood.

But the Kurds mean a lot in Western Asia; and it is particularly fortunate that their leading spokesman and a representative who can be second to none has come to speak to us. He is a man who has suffered for his political opinions and been on the black list of some of the countries of the area; he has been long in exile, but he has used his opportunities to acquire a very complete European education. He holds doctorates of several universities and speaks the languages of Europe a great deal better—to say the least of it!—than any of us will ever speak Kurdish. It is a great pleasure and honour to call upon Dr. Kamuran 'Ali Bedr Khan to address us.

THIS is a wonderful day for me, that, as a Kurd and as a guest of this honourable Society, I have the opportunity of speaking about Kurdistan and the Kurds and about the Kurdish problem.

I thank very heartily our dear friend, Colonel Elphinston, who has always done his best for us Kurds in the Middle East during his stay there, and even now took the initiative in introducing me to this Society so that I might explain our cause.

Mr. Safrastian, the Armenian scholar, in his book which appeared in London last year, underlines that in the old hemisphere there is probably no other genuine ethnic group that has been more persistently abused and misrepresented than the Kurdish race. From the dawn of history perhaps no other people in the world, inhabiting as well defined a geographical area, has been more constantly reviled than the Kurdish people. This fact should be emphasized from the outset, so as to place the historical problem in perspective and to discuss the Kurdish question as it presents itself to-day.

We have a Kurdish proverb which says: "The world is a rose, smell it and pass it to your friends." The Kurdish problem is not more than the natural desire of the Kurdish people to have more of life than the thorns of the rose—they would also smell its sweetness. The understanding of the people of the Middle East for this need of the Kurds—the only non-free people among them—should make the solution much easier.

Geography.—It is not perhaps without interest to take a look at the geographical situation of Kurdistan. Larousse, *Universel*, says: "Turkish Asia comprises only the plateaux of Anatoli and Kurdistan." This short phrase does not define the extent of Kurdistan, nevertheless it puts it in a concise way. *The Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "The Turko-Iraq boundary broke into two the heart of historic Kurdistan; it destroyed the chances of an evolution of the Kurds as a nationality for generations to come." In fact, the region which the Turko-Iraqi frontier crosses is the heart of Kurdistan. If we add the part of Kurdistan under the control of Iran, extending to the lake of Urmia, we have a general view of Kurdistan, which, as it is clearly understood, is divided between Turkey, Iran, and Iraq—a situation similar to that under which Poland suffered before the first World War.

Kurdistan is mainly a mountainous country, but it also has beautiful fertile valleys and plains. The mountain of Ararat is the limit of the country to the north-east—a venerable mountain of cults and legends, the mountain on which Noah's ark landed. On the slopes of this mountain the first vineyards of the world flourished, and from the grapes of these vineyards the wine was made which was served for the rejoicing of the second birth of humanity after the Deluge. Hezargol, which means "thousand lakes," is another mountain in Kurdistan full of myths and mysteries. According to a Kurdish legend every mountain has its star, but the mountain of Hezargol has two stars. It is considered to be the stronghold of happiness, the refuge of pure and candid love. I should like to tell you a short legend about this mountain.

Originally there was only one lake, one source, which symbolized Eternal Life. One morning at sunrise an old shepherd saw a wounded serpent, followed by others, making its way to the source. On arriving the serpent jumped in to heal its wounds and to get eternal life. On coming out it was entirely healed, younger and in splendid condition. The shepherd, seeing this miracle, thought of his prince who had been lying ill in his castle for many, many long years. If the serpent could be healed by the waters, why could not his prince? So he left the mountain and came to the castle, where he related to the prince what he had seen and begged him to visit the source. The prince consented. But to the great surprise of the shepherd, on his return, instead of seeing one lake, one source, he now saw a thousand lakes. Each drop of water which had fallen from the serpent as it came out of the water had sprung up into a lake. So when the prince asked the shepherd to show him the original lake he was unable to find it, and in his despair he cried out: "Region of thousand lakes, region of thousand wishes, how can I find the first lake in all these thousand lakes?" Thus was Eternal Life lost to the world.

It should be noted that the two most important rivers of the Middle East, the Euphrates and the Tigris, have their source in Kurdistan.

Resources.—The resources of Kurdistan are very large and various. Perhaps in no other country of the Middle East can one find such a variety of riches.

(1) The prairies of Kurdistan are immensely rich; even in spring the vegetation is so high that a horse cannot trot for more than fifteen minutes

at a time, and the drivers are obliged to change the disposition of their horses very often in order to continue their route. The richness of the vegetation, on the one hand, the wonderful air, and the sources of limpid water in every corner of the country form a great factor in the breeding of cattle. The quality of wool is exceptionally good.

(2) The second resource is the agricultural products. As an example, if we take a look at North Syria, which is under a democratic government, where the Kurds have the wished-for freedom to work and to benefit from their work, during the last twenty-five years the deserts of Jezirah have become the second granary of Syria.

(3) The third resource is fruit. Here I should like to mention that we have in Kurdistan about forty different kinds of grapes. In the region of Heverkhan there is a unique way of cultivation. In this part of the country there are large flat rocks; the centre of these rocks is blasted out to form a circle; under the rocks the soil is peculiarly fertile, and when the sun beats down on the surrounding rock it becomes like a furnace. In consequence bunches of grapes are often about 14 lbs. in weight. Another speciality is the water melon—the Pasteque—the average weight of which is from 6 to 10 lbs. In Diyabakr two water melons are just as much as a camel can carry and to cut them a saw is needed. Dried fruits, raisins, apricots, etc., are of wonderful quality and exceedingly plentiful; nuts and almonds abound. Here I would like to say that in some regions of the country there are forests of fruit trees—namely, in the region of Silivan; in the locality of Erkeniss there are tens of thousands of nut trees, and in the region of Elbat one finds innumerable fig trees.

(4) The fourth resource is the forests, where almost every tree is represented. And the legendary manna is a reality even to-day in Kurdistan and is used to prepare sweets.

(5) The fifth resource is the hydraulic power and sub-soil minerals. Now only the oil wells of Kirkuk and Khanikin in Iraqi-Kurdistan, Kirmanshah-Kurdistan under Iranian control, Reman in Turkish-Kurdistan, and the copper of Argoni in Turkish-Kurdistan are exploited.

The iron resources are also very rich. I have only to mention those of the region of Sasun, where the Kurds with their primitive implements are extracting the iron and making all their agricultural and other instruments with it.

(6) The sixth resource is the manufacture of textiles, blankets, carpets, silk products, "kilims," table covers, pottery, etc.

(7) The seventh resource (if Kurdistan is free) is the tourist industry. With its marvellous views and panoramas, healthy mountain air for sanatoria, ski-ing, hunting, and mineral spas, its development could have no limit. Different foreigners who have visited Kurdistan say that it could become the Switzerland of the Middle East.

The life of the Kurdish people—except in thirty to forty towns more or less developed—is passed in the villages. Field-Marshal von Moltke, who nearly a hundred years ago was an instructor in the Ottoman army and visited Kurdistan, writes in his memoirs: "If there is a people who are bound to the earth it is the Kurds. They are the heirs of a very old agricultural people; in spite of a very hard winter they enjoy a long and

marvellous summer. Just a few of them are wandering shepherds, but the majority of Kurds are agricultural workers. The Kurdish nomadism goes so far that when the heavy heat in the valleys burns the vegetation, and the snow on the table-lands in the mountains has disappeared, they take their cattle up to the mountain table-lands and change their houses for tents for a season. In the autumn they return to their villages." That was during the time when the Kurds were not oppressed; to-day this is not in general economically possible for them.

When approaching a Kurdish village you are conscious of a friendly atmosphere. The villages are surrounded by gardens and vineyards, and even on the slopes of the mountains terraces are cut out for the cultivation of grapes and vegetables. One sees enormous groups of nut trees, and under the vast shadows of their branches the Kurdish houses are hidden. On the village greens it is not uncommon to see enormous old beech trees with hollow trunks. In these hollows there are springs of water. In the evenings, after the day's labour is finished, it is possible to see six to eight persons seated around these springs in the hollow of the trees resting and gossiping.

There are also the picturesque views of the castles, built generally on the high rocks, outlined against the sky, surrounded by verdure, and reflected in the waters of the rivers flowing in the valleys below.

Language.—The Kurds are of Aryan stock; their language is Indo-European of the Iranian group. In so far as it is possible to ascertain from the existing literary documents, the name Kurd appears for the first time in a book in the Pahlevi language in the form of *Kurd*, *Kurdan*, which means Kurd and Kurds. Artakshir-i-Papakan, the founder of the Persian Sassanid dynasty in A.D. 226, mentions among his many opponents Madig, the King of the Kurds. The great Arab historians took over the name from the Sassanids, and it has come down to modern times as Kurd.

The Kurdish language has two principal dialects, that of the north and that of the south. The north dialect is used in speaking and writing in Turkish-Kurdistan by the Kurds of the Armenian republic, by the Kurds of Syria, by the Kurds of the north of Iraqi-Kurdistan, in the mountains of Sinjar and from a line stretching from the south of Sinjar to the town of Rowandiz, by the Kurds inhabiting the north and the west of the lake of Urmia, and by the Kurds of Khorasan in the north-east of Iran.

The south dialect is spoken and written by the Kurds of Iraq and Iran living in the territories in the south and the south-east. The north dialect is a very clear linguistic unity and accepts no subdivision in dialects: such is not the case with the south dialect.

History—I should like to say a few words about Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds and Kurdistan goes back to the beginning of the ages. Recent archæological discoveries permit one to think that the people who have inhabited the mountains of Kurdistan played a major rôle in the civilization of the Middle East. Until their conversion to Islam their history was that of the Aryan empires of the East. Heirs of the Medes, they rallied to Cyprus and helped him in his conquests. In the Achæmenid

Empire they played a big rôle, holding the privileged mission of guarding the temples. I will quote another passage from the recent book of Mr. Safrastian: "The few existing texts prove that as early as the twenty-fourth century before Christ, or thereabouts, there was a kingdom of Gutium which corresponds to the Kurdistan of to-day: that it was important enough to be classed by a Sumerian king as an independent kingdom together with the larger and better-known kingdoms of Subartu and Elam." And Mr. Safrastian adds: "Gutium-Kurdistan and the people were an independent kingdom nearly 2,000 years before there was a Persia or a Turkey." During the last five centuries until 1848 Kurdistan was ruled by its princes, who endeavoured to safeguard their people against their two big neighbours—the Ottoman and the Persian Empires.

Family Life.—Now a few words about the family life of the Kurds, socially and economically, and also about their mentality. The Kurdish woman, as is well known, enjoys a privileged place in the life of the Kurds, as a mother, companion of life, chief, and writer. A Kurdish proverb says: "The lion is a lion." What it means is male or female. The proverb eloquently explains that the sex has nothing to do with the value; it is the quality of the person which counts. The internal life of the family is entirely in the hands of the woman.

Marriages are almost always romantic; it is rarely that a girl marries from other motives than love and from free choice. The marriage dowry comes from the man—never from the woman. The dowry consists of two parts—one part comprising jewellery, furniture, house, etc., and the other part a sum of money. This money is held by the family of the woman as a guarantee for the conduct of the husband. After some years, when it has been proved that the marriage is a happy one, the parents of the wife have to return the money to the husband.

Divorce is almost unknown. There is only one reason where it is admitted—namely, when the wife is unfaithful to her husband.

The education of the children is entirely in the hands of the mother. After a certain age the boys are under the control of the father, but the girls, up to their marriage, are under the control of the mother. After seven years of age a girl is never chastised by the father. In the absence of her husband the woman receives guests as the head of the house with equal rights. It may interest you to know that she has never worn the veil, as in the other countries of the Middle East. She takes an active part in all festivities and dances.

There is a custom which is also very interesting to note: if the mother is better known and more respected and loved by the people, unofficially her name is given to a boy in honour of that mother. According to Kurdish history, women have become chiefs of clans and territories and have enjoyed political leadership.

The Kurdish popular literature—folklore, of which we will speak later on—is mostly due to the inspiration of the women.

Mentality.—The famous Oriental fatalism has very little place in the Kurdish mentality. A proverb says: "Lion, put your confidence in your paw; the saints will not come to help you." They have a deep admiration for courage, and they believe that courage and generosity are the two big

factors in life. In Kurdish we also have your proverb: "A faint heart can never win the love of a lady."

Religion.—They believe that the fundamental point is God, who governed the world before all the prophets.

Character.—The Kurds are frank, realistic, loyal, generous, and affectionate. Their big fault is that they are hot-blooded and fly quickly into temper; they are also too individualistic. In the Orient they are known as being stubborn and as people who will not compromise. To illustrate the public opinion about the Kurds I would cite the following anecdote: Once in Damascus I wished to buy a hat, and, as is the custom in the Orient, I argued the price. The shopkeeper lowered his price, but I endeavoured to get a further reduction. He did not know that I was a Kurd, but at my insistence, he replied to me in Arabic, saying: "Don't insist; I have spoken my Kurdish word." In astonishment I asked him what he meant, and he said: "If the Kurds give their word there is no change."

In this connection it should be noted that in ancient Kurdish history the people were always free, mostly landowners, having at least their houses, gardens, and fields. The attitude of the Kurds towards their chiefs and the nobility was one of deference but never subservience. They express quite freely their opinions. (In the political life of Kurdistan we have even seen a republic in the region of Shirnakh, where the chief was elected by the people.)

Literature.—It is in the tenth century that we see flourish the beginning of Kurdish classical literature with Termouki, the Ronsard of Kurdish literature, who was fastidious about the poetic form and who compiled a grammar for the language, thus establishing the basis of the national literature. Another writer, Jeziri, who is considered one of the chief and renowned poets of the Orient, is remarkable for his love of human feeling and deep sensibility. The perfection of his style and the capacity of his genius found expression in profound and philosophical verses of lyric nature.

In the sixteenth century the evolution of literature rose to its peak with the unusual discovery of a Kurdish soul and a national consciousness in the works of Khani. His most popular tragedy, *Meme and Zine*, was based on an old legend, which, when sung by the troubadours under the title of "Memialan," stirred the inner souls of lovely ladies and gallant chevaliers and brought tears to their eyes. The poet gave birth to this legend, and its hero represents the people who seek to achieve liberty, remarkably personified by the impregnable princes.

In addition to this literature, and perhaps even richer, are the folklore, legends, songs of love, of war, of hunting and of dancing, of spring and autumn, songs of harvest and wine-gatherings, religious music, cantiques, cradle songs, funeral dirges, and the songs of maidens which they sang while weaving carpets, etc.

I hope by this short exposé I have been able to give this honourable audience a general glimpse of Kurdistan and the Kurds. Now I should like to speak about the principal motive of our subject—the Kurdish problem.

The Kurdish people are to-day under the control of three states, as

Kurdistan is divided between Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. During the past century they have suffered under very bad conditions; their country has not had the possibility of normal development. It is considered by the powers among which it is divided as a source of revenue and military recruits alone. For health, cultural, social, and economic life nothing has been done; in a word, the welfare of the people has been entirely neglected. The Kurdish people, the only non-free people in the Middle East, are unable to enjoy the liberty of their country. There are no hospitals, no Kurdish schools, factories, irrigation, roads, social centres, etc., in Turkey, and in Iran even Kurdish records of music, books, and newspapers—in fact, every sort of Kurdish cultural activity—and Kurdish schools are forbidden. In Iraq the situation is better, as the Kurds in Iraq enjoy the right to have schools of their own and also a Press, but, alas, here also this privilege is not extended to the whole of Iraqi Kurdistan. National political activity is entirely forbidden.

Twice in the last thirty years it has seemed that a solution has been found for the Kurdish question—the natural solution for a non-free people to have liberty and to enjoy the benefits of self-administration. First in conformity with the Wilsonian principles, and when by a joint declaration on November 18, 1918, France and Britain affirmed that they had no other aim but “the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations taking their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native population.” Indeed the Treaty of Sevres provided for a Kurdish state. Section 3, Kurdistan, article 62, says: “A commission sitting at Constantinople and composed of three members appointed by the British, French, and Italian Governments respectively, shall draft within six months from the coming into force of the present treaty a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas.” And article 64 adds: “If within one year from the coming into force of the present treaty the Kurdish people within the areas defined in article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these people are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation and to renounce all rights and title over these areas.” “If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adherence to such independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet”—Iraq.

It seems paradoxical that these efforts should have as a result that Kurdistan, which before World War One was divided between Turkey and Persia, now became divided between three countries, making the situation much more serious. If the successful war of Mustafa Kemal over the Greeks was partly responsible for the non-execution of the Treaty of Sevres and its replacement by the Treaty of Lausanne, there is no doubt that the Powers which, without hesitation, sacrificed the rights of the Kurds and agreed to the division of Kurdistan into three parts were also

responsible. Even and in spite of the world wars fought for the preservation of justice and the rights of man, force was allowed to dominate here. Nevertheless, at least the Kurds had on record an international treaty recognizing their rights; its moral value can be considered as being untouched.

The second attempt at solution came after the World War Two. The Kurds of Iran, with the help of the Kurds of Iraq, established the small Kurdish Republic of Mahabad. This was the dawn of a new hope for the Kurds. The Iranian Government negotiated several times with the Republic of Mahabad, and it seemed that an agreement would be reached and freedom guaranteed. Here, again, force was to replace right and justice. The Government of Teheran asked the Republic of Mahabad to agree that the Iranian army should enter the territory in order to assure free elections. The President of the Republic, Qazi Mohamed, agreed in good faith. Once the Iranian army entered Mahabad they arrested him and also his ministers, and after a pretence of trial hanged them.

What remains now for the Kurds to do?

Last year, on November 29, 1948, a Kurdish delegation presented His Excellency Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization, with a memorandum asking that in conformity with Article 73 the rights of non-autonomous countries should be extended to the Kurds. The situation of Kurdistan is without parallel in the world to-day. The Kurds are deprived of liberty and independence which the world of to-day recognizes for all peoples, if not at once, in a given time. The struggle which has been waged during the last century against the Kurdish nobility is now being waged against the moral and physical existence of the Kurdish people; the continuance of such a situation is doing harm not only to the Kurds but to the whole of the Middle East.

The solution of the Kurdish question, in conformity with the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations, is the normal one. The Kurdish question is at the very basis of all stability in the Middle East; any solution aimed at pacifying feelings there and ensuring a durable peace which ignores this question is fatally destined to be fruitless. I am sure I am the interpreter of the deep and most sincere feelings of my people in saying that their desire is to be a factor for understanding and co-operation with the other peoples of the Middle East, but co-operation demands at least two parties. Co-operation cannot be based on the full renunciation of the rights of one of the parties.

The importance of the Kurdish territories—economically, strategically, and politically—is influencing the security and the stability of these three countries of the Middle East; whether they admit it or not it is the fact. We know also that the Turkish, Iranian, and the Iraqi peoples are desirous that such a situation should not continue any longer. The Press of these countries, and especially the Arabic Press, have generously sustained the Kurdish cause, and even the Turkish and Iranian Press on one or two occasions have appealed to the Governments responsible to show goodwill and co-operation. These Governments have to understand that "no man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent."

I am certain that a movement of public opinion in our favour and the intervention of the United Nations Organization could oblige these responsible Governments to reconsider their policy, and to act on this question in accordance with the treaties and international engagements to which they have already put their signatures. As Mr. Winston Churchill at a reception last night in London said: "The forces of freedom on a broad front are advancing steadily."

In conclusion, I should like to add that I shall feel exceedingly happy if I have been able to awaken in your hearts a sympathy for my people. I would ask you please to accept my best thanks for your kind attention.

The CHAIRMAN: The Emir will be willing, I hope, to answer one or two questions which members may wish to put to him, so long as they are brief, just to add to the generous fund of information he has already given us.

Colonel H. DIMMOCK: I have heard it said that the Kurds and Medes were connected in some way in past history. Is it true that the Medes of the Medo-Persian Empire preceded the Kurds in that area, and were they among the ancestors of the Kurds?

The LECTURER: That is not yet clear; I cannot answer definitely, though in the Old Testament there is mention of the point, but the relationship has not so far been scientifically established.

The Hon. M. BUCKMASTER: Having just returned from a tour in Persian and Iraqi Kurdistan, I should like to put on record how grateful I was for the extremely generous hospitality shown me everywhere by all sections of the Kurdish people in Iran, in Iraq, and also in North Syria and in Turkey. I should like also to say how very impressed I was by the immense natural resources of the country, almost completely unexploited resources; and that applies particularly to northern Iraq.

I would like to put one question to the lecturer. He said that in the Southern Kurdish linguistic group there were a number of sub-groups. I should be most interested if he could enlarge on that point.

The LECTURER: Thank you very much for your kindly reference to Kurdish hospitality, because that gives me an opportunity of expressing on my part thanks for the very generous British hospitality which has been extended to me. The main southern dialects are Moukri, Kirmanshahi, and Baha-Kurdi.

Colonel CAYLEY BELL: We have heard what the lecturer has said about his people and we all accept it, but unless one has been among them it is difficult to realize what splendid people the Kurds of the Kurdish villages are. A previous questioner has mentioned the hospitality he received, and I should like to add to that the hospitality that both my wife and I received when in the Kurdish villages of the western area, on the line, roughly, Alexandria-Diyabekr-Kirkuk. The Kurds in those villages are outstanding compared with the population that surrounds them. They are very isolated and many of the villages have in them all sorts of races; the Arabs and Arab villages have crept up into the area and also the Turks, but outstanding among all those villagers are the Kurds.

When my wife and I were in the country some years ago it was in a

great state of tension, for it was at the time of the Peace Conference in Paris after the First World War. The Kurds had the promise and hope of nationality with defined frontiers. That did not materialize. But in spite of that tension I was much impressed by the discipline of the headmen of the villages and the courtesy with which one was received. I was not then going through the villages as a friend but as an official trying to damp any too great enthusiasm. I had to go and say: "Do nothing about it; it will all be settled for you at the Peace Conference." But in spite of the tension and the feeling that I might not be really welcome to the Kurds, I never received anything but the greatest hospitality and courtesy. Moreover, when I had to go further afield and my wife had to return alone, she received the same courtesy from all the villages through which she passed and those at which she had to put up for the night.

Many of us are not clear as to the aim of the present-day Kurdish national movement. Is it working for a defined nationality with defined boundaries, for which Turkey, Iran, and Iraq would have to forego some of their territories in order to form a Kurdish state? Or is it hoping for local autonomy to start with? My own view is that, at any rate, the start should be local autonomy. Perhaps the lecturer would give his views as to that.

The LECTURER: I think the Kurdish question can only be studied by taking into consideration the international possibilities and the various international agreements. It is the hope that eventually, like every other people, the Kurds will enjoy a united and an independent Kurdistan, but at the moment I believe the main question is: What are the possibilities? Are we Turks? No, we are Aryan. Our race is quite different from the Turkish. We speak an Indo-European language. We have other traditions from the Turks and we are quite a separate people. The same with the Arabs, who are Semitic and speak a Semitic language; we speak an Iranian language. Their tradition and everything else is different. Of course, it does not mean that there is enmity between the Kurdish people and other people; merely that it is a matter of difference of feeling and of tradition. With the Persians there is much more possibility of getting together, as they are also, as are the Kurds, Iranian; but we are still a separate race. We are at the same time connected with all the countries in which we live without being part of them in tradition and so on. The different parts of Kurdistan attached to Turkey, Iran, and Iraq are not part of those countries; they are a foreign element under occupation. Our constitution to-day is that of a non-autonomous country, and as such we have a right to be treated in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Captain HUGHES ONSLOW: Would the lecturer go a little further and say how he visualizes a kingdom of Kurdistan? Where will the capital be? Who will be king? Would the people all get on very well together or not? Would it not be a difficult kingdom to manage?

The LECTURER: I hope that the Kurds are a democracy, and as a democracy the Kurdish people will decide in conformity with the democratic system.

Mr. A. M. HAMILTON: It is true that the Kurd is a very distinctive

individual. That is obvious as soon as one comes into contact with the Kurds. I remember as an engineer when, from South Iraq, I first went to build roads in the northern areas. In the course of the work questions would often arise concerning, say, the correctness of the attendance register or "muster roll," or else the truth of some local man's statement regarding his land rights, etc. When I asked how I was to be assured of the correctness of the statement made or the genuineness of any claim, the man's answer was simply, "I am a Kurd," which he would believe to be quite sufficient assurance. That showed their pride of race.

Another example I can recall is that one day a touring British police officer from the south visited one of my camps, and he came thinking that, as elsewhere in the country and particularly in the cities, one had to be careful of one's possessions. He asked what he should do about his car; he must find someone to leave in charge of it. I told him that was not necessary, but if he thought it was we could ask. We stopped the first tribal Kurd who was passing and asked would he mind standing by the officer's car until we came back. He looked at us rather surprisedly and said: "This is Kurdistan; it is not Baghdad; nobody will touch the car up here!" Poor though he might be, he refused the lucrative offer and strode on his way with the proud air the Kurd has. And the honour of the Kurd I grew to have a high respect for—his word given, one's trust in it could be absolute.

Mr. KESSLER: My contacts with the Kurds arose from the fact that during the war I had the privilege of serving with Kurdish soldiers in the Iraq Levies. It is worth recalling that the Kurds played a part on the Allied side during the last war not only in the Middle East but in Greece, and it is a touch of historical irony that the descendants of the Medes should have fought in Athens in the struggle against the Greek rebel forces in 1944.

I would like to ask a question in regard to Kurdish relations with Russia. The lecturer said that the northern boundary of Kurdistan touches the south of Soviet Armenia, but I had been under the impression that there was a Kurdish population in U.S.S.R. I should like to know whether the Russians have exploited the situation of a dissatisfied Kurdish minority in the neighbouring countries and whether they are carrying on propaganda amongst the Kurds?

The LECTURER: In the Armenian republic there are about 100,000 to 150,000 Kurds. Before the war we had been in touch with the Kurds living in the part of Soviet Armenia. We knew that the Russian Government was treating the Kurds generously: they had schools in every village, they had a number of newspapers and periodicals, and the Russians did a lot for the emancipation of the people. I heard it said at the time that the Russians were doing this for propaganda; for when one is in a tight situation anyhow and someone is doing work for one, the tendency is to ask: What is the game? If the Russians started propaganda in Kurdistan I do not think it would be effective. Of course, as in England, France, the United States and elsewhere, we also have a few Communists. They are young people speaking about communistic principles and doing political propaganda, but they are few in number.

Colonel CAYLEY BELL: May I raise a second point? I believe most of us have felt that the Assyrians who joined up with us in the Mesopotamian campaign in Iraq formed some of the best fighting material we had from there, but they had a very bad time when we started to move out from Iraq. It was not merely a question of a raw deal; thousands of their people were massacred and nobody seemed to know what to do with them. Nothing satisfactory has been done for those Assyrians, though there was some idea of settling them to some extent in North-Eastern Syria.

It was asked previously whether the Kurds are descended from the ancient Medes. I should like to ask whether the lecturer regards the Assyrians as Kurds who at some period adopted Christianity—whether, in fact, the Assyrians are not Christianized Kurds?

The LECTURER: To regard the Assyrians as Kurds raises a somewhat delicate question. Actually between us there is just a hair and I think that hair must remain, for otherwise we offend their sentiments. But we consider that they are as we are, and if Kurdistan were free to-morrow the Assyrians would have the same rights in our country as we have.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come to close the discussion. I said that we were fortunate in having the Emir Bedr Khan to address us, and that has proved to have been not over-optimistic. He has given us all we hoped for, and more. His lecture covered a number of matters. We know from him, and some of us knew already, that his is a beautiful country; it is not all emptiness and sand. Its resources are far from negligible. He pointed them out one by one. The people live in a civilized way; they treat each other properly; the social manners and customs which he described in a few words are pleasing; they attract the visitor and the spectator. When it comes to politics things become despairingly difficult. We all know what these minority questions can do, and they are not easier when the minority is compact, self-conscious, and virile. From the point of view of the rulers of the adjacent territories, the Kurds, attractive as they may well be, are a major difficulty, administratively and politically. How one wishes that that difficulty could be solved! It is one of the most difficult situations that modern life has thrown up on the constitutional side. What can we do about it, even when we hear the facts of the case from so convincing and convinced a spokesman? The fact is, ladies and gentlemen, that there is nothing whatever that we can do about it except appreciate the facts as they are told to us and allow our sympathy to be attracted, as it is, and to form our little part of a partly instructed and friendly body of opinion which, when things do move in the direction the lecturer would like, will be in support of those forces in this country which would like to see the Kurds, within the bounds of what is possible and reasonable, have a new deal and a square deal. I know I am speaking in the name of all present when I thank the lecturer very sincerely for a quite exceptionally interesting and profitable lecture.

THE AZIZAN OR THE PRINCES OF BHOTAN

THE recent visit to the Society in London of the Emir Kamuran Aali Bedr Khan, Doctor at Law, may make the following notes on his family, the Azizan, of interest to some readers of this Journal.

Like many other ancient Mohammedan families, the Azizan are connected by tradition with various heroes of the early days of Islam.

One legend traces their descent to the Prophet's own family through an infant boy, who is supposed to have been smuggled away from the fatal field of Kerbela and hidden away in the mountains of Kurdistan, where he founded a family. Whether it be on account of this legend or not, it is certainly true to-day that girls of this family do marry into the Koreish or Sherifian family of Hashim, as was illustrated not long ago by the marriage of the daughter of the late Sureya Bedr Khan to Sherif Raikan, a member of the Hashim family who was recently serving in the Iraq Diplomatic Corps.

The family itself claims descent from Khalid Ibn Valid, one of the most famous of the Prophet's commanders in the field. Salahuddin, son of Khalid Ibn Valid, was Viceroy in Jezirah-Ibn-Omar, and it is his son, Abdul Aziz, who is stated to have given his name to the princely family of Bhotan.

Yet a third tradition attributes the name Azizan to Abdul-Aziz, son of the Khalif Omar, who is said to have founded the city of Jezirah-Ibn-Omar and to have named it after his father.

A fourth tradition, and the one Kamuran Bey himself believes to be the true one, connects the name with a little village called Arzizan near Jezireh-Ibn-Omar. Kamuran Bey believes his ancestors changed their name taken from the village to Azizan in order to claim some connection with the companions of the Prophet, as was fashionable in those days.

Whatever may be the origin of their family name, the princes of Bhotan appear to have had their headquarters at Jezirah-Ibn-Omar and to have been established there in A.D. 1514.

It was in this year that Sultan Selim the Grim, after defeating the Safavi King of Persia, decided to guard his frontiers by establishing a chain of Kurdish principedoms to act as a bulwark along the Ottoman Empire's frontiers with Persia. There were eleven such principalities, recognized as practically independent but acknowledging the nominal sovereignty of the Ottoman Government. These eleven principalities were Bitlis, Van, Hakkari, Miks, Gherzan, Sherwan, Bhotan, Bekhdinan, Baban, Bayazid, and Motkan.

The first member of the Azizan family to gain historical prominence outside his own country was Bedr Khan, who became Prince of Bhotan in 1821. About this time friction between the Kurds and the Ottoman Government had arisen owing to the policy of Sultan Mahmud, which aimed at centralizing the administration of outlying districts and curtailing the independent powers of the tribal chiefs.

Bedr Khan seems to have combined the qualities of a leader with

statesmanship, foresight, and generalship in the field. He was a Kurdish patriot who strove to maintain Kurdish tradition and culture.

Conflict between himself and the Turkish Government first broke out in 1836 and lasted intermittently for the next four years. In 1840, when Turkey was threatened with invasion by Mohammed Ali's Egyptian army under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, Bedr Khan, in alliance with the Kurdish chiefs of Van, Hakkari, Miks, Kars, and Ardalan, set up an independent local Kurdish Government, of which he was proclaimed ruler.

This régime lasted until 1845, when the Ottoman Government, relieved of the threat of Egyptian invasion, was able to concentrate sufficient forces against Bedr Khan to ensure his defeat. He surrendered to the Turks, lived as a prisoner in Crete for ten years, and later was moved to Damascus, where he died in 1868.

Bedr Khan had sixty-five sons, the eldest of whom was Amin Aali. Another, Abdul Rezzaq, served in the Turkish Embassy in St. Petersburg, but was assassinated on his return to Turkey in 1917; yet another was Sulaiman, also assassinated in 1912 or 1913.

Bedr Khan's many sons lived under Turkish surveillance in Constantinople, but there were attempts made from time to time to escape to Bhotan to revive their principality. In 1879 Osman Bedr Khan succeeded in reaching Bhotan and was proclaimed Prince of Bhotan by his people. His name is said to have replaced that of the Sultan in the Friday prayers during his eight months' rule.

Since 1889 the Bedr Khan family has been closely associated with the Kurdish Nationalist Movement. It was Midhat Bedr Khan who started to publish a Kurdish journal, *Kurdistan*, in Cairo, later handing over the editorship to his brother, Abdur Rahman. Under Turkish pressure they were compelled to move from Cairo, but continued to publish *Kurdistan*, at first at Geneva and later at Folkestone in England.

The next editor of *Kurdistan* was Sureya Bedr Khan, the eldest son of Amin Aali. He was in Cairo when the first World War broke out, and it is said that he obtained British approval and support for the continued publication of his paper.

The Kurdish Nationalists in Turkey had formed in 1908 a political organization called the "Kurdistan Taali ve Taraki Jamiyeti." The founders of this organization included Amin Aali Bedr Khan, Sherif Pasha, and Sayid Abdul Qadir, the latter of whom was executed by the Turks in Diabekr in 1925.

When the British entered Constantinople in 1918 this organization, which had gone underground, was revived under the name of the "Kurdistan Taali Jamiyeti," of which the Bedr Khan family were enthusiastic members.

After Mustafa Kemal Ata Turk came into power the Bedr Khan family had to leave Turkey and were scattered, some to France, some to Germany; it was at this time that Kamuran Bey studied for the Doctorate of Law at Leipzig. After the death of Amin Aali Bedr Khan, his eldest son, Sureya, settled in Paris, and his two other sons, Jeladet and Kamuran, went to live in Syria.

In 1927 they took part in the formation of the Hoybun Society, of which Jeladet Bedr Khan was the first president.

Sureya died in Paris before the second World War. Jeladet is now in Damascus, and the third, Kamuran, our recent visitor, is now professor of Kurdish at the National School of Oriental Languages in Paris, where he is also editor of the Bulletin of the Centre d'études Kurdes.

These are the most important members of the Azizian family, now better known as the Bedr Khans. Other members are known to be still living in Turkey and there are some others living in Syria and Trans-jordan.

SOME NOTES ON TRAVEL IN MODERN TURKEY

By LADY KELLY

Lecture given on May 18, 1949, Lt.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: Lady Kelly is the wife of Sir David Kelly, who has been British Ambassador to Turkey since 1946 and is now going to Moscow. Lady Kelly first went to live in the Near East in 1934 when she went to Egypt. She has travelled widely both in Europe and in South America. During her years in Turkey Lady Kelly has seen a great deal of that country and made many friends there. Comparing it with other countries, it seems to her that visitors to the Near East go to Turkey with less knowledge of how to travel and what to see than when they visit any other country.

It is chiefly to help those who would like to visit Turkey that Lady Kelly has planned the talk she is now about to give.

UNTIL May 1 this year it was not possible to obtain exchange for expenses in Turkey except on official or business journeys. In addition, during the first years after V-Day it was very difficult to get to Turkey. Even now direct sailings from England are irregular, with no certain dates, and take several weeks, but twice a month there is a good Turkish service from Marseilles which takes six days; even this is comparatively recent, and when we went to Turkey in 1946 practically the only way of getting there was by flying to Cairo and from thence by a special British service of small Dakotas. This was practically limited to high priority passengers, and there was no overland train service. For these reasons it may be said that during the last ten years there have been hardly any British visitors to Turkey, with the exception of some journalists and those who during their visits were fully occupied with their business in the principal centres.

Now that it is possible to fly direct to Istanbul by several lines (B.E.A., Swiss Air Lines, Pan-American, Italian State Air Lines, Swedish Air Lines), and there is also an overland railway service (the Orient Express three times a week), and that a tourist allocation has been sanctioned, it may be of interest to know something of what can be seen in Turkey and how to do it.

As time is limited I must reluctantly by-pass the glorious city of Istanbul, where we stayed during a part of three summers in the great old Embassy palace built by Sir Charles Barrie in 1843, looking across its walled park and the Golden Horn to the domes and minarets of some of the finest mosques in the world. If I once started on old Istanbul, with its Ottoman mosques, its Byzantine churches and ruined palaces, its massive city walls both on land and sea, the beauties of Therapia and the Bosphorus, and the charming islands full of history and Ægean atmosphere at the entrance of the Sea of Marmara, I should never get anywhere else. Moreover, although the old guide-books and the specialists' works

are hard to get, the English ones at least do presumably exist in public libraries, and what I want to speak about are the things you will not find in the libraries—namely, the existing state of some of the provincial monuments and how to get to see them.

The main cultures represented by the very rich and varied monuments of Turkey fall broadly into four categories. There are the prehistoric and Hittite remains, which have a special interest for the Turks, as they claim a direct link with the Hittites as the cradle of their Empire. There are the Greco-Roman cities of the Classical period from the sixth century B.C. to the end of the Roman Empire. There are the remains of the great Byzantine culture covering roughly the period from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries A.D., of which all too little is known in England. Fourthly, there are two distinct Turkish civilizations—the mediæval Seljuk which left some of the most beautiful Turkish monuments, and the Ottoman which covers the period of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the period when the Turkish Empire extended from Northern Africa and Egypt to Budapest.

Apart from the evidences of these civilizations, Turkey offers, both in Europe and Asia, a splendid variety of natural scenery; unfortunately, the business traveller who comes direct to Istanbul and thence by night train to Ankara, usually sees nothing but the rugged treeless plateau of Anatolia.

In our own travels, although these have perforce been limited to the period between March and October and were always hurried on account of my husband's engagements in the capital, we have covered the greater part of Turkey, the exception being the extreme eastern and south-eastern provinces, including Kars and Lake Van; but this omission makes little difference from the point of view of my talk, since these districts are in any case at present practically inaccessible to the ordinary tourist. We have travelled by road the whole way from Ankara across the Taurus mountains southwards through Adana and the Hatay to the Syrian frontier; on the south and west coasts we have visited Mersin and some of the chief Greco-Roman cities stretching along the coast north from it, Antalya and three of the Greco-Roman cities in its neighbourhood, Smyrna and its famous satellite ruins of Ephesus, Pergamos, Miletus, and Pryene. We have flown from Ankara to the purely Turkish city of Erzerum, and from thence in a day's journey along the beautiful mountain road to Trebizond and the Black Sea, and from there by boat to Samsun. We made special journeys to the old Seljuk capital Konya and the old pre-Constantinople Ottoman capital Brusa; and finally, after visiting our romantic and now too little visited war cemeteries in Gallipoli, we have seen Troy and driven from Gallipoli to Adrianople on the Bulgarian frontier, which contains the best work of the Turkish Christopher Wren, Sinan.

Let us take first the most obvious tour—to Smyrna and its surrounding sites. It is well worth the distance and the expense. From Istanbul there is a daily air service, the Turkish State Air Lines, which takes an hour and a half. But doing it by sea, as I did it once, is in the spring or autumn a most lovely experience. One leaves Istanbul at midday—the boat goes twice a week—and arrives at Izmir about 3 p.m. the next afternoon,

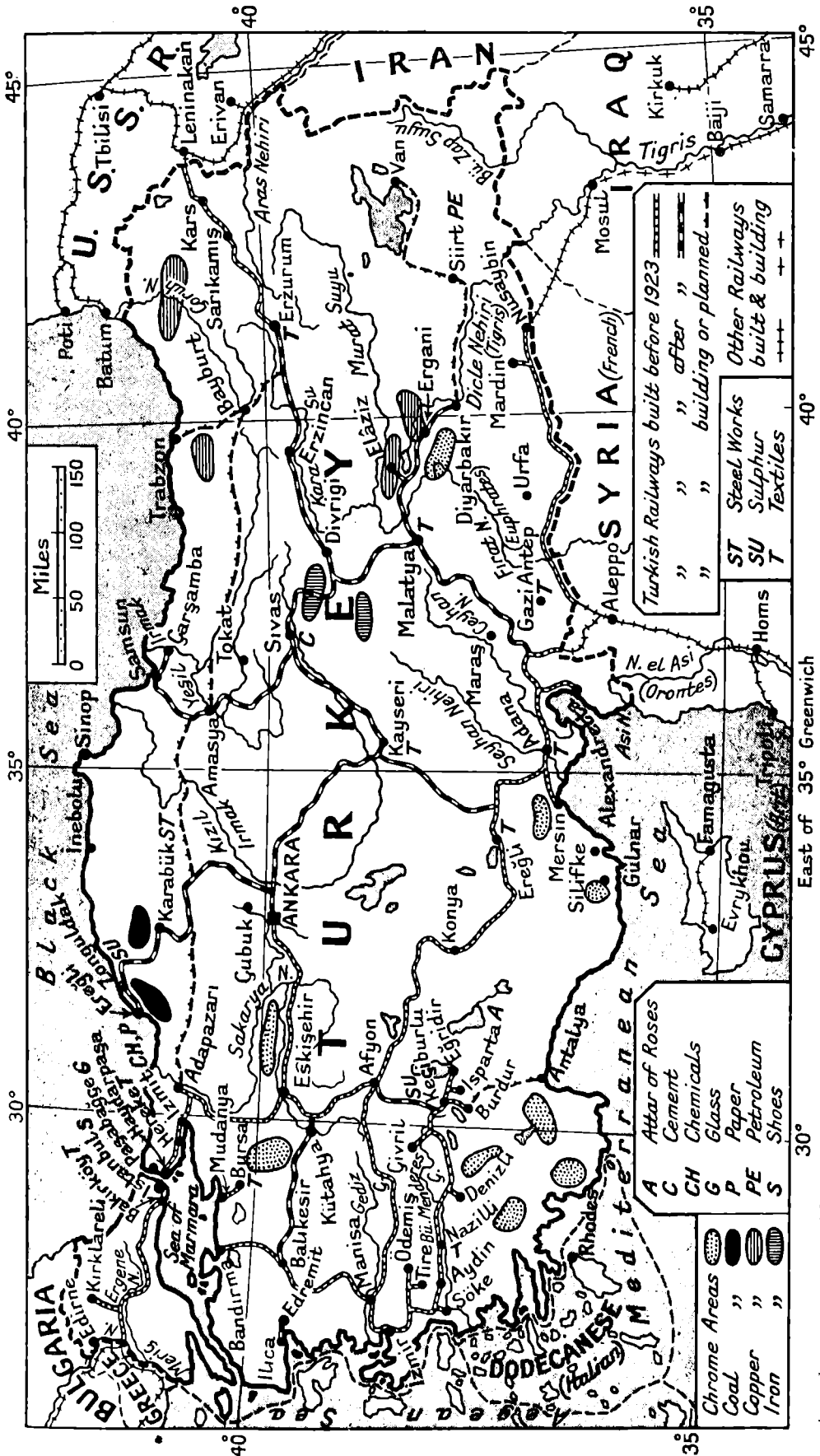
travelling on a largish and excellent boat of the Turkish State Sea Lines (Devlet Denizyollari) with good cabins, reliable service, and clean food. The Ægean is generally milky, the scenery classical as one passes such famous islands as Lesbos, and the boat hugs the coast nearly all the time, so that there is much diversity in the seascape. Izmir is an important commercial centre, where an international fair is held every summer. It has now a good hotel facing the sea and a largish British community with a flourishing British Council. The growing of cotton, figs, and tobacco can be studied extensively all around the town. Travelling there in July and August should be avoided as it is very hot, but the spring and the autumn can be most rewarding. The city's charm is much increased by its natural beauty, a fine bay and harbour, a magnificent and sparkling sea. The town itself is full of curious remains of past civilizations, such as Hittite rock carvings facing it on Mount Cyziphus and numerous Greco-Roman remains in the Agora which is turned into an attractive museum. Smyrna is crowned by a mediæval castle and there are Seljuk bridges just outside. Some of the most interesting classical sites can be visited from it. There is a slow railway to Ephesus which takes you there in about two hours or you can hire a car for the day. Pergama, north of Smyrna, is equally interesting, and is also about two hours by car on a stretch of coast which is famous in history. Ephesus is of course the most fascinating and, in a way, an awesome spot, as the lost civilizations press on one from all sides. The pool of brackish water, with lazy tortoises crawling in and out of it, where one can still see the drums of the temple of Artemis, is one of the most dramatic places in the world.

Ephesus is a name that conjures up the most fascinating associations. This wondrous metropolis of Asia Minor was the town of Lysimachus; its history spans fifteen centuries, from the foundation of the town by the Æolians down to A.D. 1426.

St. Paul lived there for three years and St. John is buried under its basilica. I can only mention the importance of the Roman city, with its gymnasium of Publius Antoninus, the stadium, and the Church of the Four Councils, which was enormous and still shows the four periods during which the edifice changed. As a basilica it was 250 metres long; later it was divided into a church and a palace, where a second church was built. A triumphal way led from the theatre to the harbour, now silted up and some 6 kilometres from the sea. The theatre could seat 24,000 people and twelve staircases led to it.

Many inscriptions can still be read *in situ*, like the one at the Mithridates door of the Agora saying that M. (a freed slave) of Augustus put up the door in gratitude to the Emperor and Livia his Empress. On the north-west side of the "Panajir dag" I was shown the tomb of the seven sleepers, who, according to legend, slumbered from A.D. 240 when they were persecuted by Decius until 200 years later (under the reign of Theodosius) when they woke up! The ruins of Lysimachus' fortifications are visible on the hillside at the foot of the Bulbug dag. They face a huge plain, then the sea—to-day peaceful and quiet, the silent witness of a past full of splendour and glory.

In the little city of Seljuk, five minutes by car from the ruins, there is



	Turkish Railways built before 1923
	" " " after "
	" " " building or planned "
	Other Railways built & building

	ST Steel Works
	SU Sulphur
	T Textiles
	H Homs

	A Attar of Roses
	C Cement
	CH Chemicals
	G Glass
	P Paper
	PE Petroleum
	S Shoes

East of 35° Greenwich
By the courtesy of Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

a small restaurant. From there one can go up to the Church of St. John; no marble here, but bluish stones carved rather roughly. If one is keen on seeing the ruins of two other curious Greek cities one can motor to Söke on a bad road. It is three and a half hours onwards south of Ephesus. The local pub at Söke is extremely primitive, but with a recommendation from the Consul at Smyrna some accommodation might be arranged at the liquorice factory. This is to enable one to go and see Pryene and Miletus. The first is a ruined town, very compact still, with a small theatre where the seats are inscribed. Miletus has a white marble theatre unequalled, except for Aspendos, in the Middle East. All interested in architecture who have read the book of Professor Wycherly about the Greek building of cities should make the effort. There is no road proper to Miletus, but in the autumn a car can go across country over the flat Meander Marshes; one can cross the river on a very primitive ferry, and a visit to Miletus and also Pryene—which looks at its sister city from the hillside—can be done in a day. Very few people have gone there latterly, as the tracks to Miletus and Pryene are definitely hard going.

At Pergamos the Turks have taken much trouble in restoring the fifth-century B.C. Temple of Esculapius; the hot springs still exist and some fascinating sculpture has been left on the spot. Caracalla built the amphitheatre as he was cured in Pergamos, and Aristides wrote books about Pergamos whilst he was being nursed there. They used fashionable modern ideas in their therapy: dreams and their interpretation, hot baths, walks, sunshine, music, theatricals on one side, and the medical advice of Galen himself on the other.

Anyone studying the growing of figs, cotton, and raisins should go to Smyrna at the end of September during the harvest; the drying of figs and sultanas under the hot sun is a spectacle in itself.

Second Tour.

I do not think that any visitor to Istanbul in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries missed Brusa. Lamartine and Loti are full of it, and its quiet fascination can only be equalled by the greenness of its plain and the slenderness of its poplars. It is twenty-five minutes by air from Istanbul, or five hours by sea on a very comfortable boat of the Turkish State Sea Lines Company. One can also motor to it on the Asiatic side in about five hours from Istanbul itself on a bad road, passing through Yalova at the foot of Mount Olympus, which is a favourite Turkish spa. Brusa is known for its green-tiled mosque of the twelfth century and its Seljuk tombs in gardens full of fountains. There is a first-class hotel there, with a thermal establishment attached to it, with excellent service. From Brusa one can hire a car and go to Iznik, the ancient Nicæa, where was held the Council which made the Nicene Creed; this is a three hours' run on a bad road. It is a Carcassonne in miniature: the Roman walls still completely surround the site of the old town, fine triple gates lead into it, and the masks of comedy grin at one from the keystones of vaults. The old town itself is mostly buried under the fields; in its midst there is a little Turkish town (seat of a *ḳaymakam*). It was from Nicæa that General Melisene in 1261 on his way to Thessaly led the armies of Michael VIII

Paleologus, and hearing that Byzantium was undefended took it without a fight.

Brusa itself has a modern merino factory and small real silk factories dotted all over the place; the charm of the spot derives from its having preserved so many of the characteristics of a live Turkish town of the 1850s, coupled with a magnificent array of mosques and minarets in an exceptional setting of woods and greenery.

Third Tour.

Konya can be reached by train from Ankara, which takes sixteen hours and is not a comfortable trip, and in the summer by air in one and a half hours, or by a track which is not very good and covers a lonely stretch of plateau. But as the capital of Seljuk art it has a very special interest for art lovers. Iconium, to give it its ancient name, saw Xenophon's 10,000, heard St. Paul preach to the Gentiles, and sheltered him and Barnabas.

It was surrounded by walls much of which remain. The interesting point about Seljuk art, represented here by many fine stone façades, is that it allowed the representation of human and animal traits. The palace of the Seljuk sultans of Rum is on a low but conspicuous mound; near it are the mosque and tomb of Ala-ud-din with lovely tiles. The greatest and most wonderful monument is the tomb of Hazret Mevlana, founder of the now vanished Dervish order and still much honoured as a poet. He was a pantheist philosopher who wrote in Persian, and his green-tiled tomb is one of great magnificence. The best carpets of Anatolia are housed in this mosque, now a museum. The courtyard is a dream of flowers and all the cells of the dervishes have now been transformed into little rooms full of antiques.

Two fine ruined khans (mediæval caravanserais), one of which is called the Sultan Han, are to be seen at 25 and 70 kilometres from Konya on the Ankara track.

Fourth Tour.

Troy on the Asiatic side and Gallipoli on the European can be reached by a boat which takes one from Istanbul at 11 a.m. and gets to Gallipoli at 10 p.m. the same day. But for this journey, as both spots are in military areas, some inquiries should be made in advance. The boat arrives at night and some form of assistance to travellers could be organized either through the Imperial War Graves Commissioner, Mr. Millington, or through the local municipality.

It is a famous spot, as the straits here are 4 miles wide but the "narrows" only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Here Xerxes made his bridge of boats on his way to Marathon and Salamis. The house where Byron lived—when he swam the Hellespont and got inspiration from Abydos—was just opposite. Alas, the house has been gutted, but there are the walls and fountain in a clump of trees.

To get to the Anzac cemeteries on the north side of the hills overlooking Suvla Bay and Ocean Beach needs a box-car, a jeep, or horses. They are about 3 miles from the shore opposite Çanakkale. The setting

is superb and strikingly impressive, as the Ægean on the one side and the Dardanelles on the other offer a contrast to the rugged lonely downs.

These cemeteries—which, alas, few relatives visit now—are placed on heights planted with groves of tamarisk, laurels and pines, green grass and flowers, and are pools of peace and silence amidst a wild and rugged scenery. The spot is romantic, the graves and their gardens kept in perfect order, the cemeteries are small and individual, and the sinister hill Chunuk Bair (971 feet high) overshadows the scene where 35,000 British dead are buried. Few people have had of late years the privilege of walking on this battle ground, where trenches are still visible and where the horror of war can be better understood. When one hears the story of the landing related on the actual ground, the mistake which made the troops storm, over and over again, impossible heights can hardly be believed, when in fact the beach on both sides of the hill would have led to flat and easier ground—not 3 miles away on either side of the hill.

I cannot stress enough the beauty, solitude, grandeur, and eeriness of the Gallipoli cemeteries. It would be right when H.M. ships come up the Dardanelles that a party should always be landed to pay homage to these glorious men.

At 60 kilometres from Çanak the ruins of Troy lie at the end of a secondary road. The coast is wooded, is very beautiful, and commands a fine view of Cape Helles on the western end of the peninsula dominated by the English War Memorial Tower. Nine cities, according to Schliemann, are half buried at Troy, including the remains of the Homeric town. One of the later Greco-Roman cities on the site has a charming little theatre and there are many white and grey tessellated pavements.

Fifth Tour.

You can go from Gallipoli by car with a military permit to Edirne, better known as Adrianople, a bad road through wooded mountain scenery; or by train or road from Istanbul without a permit on a good road through duller scenery. Adrianople can be reached in about six hours by car; it is 240 kilometres by road.

In the spring the plains of Thrace are green velvety carpets, as the wheat is young. Like Lincoln Cathedral, Edirne rises on the horizon many miles before one reaches it. It has a wealth of Turkish monuments of great artistic value, as from the reign of Murad I (A.D. 1360) it was the capital of the Ottomans for nearly 100 years. After five centuries of peace it was occupied four times in the nineteenth century—twice by the Russians, once by the Bulgarians, and once by the Greeks. Much was burnt and bombarded, but a great deal remains—luckily.

The grey minarets of Selim II's mosque rise pencil-like. It is a gem of the famous architect Sinan. All over Turkey you can see mosques, medressés, or fountains by this very great architect of the sixteenth century; this mosque is one of his most "finished" products. All architects should study his wonderful repartition of volumes, so lightly borne, so solidly established, so pyramidal in effect. The Byzantines nearly always neglected the exterior of their monuments, but not so Sinan and his school.

The Turks built on the Maritza, the Arda, and the Toundja a series

of fine bridges—over ten. Like everywhere in Turkey these bridges are bold, artistic, sometimes curved, always solid and original. A book could be written about them from Edirne to Iskanderun. There are still over a hundred mosques in Edirne, the most original being the Uch Chereffi Jami (1448), as its four minarets are all different; it is a model of Turkish religious art, sober and imposing, with a special harmony of light and shade. It was a good thing that in times gone by anyone entering Turkey came first to Edirne, as it gave them a glorious preview of what they would see later in Istanbul.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was put up in Edirne on her arrival in Turkey as Ambassador's wife, in 1717, at the Kara Mustafa Pasha palace, alas, now a ruin. She was enchanted by all she saw and her letters to Pope are full of her enthusiasm.

Sixth Tour.

To get to Adana on the other side of the Taurus you can either fly, which takes two and a half hours to Iskanderun, or travel by the excellent Taurus Express, with wagon-lits and wagon-restaurant. Leaving Ankara twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, at 10 p.m., one reaches Iskanderun (Alexandretta) the next day at tea-time, passing through the Cilician Gates in the morning. But if the tourist prefers to go by road, there is a good all-weather road from Ankara to Kayseri, then on through Nidge, the Cilician Gates, Adana, and Iskanderun. By car this is a trip which should be broken for comfort. The best place to stay at would be Kayseri, some 300 kilometres from Ankara. There is a reasonably clean hotel there and one can see some beautiful Seljuk monuments. These principally consist of türbes (solitary circular or square tombs), medressés (schools and libraries), mosques, and also a curious old part of the town built of stone, whole streets of it, with fine carving over doors. There is a citadel encompassed by proud walls. Seljuk art specialized in façades, and these are carved mostly in stone, calligraphy being often used as a decoration, mostly with decorative motifs showing Sasanian and Indian influences. Also worth visiting at Kayseri there is the biggest textile factory in Turkey. Some 3,000 men and women work in airy buildings, well ventilated and planned, with all social services, a hospital, canteens, kindergarten, etc. There is a model guest-house for visitors, and I was much impressed by the efficiency and general turnout of the place. Kayseri is situated at the foot of Mount Argæus, which dominates the town and the whole landscape. There are good American taxis and amusing little open horse-drawn cabs, from which one can see everything in comfort. Two days can easily be spent in Kayseri. Seventy kilometres from there the rock caves at Urgüp beckon one into a volcanic and lunar scene. These caves are decorated with Byzantine tempera paintings, which were to me a revelation of the art of the ninth to the twelfth centuries; these are the rupestrian churches of Cappadocia, dozens of them, and they are a living and wonderful example of the former strength of Christian influence in Asia Minor. The road to Urgüp is quite good and it would take a full day to visit the caves. The road from Ankara to Kayseri and on to Iskanderun is lonely and it is better to take a picnic basket for lunch and tea. From Iskanderun one

should visit the ancient Antioch by car, hired in Iskanderun. The scenery is lovely, there is an excellent tarmac road, and on the shores of the Orontes a magnificent mosaic museum has just been opened which is arranged with the most exquisite taste. On the way back to Iskanderun Sir Leonard Woolley's Hittite excavations at Telechana are a perfect example of the system of excavation in successive strata. Students and the hardy traveller can use buses on all these roads; these are generally packed but very cheap, and one can secure seats by telegraphing the *baladiye* (municipality) beforehand. A margin of time should be allowed when making one's arrangements as buses are sometimes late.

For the lover of beauty the coast road from Adana going through Tarsus, Mersin, Pompeiopolis, Seleucis, and ending at Selefke is a long day's excursion but immensely worth while. This must be done by hired car. Greco-Roman ruins abound here. A row of pillars with Corinthian capitals at Pompeiopolis facing the sea seems a Hubert Robert come to life. At Corycos there is a wealth of Roman sarcophagi still *in situ*, an underground Byzantine church, and, 200 yards from the shore, a wonderful crusader's castle facing Seleucis on a small rocky island. So much for the Hatay.

Seventh Tour.

Another journey took us by air to Erzerum and thence by road to Trebizond. There is also a regular train service leaving Istanbul, calling at Ankara and going through Kayseri and Sivas to Erzerum. It runs three times a week, has wagons-lits and wagons-restaurant. Twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays, it is a slow train, which covers the distance in about forty hours. On Tuesdays a quick train covers the distance in twenty-eight hours.

I have already spoken of Kayseri. Sivas has many Seljuk monuments and is well worth a visit. From the month of May onwards one can fly, as we did, in very comfortable Turkish State Air Lines (*Devlet Hava Yollari*) in an hour and a half to Sivas and in three and a half hours to Erzerum. It has the advantage of passing and stopping at Kayseri again, Malatya, Elaziz. These towns are really in the depths of Anatolia and are surrounded by grand and sweeping scenery.

At Erzerum the tourist accommodation is in a very simple hotel and one eats out in a local *lokanta* (restaurant) which is clean and wholesome. For the tourist traveller the bus between Erzerum and Trebizond (*Trabzon*) is a very primitive affair, though it is more or less punctual; but it is definitely stuffy and the trip is long. With an introduction from the Automobile Tourist Association to the municipality it would be possible to hire a taxi to get to the sea in a day.

The road is excellent and passes through a range of mountains crowned by two famous peaks, the Kop and Zigana, preceded by winding passes. This scenery is superb; the first pass, the Kop, reveals distant horizons with long plains in between the high ridges of lonely mountains, but the Zigana pass, which is already on the Mediterranean side, has a very European feel about it and can really be compared with scenery in Switzerland; the hairpin bends are more pronounced and the plant life is simply

glorious. Whilst the traveller can hope to see pheasants and white partridge on the Kop pass, on the Zigana one is encompassed by all imaginable flowers and trees; ranging from Valona oaks to scented and huge wild tiger lilies. There are enough villages and small towns on the 330 kilometre run to give one help in case of breakdowns, and the courtesy and efficient help of the local peasant all through Turkey cannot be surpassed. There, again, food should be taken, buying everything in Erzerum or *vice versa* in Trebizond. Part of this route was described by Xenophon in the Anabasis, and it is indeed a curious feeling when one arrives at the end of the long motor journey to think instantly of Xenophon and the "10,000" an hour before reaching Trebizond, as the view one encounters is the same as the Greeks saw. The years in between slip away and a mental link reasserts itself. Trebizond is very similar in appearance to Büyükada, the Princes' Islands just off Istanbul. It is a comfortable town of white houses with red roofs, and the local hotel is sufficiently clean to be recommended. There are quantities of horse-drawn cabs and taxis. There is a fine little harbour, bathing can be enjoyed ten minutes out of the city, and for the lover of history there is a wealth of ancient lore to be read about and seen, as Trebizond was the capital of a Greek Empire. Many Byzantine churches are now closed and their frescoes are still white-washed or blackened by smoke, but their exteriors are well preserved by the Turks. Aya Sofia, the Byzantine basilica with its curious campanile, just outside the town on a high ledge facing the sea, is one of the most lovely, lonely and impressive sights imaginable.

There is a wealth of study for anyone interested in tea planting (at Rize at 79 kilometres from Trabzon), and all over the hills nuts are grown, also tobacco and vines. One of the finest modern hospitals in Turkey can be visited there. There is a Consular body only too pleased to help visitors.

We came back to Ankara via Samsun on the Black Sea on the very comfortable Trebizond-to-Istanbul boat, of the Türkiye Devlet Denizyolları (Turkish State Sea Lines) Company. These are cargo ships, but the cabins are very clean, the dining saloon airy, and the food excellent. They ply between Istanbul and Trebizond and go on to Hopa on the Russian frontier. The only small disadvantage is that one is woken up at night by stopping at the little harbours for loading cargo, but what fun it is to go ashore at odd spots like Giresun where one can buy gold Byzantine coins by their weight!

Eighth Tour.

If one is not pressed by time a visit to Antalya is like finding a pearl in an oyster, and couldn't be more interesting. It takes seven days by sea from Istanbul via Smyrna on the Turkish State Sea Lines, or twenty hours by train from Ankara to Burdur on the Smyrna line, changing train at Karaköy. From Burdur the bus gets down to Antalya in four hours (80 kilometres) on a route which to those familiar with Switzerland I could only compare to the Clauzen. The sources of the Meander can be seen bubbling at Dinar. One crosses through two small mountain passes and then makes a fine descent from 2,000 feet to sea-level, passing through

every stage of flora imaginable, starting with lonely pines and ending with tropical cacti in the gardens of Antalya. This delightful Mediterranean harbour was the capital of the ancient Pamphylia and was founded by Attalus, King of Pergamus, only becoming a Roman province by the will of the Pergamese King.

It is a town very rich in archæological remains; not only the three arched gates of Hadrian can be admired but charming Turkish houses of the eighteenth century. They are covered with laths of wood criss-crossed behind a light frame—a curious diversity. These towns, which St. Paul and Barnabas visited, have many fountains and running waters; the little canals run in the middle of the street with, on both sides, palms, grass, and flowers well looked after by the municipality.

By hiring a taxi there are two Greek gems and one Roman to be seen; all three can be managed in a day from Antalya at the furthest. Side is only 75 kilometres on a reasonably good road. This is a magnificent town on the seashore, with a theatre, gymnasium, stadium, and agora, where a frieze of 136 heads of white marble Medusas has just been found. The walk took us over two hours through the ruins.

Aspendos, the second Greek town, of the sixth century has a stupendous theatre, which can only be compared to Sabrantha in Africa, as it is complete. Nearly all the theatres in Asia Minor have had their seats preserved, but here not only are there twelve staircases and seats for 13,000 spectators, but the proscenium has been wonderfully preserved with its architraves, pediments, etc. Only thirty years ago nine statues (taken since by the Italians) were still *sur place*. Aspendos' wealth was well described by Xenophon, who remarked that the Princesses of Cilicia came to Cyrus' camp richly clothed in Aspendos dresses.

Perge, the third town, is 25 kilometres from Antalya and more Roman than Greek. Although smaller, it has an interesting monument of civic architecture in the shape of the house of Julius Cornutus, an enormous stone palace.

Half a mile towards the mountains we happened on a trench which the Turks are excavating and where thirty-one Greek sarcophagi are being brought to light. They are of white marble and the perfect Greek inscriptions will soon reveal who is buried there. Their lids are *in situ* and they have been undisturbed for nearly 2,000 years.

Throughout all these trips we were wonderfully looked after by the local authorities, and I can promise any tourist three things which all Turks will give him, whether he be an Ambassador or a hiker. They are prompt and practical help, grand hospitality, and above all that very special welcome which comes from *la politesse du cœur*; the courtesy shown by all races throughout the East that have a long history; a welcome that makes itself felt in spite of language difficulties. So to all who are planning to visit Turkey I would say *bon voyage*.

A MEMBER: I do not suppose the allocation of £50 would take one very far after arriving as a tourist in Turkey?

Lady KELLY: No; you must make your choice of the spots you wish to visit.

ANOTHER MEMBER: May we know a little as to the cost of travel and of hiring a car by the day?

Lady KELLY: You can pay the fare to Turkey and back in British currency. Omnibus fares are very cheap and if you wish to travel slowly you can go by train during the day, but of course the element of time comes in if one has but a short while to spend in the country. To travel in a wagon-restaurant is expensive. The cost of hiring a car depends entirely on where you hire it and where you want to go. You have to say beforehand the distance you want to travel, and if it is to be an extensive tour the driver would expect to be put up and given food at your expense. Food in Turkey is very, very cheap. The expense of hiring a car in Turkey depends to a great extent on the psychological arrangement between the hirer and the driver.

MISS CARSON: Would it be possible for foreigners speaking Turkish to be put up as paying guests in a Turkish family outside Istanbul or Ankara?

Lady KELLY: With the greatest ease in Istanbul and Smyrna and for a very low figure. In other towns it would be absolutely essential to be able to speak some Turkish, otherwise the guest would be quite lost. And if you went to study archæology or some other serious subject, then they would really welcome you.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

Miss J. du Plat Taylor, who has lately returned from Turkey, has kindly added the following note on the cost of travel in Southern Turkey:

Our experience on this trip was confined to the area of Antakya, Iskanderun, and Gaziantab.

Hotel Accommodation.—About 4s. per night. This is for a bed only; a slight extra charge is made for the retention of the whole room, which often includes more than two beds. No food is obtainable in hotels outside the main centres, though some have restaurants attached. Tea and coffee can always be brought in. Washing accommodation is not provided in the rooms, but there is always a public wash-basin on each landing.

Meals.—Breakfast is not provided and visitors should obtain their own bread, fruit, etc. Glasses of tea or cups of Turkish coffee cost 2d. The two main meals are served in restaurants, or *lokantas*. They cost 3s. to 4s. for a three-course meal; 5s. to 6s. with wine, or *raki*. The main dish costs 1s. 6d. to 2s. Villages and small towns have no restaurants; when travelling, food should always be carried.

Transport.—The bus fare from Antakya to Iskanderun was 2s. 6d; fares on other routes seem to be in the same proportion. It is well to book in advance to obtain good seats, as they are sold by numbered place. There is no accommodation for luggage except on the roof of the bus; small bags must be held on the lap or pushed beneath the seat. Owing to the cramped seats and the state of the roads, long journeys are not advised. On enquiry at garages, seats can sometimes be obtained in the cabs of lorries—far more comfortable vehicles.

Car Hire.—This appears to be expensive. Our only experience required us to take a taxi to an otherwise inaccessible village 15 km. from

Gaziaintab. This cost £2, stopping at one or two places on the way out and back.

It is only fair to say that it is essential to know Turkish when travelling to any but the principal centres. Care should be taken to see that one's papers are in order and regulations complied with, as, in any difficulty, local officials have to refer everything back to Ankara.

RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN IRAN

ON February 24 the Shah received in audience the Prime Minister, several elder statesmen, and representatives of the Majlis factions. He stressed the unsatisfactory state of affairs and said that the Majlis had done nothing to improve it—it had not even passed a budget for the last five years. The Shah had spoken against this on several occasions, but he now laid his finger on what he felt to be the root cause—the fact that the Constitution had been drafted with intentional gaps which gave the Legislature excessive powers against the executive. This unbalance of power must now be rectified and the head of the state must have the power to dissolve the Legislature and order new elections. The Shah had therefore decided, after consulting those architects of the Constitution who were still alive and who were present at this moment, to convoke a Constituent Assembly. His object in doing so was twofold: to enable them to amend the Constitution and Article 48 of the Fundamental laws which concerns disagreement between the two Houses; dissolution of the Majlis and fresh elections. Furthermore, if the Majlis did not succeed in passing the Senate Bill and in approving a new electoral law based on the principles of liberty and democracy which would limit the duration of the elections throughout the country to a period of one month, these two matters would be submitted to the Constituent Assembly.

This pronouncement of the Shah was reported to the Majlis and discussed by them in a secret session, as a result of which the Prime Minister reported to the Shah on February 27 that the deputies were in favour of his proposed course of action. The firman for the holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly was issued on the following day, February 28. The elections took place in the first week of April and each constituency elected twice the number of deputies sent to the Majlis. The Constituent Assembly was opened by the Shah on April 21 in the Great Hall of the Ministry of Justice, Tehran. The Assembly continued its labours until May 8, on which date it approved by virtually unanimous votes two measures—one a new Article to the Constitution establishing the procedure whereby the Constitution is to be amended, and the other a revised version of Article 48 of the Constitution which deals with the method of dissolution.

The new Article provides for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly in the event of the Majlis and the Senate voting separately by a two-thirds majority in favour of such a step and of that recommendation being confirmed by the Shah. The membership of the Constituent Assembly is to be equal to that of the Majlis and the Senate combined, and its election will be conducted in accordance with a law to be approved by both Chambers. Its competence will be limited by specific terms of reference. The new Article also provides that the new Majlis and the Senate, as soon as they are constituted, shall undertake the revision of Articles 4 to 8 of the Constitution, which deal with the size and life of the Majlis and with the

quorum rule. The new Chambers will also undertake the revision of Article 49 of the Supplementary Laws as soon as they are formed. This Article as at present drafted renders it impossible for the Shah to prevent the enforcement of Majlis decisions. It may therefore be assumed that in its revised form it will give His Majesty the power to exercise the right of veto in some form.

Article 48, as amended, empowers the Shah to dissolve the two Chambers separately or together, subject to stating the reason for such a dissolution, and simultaneously ordering new elections so that the new Chamber or Chambers may convene within a period of three months. The new Chamber or Chambers cannot be dissolved for the same reason as their predecessors.

In the event, it was not necessary for the Constituent Assembly to concern itself with the Senate Bill, as the Majlis passed it on May 4. Some Government amendments to the Senate Law were later introduced but have not yet been finally approved. The Imperial firman for the Senate elections was issued on June 15, and it seems likely that a Senate will meet for the first time in history about the same time as the sixteenth Majlis is due to meet—*i.e.*, in the late summer of this year.

THE TRAVELS OF ARTHUR MACMURROUGH KAVANAGH IN KURDISTAN AND LURISTAN IN 1850

By C. J. EDMONDS, C.M.G., C.B.E.

IN the summer of 1917 I made my first expedition in Luristan to the secluded valley of Mungarra, about 40 miles north of Dizful as the crow flies.* Among my escort provided by the Mirs of the Qalavand was an old white-bearded scribe named Mulla Muhammad Taqi, who had also accompanied A. T. Wilson on a journey to Luristan in 1911 and of whom Wilson recorded† that “he had an accurate recollection of Rawlinson’s journey through Luristan in 1844.” Among the many anecdotes the Mulla related to me was one describing how a member of the British Delegation on the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission which æstivated there in 1849 “had no arms or legs and was carried about in a basket.”

I think it was Sir Percy Cox who told me afterwards that this was Kavanagh, the celebrated Irish Member of Parliament. “Born with only the rudiments of arms and legs he triumphed over his physical defects and learned to do nearly all that a normal man can do better than most men. . . . In riding he was strapped to a chair-saddle, rode to hounds, and took fences and walls as boldly as any rider in the field. He was an expert angler . . . and contrived to shoot and shoot well. . . . He also became a fair amateur draughtsman and painter.”‡ . . . “Besides being a wonderful yachtsman, riding to hounds, writing with his pen fixed between his lips, he placed the wedding-ring on his wife’s hand with his lips; he also drove a four-in-hand.”§

I had often wondered how Kavanagh ever came to be in such an outlandish spot. All the records of the British Commissioner fell over the ship’s side in the Thames and were lost. Loftus, the naturalist of the party, in his book *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, merely records the fact that the Commission went to Mungarra and made an interesting trip through Luristan, but he gives no details because “it would exceed the limits of this work if I were to enter into an account of it.” I now have to thank my friend Mr. Geoffrey Stephenson for drawing my attention to, and lending me his copy of, the *Biography of the Rt. Hon. Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh*, compiled by his cousin Sarah L. Steele and published by Macmillan in 1891. Parts of his own diary of a long journey to the East in the years 1849 to 1853 are reproduced, and from them it is possible to work out fairly closely the routes he followed.

* See my *Notes on Luristan*, Baghdad, Government Press, 1918, and my article “Luristan: Pish-i-Kuh and Bala Gariveh” in the *Geographical Journal* of May, 1922.

† *S.W. Persia: A Political Officer’s Diary*, p. 141.

‡ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

§ C. Maunsell in the correspondence columns of the *Daily Telegraph* of March 2, 1943. I have to thank Professor V. Minorsky for this reference as well as for the extracts from Chirikov’s diary in the section on Luristan below.

I.—KURDISTAN

Arthur Kavanagh, who had already made one tour to Egypt, Sinai, Syria, and Palestine (including a visit to Petra) in 1846-48, left Ireland again early in June, 1849, being then eighteen years old. He was accompanied on the first part of this journey by his brother Tom and their tutor, the Rev. Mr. Wood. Passing through Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, at the end of September they reached Astrakhan, where they took ship. After leaving Baku the ship was unable to make Enzeli (Pahlavi) owing to inclement weather, but was blown east to "a small island with a Russian settlement," presumably Ashurada. They travelled on by way of Astarabad, Ashraf, Sari, Tehran, Qazvin, and Sultaniya ("where we found a Colonel Sheil and his bride") to Tabriz. Here Arthur fell ill and the party was held up for eight weeks. They finally left on January 21, 1850; but owing to contrary winds and blizzards they took six days to cross the lake to Urmiya, on the threshold of Kurdistan.

The part of the diary covering the journey through Kurdistan is disappointingly meagre. There are some interesting descriptions of places and people, but names of mountains, passes, tribes, and chiefs are never mentioned. Even the names of villages where the party stayed are often omitted; those given are frequently unrecognizable, but in many cases this seems to be due to faulty transcription from the original manuscript by the compiler.

The travellers left Urmiya on February 1 and spent the night at Ardishai, in the house of Mar Gabriel,* the Nestorian bishop. After two more stages along the shore of the lake the fourth night was spent at an unnamed Kurdish village in the Sulduz plain. Of the inhabitants of this village he remarks: "The men are a fine, independent looking set; the women in general well-looking—some very pretty."† On the 5th a long day's ride brought them to "Vasjé Bulaq." This was a place of some importance and evidently Sauj Bulaq (now renamed Mahabad), the headquarters of the Mukri tribe. The travellers lost no time in calling on the Governor in his "judgment hall," and Kavanagh writes:

"We had ample leisure to study his face and costume and those of his companions. They were all fine-looking men, but he was by far the handsomest man I ever saw. Their splendid costumes, in my eyes handsomer than either Turks', Arabs', or Persians', showed off their fine, manly countenances to great advantage—immense turbans of silk, striped white and brown silk kaftans, confined at the waist by a strap fastened by a richly embossed silver clasp, and over all a cloak lined,

* Mar Gabriel was the family name of the hereditary bishops of Urmiya. In 1943 Mar Yusuf, Metropolitan of the diocese of Shamsdinan, now established at Batas in Iraq, told me that the last Mar Gabriel was killed in or about 1897; as there was no eligible member of the family to succeed him (the bishops must be celibate and the succession generally passes from uncle to nephew) a monk was appointed with the style of Mar Eprim; he died at Kochanis in 1914, no successor was appointed, and the bishopric lapsed.

† They were probably Kurds of the Qara Papak tribe.

according to their rank, with sheepskin or fine fur, and all of course armed to the teeth."

They stayed at Sauj Bulaq a fortnight, making several expeditions in the district for sport or sight-seeing, and not liking the food at all. One expedition was to "a large square tomb sculptured out of the solid rock" some twelve miles out, but neither the name of the place nor the direction is mentioned.*

Leaving Sauj Bulaq on February 19 they crossed a pass under snow (presumably Zinu-i Maidan Bulaq); the next three days were spent floundering slowly through the snow; on the 23rd, "after a good deal of labour, tumbling, and rolling," they at length got into Riaz (Rayat). The following day they were able to leave only after some trouble with the turbulent owner of the caravanserai (perhaps the great-grandfather of my hospitable friend Ali Agha Shiwarzuri); marching through "wild and beautiful scenery," they stopped in an unnamed village—"beastly quarters, their cows being stabled with us." On the 25th they reached Roandoze (Ruwandiz) and halted a day.

Their onward march must have taken them through the magnificent gorge of Geli Ali Beg and on to Shaklawa, but all the diary has to say is :

February 27 and 28.—Went by a fearfully bad road, ending in worse quarters; rain pouring the whole time.

March 1.—Got into the plain; saw lots of gazelles and wild goats; we were entertained by the shaikh of the village.

There is no mention of the city of Arbil, through or near which they must have passed. On March 2 the party was ferried across the Great Zab and on the 4th reached Mosul; here they met Layard several times and dined with him. They left Mosul by raft down the Tigris on the 14th, and on the 22nd "met the East India Company's steamer *Nitocris* coming up with Captain Jones,† who was surveying the country." The next day they reached Baghdad.

The compiler has inserted in this chapter an extract from Kavanagh's own book, *The Cruise of the R.Y.S. Eva* (Dublin, 1865):

"In Kourdistan I found poor Conolly's prayer-book and was shown by an interesting Kourd the very tree to which he and poor Studdert were tied and foully murdered, the Kourd said, because they would not become Musulmans."

This is presumably the authority for the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Kavanagh," that he "rode through difficult country and blinding sleet and snow to Mosul, passing on the way the scene of the recent murder of Stoddart and Conolly, and recovering the latter's prayer-book."

* This was no doubt the Achæmenian-style tomb called by the Kurds Fakrakah described by Rawlinson in his *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz to Gilan* in 1838. J.R.G.S., vol. X.

† Commander Felix Jones, Indian Navy, was then engaged in the surveys recorded in his paper *Researches in the Vicinity of the Median Wall of Xenophon*.

But Colonel Charles Stoddart and Captain Arthur Conolly were murdered in 1842, not in the mountains of Kurdistan but at Bukhara (whither they had travelled separately), in the public square, in cold blood, after several months of imprisonment. The story of the prayer-book is given under the heading "Conolly" in the *Dictionary of National Biography* rather differently: "Many years after, Conolly's prayer-book, wherein he had entered a last record of his sufferings and aspirations when a prisoner at Bukhara, was left at his sister's house in London by a mysterious foreigner who simply left word that he came from Russia."

There is an unmistakable likeness between Kavanagh's story and the account given to Layard,* when he visited Ali Khan, Vali of Pusht-i Kuh, at Sheker Ab in 1841, of the murder in 1810 by Kalb Ali Khan, a brother or near relation of Muhammad Hasan Khan, the then Vali, of Captain W. P. Grant and Lieutenant Fotheringham. A man claiming to be an eye-witness described how they had been ambushed on the Changula river (therefore somewhere near Baksai on the present Iraqi-Persian frontier);† Grant was killed in the attack, but Fotheringham and his Armenian servants were kept for a few days before being tied up to trees and shot; their watches, money, and other valuables were given to an old servant of the Khan's to hide, and then he too was put to death; the informant denied that Kalb Ali Khan offered to spare the lives of his prisoners if they would become Musulmans.

Kavanagh's route through Luristan described in the next section took him about 100 miles east of Baksai. Nevertheless it seems quite possible that his memory played him a trick when he came to record his reminiscences fifteen years afterwards, and that he actually heard the story of Grant and Fotheringham in Luristan from the same or another Lur, who would not have wanted to spoil a good story by any misplaced concern for meticulous geographical accuracy. But the prayer-book remains a difficulty.

II.—LURISTAN

The record is interrupted from March 27 to April 22. On April 23 the diary resumes, with an obvious slip by the transcriber. It must have been from Bushire that the party marched in five days to Kazerun, not from Baghdad. A vivid description of the passage over the *kutals*, taken from the *Cruise of the Eva*, is appropriately interpolated at this point. On the road between Shiraz and Isfahan they met "the son of Klaku, one of the Bactrian chiefs," who, visiting them in their tents, showed "a great predilection for wine." From Isfahan‡ they marched by way of Khunsar to Burujird, on the borders of Luristan, which they reached on July 3.

* *Early Adventures*, chap. xviii (pub. 1887).

† Curzon, *Persia*, chap. xxiv, while quoting only Layard as an authority, says that the murder took place at Khurramabad.

‡ At this point the author of the article in the *D.N.B.* seems to have given up as a bad job the task of following Kavanagh's itinerary. The trip to Luristan is not so much as mentioned and he simply says: "He returned by Ispahan to Tehran, 26 June, 1850; then a long and intensely hot march brought them to Bushire where they took ship for Bombay, arriving there on 5 Jan., 1851." Actually he did not

On July 15 the party rode through to "Haroumabad (Khurramabad), a town notorious for thieves"; the route is not given, but it was no doubt the shortest, Puna, road. They left again on the 18th for Mungarra to join the Frontier Commission at their summer camp. Only two names on the route are given, "Nazar-el Khan," where they camped on the 20th, and the village of Kurki, which they reached on the 22nd. The former is evidently Qal'a-yi Nasir, or Nasirabad, where there were still the ruins of a *khan* and of a more modern telegraph office when I was there in 1917; according to my notes the Kurki valley is on the north of Kharrapusht, the great mountain blocking the northern end of the Mungarra valley. The party thus seems to have taken the ordinary Dizful caravan route as far as Nasirabad and then to have cut across the mountains to their destination. Chirikov,* the Russian Commissioner, mentions a road from Khana-yi Nasir (as he also calls the place), via Kurki as one of four alternative routes between Khurramabad and Mungarra, and records their arrival by this route:

"The brothers Kavanagh and their companion Wood travelled from Khurramabad to Mungarra by Kurki; they said the road was difficult, but it is considered better than the one we followed from Mungarra to Khurramabad; they rode thirteen hours in all over difficult places. Wood and Glen, who travelled with them, took the road of Husainiya-Kilab, which they covered in two marches; this road joins that of Pul-i-Tang near Qal'a-yi Nasir."

They thus seem to have entered Mungarra from the north-west, over the col joining Kharrapusht to Chauni, the mountain enclosing the valley on the west. It must have been a terrible ride, and it is difficult to imagine how a horseman never able to dismount and walk could have negotiated it. This is his own description of the day:

"We were told that we could get there in four hours but that the road was too bad for any beasts of burden. After going along the valley for two hours, where the road was certainly bad enough, we arrived at a sort of cleft or opening between two mountains, through which a stream flowed. Up this we began to toil. It certainly was the most dreadful piece of work I ever went through. Most of the road was a series of stairs, or rather natural projections of solid bare rock, over five or six feet in height, up which the horses had to jump without anything to prevent them, if their feet slipped, from rolling into the valley beneath. Sometimes the path ran along the bottom of a ledge of rock higher than one's head, the track being sometimes not wider than half a foot, and sometimes where the stones were broken away the horses had to step from stone to stone, like crossing a ford on stepping-stones, the precipice beneath ending in a river. Occasion-

return to Tehran at all. The "Teheran" of the diary is not the capital of Persia but a small town two marches from Ispahan on the Khunsar road, where they failed to find lodging so put up under a tree in the market-place—no doubt the Tirun shown on the map.

* Colonel E. J. Chirikov: *Putevoyzhurnal 1849-52* (Road-diary).

ally we came to places where, I think, a wild goat himself would have felt ill at ease."

This was on July 23. They stayed the night as the guests of Chirikov, "a very nice fellow, a Russian who combined polish with sincerity," and moved on the next day to establish their camp near Colonel Williams and the British Commission at Fardivan on the southern slopes of Kharrapusht. They stayed in Mungarra just two months, and time hung heavily on their hands:

"Heat tremendous. . . . The Russian camp being about half a mile off, and the road leading to it being too steep to travel, except before sunrise and after sunset, we saw rather little of them, and Wood being so ill in the English camp we saw nothing of them either; the doctor . . . sometimes dined with us. . . . Having read all our books there was nothing for us to do but to smoke and try to sleep, which the flies by day and the mosquitoes by night made rather difficult. It certainly was a hell upon earth. The heat and glare reflected from the rock-salt round sometimes nearly roasted us alive. . . . The valley was famous for its breed of scorpions and snakes. . . . We also saw lots of immense spiders said to be more poisonous than scorpions; we killed two larger than a full-grown mouse. . . . It certainly was the most miserably stupid summer I ever spent."

The Wood mentioned in this passage was not the Kavanaghs' tutor, but Algernon Wood, First Attaché of the British Embassy at Constantinople, who was secretary to the Commission. Both Loftus and Chirikov mention his death in Mungarra. Of the place itself Loftus, in his brief reference, says: "In a few days we were luxuriating in a comparatively cool climate amid the oak groves of Mungarra in the Luristan mountains at an elevation of five thousand feet above the sea, but even at that altitude the thermometer frequently rose to 107° F. in the shade." Chirikov says: "Mungarra proved to be an uncivilized hole where it was impossible to obtain any of the necessaries of life; on the other hand the air was splendid on these rocks 5,000 feet above the level of Muhammara." My own aneroid reading at Fardivan was 4,153 feet. The truth is that in that latitude, unless you have a solid house to live in, you must go well above 5,000 feet to get any real relief during the day in July and August; nevertheless, in July, 1917, I found the change from Dizful stimulating and delightful, but I was there only twelve days.

On September 23 the British Commission left Mungarra, accompanied by the Kavanaghs. Their first march was to "Scoderere," the second to "Goolam," the third "a nice river," the fourth "a pretty encampment on the Haroumabad river" where there was "an antique balcony cut out of the solid rock about ten feet from the ground," the fifth "a very dirty station with only salt-water springs," the sixth "Nazr-el-Khan" again. This is not a very satisfactory description; they would seem to have taken the southern way out from the valley to Kilab and then gone on either by the route taken by the baggage animals in July or by a route still further

south to the Zal bridge. Three more days brought them to Khurramabad, whence they took the Alishtar road to Kirmanshah. On the way they visited "Bezitoun" (Bisitun) and Taq-i-Bustan :

"The latter place was well worth seeing; . . . the former did not strike me as at all worth the trouble of the ride; it is merely an inscription cut in the face of the rock about eleven hundred feet from the ground."

At Kirmanshah (October 13) the Kavanaghs parted from Colonel Williams and took the ordinary high road by way of "a dirty caravan-sarai" (? Mahidasht), Haroumabad (Harunabad, now Shahabad), Kerind, Meuntaz (?), Qasr-i-Shirin, and Hainiki (Khanaqin) to Baghdad.

The first half of the nineteenth century is the Golden Age of travel and exploration in this part of the Middle East, the age of giants like Rich, Chesney, Rawlinson, Felix Jones, and Layard. It cannot, of course, be claimed that Kavanagh's journeys compare with theirs as contributions to geography. Nevertheless they were a very remarkable performance and deserve to be better known. He travelled through remote and unknown country; he braved hardships that might have daunted any man, and would have been thought insuperable for one suffering from his disabilities had he not in fact overcome them.

SOME NOTES ON THE AL BU MUHAMMAD OF IRAQ

By DR. HENRY FIELD

DURING April, 1934, the members of the Field Museum Anthropological Expedition to the Near East were guests of Sheikh Falih as-Saihud of the Al bu Muhammad, east of Amara, in Lower Iraq. These were: the present writer, Henry Field, Assistant Curator and Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History, 1926-1942; Richard A. Martin, photographer and zoological assistant; Winifred Smeaton (now Mrs. Homer Thomas), physical anthropologist and specialist on folklore and tattooing; Lady Drower ("E. S. Stevens"), recorder of special linguistic terms used in these marshes and of folklore; S. Y. Showket, photographer and translator; Khedoory Muallim, zoological preparator, loaned by the Royal College of Medicine, Baghdad; Yusuf Lazar, zoological and botanical collector; and ten policemen as escort from Amara H.Q.

In this area of the great Hor al-Hawiza, which extends eastward toward the Iranian border, live these marsh Arabs. It was most desirable as part of my anthropometric survey of Iraq to obtain a sample of these marsh-dwellers for comparison with our large series recorded from 1925 to 1934. These include Dulaimis (137), Anaiza Beduin (23), Arabs of the Kish area (459), Iraq soldiers at Hilla Camp (222), Baij Beduin (35), Subba (92 and 33 women), Shammar Beduin (299 and 129 women), Sulubba (39 and 10 women), Turkomans (64 and 31 women), Yezidis (235 and 77 women), Kurds (609 and 33 women), Assyrians (106 and 137 women), Jews (111 and 52 women), miscellanea in Royal Hospital, Baghdad (439 and 143 women), and miscellanea from An Nasiriya Liwa (126 men and 26 women). These data were recorded by Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, Dr. Henry Field, Dr. Winifred Smeaton Thomas, and Dr. B. H. Rassam. Through the kindness of Sheikh Falih as-Saihud we were able to measure* and photograph 224 Al bu Muhammad tribesmen.

Two hours by automobile from Amara found us at the bank of a canal approximately thirty feet wide where the road had ceased abruptly. Eager boatmen ferried us across the canal. About one hundred yards away stood a large reed mat council house† (*madhif*) of generous proportions, and

* These data will appear during 1949 in *The Anthropology of Iraq*, Part 2, No. 2, "The Lower Euphrates-Tigris Region," Chicago Natural History Museum (formerly Field Museum of Natural History).

† See photographs of a stone trough, probably from Warka, now in the British Museum. The buildings portrayed appear to be very similar to those still in use in the Hor al-Hawiza. For additional references supplied by Dr. R. F. S. Starr, see *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Pl. 22, 1928; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archaeologie Orientale*, Vol. 2, Fig. 444, p. 639, Paris, 1931; C. L. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, Pl. 18b, New York, 1935; and Christian Zervos, *L'art de la Mesopotamie*, pp. 126-127, Paris, 1935. See also *Fulanain, Hajji Rikhan, Marsh Arab*, London.

before us extending over a considerable area appeared numerous flat-roofed mud huts. This was Sheikh Falih's camp.

Tall, stately, and massive, weighing almost three hundred pounds (over twenty-one stone), Sheikh Falih greeted us in regal fashion and conducted us to his large guest house.

Although unable to read, Sheikh Falih proudly showed us his library of several hundred volumes of miscellaneous subject matter ranging from poetry and philosophy to early English travellers. He prided himself on his conservatism, but showed his progressive spirit by the school he had built for children and by his active interest in the work of the Government doctor and his assistants.

As a host Sheikh Falih was unequalled. He placed large and small boats at our disposal for moving camp equipment and scientific impedimenta, and not least of all his son, Sheikh Khazal, who became our guide and counsellor.

Sheikh Khazal escorted our fleet of boats downstream to his own camp, which lay several hours distant. On the following day anthropometric work began, but under no circumstances was permission granted for Miss Winifred Smeaton to measure and study the women.

We visited Tell Azizia or Umm al-Khanazir (approximately $31^{\circ} 41' N.$ and $47^{\circ} 31' E.$), where we collected some sherds indicating inhabitation. The surface of this high mound was covered with pottery fragments, of which a small sample was collected. According to Richard A. Martin, former Curator of Near Eastern Archæology at the Field Museum of Natural History, only one sherd could be attributed to the first Babylonian dynasty; the remainder were plain and glazed Arab ware of the eighth and ninth centuries of our era. The height and extent of this mound suggest a long occupation and the probability that excavation would reveal early Semitic and Sumerian cultural deposits.

To the south was a small clearing with an island in the centre where a female wild boar and six sucklings were observed. According to our guides, in this district lived many wild boar, hence the name of the mound, which means the "Mother of Pigs." The canals leading to this *tell*, towering above the flat marshes like a great *ziggurat*, were small and shallow.

Several days later we decided to penetrate farther into the Hor al-Hawiza in order to study purer racial types of these marsh-dwelling Arabs. We proceeded by boat to Beidha, where we were welcomed by the Sheikh. Here a number of days were spent in measuring and photographing the entire male population. These tribesmen did not differ physically from those at Sheikh Khazal's camp, although they appeared to be darker in skin colour, probably due to their continual exposure to the sun as they pole their boats through the reeds or tow them along the banks of a canal.

Around the camp there were water buffaloes, cows, sheep, goats, and chickens. Life is simple in these marshes, which are far removed from the rest of the world. Since all the tribesmen owed allegiance to powerful Sheikh Falih there was little cause for inter-village strife, and there appears to be a delightful form of camaraderie among the tribesmen as they glide from village to village.

The marsh Arabs are passionately fond of hunting, although the cost

of firearms and cartridges makes the sport almost prohibitive. Since we had three 12-bore shotguns and a Mannlicher 6.5 rifle, we were invited by Sheikh Falih to hunt the wild boar in the marshes south and east of Beidha. Stories of the size and ferocity of these animals were told to us in exaggerated detail, and we were warned above all else not to wound an animal, since it would attack with unparalleled ferocity. The method employed in hunting the boar (*khanzir*) is unusual. The reeds vary in size from several inches above the water to five or six feet in height. A narrow boat (*chalabiyah*) containing the hunter and one or two men is propelled through this dense growth. The pointed prow of the boat cuts a narrow path through the reeds by bending them on each side of the boat, which glides stealthily forward with a sibilant sound. In many places there are narrow lanes (*gawahin*) which lead from village to village or even to the lair (*chibasah*) of the wild boar. The paddler, who stands up in the stern, guides the boat toward the quarry.

Situated at various points within the veritable forest of reeds are clearings, in the centre of which there is an island of trampled reeds. The wild boar live on this island, but as soon as the prow of the boat parts the last of the reeds the pigs jump up and plunge snorting into the water to swim madly for the shelter and protection of the reeds. The boat is propelled with rapid strokes to one side of the island, and the hunter must fire before the wild boar reaches the reeds where he will escape. I was fortunate to obtain fine specimens of an adult male and a female pig. As with all Arabs there was considerable shouting and singing when each animal was shot. The boatmen waved their paddles and poles in the air and chanted verses made up by one of my boatmen, who sang the praises of "the hawk-eyed, sharpshooting foreigner." The other boatmen joined in the song with great excitement. With considerable repugnance and difficulty the carcasses were towed to the village. The personal command of Sheikh Falih alone overcame the Muslim antipathy towards the unclean pig. The skins and complete skeletons were collected as Museum specimens.* During our visit to Beidha a half-grown boar was brought to us as a present. Every effort was made to keep him alive, but as he refused to eat death came on the fifth morning. We were told that it was impossible to domesticate them in any way and that the young always died in captivity. On another occasion four sucking-pigs were brought to us. They also died after several days in camp. Their skins were brown with dark stripes, which are no longer visible on the older male.

At sunset each evening Sheikh Khazal and I shot birds, some of which were skinned by Khedoory Muallim. There were many varieties of water-fowl, including geese, duck, and large pelicans. Among the palm groves located near villages were pigeons and hawks, and a few of the smaller birds.

One night we went fishing with spears, which had either three or five barbed points. It was very dark and the flares made of bundles of reeds gave a ghostly appearance to the scene. The fisherman stood in the prow

* Identified by Colin C. Sanborn, Curator of Mammals at Field Museum of Natural History, as *Sus scrofa attila* Thomas and described in *The Anthropology of Iraq*, Part 1, No. 1, "The Upper Euphrates," p. 161, Chicago, 1940.

of the boat with his spear poised. In the main fishing ground the water was shallow and the bottom covered with intertwined vegetation, which made it difficult for spearing. The fish, attracted by the light, rose to the surface of the water. After several hours each man had collected a number of specimens. The Arabs also use nets, a hook and line, or, for deep water, a drug which, scattered over the surface, stupefies but does not injure nor poison the fish.

After two weeks in the marshes we returned to Sheikh Falih's camp, where we had another delightful visit with Sheikh Falih, who described to us the ruined buildings of the remains of an ancient civilization, which lay far back into the Hor al-Hawiza. As a youth he had visited this island, where stone columns and inscribed blocks lay in profusion. When we expressed a keen interest in this place he said that he could guide us there but that in recent years the island had sunk and the stones lay on the bottom, where they must at least have been partly covered with vegetation.

Since we had already found painted pottery fragments on the slopes of Umm al-Khanazir, it is possible that other traces of an ancient civilization may be located within the extensive tract known as the Hor al-Hawiza.

Furthermore, since the eastern boundary of this marsh adjoins the foothills of the Iranian hills, the airline distance between Susa and Amara is but one hundred miles.

This region deserves intensive archæological, botanical, and zoological studies.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA TO THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II

AN EXAMINATION OF SOVIET METHODS AS APPLIED
TO A SEMI-COLONIAL AREA

By PAUL B. HENZE

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I—INTRODUCTION

ECONOMICALLY speaking the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire could be quite neatly divided into two distinct sectors—the industrial and the semi-colonial. The Industrial Revolution came rather late to Russia. It was natural that large-scale industry should first concentrate itself in the old, thickly settled regions—Poland, the Baltic provinces, the region around Moscow, the Ukraine, and the Don region. The other parts of the empire did not have time to undergo an extensive economic development, and, if developed at all, were a source of raw materials. But even the full capacity of the outlying areas as raw-material producers was seldom utilized. Central Asia—*e.g.*, which in the late nineteenth century became the principal cotton-growing area of the Russian Empire—was never able to fill much more than half the cotton requirements of the mills of European Russia. These outlying northern and eastern regions, because they were so underdeveloped and had such small purchasing power, never became very good markets for the manufactured goods of Western Russia.*

During World War I the obvious necessity of mobilizing the country's resources and the pressure of the Western Allies forced the Imperial Government to consider a rational reorganization of the Russian economy. The Academy of Sciences created a commission for the study of productive forces which was to establish an inventory of all the country's natural resources and prepare a plan for their rational utilization. This committee did some fine spade work but was unable to produce many concrete results by the time the revolution came.†

After nationalization of industry the principal feature of the Communist economic programme was an acceleration of the tempo of industrialization, and around these central aims to effect a rationalization and strengthening of the whole national economy. All this was naturally expected to have a profound effect on the hitherto undeveloped outlying areas. From the very beginning the Communists hoped to make their programme of development of the semi-colonial areas so successful and

* Alfred Fichelle, *Géographie Physique et Economique de l'URSS*, Paris, 1946, p. 159.

† Fichelle, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

desirable that all the colonial peoples of the East would be impressed so profoundly that they would revolt and ally themselves with the Soviet system. Lenin and others made several pronouncements to this effect.*

Development of the backward areas did not really get under way until the late 1920s. By this time a great deal had been spoken and written on the subject and several distinct groups of reasons for this development could be distinguished. Though emphasis has sometimes shifted from one to another, all these reasons are still valid, and comparison of actual accomplishments with them is the best way of gauging the success of the Soviet programme as a whole: (1) Rationalization of economic organization demanded that industries be brought closer to raw materials and/or sources of fuel and power, and that industries producing finished goods be located within a reasonable distance of the places where these goods were consumed; the transportation system as a result had to be organized logically and efficiently. (2) Self-sufficiency required that all extant resources be discovered and rationally exploited, so that the Soviet Union could be freed from the necessity of paying for foreign imports and from dependence upon them in case of war. (3) Defence considerations emphasized self-sufficiency and furthermore required that productive forces be dispersed throughout the whole country—particularly that the vulnerable western industrial regions be supplemented by new industrial developments in the interior. (4) The full proletarianization and communization of minority nationalities, as well as international political considerations, required their intensive economic development, particularly their industrialization.†

Central Asia, which I have taken in its broad sense as including Kazakhstan as well as the four southern republics, is for several reasons a very desirable area in which to observe the Soviet economic programme in action. It naturally forms both a geographical and a racial unit. It has always to some extent formed a separate geographical area for purposes of Soviet economic organization. Its resources are diverse enough to provide examples of Soviet economic activity in several fields. Since the region contains native races with highly developed cultures and strong historical traditions going back several centuries, it is much more similar to the most important colonial and semi-colonial areas of the rest of the world to-day than is, for example, Siberia, which until recent years was in a primeval, almost uninhabited state.

I have made use of a great variety of sources for this paper, as the footnotes will show. The majority of readily available material on Central Asia is written in an enthusiastically pro-Soviet spirit. I have drawn on

* Mustafa Chakayev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Regime," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVIII (1931), p. 403.

† *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1939), pp. 280-299; Sanda Alexandridi, *L'Industrialisation de l'URSS par le Plan Quinquennal* (Paris, 1934), pp. 139-161; Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917* (London, 1948), pp. 386-406 *passim*; Gosplan, *A Summary of the Fulfilment of the Five Year Plan* (Moscow, 1935), pp. 249-276; Mustafa Chakayev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Régime," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVIII (1931), pp. 403-420; Sir John Maynard, *Russia in Flux* (New York, 1948), pp. 327-347 *passim*; Nikolai Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), *passim*; etc.

many of these very pro-Soviet sources for facts and figures, but my conclusions are entirely my own, unless otherwise indicated, and are generally much less laudatory and—I think—more objective and realistic. Nearly all writing on Central Asia is based on facts and figures released by the Soviet Government; without them almost any study of Central Asia would be impossible.

I share the practical attitude toward Soviet statistics expressed by Messrs. Schwarz, Bergson, and Hindus in a recent issue of *The New Republic**—e.g., “We have to use these statistics; we have no others. . . . Generally they are not falsified, but are presented in such a way that they are difficult for an outsider to use. They cannot falsify them too much, because they need them for their own use administratively. . . .” When I have been confronted by conflicting figures from two or more equally reliable sources, I have chosen the lower figures to be on the safe side.

II—THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We may regard Russia as the modern pioneer of Central Asia, for she realized its potentialities and set about its conquest with that tenacity and patience which have ever characterized her movements; she organized her advance for the benefit of the Russian state, and the consolidation of Russian power. . . .†

Russian military advance into Central Asia was first attempted in the time of Peter the Great. But Peter's expedition was as unsuccessful as that which Nicholas I sent against the Khanate of Khiva well over a hundred years later (1839). In the meantime Russian traders and settlers had slowly edged down through what is now Northern Kazakhstan, but the conquest of the heart of Central Asia was not begun in earnest until the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1853 to 1881 a series of military victories over native tribes and rulers brought most of present-day Central Asia firmly under Russian control, though the Pamir region was not formally annexed until the 1890s. The native rulers were allowed to retain their power in the Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, subject to Russian control, while most of the rest of Central Asia was organized as the Government-General of Turkestan.

The main significance of Turkestan to the Russian Empire was as a source of cotton, and cotton culture was very much encouraged. Acreage under American types of cotton was increased from 750 acres in 1884 to 160,000 in 1890.‡ Few other resources were extensively exploited. No important attempts were made to change the social systems of the native races, which in the agricultural areas were primarily based on the predominance of the Moslem clergy and the ownership of irrigation rights by local lords. In many parts of the region the population remained nomadic. To make way for cotton, grain-growing was discouraged and

* “How Strong is Soviet Russia?” *The New Republic* (Special Section), May 16, 1949, p. 10.

† P. T. Etherton, “Central Asia: Its Rise as a Political and Economic Factor,” in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Vol. X (1923), p. 88.

‡ William Mandel, *The Soviet Far East and Central Asia* (New York, 1944), p. 102.

grain imported from other sections of the Russian Empire, to the extent that *ca.* 33,000,000 poods per year were necessary by 1917.* This is reminiscent of later Soviet policy. The status of Central Asia in the Russian Empire was distinctly colonial. Russian settlement was officially encouraged, but no large numbers of Russians ever settled there.†

Central Asia was the first part of the Russian Empire to give open evidence of discontent during World War I. Rebellion broke out in the summer of 1916 as a result of an imperial edict decreeing mobilization of a part of the Central Asian population for auxiliary military service. The rebellion was suppressed with a considerable amount of cruelty by November, 1916, and a large number of people fled into neighbouring Sinkiang in China. Nevertheless, Central Asia was in a general state of ferment from this time on. When the Bolsheviks came to power they aimed both at holding Central Asia because of its value as a source of cotton and at winning the support of its people and thereby making the region a base for the "emancipation of the East."‡

But the native races were basically extremely anti-Russian, and in the confusion that came as a result of foreign intervention and civil war the Soviet Government was unable to maintain its authority in Central Asia. With transportation disrupted and cotton lands not yet turned back to grain, a serious food shortage resulted and famine conditions prevailed in many parts of the region in 1918-19.§ Intervening British forces withdrew in 1920 and after that time gave no support to anti-Soviet forces in Central Asia. But even after this the Soviets were for a long time only able to get possession of the towns; the countryside remained in the hands of various anti-Soviet insurgents.|| Serious resistance to Communist domination did not cease until 1922.¶

Throughout the 20s economic conditions in Central Asia remained very unsettled. Administration remained entirely in the hands of the Russians. The Central Asian Economic Council with headquarters in Tashkent naturally aimed at orienting the region's economy toward the rest of the U.S.S.R. Natives protested against being forced to grow large amounts of cotton (during the civil war period cotton-growing had almost ceased) and resented the influx of Russian settlers and the official discrimination against religion. There were cases of Russian engineers profiteering on construction projects and instances of graft in political life. Liquidation of the propertied classes at times was only an excuse for plunder by officials.** At the same time underground resistance movements continued to flourish. Basmachi (native rebel) groups made raids from across the borders of Afghanistan as late as 1931.†† The programme for the "emancipation

* Mustafa Chakayev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Régime," in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVIII (1931), pp. 410-411.

† On the Russian Advance into Central Asia see Alexander Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, Vol. II (New York, 1943), pp. 229-230; Sir Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia* (New York, 1948), pp. 375-376, 418.

‡ Etherton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

§ Chakayev, *loc. cit.*, p. 410.

|| Etherton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

¶ Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

** G. Macartney, "Chez les Soviets en Asie Centrale," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVI (1929), pp. 99-102; Abdul Qadir Khan, "Central Asia under the Soviets," same publication, Vol. XVII (1930), p. 289.

†† Corliss Lamont, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1946), p. 95.

of the East" had achieved no success elsewhere in Asia, and conditions in Soviet Central Asia were not a very effective advertisement for the Communist system.

With the beginning of the Five-year Plans and of collectivization, a much stronger and more experienced Soviet Government was able to take Central Asia firmly in hand and bring about significant economic and social changes in a comparatively short period of time. It is these changes, particularly in the former category, that form the main substance of this study.

The present political division of Central Asia began to take final form in 1924, when the Uzbek and Turkmen Republics were organized as union republics. Tadjikistan became a union republic in 1929 and Kirgizia and Kazakhstan in 1936. Just how significant the termination "republic" is, is a political problem which is beyond the scope of this economic study. For purposes of statistics, at least, the republics have always been treated as separate economic units.

III—THE POPULATION

A very important consideration in the economic analysis of an area that has been, and still is to a certain extent, colonial is its population—its size and rate of growth, distribution, racial composition, education and training, and even its political attitudes. Central Asia presents the greatest extremes in population density in the Soviet Union. Oases and intensively cultivated irrigated areas have as many as 420 people to the square mile; large expanses of arid territory have not a single inhabitant. On the whole the population tends to be concentrated around the edges of the Central Asia area. The Tashkent-Fergana Valley district contains approximately one-third of the whole Central Asian population.*

In 1913 the population of Central Asia numbered *ca.* 10,500,000, of which approximately 6 per cent. were Russians and Ukrainians and the rest almost entirely of the Turco-Tatar indigenous races.† The first Soviet census, in 1926, showed Central Asia to have a population of 13,671,000, of which *ca.* 18 per cent. were Russians and Ukrainians.‡ This obviously indicates a considerable influx of Slavs, which took place during the early 20s. Russian landownership in former Semirechensk Province (North-East Kazakhstan), *e.g.*, increased from 35 per cent. to 70 per cent. during 1918-20.§ Some writers claim that it was the actual, but never stated, policy of the Soviet régime in the early stages to cause enough Russians to settle in Central Asia that the region would eventually become predominantly Russian and the native races would be absorbed or obliterated.|| This attitude may have been present among some Soviet officials,

* Alfred Fichelle, *Géographie Physique et Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 48.

† Fichelle, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

‡ Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union* (Geneva, 1946), p. 162; Corliss Lamont, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1946), p. 213.

§ Mustafa Chakayev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Régime," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVIII (1931), p. 411.

|| Chakayev, *loc cit.*, pp. 403-420.

but it could hardly have been predominant, for in 1924-25 the Soviet Government forbade further settlement of Russians in Central Asia.*

At any event the proletarian revolution in Central Asia was an almost exclusively Russian affair. Only Russians were present at the Congress of Soviets in Tashkent in November, 1917.† The native races were hardly able to participate in a Communist revolution. If they had any political feelings, they were almost certain to be anti-Russian above all else. They were largely backward, mostly illiterate, and many of them were nomads. Native leaders were basically opposed to Russian domination in any form, and above all to Communism. As the Russian Communists consolidated their control most of the native population gradually made their peace with them in one way or another. The following statement was made of the Uzbek Republic before the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. as late as December, 1928. Since even at that time Uzbekistan was considered less backward than any of the other parts of Central Asia, it can safely be assumed that conditions in the other republics were no better.

One must not forget that the Uzbek Republic is working in the absence of a proletariat; the proletariat in Uzbekistan is a small, vague category. Skilled workers from among the Uzbeks do not yet exist. . . . If there are any skilled workers they are from among the immigrants—the Russians.‡

Of 142,163 workers organized in trade unions in Uzbekistan in 1929, 56.47 per cent. were Russians and 26.29 per cent. Uzbeks. In Turkmen trade unions in the same year membership was 57.35 per cent. Russian and 22.66 per cent. Turkmenian.§ The above quotation offers a fairly sound basis for concluding that the native workers were trade union members more in name than in actuality.

The two Soviet censuses of 1926 and 1939 provide practically the only extant material for the study of population trends in Central Asia.

CENTRAL ASIAN POPULATION (in thousands).||

Republic.	1926.	1926.	1926.	1939.	1939.	1939.	1941.
	Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Total. (est.)
Kazakh ...	5,555	519	6,074	4,440	1,706	6,146	6,458
Kirgiz ...	879	123	1,002	1,189	271	1,459	1,533
Tadjik ...	926	106	1,032	1,233	252	1,485	1,561
Turkmen ...	861	137	998	837	416	1,254	1,318
Uzbek ...	3,553	1,012	4,565	4,837	1,445	6,282	6,602
Total	11,774	1,897	13,671	12,536	4,090	16,626	17,472

* Chakayev, *loc. cit.*, p. 417.

† Chakayev, *loc. cit.*, p. 406.

‡ *Bulletin of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.*, No. 21, pp. 47-48, as quoted in Chakayev, *loc. cit.*, p. 418.

§ George Padmore, *How Russia Transformed her Colonial Empire* (London, 1946), p. 130.

|| The table is based on Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 158; 1941 estimates are from Lamont, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

These statistics show that 13·9 per cent. of the Central Asian population was urban in 1926, as against 17·9 per cent. for the U.S.S.R. as a whole; in 1939 the percentages were 24·7 per cent. and 32·8 per cent. respectively. Thus urbanization in Central Asia in the 1926-39 period went on at almost exactly the same rate as in the country as a whole, but since the initial base was much smaller, the result was that Central Asia was still considerably less urbanized in 1939 than the western regions. If urbanization *per se* be taken as an indication of economic progress, then Central Asia in 1939 had by no means as yet caught up with, and was not progressing at a rate where it could completely catch up with, the originally more advanced sections of the country.

The Central Asian population was, however, increasing at a more rapid rate than that of the country as a whole—21·9 per cent. as against 15·9 per cent. The greater percentage of increase was probably as much due to immigration from other parts of the country as from accelerated natural growth. Even though the area was not as urbanized as the Soviet Union as a whole, a large number of cities did experience a rather phenomenal growth, as the following figures on Kazakhstan cities indicate :

KAZAKHSTAN—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF LARGEST CITIES.*

City.	1913.	1926.	1939.
Alma-Ata	41,506	45,395	230,528
Semipalatinsk	34,300	56,871	109,779
Petropavlovsk	42,340	47,361	91,678
Chimkent (1910)	15,756	21,018	74,185
Uralsk	46,380	36,352	66,201
Guryev	10,992	13,529	57,995

The opening of the five-year-plan period brought several changes in Soviet population policy in Central Asia :

(1) Russians were again allowed (and sometimes forced†) to settle there. New Russian settlements are said to have been especially concentrated along the Turksib railroad. Annual immigration of Russians was not to exceed the annual growth of the native races. Russian settlements were explained as an expression of international solidarity between the Slavs and the native races.‡ It seems quite probable that a fairly large proportion of these immigrant Russians were skilled and semi-skilled workers, needed to man the new transportation and industrial developments.

(2) Nomad-settlement and collectivization programmes were begun. These measures at first often involved much harshness and confusion (see IV—Agriculture). The *modus vivendi* which eventually resulted among former nomads, however, was most likely not as radical a departure from their earlier way of life as Soviet claims would indicate—and often involved more of a change in terminology than in actual methods—e.g.,

* S. P. Turin, *The U.S.S.R., an Economic and Social Survey* (London, 1944), p. 95.

† See Dallin and Nikolaevski, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* (New Haven, 1947), pp. 40-48.

‡ Chakayev, *loc. cit.*, p. 417. The Tashkent *Pravda Vostoka* is cited as the source.

“ Brigades of collective farmers ” now escort the flocks over the steppes.* In cultivated areas collectivization did involve radical changes in the way of life and work of the people.

(3) Extensive developments in education and social services were begun.† Backward native customs were campaigned against. Other indigenous peculiarities which might not specifically be classed as backward were also suppressed. The Soviets were well aware of the fact that a modernized economic order cannot be built and operated with an illiterate, custom-bound population as its base. There is a very direct connection between the economic productivity of a population, its standard of living, and its educational level. But under no conditions did the Soviet leaders want or allow the economic development of backward areas to take a particularistic, nationalistic, and non-socialist form. By 1939, figures on literacy, number of students in schools, number of libraries, books published, number of newspapers, number of doctors, and the participation of women and of native races in the public life of Central Asia‡ had risen very high for all five republics; so high in fact that one suspects Soviet statisticians of a certain amount of word-stretching and figure-juggling, since reports of travellers from Central Asia seldom indicate as fine a state of affairs as Soviet statistics alone would indicate.§ But even the most anti-Soviet observers agree that a good deal of progress has been made; and even if the figures were only one-half or even one-third as high as they are, they would still, in nearly all cases, represent very significant advances.

Whether the Central Asian peoples have actually been permanently won over to the Soviet way of life is an unanswered question. There are many things that suggest that their feelings for the Soviet motherland are not as fervently loyal as they might be. But that is a problem which cannot be taken up here in detail. For the purposes of this study it is enough to note that, whatever the proportion of compulsion and free will involved, the Central Asian population has worked diligently, and not without benefits to itself, within the Soviet system.

IV—AGRICULTURE

No single factor in a national economy can be considered without reference to the others, but agriculture ordinarily comes nearer than any of the others to being the genuinely basic factor. The Communist Government has effected tremendous changes in the organization and character of Soviet agriculture, but, at the same time, on repeated occasions the Soviet régime has been forced to recognize limitations placed upon it by certain

* N. Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 82; note also how the 1935 model rules for agricultural artels (Turin, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-189) allow collectivized nomads to retain most of the essential features of their nomadic existence.

† Gosplan, *A Summary of the Fulfilment of the Five Year Plan* (2nd rev. ed.) (Moscow, 1935), pp. 270-276.

‡ See statistical tables in Lamont, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-180.

§ E.g., Sylvia Saunders, “ A Visit to Central Asia,” in the *Journal of the R.C.A.S.*, Vol. XX (1933), pp. 230-237.

basic characteristics of agriculture which are essentially unalterable. Several features of Soviet agricultural experience are exhibited in Central Asia in a somewhat more intense form than in other parts of the U.S.S.R. On the whole agricultural "engineering" has here been very successful.

A steady and significant increase in sown area took place throughout the Soviet Union from the late 20s to the eve of the war. Between 1928 and 1939 the increase for the Union as a whole amounted to 19 per cent. As a result of special emphasis on cotton, Central Asia's percentage of increase was much higher—44 per cent. from 1928 to 1938. In 1928 Central Asia's sown area comprised 6.9 per cent. of that of the U.S.S.R. as a whole; by 1934 this percentage had risen to 7.3, and by 1938 to 8.8.* The following table sums up available information on sown area :

CENTRAL ASIA—SOWN AREA (in 1,000s of hectares).†

Republic.	1913.	1928.	1932.	1934.	1937.	1937. Plan.	1938.
Kazakh		4,470	5,730	5,100		5,350	6,107
Turkmen		332		383		480	410
Uzbek	2,166	1,767	2,594	2,542	2,654	2,965	2,832
Tadjik		545		592		705	800
Kirgiz		674	1,036	929		1,100	1,022
All Central Asia		7,793		9,546		10,600	11,171
Total U.S.S.R. ...	104,998	112,992		131,379		139,740	133,987

The 1932 figures above may actually be planned figures not identified as such,‡ since they are so much larger than actual acreage for 1934. It is known, however, that during this period extensive semi-arid areas were planted with grain, but yield in relation to investment was so low that they were soon abandoned.§

The rate of increase of sown area was much higher than the rate of growth of the rural population. This is proof that the productivity of agricultural labour was increasing markedly, probably due to mechanization and rationalization of techniques as a result of collectivization. The following table shows that the increase in productivity in Kazakhstan, where the principal crop is grain, must have been much greater than in the cotton-growing republics to the south. This is undoubtedly explained by the fact that grain culture is much more adaptable to collectivization and mechanization than that of cotton :

* These percentages are based on the table which follows.

† The table is composed of figures from : Gosplan, *A Summary of the Fulfilment of the Five Year Plan* (2nd rev. ed.) (Moscow, 1935), pp. 266-68; N. Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography* (London, 1935), p. 120; William Mandel, *The Soviet Far East and Central Asia* (New York, 1944), p. 149; Corliss Lamont, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1946), pp. 202-203; and Alexander Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System* (New York, 1948), p. 326.

‡ Those for Kazakhstan and Kirgizia are from Gosplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-68; that for Uzbekistan from Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

§ Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917* (London, 1948), pp. 250-251.

CENTRAL ASIA—SOWN AREA IN RELATION TO RURAL POPULATION
(hectares *per capita*).*

<i>Republic.</i>	1928.	1938.
Kazakh	0.764	1.325
Kirgiz	0.767	0.860
Uzbek	0.522	0.585
Tadjik	0.589	0.649
Turkmen	0.386	0.490

Significant increases in area under cultivation could most likely not have been achieved so rapidly were it not for collectivization, mechanization, and extensive developments in irrigation. Collectivization was begun in Central Asia at the same time as in other parts of the Soviet Union, and seems initially to have been carried out with great speed and much coercion. Stalin, in his famous "dizzy with success" speech of March 2, 1930, spoke of threats in Turkestan to the agricultural population "to resort to military force" and "to deprive peasants who do not as yet want to join the collective farms of irrigation water and manufactured goods."† There is good evidence that these threats also became reality both before and after Stalin's call for a slowing of the pace, but the tempo of collectivization definitely let up after this time, and nearly complete collectivization was not achieved until the end of the second five-year plan, as the following table for Uzbekistan indicates. As has been noted earlier, the model rules for the agricultural *artel* eventually gave Central Asian collectives, especially among cattle-raisers, enough leeway in organization so that even official full collectivization by no means involved complete departure from former ways of doing things.‡

UZBEKISTAN—COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE.§

<i>Year (July 1)</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Households collectivized.</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Sown Area collectivized.</i>
1928	1.2	1.2
1932	81.7	68.1
1937	95.0	99.4

Mechanization began in earnest at the same time as collectivization. An agricultural machinery plant was built at Tashkent during the first five-year plan. The machine-tractor station system, as in other parts of the Soviet Union, was adopted here, for it provides not only an excellent method for maximal utilization of agricultural machinery, but also of controlling agricultural work and distribution of output.|| Again for Uzbekistan, figures on tractors are as follows:

* Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union* (Geneva, 1946), p. 159.

† Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

‡ See page 284 above.

§ Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

|| Sir John Maynard, *Russia in Flux* (New York, 1948), pp. 378-379.

UZBEKISTAN—TRACTORS (on hand at end of year indicated).*

1913	...	...	...	...	...	0
1928	...	...	...	...	...	1,200
1933	...	...	...	...	...	7,100
1937	...	...	...	...	...	21,500

Figures on agricultural work done by tractor power in 1938 indicate, however, that by that time mechanization was by no means complete, and that in such significant branches of agricultural activity as sowing and harvesting an average of 65 to 80 per cent. of the work was still done by horse- and/or man-power. This is certainly very different from the impression one gets from Soviet and pro-Soviet authors who do not bother to cite figures, or, if they do, to evaluate them.

CENTRAL ASIA—MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE (percentage of work done by tractor-power in 1938).†

<i>Republic.</i>	<i>Spring. Sowing. Per Cent.</i>	<i>Grain. Harvesting. Per Cent.</i>	<i>Autumn. Ploughing. Per Cent.</i>
Uzbek ...	31	24	84
Tadjik ...	15	3	64
Kirgiz ...	29	28	35
Turkmen ...	48	16	95

The exact area under irrigation at any one time is difficult to determine. Irrigation is most extensively resorted to in the central-southern section, where the largest rivers are located. Four of these largest rivers—the Amu-Darya, Syr-Darya, Chirchik, and Zeravshan—with a potential irrigation capacity for 3,175,000 hectares, actually provided water for 1,900,000 hectares on the eve of the war.‡ From 1924 to 1937, 300,000 hectares of new land was brought under irrigation in Uzbekistan.§ From 1928 to 1938 slightly more than a million hectares of new land was brought under cultivation. Thus the irrigated land would apparently constitute between one-fourth and one-third of the total cultivated area in this republic. Among the most spectacular irrigation developments was the building of the Stalin Canal, carrying water from the Syr-Darya through the Fergana Valley, in forty-five days in 1939, said to have been largely the spontaneous work of the local inhabitants.||

In most of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan irrigation is impossible, because there are no sources of water. The northern edges receive quite adequate rain, as does much of the region bordering the mountains in the south-east.¶ In regions of sparse rainfall dry-farming techniques have been widely applied.

The core of Central Asian agriculture, particularly in the four southern republics, is cotton. Russian cotton production in 1913 was 340,000 tons**

* Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

† Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

‡ George B. Cressey, *The Basis of Soviet Strength* (London, 1946), pp. 196-197.

§ N. Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 115.

|| Lamont, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106; Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique*, p. 115.

¶ N. N. Baranski, *Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya S.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1947), p. 380.

** Baykov, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

from ca. 800,000 sown hectares, of which Central Asia supplied 87 per cent. (and the Caucasus the remaining 13 per cent). Pre-revolutionary Russia imported (mainly from the United States) almost as much cotton as she grew in order to satisfy her needs.* During the civil war and intervention period cotton cultivation declined drastically. Cotton lands were turned over to grain. Acreage for 1921-22 was only 7 per cent. of that of 1916, and the yield was very low. The 1922 crop totalled only 11,000 tons;† 1923 was a much better year, and 1924 acreage was double that of 1923. Once conditions again became relatively stabilized and various measures aimed at encouraging cotton cultivation were adopted, production rose rapidly, and by 1928, when 410,000 tons were produced, exceeded that of 1913.‡ But the U.S.S.R. was still not producing anything near its full requirements. One of the principal aims of the first five-year plan was to make the Soviet Union self-sufficient in cotton :

In the division of labour between the various districts of the Soviet Union, Central Asia was called upon to free the U.S.S.R. from dependence upon imported cotton. . . . The Uzbek Republic was assigned the rôle of the leading cotton region of the country.§

A portion of Central Asian grainlands and much new land were turned over to cotton. However, the figures for land sown to grain do not, on the whole, show as large a decrease as might be expected.|| (See tables below.) The new Turksib railway helped remedy the resulting grain deficiency by bringing in grain from Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan.¶ It is possible that even more Central Asian land would have been turned over to cotton if the marketable surplus of grain from nearby areas had been greater.** In 1929 722,000 tons of grain were brought into Central Asia from other parts of the country.†† At the same time other regions in the Soviet Union were required to increase their cotton acreage (the Caucasus) or to begin growing cotton, though they had raised none before (the Crimea and the Ukraine). By the end of the first five-year plan (1932) cotton production had risen to 645,000 tons yearly,‡‡ but the increase was not as large as had been hoped for and the yield was very low on much of the new land.§§.

From the second five-year plan onward the emphasis was on intensive cultivation and fertilization of the top-quality lands, and total cotton acreage dropped as some of the marginal land was turned over to other uses.

* S. P. Turin, *The U.S.S.R., an Economic and Social Survey* (London, 1944), p. 110; Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique*, p. 79.

† Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 154. ‡ Baykov, *op. cit.*, p. 325. § Gosplan, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

|| Gosplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266; Violet Conolly, "The Development of Industry in Soviet Central Asia," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXVIII (1941), pp. 157-158.

¶ Alfred Fichelle, *Géographie Physique et Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 149; Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Bosworth Goldman, "The New Aspect of the Central Asian Question," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XX (1933), pp. 367-368.

** Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

†† Mustafa Chakayev, "Turkestan and the Soviet Régime," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVIII (1931), p. 416. The newspaper *Novyi Vostok* is cited as source.

‡‡ Baykov, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

§§ Conolly, *loc. cit.*, p. 158.

Most of the fertilizer produced was used on cotton land. When this programme got well under way, after the Chirchik and Aktyubinsk plants commenced production, a remarkably speedy increase in yield resulted.* Though the area sown to cotton increased very slightly, if at all, during the rest of the 30s, total production rose from 655,000 tons in 1933 to 1,290,000 tons in 1937 and 1,410,000 tons in 1939.† By the late 30s the U.S.S.R. was not only satisfying its own requirements, but also exporting cotton.‡

Central Asia's share of the total area sown to cotton in the Soviet Union decreased from 86.2 per cent. in 1928 to 69.9 per cent. in 1934. It probably remained somewhere in the vicinity of this latter figure through the 30s, since its share of sown area for the end of the second five-year plan (1937) was 71.3 per cent. The following table sums up available figures on cotton acreage :

CENTRAL ASIA—AREA SOWN TO COTTON (in thousands of hectares; figures in parentheses indicate percentage of total area for the particular year for the region specified).§

Republic.	1913.	1924.	1928.	1932.	1934.	1937.	1937 Plan.	1938.
Uzbek ...	423.5		588.5 (60.6)	989.8	932.6 (48.2)	946.2	973.0 (47.6)	
Turkmen ...		62.0	111.9		150.0	152.0	159.0	
Tadjik ...			52.2		91.7		116.0	90.0
Kirgiz ...			40.1		63.8		70.0	64.0
Kazakh ...			44.7		115.6		128.0	
All Central Asia ...			837.4 (86.2)		1353.7 (69.9)		1446.0 (71.3)	
U.S.S.R. Total			971.3		1937.2		2040.0	

Though its share of cotton land decreased relatively, Central Asia's share in total cotton production apparently did not decrease accordingly. Uzbekistan alone, for example, was still producing between three-fifths and two-thirds of the total Soviet cotton crop in the late 30s,|| though at that time it possessed slightly less than half of the total area under cotton in the Soviet Union.¶ This indicates, comparatively, a very high yield.

After cotton-growing, grain-farming and livestock-raising rank as the most important branches of Central Asian agriculture. Though there were significant ups and downs, as the table on wheat acreage which follows will show, Central Asian grain production most likely emerged in the late 30s with much the same pattern as in the late 20s. It was, of course, to a certain extent mechanized, and yield was undoubtedly increased to some extent, though there was no increase in grain yield comparable to that attained in cotton.** Wheat is the principal Central Asian grain crop and is grown in all parts of the area where there is sufficient moisture. The

* Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

† Baykov, *op. cit.*, p. 325; Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, p. 153.

‡ Turin, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

§ The table is made up of statistics from: Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, p. 153; Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149; R. A. Davies and A. J. Steiger, *Soviet Asia* (New York, 1942), pp. 150, 160, 166.

|| Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique*, p. 115; Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¶ Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, p. 153; Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

** Baykov, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

following table sums up Central Asian wheat-farming in terms of acreage. Note that while land sown to wheat increased 35·3 per cent. in the U.S.S.R. as a whole from 1928 to 1934, there was a rise of only 3·3 per cent. in Central Asia. The other side of this situation is obviously the increase in cotton acreage discussed above.

CENTRAL ASIA—AREA SOWN TO WHEAT (in thousands of hectares; figures in parentheses indicate percentage of U.S.S.R. total).*

Republic.	1928.	1932.	1934.	1937 Plan.
Kazakh	2,830 (10·2)	2,830 (8·2)	2,873 (7·6)	2,832 (6·7)
Uzbek	645 (2·3)	778 (2·3)	886 (2·3)	907 (2·1)
Tadjik	322 (1·1)	470 (1·4)	305 (0·9)	311 (0·8)
Turkmen	134 (0·5)	136 (0·4)	121 (0·3)	127 (0·3)
Kirgiz	352 (1·2)	483 (1·4)	482 (1·3)	483 (1·1)
All Central Asia	4,553 (15·3)	4,733 (13·7)	4,704 (12·9)	4,727 (11·0)
U.S.S.R.	27,720	36,675	37,475	42,885

Kazakhstan was during the first five-year plan the scene of experiments in large-scale *soukhhozy*—state grain “factories” covering immense areas and largely mechanized. Some of them were surprisingly successful at first, but after the grain crises of the early 30s were surmounted, it was decided that they were too uneconomic as long-range undertakings, and most of them were broken up or abandoned.†

A small amount of rye was being grown in Kazakhstan—235,000 hectares were sown to it in 1934, 0·9 per cent. of the total rye area of the U.S.S.R.* Limited quantities of rice were being grown in the southern irrigated regions. No figures are available.‡

The Central Asian nomads have been important livestock raisers from time immemorial. Their herds, though depleted for a period after World War I, the civil war and the intervention period, gained ground in the late 20s. But collectivization, as in other parts of the Soviet Union, resulted in a tremendous slaughter of livestock, and the losses incurred as a result had not been made up by the time the U.S.S.R. became involved in World War II. It is claimed that the Central Asian livestock population finally reached the pre-collectivization level by 1943.§ Unfortunately very few figures are available. Below are the goals of the second five-year plan for livestock in Central Asia :

CENTRAL ASIA—LIVESTOCK—SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN GOALS (in thousands).||

Republic.	Horses.	Cattle.	Goats and Sheep.	Hogs.	Total.
Kazakh	3,300	4,400	5,800	1,500	15,000
Uzbek, Turkmen & Tadjik	2,500	3,900	8,300	200	14,900
Kara-Kalpak¶	300	200	300		800
Kirgiz	2,300	900	2,600	200	6,000
All Central Asia	8,400	9,400	17,000	1,900	36,700
U.S.S.R.	21,800	65,500	96,000	43,400	226,700

* Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, pp. 146-147. † Dobb, *op. cit.*, pp. 225, 249-252.
 ‡ Fichelle, *op. cit.*, p. 148. § Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
 ¶ Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, pp. 168-169.
 ¶ An autonomous republic within the Uzbek Republic.

These figures indicate that Central Asia had, and was expected to have, a very large proportion of the horses, sheep, and goats of the country, a considerable portion of the cattle, but relatively few hogs. The reasons for this distribution are self-evident, in view of the climate and topography of the region. Scattered figures indicate that the second five-year plan livestock goals were far above the actual number of animals in existence by that time. Kazakhstan's total livestock population numbered 11,000,000 in 1937*; well below the 15,000,000 goal of the plan. Kirgizia in 1937 had 500,000 horses (plan 2,300,000), 500,000 cows (plan 900,000), 2,500,000 sheep and goats (plan—2,600,000), and 90,000 hogs (plan 200,000).† Since the 1937 plan goals were generally below the pre-collectivization figures, it is possible that they—*i.e.*, the 1937 goals—in some cases may finally have been reached in 1940 or 1941.

Central Asian agriculture has never been very diversified. In modern times cotton has been king, and during the Soviet period has become more strongly entrenched as a result of the first two five-year plans. Grain-growing and livestock-raising played a secondary rôle and became relatively less significant during the 30s. A few other crops were encouraged during the five-year plan and in a limited sense made the agriculture of the region more varied.

Sugar-beet culture was introduced into Kazakhstan and Kirgizia in the early 30s.‡ By 1934 these two republics together contained 17,000 hectares of land planted to sugar beets (1.4 per cent. of total Soviet sugar-beet area).§ By 1940 Kirgizia alone had 15,000 hectares in sugar beets.|| Silkworms were being raised in the southern regions; 12,000 tons of cocoons were produced in Central Asia in 1939.¶ A rubber-bearing dandelion was discovered in the Tian-Shan region in the early 30s and much publicity was given to it,** but there is no indication that it had been extensively developed by 1941. Unlike most of the other until recently undeveloped areas of the Soviet Union, Central Asia is without forests. The only exploitable timber which exists is in the northern border regions of Kazakhstan; any use of it up to 1941 seems to have been only of local significance.††

V—TRANSPORTATION

A basic and essential element in the economic development of a region is development of means of transport both within the region and connecting it with outside areas. A modern industrial economy requires speedy, efficient, and cheap transportation. Rail and water are usually the most important means of transport, followed in importance by motor, and to a limited extent air. The Soviet Government since the middle 20s has pursued a vigorous programme of railroad construction, canal-building,

* Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

† Fichelle, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

‡ Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique*, p. 80.

§ Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, p. 151.

|| Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

** Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¶ Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

†† Mikhailov, *Soviet Geography*, p. 108.

and river-development in all parts of the country, and particularly in the northern and eastern areas.

Central Asia, being on the whole a very arid region, has few rivers capable of extensive development as transportation arteries. Its two largest rivers, the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya, both flow into the small, land-locked Aral Sea, which is in an area of little economic importance; and both, as a result of evaporation and diversion of water for irrigation, become constantly more shallow as they approach their destination. Nevertheless, along some parts of their courses they are used for transportation to a limited extent.* More important are the rivers in the western, north-eastern, and south-eastern parts of Kazakhstan—the Ural, the Irtysh, and the Ili respectively—and they became during the 30s quite important in the transportation picture.† In all, however, the rivers of Central Asia carry only 1.5 per cent. of the total volume of river freight in the Soviet Union.‡ They are too few and too shallow to be able to do much more. Thus the improvement of transportation facilities in Central Asia has meant almost exclusively the construction of railroads.

Central Asia was not entirely without railways at the time of the revolution. The Transcaspian line, from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian Sea eastward through Ashkhabad and Mary and on toward the Fergana Valley, was built during the 1880s, during the time when imperial forces were just beginning to bring this section of Turkestan under their firm control. At the time it was built the Transcaspian was of considerably more military importance than economic. The line from Chkalov (Orenburg) to Tashkent was completed in 1905, and was in its time an outstanding accomplishment. The Trans-Siberian, completed in 1902, touched the northern edge of present-day Kazakhstan, but was of no great significance in the development of Central Asia.§

The Imperial Government had extensive plans for additional railway construction in Central Asia, and several projected main and branch lines were surveyed; but by the time the war came none of these had become reality, except for an extension of the Transcaspian line as far as Tashkent and a branch line off the Turksib from Petropavlovsk to Akmolinsk in northern Kazakhstan. In 1913 the territory of present-day Uzbekistan contained 684 miles of railways, which in that year carried 2,700,000 tons of freight.|| Kazakhstan had approximately 1,250 miles of railway by this time,¶ carrying 1,280,000 tons of freight yearly.**

As soon as Central Asia was firmly under Soviet control, plans for railway construction were again taken up. By the beginning of the first five-year plan in 1928, railway mileage in Uzbekistan had increased to approximately 1,120 miles,†† an increase of 73 per cent. over 1913, but still not a

* N. N. Baranski, *Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya S.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1947), pp. 68. 345-347.

† Baranski, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68, 387.

‡ Baranski, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

§ W. E. Wheeler, "The Control of Land Routes: Russian Railways in Central Asia," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XXI (1934), pp. 585-608.

|| William Mandel, *The Soviet Far East and Central Asia* (New York, 1944), p. 149.

¶ Baranski, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

** R. A. Davies and A. J. Steiger, *Soviet Asia* (New York, 1942), p. 111.

very impressive railway network for so densely populated an area. From that time until the beginning of World War II there was only a small amount of railway construction in Uzbekistan itself* but branch lines were extended from Uzbekistan to the capitals of neighbouring Tadjikistan (Stalinabad) and (through Kazakhstan) Kirgizia (Frunze).†

It was in Kazakhstan after the inauguration of the first five-year plan that great strides were made in railway building. New construction increased mileage in the U.S.S.R. as a whole by 18 per cent. during the first five-year plan; during the same time railway mileage in Kazakhstan was increased 70 per cent, while in the rest of Central Asia the increase was 24 per cent.‡ The most spectacular achievement during this period was the completion of the Turksib—*i.e.*, Turkestan-Siberia—line, connecting Tashkent with the Trans-Siberian at Novosibirsk by way of Alma-Ata and Semipalatinsk.

A variety of reasons seems to have played a part in dictating the construction of the Turksib: (1) In order to achieve self-sufficiency in cotton, the Soviet Union had to make full use of all available land suitable for cotton. This meant the collectivization of cotton culture and the turning over of some grain lands to cotton in Central Asia. The growing Central Asian population would be fed with additional food from Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan. Central Asian cotton could be brought to the new West-Siberian industrial area, where textile mills would be established. (2) The railroad was seen as a favourable political and a progressive economic influence on the native races. It would aid in their communization by furthering their modernization. (3) It was considered an aid to trade with other parts of Central Asia, particularly Sinkiang. (4) It might aid in possible eventual political penetration of Sinkiang, and in this connection could eventually be of military significance.

Soviet, pro-Soviet,§ and some other foreign writers|| always stress the first two reasons, though some also mention the third.¶ Most Britons and Americans who have taken up this subject, while by no means ignoring the first two reasons, also stress the third and the fourth.** It seems unrealistic to place undue emphasis on either the trade or the strategic implications of the Turksib. The last two reasons could hardly have been real determining factors in the construction of the railway, or of any of the other railroads which have been built by the Soviets in Central Asia, except in a very indirect and long-range way. Even to rank the second

* Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149, gives 1937 mileage as 1180.

† Baranski, *op. cit.*, shows all these lines in detail on maps on pp. 354, 359, 367 and 372.

‡ Sanda Alexandridi, *L'Industrialisation de l'URSS par le Plan Quinquennal* (Paris, 1934), pp. 147-148.

§ N. Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 85; S. P. Turin, *The U.S.S.R., an Economic and Social Survey* (London, 1944), p. 95; Corliss Lamont, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1946), pp. 120-121; Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development since 1917* (London, 1948), p. 221.

|| Alfred Fichelle, *Géographie Physique et Economique de l'URSS* (Paris, 1946), p. 149.

¶ Baranski, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

** Wheeler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 601-608; Bosworth Goldman, "The New Aspect of the Central Asian Question," in *Journal of the R.C.A.S.*, Vol. XX (1933), pp. 360-374.

reason as of equal importance with the first seems unwise. The first was the real determining factor; the second happened to coincide with it rather automatically.

Preliminary surveys for the Turksib had been made before the First World War. Actual construction did not begin until 1927.* Work went on at a very accelerated pace through 1928 and 1929. At the peak of activity 55,000 construction workers were employed, 30 per cent. of whom were of native races.† There have been accusations that a considerable number of these workers were forced labourers.‡ The line, excluding rolling stock, necessitated a capital investment of 203,700,000 roubles.* The road was opened for traffic with a great deal of fanfare on May 1, 1930. The line covers a total distance of 1,442 miles from Chimkent to Novosibirsk. Grade reduction work and other improvements were undertaken during the 30s.§ The eventual electrification of the Turksib has been planned.||

Several other railway lines were built in Kazakhstan during the 30s: (1) The Petropavlovsk-Akmolinsk line was extended on to the coal centre of Karaganda and from there to Lake Balkhash, with a branch line westward to Jezhazgan and Karsakpai. (2) A line from Akmolinsk to Magnitogorsk in the southern Urals was completed in 1939, enabling Karaganda coal to be brought direct to the new Ural industrial region. (3) Guryev, at the head of the Caspian Sea, was connected by way of the Emba oilfields with the long-existing Tashkent-Chkalov line. (4) The line from Saratov on the Volga, through West Kazakhstan and Uralsk, to Chkalov was completed in 1937.¶ The significance of all these lines to mining and industry should be obvious. In all, Kazakhstan's railways totalled 5,240 miles by 1940,** a very significant increase. All these railways helped integrate the economy of Central Asia with that of the rest of the Soviet Union. The following figures indicate that the increase in the amount of tonnage hauled by these Central Asian railways has increased far out of proportion to their increase in mileage:

RAILWAY FREIGHT TURNOVER (in tons, goods shipped plus goods received).††

Year.	Uzbekistan.	Kazakhstan.
1913	2,700,000	1,280,000
1932	6,100,000	
1937	12,100,000	22,800,000

While a considerable amount of material on railway operations is available, information on motor transport and road-building is much more

* Wheeler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 603-604.

† Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

‡ Dallin and Nikolaevski, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* (New Haven, 1947), p. 214.

§ Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

|| Dobb, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

¶ Turin, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Mikhailov, *Géographie Economique*, p. 85; Fichelle, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Baranski, *op. cit.*, pp. 382, 387-389.

** Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

†† Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

difficult to find. It seems that up to the eve of the war, at least, motor transportation was very little stressed in areas suitable for the construction of railroads. Roads seem to have been developed and trucks and cars widely used only (1) in and around large cities, (2) in heavily populated areas such as the Fergana Valley, and (3) in the mountainous regions in the south-east along the Afghan and Chinese borders—*i.e.*, in Tadjikistan and Kirgizia. These two republics contain some of the highest mountains in the world. Road-building here is difficult, but it is at least possible, while railway construction would not be. Extensive construction was begun during the first five-year plan,* and by the end of the 30s three much publicized stretches of first-class motor road were in existence: (1) From Frunze, past Lake Issyk-Kul, over the Tian-Shan to Osh; (2) from Osh over the Pamirs to Khorog on the Afghan frontier; (3) from Khorog westward to Stalinabad. Several branch roads connected with these.† Even these main roads are most likely of a quality that would be considered distinctly secondary in Western Europe or America, but in areas where only mountain tracks negotiable by donkeys existed before they represent a great advance. They and their branches connect the principal mining and industrial developments, and are therefore of considerable economic importance.

Airlines between the main Central Asian cities and with the rest of the Soviet Union were established in the 20s.‡ Up to 1941 they seem to have confined themselves to passenger and mail service, and no evidence exists that they carried any appreciable amount of freight or were ever intended to. They were economically relatively insignificant.

(To be concluded.)

* Gosplan, *A Summary of the Fulfilment of the Five Year Plan* (Moscow, 1935; 2nd rev. ed.), p. 265.

† George B. Cressey, *The Basis of Soviet Strength* (London, 1946), p. 194; Davies and Steiger, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Akademiya Nauk S.S.S.R., *Problemy Kirgizskoi A.S.S.R.* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1936), pp. 208-222.

‡ Abdul Qadir Khan, "Central Asia under the Soviets," in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XVII (1930), p. 289.

THE BACKGROUND OF A PACIFIC PACT

By DAVID GAMMANS, M.P.

Lecture given on June 15, 1949, Lt.-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. D. Gammans has been the Conservative Member of Parliament for Hornsey, Middlesex, since 1941.

He has had contact with affairs in the Far East for many years, as he first went to Malaya in 1920 in the Colonial Service. In 1926 he was attached to the British Embassy at Tokyo for two years.

In the years since he has always been particularly interested in Canadian affairs, and during the War, in 1942, he was a member of the British Delegation to the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference in Canada and later in the United States.

In 1946 Mr. Gammans was on the Parliamentary Delegation to Sarawak and last February he returned to this country from a three months' tour of South-East Asia. From his knowledge, both of America and of South-East Asia, he is therefore unusually qualified to speak on the subject of a Pacific Pact which he will discuss this afternoon.

I SUPPOSE there never was a time when it was more difficult than now to talk of affairs in Asia. Even what seemed likely to happen three months ago is now largely out of date. I have, as the Chairman has said, recently returned from one of the lightning trips one can now take by air. Returning from the Far East, I left Karachi, India, in the morning and reached England the same night! That will give some idea of how one can whizz round the world to-day.

I do not think I can do better than introduce my subject by quoting some recent words of that very wise man, General Smuts, when he made a statement to the Press in London on June 7. In reference to the situation in Asia he said it "may be the gravest for hundreds of years, and western events by comparison are small potatoes." I believe that to be true. One can say that the centre of gravity, in the literal sense of the word, has now shifted to Asia. I believe Russia has received a set-back in Europe. Maybe that is only a temporary set-back, but the combination of the Marshall Plan, the union of the western countries and, finally, the Atlantic Pact has for the time being, as it were, put a high-water mark to Russian aggression in Europe. Now she is turning her attention to Asia. Stalin has not forgotten the words of Lenin that the quickest way to Paris may be via Peking and Calcutta. We are witnessing a Communist offensive in Asia the outcome of which no one dare predict.

To-day in Asia we can see two quite distinct forces at work, the first and most obvious being the force of Nationalism, the desire to get rid of the European not as an individual or a trader but in his political capacity. Already that has had two effects. The first and most obvious effect is the breaking up of that great chain of security which rested upon British power in India, in Burma, in Ceylon, so that between Suez and Singapore there is no longer a great area which one could take for granted as being peaceful. In that area from now on almost anything might happen. During the two Great Wars we knew that that vast sub-continent of India,

Ceylon, and Burma would remain neutral or, at the best, would be allies, and in both wars the best happened. We could not have won those wars without the Indian Army; the Near East would have been overrun had we not been able to put into the field those wonderful divisions from India.

Now, in place of that area of security there is an area of insecurity, and if there were another Great World War then, at the very best, we could expect neutrality or, at the worst, something far more serious. Actually we are witnessing the breaking up of an empire, and when we look back into history we can realize what has attended the break-up of empires, whether the Roman Empire or, in our time, the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since the latter there has been no economy or political stability in Central Europe.

But another effect of this Nationalism has been its devastating effect on the economic situation. Here again I should like to quote General Smuts: "Hitherto Asia has lived on European genius, European driving power, European capital. What is to happen now Asia is thrown back on its own resources?" Well, in the case of Burma we are seeing the effect of the breakdown of law and order on the export of rice. And do not let us forget that a large part of South-East Asia is dependent upon rice from Burma and Indo-China. Because of the breakdown of law and order in the Dutch East Indies the export of sugar, tea, and rubber is affected.

The economies of these Far Eastern countries have been built up on the assumption that there is a stable and effective government. Once there is a breakdown of government in countries such as Java there may easily be widespread starvation.

I said there are two forces in Asia; the second is the force of advancing Communism.

What is likely to happen in that part of the world? Quite apart from Communism, I would say certain things are almost sure to happen. Take, first, Burma, a country about which I am most pessimistic. Burma to-day is, I think, on the verge of chaos and of complete collapse. I was one of those who opposed the Independence of Burma Bill in the House of Commons, and I did so not because I was in any way opposed to the granting of self-government to Burma; after all, all political parties are committed to self-government as an ideal. I was opposed to it because I did not think there existed in Burma any single condition which would mean that self-government could possibly work. The country had been devastated by the Japanese. It lacked an experienced civil service and an experienced administration. There was no essential unity between the Burmese and non-Burmese people, and we were handing over the country to men most of whom had been thoroughly disloyal to us during the last war. The net result of all that is the mournful satisfaction of being able to say "I told you so." The only respect in which I was wrong in my predictions is that events happened six months sooner than I thought they would.

I do not want to go into details in regard to the present government of Burma. It only exercises control within the limited area of Rangoon. It is not possible, so far as I can gather, to travel by rail or road from

Rangoon to Mandalay. The Karens are co-operating with the Communists for the time being in order to overthrow the present government of Burma; in other words, there is complete chaos. I doubt whether Burma will survive as a political unit. It may conceivably happen that Burma will be divided between India in the south and China in the north. Remember that India has great interests in the delta of the Irrawaddy, and if she has the strength she may feel that those interests must be protected. I would not like to predict that Burma will exist as a political unit ten years hence.

Some people in this country are in favour of giving the Burmese government another loan. I hope that will not be done without any conditions attached to it because it will be throwing money away. If the Burmese government want another loan the first thing they have to do is to cease expropriating British assets. Already they have taken over the Irrawaddy flotilla and a number of companies without any sign of compensation being paid.

What of the Dutch East Indies? The danger there is that events will follow the pattern of Burma. It is foolish on the part of anybody to compare what has happened in India with what is happening in the Dutch East Indies. India was a going concern; it had not been ravaged by the Japanese; it had a very experienced administration; it had men well versed in politics. Even so, India could not remain one; it split up into two. In the Dutch East Indies there are none of those conditions, and unless the Indonesians are prepared to find some basis of accommodation with the Dutch, the danger is that the Netherlands East Indies will just collapse.

With regard to India and Pakistan, the first point we have to remember—and it is a mournful one—is that withdrawal of British power has meant that India no longer could exist as one political unit. During the whole of our rule in India we have aimed at and fought for India remaining as one country. Directly British power was withdrawn India was split up into India itself and Pakistan. Let us realize how that division has already weakened the country economically, because it was quite an arbitrary division. For example, Pakistan is practically self-supporting in food and grows jute, whereas the jute mills are in Calcutta, India. There is that arbitrary division in so many instances between the manufacturing part of the country and the part which supplies the raw materials. The problem is going to arise quite soon as to how with that division they can possibly even maintain the present standard of living, low as that standard is. We have to bear in mind that the population of the Indian continent increases every year by a net 5,000,000 births over deaths; 50,000,000 extra mouths to be fed every ten years. That was difficult enough, in all conscience, when the country was one economically, but the difficulty will be accentuated now that it is divided into two.

The other obvious result of partition is that the Indian Army has ceased to exist as a first-class fighting force. It may develop into one. That we shall see, but it is not one now.

Pakistan is an example of what is, I suppose, still true—that individuals can make history, because Pakistan is almost literally the creation of Mr. Jinnah. Those of us who knew the Moslem world even before

the World War will remember how even quite fanatical Moslems regarded Pakistan as being an ideal, if you like, but an impossible and impracticable ideal. It is just as if a Welshman here got up and said he wanted a completely independent Wales with its own army, navy, customs barriers, and so on. We should think that was all right as a platform speech but that it was sheer nonsense when it came to practical politics. Mr. Jinnah, however, adhered to his ideal and in his own lifetime he saw this impossible ideal of his realized. One must pay tremendous credit not only to Jinnah himself for his inspiration, but for the way in which with every hazard against him he managed to create an administration in a comparatively short time and prevent Pakistan from lapsing into absolute chaos. Following partition $6\frac{1}{2}$ million refugees were straight-away dumped on Pakistan. There is the added handicap that where the majority of the people live is not in Western Pakistan but in Eastern Bengal, 1,000 miles distant. When I was in Karachi I was told that passenger trains did not run between Eastern and Western Pakistan; one must go by air or sea. No one could imagine greater difficulties in setting up a State, and yet those initial difficulties have largely been overcome.

It is interesting when talking to Pakistanis to hear their criticisms of the British with regard to the partition of India. They do not blame us for our decision to leave India; they blame us for the way we left India and, in particular, for the fact that the British Army was withdrawn so hurriedly instead of supervising, as they think we should have done, the transfer of population in the Eastern Punjab. As the result terrible massacres occurred of at least half a million people and probably more.

What about the new relationship of India to the Commonwealth as a result of the Prime Ministers' Conference in London? Is it satisfactory? Can it work? Looked at logically this new relationship of India to the Commonwealth makes no sense either for India or for the Commonwealth. We are permitting India to remain a member of what we used to regard as a very exclusive club, without paying any subscription. The King, so far as I can gather, has no function whatever in India, either constitutionally or in his personal capacity. If he were to choose to visit India he would be received as a guest, he has no legal entity in the Commonwealth so far as the new India is concerned.

The obvious question—or danger—is that if India is to receive all the benefits of Empire citizenship without any of the obligations, what is the point of anybody remaining loyal? What is the point of anybody accepting any other relationship? I foresee the danger that Pakistan, Ceylon, and South Africa may be other countries who will say: There is no point whatever in our retaining the oath of loyalty, and we might as well adopt the same status as India.

Another danger is that India may be meaning one thing by this relationship and we may be meaning another. We know what we mean by accepting India as a member of the Commonwealth. To put it crudely, it is that if India were invaded or threatened by the Russians we automatically would expect to land a British army in Bombay, if asked. That is our understanding of this relationship of India to the Commonwealth. But

it seems to be a one-sided arrangement. Mr. Nehru has made it clear that if this country were attacked by Russia we could not look forward automatically to the assistance of the Indian Army.

But let me put the other side. The other side is that the British have always done well when they have trusted to their instincts and not their logic. This may be another example of it.

And now Ceylon. I was part of the delegation which presented to the Ceylon Parliament a Speaker's Chair and Mace from Westminster. It was a gesture from the oldest of the King's Dominions to the youngest. It was rather interesting to sit in the gallery of the Ceylon Parliament and look down on a replica of Westminster on a small scale. There were differences, of course, one being that every Member of Parliament had a seat, which is not the case here. In front of each seat was a desk; that we have not. And in the Parliament Chamber in Colombo there was a small drawer underneath the desk; when pulled out a blast of cold air hit one on the head. That is done because the climate in Ceylon is tropical; it might be done in Westminster for entirely different reasons!

Can Parliamentary government work in Ceylon? If it will not work in Ceylon it will not work anywhere in Asia. They have all the factors in their favour; they are a very intelligent and well-educated people, with great political experience and good administration; they have a balanced economy and a low public debt. We wish Ceylon every success.

Have we any difficulties with regard to Ceylon? No, I think not. Ceylon wishes to remain in the Commonwealth and as a full member. It is gratifying to us that the second Governor-General, Lord Soulbury, is an Englishman, the selection of the Ceylonese themselves. The only point of difficulty I see with regard to Ceylon is the Defence Treaty we have made with them. We have accepted the responsibility for defending Ceylon, as a result of which that country spends less than 2 per cent. of the Budget on defence, but they have not set any term of years to that Defence Treaty. It means that any extremist group in Ceylon which wanted to gain popularity and perhaps support at a General Election could raise the cry, "Cut the last link that binds you to Downing Street." It would be better for them, and us, if we had a term of years to that Defence Treaty, as the Americans have in the Philippines or as we have in the case of Iraq or Egypt.

May I come now to the second great force in Asia to-day, the force of Communism? Communism is a new factor in Asia, the importance of which we do not dare to underrate, because it can take many forms, and is so doing. It may ally itself with Nationalism. That is largely happening now in the Dutch East Indies. What started off as a genuinely nationalistic movement suddenly found itself being dominated, or even directed, by men trained in Moscow itself. Or it may be ostensibly Nationalist, as we have found in the case of Burma, where there were men who started off as genuine Nationalists and now more and more Communists have tended to get control. Or there may be a situation such as there is in India where the Government is certainly in no sense Communist but fears Communism within its own borders, and has to put it down. But if Communism can be dangerous in Europe, how much

more so can it be in Asia where people have no political experience, where, to a large extent, there is no middle class, and where there are great extremes of riches and poverty.

Take India as a case in point. There could not be a more fertile ground for the specious appeal of Communism than in a country with a caste system, with Untouchability, with absentee landlords and bad industrial conditions in Bombay and Calcutta, and in Calcutta a large class of failed B.A.s, men who expected that under the new dispensation it would be easier to get jobs than under the old.

The first manifestation of Communism we have seen is in Malaya, where we see the fantastic situation of 5,000 Communists challenging a police force of ten times their number and the biggest British army that Malaya has ever had in peace-time, and up till recently they have been getting away with it. What is the explanation? The British are under a great handicap in fighting guerilla wars in that we cannot adopt the only methods suitable to guerilla warfare—terrorism or counter-terrorism. Think how the Japanese or Russians would tackle the situation. If rubber planters were murdered they would grab the nearest fifty people, line them up against a wall and shoot them, and then burn down the village. We cannot do it. We would not get a British army to do it if they were ordered to. But it does put the British under a terrible handicap. That and the thickness of the jungle in Malaya is why 5,000 terrorists defied this enormous police force and this large British army for so long.

What has happened in Malaya is similar to what happened in Greece. We dropped arms in Greece for anyone who said they would shoot Germans with them. The Communists got those arms and kept them for the post-war revolution. We dropped arms in Malaya; the Communists got them; they did not shoot up the Japanese with them; they kept them for their post-war bid for power. That is why the terrorists in Malaya have had such a good run for their money. Many Chinese were helping them with money, not willingly, but simply out of fear because they had lost confidence in the ability of the British Government to protect them. There was a period there three years after the war when some foolish things were done. It is only now when people are getting more confidence in the ability of the British Government to protect them from the terrorists that we are seeing matters starting to improve. Great credit is due to the 2,000 tin miners and rubber planters who carried on during the past difficult twelve months. I visited a rubber estate in January of 1949, and I confess that it seemed the most depressing form of existence under which any man can live, surrounded by barbed wire, and the telephone ringing every hour from the police to see that the planter and his assistants were still alive. They all carried on in the knowledge that if they went off the estate they might be murdered. When you consider that last year those men earned us more American dollars than the total exports from the United Kingdom put together, it will give you some idea of the gratitude this country owes them.

And so, sir, I would like to conclude with a word on China. That is, I suppose, the greatest query in the world to-day. Is a Communist-dominated China going to be similar to a Communist-dominated other place?

Are the 450,000,000 Chinese going to be dragged on to the Russian side of the Iron Curtain? Is it going to be an Iron Curtain or is it going to be a rubber one under which you can crawl or a bamboo screen, or a curtain of Chinese muslin through which one can walk, talk, and, if necessary, do business? I do not know the answer. I do not know whether the Chinese will be Chinese first and Communists a poor second. I do not know whether Russia having got a finger in the pie will swiftly extend her influence southwards. No one can say whether the Chinese will do down the Russians as they have, in the long run, resisted everyone else. I feel that probably in ten, fifteen, or twenty years China will not be dominated by Communism or by Russia any more than she has ever been dominated by anyone else. It is not the long run I am afraid of, but the short run.

What do the people of Hongkong say about the situation? They are living in a most wonderful optimistic atmosphere. The Governor of Hongkong publicly reproved us recently and said that "London has the jitters." Business circles in Hongkong think they can do business with Communist China. I hope they are right. I regard Hongkong in Asia as I regard Berlin in Europe. It is not only important in itself; it is a symbol.

What does all this lead up to? That it is no good having an Atlantic Pact without a Pacific Pact. It is not any good stopping the spread of Communism by Russia in Europe if Russia is allowed a free run in Asia. Therefore, sooner or later we must get a Pacific Pact. Can we do so? It is not going to be easy. Do not let us imagine we can get it merely by giving economic help. That is one of the fallacies of the modern world: that Communism is only due to economic distress; that people only become Communist because they do not know where the next meal is coming from. I am sure that was not the consideration which made the Dean of Canterbury into a Communist. He presumably knows where his next meal is coming from! It was not economic distress which drove Czechoslovakia into the arms of Russia. Or, to put it the other way round, the Marshall Plan alone would not have saved Europe; the Marshall Plan together with the fear of the atomic bomb is what saved Europe, and what is going to save Europe now is the Marshall Plan together with the Atlantic Pact, with its military guarantees. Therefore, we cannot merely save Asia by pouring money into Asia, quite apart from the fact that we have not any money to pour.

The difficulty of a Pacific Pact is the United States. They have no policy towards Asia which is at present discernible, the reason being that they are rather sore, disillusioned, and disappointed because they put all their money on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and he proved to be a broken reed. During the war we heard the most terrific eulogies in the United States about what China was going to be like after the war. We warned our friends in the United States that China was not one of the big Powers, that there were grave deficiencies in her economic and political structure.

I fear I have not left you with any cheerful conclusions, but I trust that what I have said will not have the same effect on you as a recent address of mine had when I spoke to a Chamber of Commerce on the economic prospects of Great Britain. As a result of what I then said one of the members when he got outside dropped down dead! I have tried to

analyse the political situation in the Far East as I myself see it. What I have predicted may prove to be wrong. So I finish, as I started, by quoting General Smuts and saying that the centre of gravity has now shifted, temporarily at any rate, from Europe to Asia.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL : Who are the terrorists in Malaya? Are they Malaysians or Chinese?

Mr. GAMMANS : Almost entirely Chinese. There is a nucleus of fanatical Communists and others joined them with the idea of looting; when their star appeared to be in the ascendant a number of people joined them for that reason. As you know, all in Asia rush to help the strong and despise the weak.

Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL : Not only in Asia.

Mr. GAMMANS : I agree.

Mr. W. AMEER ALI : We have listened to a most excellent speech and can only regret that it was not heard by a larger audience.

As regards the possibilities in India, which are as well known to our enemies as to us, there was an interesting article in *The Times* of June 13 in which it was said that the four most prominent leaders of Indian Communism had gone underground. Those four men have Mahratta Brahmin names. It appears to me that the Brahmins have been the mainspring of anti-British agitation. Most of the present anti-British campaign is directed, I understand, from a cell in one of the temples outside Poona; in other words, by Mahratta Brahmins. Pundit Nehru is a Brahmin Babuji. You will have noticed that when Pundit Nehru broadcast to India from Delhi after his return from the Prime Ministers' Conference in London he said he had no quarrel with the doctrines of Brahmin. It looks as if the whole Indian attitude in the future will be that of the Babuji. When I was a small boy in India there was a Russian scare, and when the men at the Club asked a young Brahmin what he would do if the Russians came to India he replied: "I would get behind a tree and watch the battle; to which ever side won I would make my salaam." It looks as if not only India but other parts of Asia are feeling the same.

Mr. GAMMANS : Do you not think that there is a chance that if Communism wanted to work within India one of the ways to do so would be to appeal to Nationalism, not Indian Nationalism but Mahratta *versus* Tamil, for example? There is a great growth of Communism in Madras, and the racial separatism in India cannot be ignored. One of the ways in which Communism could work, quite apart from the economic method, is by fomenting misunderstanding between the Madrassi, Punjabi, Bengali, etc.

Mr. W. AMEER ALI : I am informed by officers who have returned to England with a pretty good knowledge of India that one of the appeals of Communism to those who have been very much harried by inter-racial and inter-religious strife is that it ignores them.

Mr. GAMMANS : Communism can tell one story in one country and another story in another country.

Lady DAWSON : Could we hear a little about an area on which the lecturer has not touched—French Indo-China?

Mr. GAMMANS: I did not visit Indo-China when I was in the Far East this spring. So far as I could gather, the French do not hold very much of Indo-China except round the towns. If they travel between one town and another they do so by convoy and fairly heavily armed. In the northern part of the country there is almost complete Communist Chinese control. The French are gambling on whether or not to send back the Emperor, who has been in Paris for some time; they feel that by so doing they may succeed in rallying the sort of Nationalist feeling throughout the country, or, indeed, throughout Viet Nam, and thus warding off Communism.

Mr. SAMSON: Mr. Gammans in his thoughtful address ranged over such an extremely wide area that it is only possible for me at this stage to suggest one thought. His reference to Hongkong was most important. I agree with Mr. Gammans' general theory that we should have as our main idea the holding of Hongkong, but it seems to me that the best method we have of doing that is to demonstrate that it is of importance to China—whether China is governed by Chinese Communists or by members of the Kuomintang or some other party—that it is in their best interest as well as ours that we should retain Hongkong.

I mention this as suggesting perhaps something that should be done to reinforce the Pacific Pact to which Mr. Gammans has alluded and on which I would have liked him to say a great deal more. I suggest that whatever defence arrangements it is possible for us to make, they will be relatively useless unless they are accompanied by an objective appraisal of the whole situation there. That will be based, perhaps, most soundly on discovering the correct psychological approach to the quite natural political and economic aspirations of the people who live in that entire area.

What I have in mind is specifically this: that the people out in the Far East have, rightly in my view, over a number of years come to have certain political aspirations; they want to better their standard of living. I think the Western Powers now find themselves in a race with Communism throughout this area in Asia. What we have to try to do is to convince the peoples who live there that they will increase and improve their standard of living more quickly and better their political status more rapidly by co-operating with the West than by attacking Hongkong.

Mr. GAMMANS: I am quite convinced—I may be wrong—that if we put into Hongkong a decent sized garrison, a couple of divisions, which is what most soldiers think is necessary, and persuade the other Commonwealth countries to have the same attitude over Hongkong as we have taken over Berlin, then the Communist armies will not try it on.

I am not suggesting we could not be friendly. I agree with what Mr. Alexander said yesterday morning when he came back from Hongkong: that we are prepared to be friendly with any government in China. But do not let them try attacking Hongkong; discourage them from that. No amount of talk will discourage them. All that will discourage them will be strength.

When you talk about a psychological approach to Asia I really do not know where it would start. You can do business if you are strong, but you will do no business anywhere in the world if you are weak.

Colonel ROUTH: Is any hope to be expected from Pundit Nehru's All-Asia Congress?

Mr. GAMMANS: He is trying to establish the leadership of Asia, I think without any great success. It is interesting to talk to the leading statesmen in Pakistan and also in Ceylon. They expressed some fear in regard to India. They thought India might fall into Communism, in which case they would be an instrument of Russian foreign policy. Rather curiously, they also foresaw a danger of the opposite of Communism, and that is Fascism; that the extreme Hindu parties, seeing the danger of Communism, might raise the cry of "Hinduism in danger." If that happened they foresaw the danger of Pakistan being militarily attacked and Ceylon in the same way.

Having heard those fears expressed in Karachi, it was interesting to hear them expressed in Ceylon as well. I think Pundit Nehru has lost a lot of the moral leadership of Asia. He was regarded as one of the great moral leaders of the world; it was his moral appeal which was the basis of this United Asia Movement. That is no longer so. In Pakistan and in Ceylon there is a very real fear of an expansionist effort. The Hindus would pooh-pooh it, but the mere fact that the fear exists shows that that sort of conception of moral leadership of Asia does not take one very far.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like, on your behalf, to thank Mr. Gammans for coming to talk to us; he certainly has been most instructive and interesting. I hope everything will not go quite in the way he has suggested. I have spent three years in China since the last World War. I met many important Chinese. There was not one who did not sing a song about wanting Hongkong, and *there was not one who would not have been very miserable if he had got it.* That holds good now. As to defending Hongkong, it is often forgotten that the leased territory covers about 30 miles of country which can be quite easily defended. I have very little fear as to Hongkong being attacked; but if it should be I do not see anything for it but to go to war.

The Russian backing of the Chinese Communists was rather interesting when I was in China; they backed them as long as they did not burn their fingers. I had an interesting proof of that sentiment. The Russian Military Attaché was going on leave, and he came and had a talk with me on the situation beforehand. I was quite frank with him. At that time I was hoping Chiang Kai-shek would attack the Communists, and he said if that happened Russia would never move a finger. So that does give one a little hope. The Chinese have absorbed everything that has gone into their country and I hope they will absorb Communism in the long run, and the long run is better than no run. We thank you very much, Mr. Gammans.

THE MIRANZAI VALLEY

By LIEUT.-COLONEL R. V. PROUDLOCK, M.I.E.E.

THOSE of us who have wandered up and down the frontier of Pakistan cherish memories of it, the very names of which awake, in the hearts of those no longer serving, recollections of hardship and pleasure, and a certain regret that they will no longer see the arena where their younger days were spent in extremes of heat and cold; for no greater difference in temperature between summer and winter can be found anywhere else in the world: Gilgit, Chitral, Khyber, Tochi, Khaisora, Waziristan, Zhob, Bolan, Quetta, Pishin, Mekran, and last but not least Miranzai.

The Miranzai valley lies between Kohat and Thal-in-Kurram, a distance of sixty miles. Kohat, the centre and key-point from which many Frontier expeditions have started, is a delightful cantonment with a profusion of trees—mostly flowering—planted under the guidance of generations of officers. Of recent years this cantonment has been surrounded by barbed wire to lessen the maraudings of malefactors from tribal territory. Names such as Molly Ellis, Nurse Starr, Colonel and Mrs. Foulkes are household words when the subject of kidnapping and murder is discussed. There are many others who have laid down their lives, as a visit to St. Augustine's Church in Kohat and the cemetery will recall to mind.

The first recorded passage of campaigning troops through the Miranzai valley was under the Emperor Babar in 1505, who, after capturing Peshawar, went to Kohat, Hangu and Thal, and returned to Ghazni in Afghanistan via Bannu and the Zhob valley. His tomb is in Kabul, where the Afghan Government has recently erected a fine tombstone of marble.

Lord Roberts planned his Afghan campaign of 1887 in the present Flagstaff House at Kohat. His famous march started from there, up the Miranzai valley to Thal-in-Kurram, across to the west bank of the Kurram river, and so northwards for about sixty miles to the vast plateau on which Parachinar stands at 5,000 feet above sea-level at the foot of the Safed Koh range of mountains, to Ali Mangal, Teri Mangal, and then followed the battle of the Peiwar Kotal at 9,000 feet, the complete defeat of the Afghan army and the eventual march to Kabul and then on to Kandahar.

In 1891 Sir William Lockhart led a force from Kohat into the Khanki valley and concentrated at Gwada just north-east of Fort Lockhart, and as the Orakzais submitted without bloodshed the force was withdrawn, and the construction of forts and roads on the Samana proceeded peacefully for a very short time till attacks were again made on the construction parties. This was the signal for Sir William Lockhart once again to advance with his force, this time via Lakka and Sangar to Khanki Bazar, thus concluding the second Miranzai campaign in the year 1891. It was in that year that certain forts were established on the Samana at Gulistan and Fort Lockhart (7,100 feet), the latter being named after the veteran soldier of the Miranzai campaigns.

The Tirah campaign of 1897 started from Kohat. The columns

marched up the Miranzai valley to Hangu and on to the heights of Dargai on the Samana range just north of the Miranzai valley. The famous picture by Lady Butler depicts the scene where Piper Findlater of the Gordon Highlanders won his V.C. on these heights. The memorial to the 36th Sikhs stands just outside the Civil rest house at Fort Lockhart. It was the Ali Khel tribe of the Orakzais who came southward from the Khanki river area to attack the 36th Sikhs, who were twenty-one in number, in their picquet at Saragarhi, on September 12, 1897. Every man in this picquet was killed, but not before they had inflicted a loss of at least 180 on the tribesmen. The coats of arms of various battalions who served on the Samana are to be seen emblazoned on the rocks near this memorial. The latest plaque, added by the present writer in 1945, is that of the Royal Signals.

The columns for the relief of Thal-in-Kurram in the third Afghan campaign of 1919 started from Kohat. The concentration of the spearhead took place at Hangu under Colonel Arthur Manson Houston, D.S.O., of Coke's Rifles, who was then commanding the 1/69 Punjabis. General Dyer took over at the end of May, 1919, and the Kohat-Kurram force did its famous forced march to Thal, where it arrived and relieved the garrison on June 1. This march was carried out despite conditions of extreme heat and an epidemic of cholera which caused a large number of deaths.

These are a few of the well-known campaign marches which took place up the Miranzai valley. However, one must never forget the marches of the nomadic Ghilzais, each very much greater in numbers than that of any of the campaign marches. In September and October each year the Powindahs march from the highlands and cooler parts of Afghanistan to the warmer plains of Pakistan for the winter. In April and May the reverse march takes place to the cooler highlands of Afghanistan for the summer months. Each family is self-contained and marches with its camels, mules, ponies, cattle, sheep, goats, and chickens. At the height of either of these migrations one is apt to be much delayed if going by road between Kohat and Thal, but it is difficult to imagine the immensity of each particular migration unless one is able to watch it over a period of several days.

Travellers along this valley have an excellent road and a narrow-gauge railway by which they can be expeditiously transported. However, the present-day traveller prefers the road to the railway; by train the many stops incurred make the journey somewhat tedious. On the other hand, you cannot use the road at will, but must conform to road-open days and times. These are regulated by the picketing of the road by guards of the Frontier Constabulary and Khassadars.

REVIEWS

Trial and Error. By Dr. C. Weizmann. Pp. 608. Hamish Hamilton. 1949. 21s.

A Triumph, which Lawrence appended to his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, might well be the sub-title to this emergent and dedicated Life. It is the story of a man who from earliest sentience viewed the world through two lenses—the crystal *objectiv* of science and that (more powerful) coloured with the blue of the National Flag which now floats over Palestine.

Chaim Weizmann was a Zionist, as Mendelssohn was a musician, almost from the month; and though his brain might have earned him riches, as well as the fame of his beneficent applications of chemistry, his soul was from the first nourished, trained and concentrated upon the accomplishment of Zion.

His flowing narrative and lucid exposition reveal his happiness and just pride in his family life; we see and hear the primitive Jewish school in the little town among the Pripet marshes—in which “neither the tumult nor the overcrowding affected our peace of mind and our powers of concentration” (any more than they have since). Hebrew was appropriately for the Zionist (though not for the Orthodox) thesis the language of every day: “I never corresponded with my father in any other language. I sent him only one Yiddish letter; he returned it without an answer.” “I knew hardly a word of Russian till I was eleven years old” yet “we, the Zionists, spoke and wrote the language better, were more intimately acquainted with its literature, than most Russians”: a boast revealing the deep surviving intimacy with the *Weltanschauung* of Russia—still, but for its Government (past or present) the Zionists’ alternative spiritual home.

His youth is enriched by highly entertaining analyses of character; his Herzliana are of intense interest, despite the occasional note of patronizing disparagement, which is extended even to that Prince in Israel, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who “had done considerable semi-philanthropic work in Palestine.”

Weizmann’s chance in life came with his decision to settle in England. He pays a gracious tribute to the kindness with which he was received alike by professors and laboratory attendants, and the generous encouragement and help accorded by both. Manchester leads directly to an ever-widening political as well as scientific horizon; with obstruction, particularly from his own people, with setbacks; through the sudden, but by Zionists long foreseen, first world war, to the grasping of that chance in 2,000 years—the Balfour Declaration. From this moment Weizmann emerges as a world figure, the accepted and successful champion of a universal (and now “recognized”) nation, committed to never-ceasing and ever-increasing toils over four continents.

In Palestine, the building of the home proceeds apace: faster than the Mandatory Power deems wise—or right: far faster than the Arab inhabitants can bear—but always too slow for the prophet leader. We follow across the Atlantic his conversion of American Zionists, restive at paying

the piper whilst Russian Zionists call the tune; his masterly handling of non-Zionists, such as Felix Warburg. In Europe we follow his dramatic interventions with the British Government—twice he causes the withdrawal of a State Paper—and his equally dramatic resignations from the leadership of World Zionism.

And now the shadows darken for the second world war: will it ruin all or will it complete the work of the first, with the final realization of Zion? In the hideous disaster of stricken Jewry the famous chemist records with superb and moving restraint the miseries of his colleagues and friends, caught in Hitler's Germany. "We have suffered not only physically; we have been murdered intellectually, and the world scarcely realizes the extent of our affliction."

The embittering and unbalancing horror spreads to Palestine, where "Nazionism" under Stern and Irgun reproduces Nazism in cold-blooded murder of British youth; forcing upon honourable Jewry the intolerable dilemma of connivance or seeming betrayal of their own flesh and blood. Commission succeeds commission: conference of U.N.O. further conference. The National Home, now revealed *via* Partition as the Jewish State, after a last moment break-back of President Truman from his long allegiance to the New York electorate, is, by a final application of the Doctor's overwhelming personality, recognized by the United States, and so by the United Nations. Few will fail to endorse the cable dispatched by the five Labour leaders of the Provisional Government of Israel on this personal triumph of their truly remarkable leader "who has done more than any other living man towards its creation. Your stand and help have strengthened all of us."

More than any other living man? In my *Orientations* I expressed the opinion that the names of the dynamic four who will go down to history in the rebuilding of Zion are Herzl, Balfour, Samuel and Weizmann. Who can ever dispute that the greatest of them all is Weizmann?

The concentration—the consecration involved by such a life—postulates rigorous exclusion. Dr. Weizmann's lens of science is objective and wide-angled. His political lens is, emphatically, neither: projecting a narrow field of intense vision, and subjectively colouring or altogether occluding all facts, persons or considerations that fail to accord with the ultra-Herzl dogma of the Jewish State in Palestine. Not enough allowance has been made by reviewers and readers with first-hand knowledge, puzzled or indignant to find the same conscience that would have scorned to accept—still more to utter—an unverified scientific thesis, nevertheless publishing paragraph after paragraph of the wildest accusations, unsupported and unproven when general and, when specific, often disprovable: an anomaly which, though it impoverish historical value, enriches autobiographical revelation. Unhappily, it is just this knowledge which is lacked by the vast majority of transatlantic readers for whom the book (though now issued by a British house of repute) was originally published. (The cost to the British taxpayer of the garrison in Palestine is expressed in dollars.) The description of British East Africa (which Herzl would have accepted) as "a desolate wilderness populated by savage tribes!" reinforces its rejection and dispenses the author from the need of any acknowledgement

whatever to the only Government that had dreamt of offering Jewry a home of their own anywhere. There is skilful choice of *clichés* suggesting parallels likely to influence an American audience: "Munich," "the tragedy of the betrayal of the Czechs," "the ignominious need to appease Nazis and Arab leaders. . . ."

Among the omissions is any serious consideration of the actual Arab inhabitants (for some 1,300 years) of Palestine. They appear as "leaders," "mobs," "landlords," "kings," "family cliques," "cheaper labour." One of their significantly few appearances is in connection with the animal world, a philosophic comment evoked by the game reserve in South Africa—"a strange National Home." "Here they were, I thought, in their home, which in area is only slightly smaller than Palestine: they are protected . . . and they have no Arab problem. . . ." Consulted for "Stern," the index registers only the blameless "Professor Kurt G."

The British officers, charged with the reconciliation of diametrically opposite interests, are throughout "devoid of understanding, of vision or even kindness"; "unimaginative, obstructive and unfriendly"; "a mixture of indifference, inefficiency and hostility." "They refuse to distinguish between right and wrong, and try in fact to obliterate the difference between them"; "The Mandate for Palestine has hardly had a real chance . . ." (this after a British-imposed multiplication by ten of the Jewish population). Such charges, unsubstantiated but repeated with variations and embellishments since within six months of Allenby's "liberation" of Palestine, are appropriately met by the Doge's reply to Brabantio: "To avouch this is no proof."

The very rare occasions on which the Doctor descends from the general to within hail of the specific are equally unconvincing. "We had to ask the Home Government to remedy the . . . peculiarly hostile attitude of the administration on the spot." . . . "Telegrams were sent from the Home Government. But the comments attached to them by Sir Ronald Storrs, Military Governor of Jerusalem, and others, were such as to deprive them of most of their effect." Again no instance is vouchsafed. Dr. Weizmann may have had access to official documents at both ends (or on the way) inaccessible to your reviewer, who, nevertheless, sincerely believes that our admittedly "scratch" administration did, as a whole, loyally carry out such directions as they received to the best of their abilities. But abuse from their beneficiaries, rather than the benefit of the doubt, was their portion from the beginning.

Already, in 1922, Philip Graves, Special Correspondent for *The Times* (in whose columns he had exposed the grotesque forgeries of the *Secret Protocols*), records the Zionist practice of "ascribing their difficulties to the perversity of the Arabs, the intrigues of the Catholics," above all, to the "lack of sympathy" or "hostility of British officials"—every reason indeed except the plain and (to all but Zionists) obvious truth: that the age-long inhabitants of any territory are, without any prompting, apt to dislike imposed large-scale alien immigration. There is a wince of astonishment at the Haycraft Report on the May riots of 1921, which "while condemning the brutality of the rioters and denying most of the absurd allegations against the Jews, contrived to leave on the reader's mind the impression

that the difficulty was a British policy with which the Arabs were, perhaps justifiably, dissatisfied . . . that the Zionist desire to dominate in Palestine might provide further ground for Arab resentment." It was too bad. "In the end even the British Labour Party did not stand up to the pressure of those forces which, behind the scenes, have always worked against us." Such dark hints may suffice a Brooklyn audience, but the candid reader will be tempted to inquire: "Who are, or were, these learned elders of Whitehall and what is, or was, the gist of their Protocols?"

"He tells us not, or something seals
The lips of this evangelist."

The trials are Dr. Weizmann's: the errors, other people's and, in particular, the British. But history, in his own words to Felix Warburg, will be "frankly not prepared to accept his sources as unimpeachable." How pungently cogent he can prove on a genuine issue is seen in his devastation of the Colonial Office suggestion of Cyprus as a strategic alternative to Palestine, and in the ring of indignation (which he can hardly disallow to others?) in his rejection of Lord Halifax's proposal that he should abandon his cause—and share the fate of the "Dumbeys."*

The Zionist Creed, like the Communist, admits of no compromise: no substitute for the Palestine Jewish State, "the last and only hope for the Jews." He that is not for me is against me; and the nearer he is in mere Jewish interest and sympathy—even though a Jew, and otherwise the best type of Jew—the less excusable is his non-Zionism (so Communism reserves its fiercest bitterness for Social Democracy). An anti-Zionist is thus equated in the pillory with an anti-Semite: and so are all in authority who appear to fail or delay to "implement" the plenary Zionist reading of the Balfour Declaration: "The objection to Jews is that Jews exist . . . and that they desire to live in Palestine."

What was wrong? Here were Englishmen, coming from the country cleanest of anti-semitism in the world, with no reason for bias, loyal to their Government's instructions everywhere else—including "advanced" territories; and yet, "Why was it," the author asks in a rare glimmer of realization, "an almost universal rule that such administrators as came out favourably inclined, turned against us in a few months?" Could it be that the more they saw and learnt, the less they could endorse; that revelation entailed disillusion? Or are all officials, at heart, the *Tchinouniks* of our Czarist youth?

The manipulation of argument—mainly against the second half of the Declaration—involved by total Zionism frequently cuts both ways. In opposing a Legislative Council while still in a minority "we were placed in the curious position of seeming to oppose democratic rights to the Arabs. . . . The note of the 'duality of the Mandate' crept into the reports of the Mandates Commission too." On this, Mr. Amery, no anti-Zionist, wrote at the time: "To go on refusing representative government

* The crypto-Jewish Islam-professing sectaries of Sabbatai Zvi, the seventeenth-century Smyrna Messiah; usually known as Dönmeş—surely comic enough without having their name also ludicrously perverted.

as long as the Jews are in a minority, is an almost impossible policy." Yet this is exactly what was done: a signal example of what, had it been the other way, would have been branded as Nazi-Arab appeasement.

Similarly, defending illegal immigration in a letter to Lord Lloyd: "If the majority of citizens is convinced that the law is merely an infliction, it can only be enforced at the point of the bayonet, against the consent of the community"—precisely as it had been for the Zionists against the Arab majority for a quarter of a century.

The world at large, remembering Allenby's conquests from Gaza to Aleppo, will learn with interest that the real debt throughout has been owed by Britain to Zion: "It is too often forgotten in England that it was the Balfour Declaration which brought her to Palestine, and gave her her *raison d'être* there." The bones of the many score thousand British soldiers ranged in the great cemeteries of the Holy Land will turn and salute the First President, whose triumph their deaths enabled. So supreme a triumph might have afforded, if not gratitude, at least truth.

RONALD STORRS.

China: The Far East and the Future. By G. Keeton. 2nd Edition. xii and 511 pp. Stevens (Chatham House), 1949. 21s.

This work can best be described as a mine of admirably marshalled information on the vast subject with which it deals. Nothing in the book is better done than the description at the beginning of the fundamental differences between Imperial China and the West in the judicial and administrative principles which governed their conduct of affairs—differences which led inevitably to the nineteenth-century clashes between China and Great Britain. And these clashes are described with an admirable impartiality.

The Taiping rebellion, with its many points of resemblance with later revolts, which undermined the prestige of the Imperial Government, whose weakness had already been exposed by its impotence against the West, is shown to have played its part in the final collapse of the Manchu Dynasty after the Boxer Revolt and the death of the Empress Dowager, whose character is skilfully drawn. The various phases and cross-currents of the Revolution which followed are traced in detail, with due regard to the constant Communist complications; and, if any criticism of this part of the book is called for, I am inclined to think that the rôle which might have been played by Yuan Shih Kai is hardly given due attention. Sir John Jordan, than whom China had no better or more understanding friend, was convinced that China's best hope of stability lay in a new dynasty under Yuan. And the Russians and Japanese were so sure that this was the case that they took successful steps to ruin him. It cannot be said that subsequent events have proved Jordan to have been wrong.

In dealing with Chinese relations with Imperial Russia, Mr. Keeton does well to bring out the critical difference in Chinese eyes between the Russian Empire and the Maritime Powers, the former being regarded as an equal in status and the latter as little better than tributary states. The whole account of Russo-Chinese relations is well worth study.

Much space is rightly given to the place of Japan in the Far East, and it is not surprising that little of the sympathy shown to China is forthcoming for Japan. Thus the truly remarkable bloodless revolution which turned ultra-

feudal Japan into a modern state is dismissed as little better than eyewash; nor is any mention made of the able and far-seeing body of men who directed the change. The description of the new Japan's foreign policy is well done, were it not for the assumption of a long-meditated plan on her part to dominate all the Far East. In spite of the notorious 21 Demands, the importance of which is rightly stressed, there is no reason to believe that Japanese statesmen aimed at more than the domination of South Manchuria and Korea. Once the military party secured control in 1932, as the result of China's appeal to the League of Nations, appetite grew with eating, but even then the growth was slow.

American and British policy in the Far East is most ably and impartially described, and the causes of its impotence rightly ascribed to lack of the will to apply force in a situation in which moral homilies and appeals to world opinion do more harm than good. The growing interest of Australia and other Dominions in British Far Eastern policy is well traced, and, in order to make the picture complete, a most useful description of the population and resources of all the nations from Burma to Japan is given, with a sketch of the problems which beset them. In giving full praise to the Dutch in the past, no mention is made of the Resolution of the Security Council which stopped Police action against the rebels. The Resolution was denounced by Dr. van Mook, in a recent address at Chatham House, as a calamity, and few who care for the future of Indonesia and of Holland will differ from him.

As regards the future, Mr. Keeton views the struggles in progress as part of the great quarrel between Communism, backed by the Soviet Government, and Anglo-American democracy. The issue remains in the lap of the gods.

This book should be read by all interested in the subject.

F. O. LINDLEY.

The Manchurian Crisis, 1931-2. By Sara R. Smith. Pp. 281. Columbia University Press. 1948. \$3.75.

The sub-title of this book is "A Tragedy in International Relations," and it would be difficult to find a better one, the tragic part being the fact that the U.S.A. and Great Britain and the League of Nations always seemed to be acting out of concert. This book is of immense value, if only because "it destroys the myth that *we* [America] did everything in our power to stop Japan and only other nations are to blame for this first tragic step towards World War II." It is fitting that this book should have been written by an American citizen, and by one who is able to treat the situation in an entirely objective manner. It would not have been possible for a British author to have been quite so outspoken, without offence.

In the early days of these protracted negotiations between China, Japan and the League of Nations, Mr. Stimson, while encouraging the League by promising support, seemed to have been averse to doing anything which might upset Japan. He had the strong backing of Mr. Hoover in his attitude towards Japan.

There were occasions on which Japan's thrust into Manchuria could have been checked, but as time went on, and Japan's position became consolidated, it became almost hourly more difficult.

In the early stages aggressive moves in Manchuria were put down to hot-headed junior military officers on the spot, but despite the half-hearted opposition to their actions by Liberals such as Baron Shidehara, Ambassador Debuchi in Washington, Mr. Matsudaira in London and Paris and Geneva, local military success was approved in Tokyo, and few politicians there had the courage to oppose the military faction. The power of the service Ministers was such that any peaceful move made by the Liberals could easily be sabotaged by their refusal to co-operate, or even to absent themselves from Cabinet Meetings if they disapproved of the subject under discussion.

In 1931 and 1932 the Isolationists were very strong in the U.S.A. and it was in

deference to their views that support for the League was often expressed in words, but never in action. Japan was well served in Geneva by the tortoise-like movements of Mr. Yoshizawa. (The writer of this review has experienced his deliberateness of action, having played golf behind him.) His perpetual references to Tokyo, his slow speech were all part of his delaying policy. Every time a delay occurred, the Japanese sword thrust a little more deeply into the heart of Manchuria. His insistence on the recognition of certain "fundamental principles" which he always failed to define must have infuriated his colleagues at Geneva; colleagues who were impressed by the sweet reasonableness of the Chinese, represented by Mr. Alfred Sze, and encouraged by the untiring efforts of M. Briand to find a peaceful solution to the *détente*. In fairness it must be said that the Chinese promise to protect Japanese lives and property in the event of a withdrawal of Japanese military forces was perhaps a hollow one.

A minor tragedy within the major one was the appointment of Mr. Dawes, American Ambassador in London, to the Paris Meeting in November, 1931. His predecessor as American representative had been Mr. Prentiss Gilbert, who had carefully isolated his country in everything he had to say. Ambassador Dawes went further and conducted an office and an enquiry on parallel lines, which succeeded only in confusing the issue. The appointment was heralded by the statement from Mr. Stimson that the U.S.A. was to be represented "by the most prominent and experienced public man of whose services we could have availed ourselves *at the moment*." His lack of diplomatic experience, despite the fact that he was Ambassador at the Court of St. James, suggests that some other moment should have been selected. Priceless opportunities were lost by his detached attitude. True, he must have been confused by the varying instructions he received from Mr. Stimson, but the fact remains that his stay in Paris was completely unproductive.

The author of this book offers little criticism of the British attitude throughout, but the criticisms she does offer are accepted as fully justified. Her conclusion is that the only time to stop a war is before it begins, and confused leadership and lack of serious American co-operation with the League made this impossible.

The only disappointment in the book is that the Mission to Manchuria headed by Lord Lytton is not dealt with—perhaps the author has a second volume in mind; it should be as well worth reading as the present one under review.

H. St. C. S.

Teach Yourself Chinese. By H. R. Williamson. English University Press.
Pp. viii + 530. 7s. 6d.

The 3,000 Commonest Chinese Terms. By Ronald Hall, C.B.E., and Neville Whyman, Ph. D., Litt. D. Luzac. Pp. viii + 211. 15s.

The subject of this short review is two books for the student of Chinese, neither of them of scholarly pretensions, but both valuable in that they help to supply a need in a field that has been somewhat neglected.

Teach Yourself Chinese is a useful contribution to the well-known series of language primers, although, as is admitted by the author, it can scarcely be used profitably without the aid of a Chinese friend or teacher. Perhaps the content would be in closer harmony with the title if the author, instead of adopting the Wade system of Romanization, had used Gwoyeu Romatzyh, which represents differences of tone by orthographic changes and enables the student to read much more accurately and fluently with less aid from a teacher. In this connection it seems to me a mistake to have omitted the tonal figures over the Romanized version of the texts, confining them to the vocabulary, as experience in teaching Chinese has shown that it is all too easy and convenient for the student to forget tones when reading aloud.

Although it has a number of faults Mr. Williamson's book has also several redeeming features. Chief of these is the text of the lessons, which are progressive in difficulty and comprehensive in their range of vocabulary, so that when the student has worked through it he will be in a good position to undertake further reading of more advanced textbooks, newspaper editorials and so on.

The 3,000 Commonest Chinese Terms is a classified vocabulary selected by the

authors to contain those words which are most necessary for daily life in China. It is not large enough to be used as an English-Chinese dictionary and omits a number of very common words. It is intended either as a kind of travellers' phrase book or else as a classroom vocabulary to be memorized in small doses. In view of these limitations it is likely to be found more useful by the student learning Chinese in the home than by those attending a course of lessons. The student should be warned, however, of a number of unorthodox tone markings, such as *Kuo* (nation) in the third tone and *li* (strength) in the second tone.

J. D. CHINNEY.

How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire: A Challenge to Imperialist Powers. By George Padmore. Dennis Dobson, Ltd., London. Pp. xx+185. 7s. 6d.

This is a most interesting book, but it should be read with an open mind. As a student of Russian history under Professor Sir Bernard Pares since 1910, I might be inclined to alter the title to "How the Russian Colonial Empire has been Transformed."

George Padmore is a West Indian of African origin who has had many books published, mostly dealing with the same subject: the emancipation of the coloured races from imperialistic rule. In the book under review he seeks to point out that under the "Soviets," all the "oppressor-oppressed" relationships prevailing hitherto are transformed into the relationship of political equality, in so far as the Russians (Slavs) and non-Russians (Asiatics) are concerned.

He states that he is obeying the advice of Stalin to the Parliamentary Delegation that visited the U.S.S.R. in 1945: "Tell the truth about Russia. We have many things that are good and many that are not. *Tell the truth about both*; we are quite aware that everything is not perfect in the U.S.S.R."

One gathers that Mr. Padmore is rather biased in favour of Communism and rather anti-Imperialistic, to say the least; and that he feels that "minority races" are treated more humanely under the U.S.S.R. than they are by the Western Powers.

Miss D. Pizer and many other collaborators seem to have given Mr. Padmore much help and encouragement. A Dr. C. Belfield Clarke is acknowledged as the person "who suggested the writing of the book," and Dr. S. D. Cudjoe as "making useful corrections."

Personally, I have gained much useful information from reading this book, and I am certain that opinion will be shared by every person who has the opportunity of securing a copy, as it is full of historical facts, well-tabulated for ethnological and etymological students, as well as for political readers.

E. D. PRESTON.

Assam Valley. By R. Muirhead Thomson. Pp. 96. Illustrations. Luzac. 10s. 6d.

This is a disappointing book, and I am afraid the author was right when, in his foreword, he expressed the fear that there was much in it that was superficial, and that it possibly contained mistakes and misrepresentations. Those are the very defects, of course, which a book that sets out to give a newcomer to the Assam Valley a general idea of the people and their customs and to "form a solid background into which he can fit his own observations and experiences" should not display.

Mr. Thomson expends more than half the space of a slender volume of ninety-six pages on a dissertation on the meaning and history of Hinduism, which may not unfairly be likened to a writer who, setting out to describe, say, Devonshire, devotes half his space to a description of the tenets of Christianity. In the remaining half are found short chapters on the Hindu festivals in Assam, one on marriage customs, one on other social customs, one on village life and one on town life—all of them treated in a very slight manner. One sympathizes with the author's ambition to fill

what is undoubtedly a real gap in the bibliography of Assam, but it is a pity his research did not lead him to the nearest Deputy Commissioner's Library, when he would have found a copy of the official *Gazetteer* of each of the districts of the Province. Possibly if he had he would have written a better book, for these, though necessarily out of date—*e.g.*, in statistics—as they have not been revised for many years, were written by men of long personal experience of the country and its inhabitants, and are full of valuable information of a permanent character as regards manners and customs.

As it is I am afraid it is very doubtful if the young teaplanter, for whom this book is apparently intended, will (*a*) persevere to the end of even its brief pages; or (*b*) feel, if he does, that he is better fitted than before, or indeed encouraged, to proceed to the further study of the lives and customs of the people of the Assam Valley.

A final point which calls for comment is the author's passing reference on the last page but one to the Khasi women, who, according to him, come to the plains to pursue one occupation and one only. This is a serious libel on the Khasi community, which will be strongly resented by the Khasis themselves, by those admirable Welsh missionaries who have worked among them for a hundred years, and indeed by anyone who knows that lovable race. The Khasis are a decidedly advanced race, who have a far higher percentage of female literacy than any other community in Assam: they have furnished more and better nurses and school teachers both in peace and war than any other community, and ignorance, which is obviously the only plea that Mr. Thomson can offer, is no excuse for writing them off as by "nature and upbringing extremely mercenary and promiscuous."

Apart from these general defects of matter and form the book is full of irritating printing errors of spelling and punctuation, and there is a good deal of careless use of Hindustani words such as "*kett-land*" (*sic*) or "Busti," which, while in themselves betraying ignorance, will only confuse the inexperienced reader.

The illustrations are moderate, but fall far short of giving a comprehensive picture of the country or its inhabitants. Thus photographs are given only of Ahom, Assamese, Brahmin, and Chandang types (the Miris are really hill people) to the exclusion of many another tribe equally typical and equally interesting.

R. N. REID.

Mohammedanism. By Professor H. A. R. Gibb. (*Home University Library*.)

Pp. 206. Oxford University Press. 1949. 5s.

To the layman, who knows only that Mohammed founded a religion, and to the specialist, who already knows a lot about Islam, this book can be heartily recommended; the former will find what he wants and the latter will find stimulating suggestions. This does not mean that the author has set out to shock; he has followed the workings of the Muslim mind with greater sympathy than, probably, any other writer. The beginner will be well advised to leave the first chapter till he has read the rest of the book.

To take the chapter on Mohammed in detail. The theory that monotheism is the offspring of life in the desert is rejected by showing that Mohammed was a townsman. The importance of Mecca in Arabia, the ability of its merchants to plan and carry out ventures involving long caravan journeys, to think for the future, in a phrase, its higher civilization, is summed up in the sentence, "Humanly speaking, Mohammed succeeded because he was a Meccan." His career was determined by the clash between his ideas and his surroundings. He did not start with the purpose of founding a new religion, but the leaders of Mecca realized, before he did, that his ideas were incompatible with their authority. When he settled in Medina, his external policy was directed to the conquest of Mecca, but this conquest was to be peaceable. It might have been said that the rulers of Mecca did not show their usual foresight and see in Mohammed an implacable enemy, while he was never diverted from his object though he was never in a hurry. No mention is made of the fact that the retention of the pilgrimage in Islam was part of the price for the surrender of Mecca. Distinction is made between what Mohammed would have liked to do and what he felt was possible. He would have liked to abolish

blood revenge but knew that the Arabs would not follow him in this, so he contented himself with recommending the acceptance of blood money and forbade indiscriminate killing. This explains why much of the Koran reads as if it had been edited by one who did not agree with the author; a rule is followed by an exception, the possible by the desirable. A common charge against Mohammed is that he used his religious position for his own convenience. Reasons are given for thinking this charge exaggerated; the distinction between what was revealed to him by God and what he did by the light of his own understanding was never lost sight of; the Constitution for the infant state in Medina and the charge delivered at the farewell pilgrimage were never incorporated in the Koran.

The reviewer takes this opportunity of riding a hobby-horse of his own. There is a habit among orientalisists, common in German and encouraged by Arabic, of making adjectives from foreign nouns; in this book are found Meccan, Medinian, Koranic and Sunni. Of these, Sunni is pure Arabic, Meccan is possible, and Medinian is hideous. Why Medinian? Why not Meccian? Surely English custom is to use the proper nouns as adjectives and say "the Mecca period of Mohammed's life" and "Medina *suras* of the Koran." "Sultanian" has been perpetrated and if we are not careful we shall suffer such monstrosities as "atabegic."

A. S. T.

Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam. By W. Montgomery Watt. Pp. x+181. Bibliography. Index. 8½" × 5¾". Luzac, London. 15s.

A critical appreciation of this scholarly work is quite beyond the powers of the present reviewer; but at a time when Christian orthodoxy (re-phrased, it may be, in language adapted to the present age) is reasserting itself over the post-Renaissance heresies of romantic humanism and pseudo-scientific determinism, it may be of use to summarize for a wider circle of readers (at the risk of over-simplification) a somewhat comparable development in early Islam, as expounded in this volume by the Lecturer in Arabic in Edinburgh University.

He warns us at the outset:

The very title of this study, though the most satisfactory to convey to an English reader the scope of the discussions, is also to some extent misleading. The conception of Free Will, in the strict sense, does not occur at all in Muslim thought, but is replaced by the slightly different conception of man's power to act and to determine the course of events. The conception of Predestination does occur, but not so often as might be supposed; the Muslim is much more interested in what God is doing in the present than in what He did in the past. The debate about Predestination and Free Will thus becomes a discussion of the respective share of God and man in determining the course of events in the present. It will be seen in due course that this is also far removed from the modern discussion of Free Will and scientific Determinism (p. 1).

He demonstrates that among the pre-Islamic Arabs and their neighbours there was a constant belief that man's life was predetermined and fixed by a mysterious and impersonal power, that of Fate. This belief persisted in many of the Muslim traditions, while the Qur'an, on the other hand, introduced the idea of the sovereignty of an all-wise God, and of human responsibility (Ch. II). It was not long, however, before the predication of God as all-righteous and demanding righteousness from His creatures led "by an irresistible logic to the doctrine of human responsibility with its corollary, the doctrine of Qadar, namely that man has power to perform the duties imposed on him" (p. 38). The principle underlying the views of the Qadariya was that of "'not fixing evil upon God.' . . . Man is required to have the power to act, primarily in order that God may not be unjust in punishing him. The central thought is the righteousness of God" (p. 53). This concept, which originated with the Khawārij in their reaction against the injustice of the Umayyad despotism within half a century of the Prophet's death, was taken over by the Mu'tazila of Baghdad and Basra at the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty. They assumed:

the complete validity of their human rational ideas of justice when applied to God, and the complete ability of their finite minds to apprehend Eternal Being. When they held that no evil or injustice might be ascribed to God, they were thinking of Him as a superior kind of magistrate or administrator. The punishment of evildoers is just, but only where the wrong is the man's own doing. Thus ideas of subluxary justice led them to deny God's supreme control of human affairs. . . . They held that man's power is such that he can bring about events independently of God, and indeed contrary to His foreknowledge (pp. 68, 114).

Simultaneously, there was a conservative tradition that upheld the doctrine of *Jabr* (compulsion), denying that human actions really come from man, but ascribing them to God. "Their reply to the over-emphasis of God's righteousness is the over-emphasis of His majesty and almighty unity" (p. 104).

Between these two extremes of *Qadar* and *Jabr* there also grew, in a school called *Ahl al-Ithbat* ("the people of the affirmation"),

the acknowledgement that faith and unbelief are to a great extent dependent on God's initiative. . . . They were ready to admit that God is mainly responsible for making one man a believer and another an unbeliever (and admittedly, there are many cases where human understanding can discover no rational grounds for the differences between man in this respect). . . . At the same time, they were quite clear about the unique character of human voluntary activity. God did not force or compel (*jabr*) men to have faith or unbelief, to act justly or unjustly. Though God creates the faith, it is not truly faith until man has made it his own (*iktisāb*). From the very start there was . . . the recognition of the inscrutability of God, and that His ways are not altogether within man's comprehension. . . . The intellectual difficulties caused by the existence of evil are thus largely due to the limitations of the human mind (pp. 114-15).

To complete the development there came Abu' l Hasan al-Ash'ari (A.D. 873-935). Brought up in the Mu'tazila, at the age of forty he revolted against its excessive humanism (a reaction already foreshadowed in his master al-Jubbā'i), and devoted the rest of his life to the intellectual defence of the Qur'an and the Sunna. The Mu'tazila

had attempted to account for the complex facts of existence according to a certain system of ideas; but despite their efforts there remained glaring contradictions between their system and the facts . . . Al-Ash'ari's method or argument consists in confronting the *a priori* ideas of his adversaries with hard fact; he is a realist arguing with romantics. . . .

Reason by itself is not capable of apprehending the nature of God, but . . . the knowledge from which we are precluded by the limitations of our reason is available to us through revelation. It follows that reason cannot even be allowed to sit in judgment on the phrases and conceptions in which the revelation is contained; man must simply accept them . . . (pp. 137, 141).

His writings attest him a truly spiritual man, who has drunk deep of life and who is speaking in deadly earnest about the beliefs by which he himself lives. . . . There are many points of comparison with St. Augustine, not the least of them being the tendency to determinism as a result of the experiences of conversion. It seems very likely that al-Ash'ari was convinced that this change of heart (and the joy that we may suppose accompanied it) had come about in him through no effort of his own. . . . Thus, through his own personal experience al-Ash'ari would come back to the doctrine that faith or unbelief is created in men's hearts by God. . . .

His spirituality was along lines which came very close to the deep layers of the popular soul. Everywhere in the Middle East there seems to have been this strong sense of having one's life determined by superior powers. The Mu'tazila had tried to eradicate it, but they had been unable to go sufficiently deep. Largely because of the experiences of his conversion, al-Ash'ari can retain this implicit and explicit awareness of being controlled by something or other, and interpret it as a

truly religious sense of creatureliness; that is, of dependence on God Who is righteous and merciful. What might have been, and often was, the ground of fear and dismay thus became the source of confidence and strength, and a deep religious need of the ordinary man was satisfied. In this way al-Ash'ari may be said to have regenerated the Arab religion.

Secondly, he was able to provide an adequate intellectual basis. Al-Ash'ari came to the defence of the traditional faith versed in all the subtlety of the Mu'tazila. He saw that his own experiences, and beyond them the whole vast movement of the human spirit which we refer to as Islam, were primarily derived from the mediated by the historic events connected with Muhammad. Reason spoke uncertainly, he realized, whereas the one thing of which one could be certain was that God had spoken there in history. For him, therefore, God's words as set down in the Qur'an, and whatever the chosen messenger (*rasūlu'Llāh*) had understood of Divine truth, were the supreme certainty. Reason might certainly be given a large place, but where Revelation and Reason were in conflict, Revelation must come first (pp. 148-50).

As then in Islām, so now in Christendom: "the preaching of the Cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God . . .

"for after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe . . .

"because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Corinthians i. 18-25).

GEORGE KIRK.

Life in Modern Turkey. By E. W. F. Tomlin. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd. Pp. 94. 15 Illustrations. Map. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$.

Although suffering from the severe handicap of lack of space, which renders it inevitably superficial in some respects, this little book nevertheless gives an excellent picture of life in modern Turkey. It should prove invaluable to English tourists visiting Turkey, although it is to be feared that the prospects of any considerable tourist traffic developing between England and Turkey are still remote. The illustrations are first rate, and the text, which is printed in a pleasant type, is remarkably free from misprints. One of the few printer's errors is "Suhl" for "Sulh" on page 67.

It is surprising that the author omits from his bibliography of works on Turkey recommended for further reading by far the best and most comprehensive description of modern Turkey yet published in England—*Modern Turkey*, by John Parker and Charles Smith. It is also surprising that, with so little space at his disposal, he should feel unable to spare more than a few lines for Turkey's economy and industries, whilst he finds room for a description of Kemal Ataturk's "Sun Language Theory," which has received little serious support from philologists. In this connection the author says: "Such facts are illuminating if looked at in perspective. Unfortunately they are sometimes distorted in the most extravagant manner, as when a Turkish officer informed a friend of mine that the Scots and Irish were really of Turkish blood and therefore worthy to be called civilized, but that he, being merely English, must deem himself an inferior creature!" It seems a pity to have included such a frivolous and totally misleading anecdote in an otherwise serious and admirable little book, for in actual fact the Turks, like most other races, regard the English with particular respect and admiration.

The author is also a trifle pessimistic in his estimate of the time required to learn the Turkish language when he states that the introduction of the new (Latin) script has cut down the time needed to read and write the language from about seven years to two. As "a mere Englishman" found it possible, in the days of the Arabic alphabet, to read, write and speak it fluently within twelve months (of which only nine months were spent in Turkey), it should be child's play for more "civilized" races to learn Turkish with the Latin script!

H. M. B.

Three Years in the Levant. By Richard Pearse. Pp. 294. 12s. 6d. Macmillan and Co. 1949.

This is a most unusual and interesting book, fascinatingly written, and one that illuminates the Middle East from a quite unusual angle—that of a Frontier Security Sergeant in the recent war. Seldom does one read of the official daily job in closely guarded military matters, and even when time makes the secrets and the policy common knowledge the story, well told, can live vividly. It should be a matter of pride to the British race that we have men to do what the writer and his colleagues did, in such remote places, so conscientiously, bravely and unheralded.

We have here both writer and man of action. With masterly pen-pictures of little-known towns, events and individuals, this exciting diary and description holds the attention of the reader from the first chapter to the last; and for those who would know the Middle East and its peoples the book is a most informative one. Modestly written, it seeks none of Lawrence's glamour in great events and personalities, yet it probably comes nearer to *Seven Pillars* than any other yet written.

These men, in war, knew their Arab territories and knew their jobs. In the second of two great wars, just as in the first, the Arabs were hostile before they rallied to our side, and the sterling examples of individuals and the loyalty of the few in those lands more than anything else brought the change about in both cases. When the Nazi tidal-wave was first halted in the summer of 1941 at Habbaniyah, and when, thereafter, Syria and Iraq, duly cleared of the chief Axis agents, became theoretically our allies, all countries of the Levant sought profit by intrigue and adventure and the tiny Security Service there had their hands full. The situation for years remained precariously fluid.

The book, sadly enough, but understandably, lacks pictures of the places written about. There was more to do than carry a camera on a motor cycle, and a pistol was the handier equipment.

One wonders that Pearse could ever have ridden a motor cycle in the places where he did, where neither mountain, mule track nor ambush could daunt him. Perhaps in the next edition there may be some pictures—including the author in battle kit on his cycle—and showing some of the characters and places he describes; and an index also should be added in a book of such unique importance.

Coming now to the story itself, the people described (presumably under their real names), are those who will be recognized by all who have ever lived in the Levant as the real townsman, villager or badu of the desert, be they in the Idlib bazaar, the decadent rock-top village of Qa'alat Moudiq rising from the Orontes marshes, or the Taurus Express to Baghdad; or be they the Hashish growers and secret narcotic traders the Security Force were empowered to harry. Arab, Armenian and Levantine nondescript live in his excellent descriptions, and the reader who has known the Middle East smells the bazaars again or rejoins the desert feast.

Pearse, as many another Briton, came to have a real admiration for the tribal nomad, proud king of his domains. He admired their skill at horsemanship, their hardy ways of life, their unveiled womenfolk. The hospitality that gives unto the chance guest, if necessary, all the food you possess is rightly stated to be a custom now almost unique in the world. On the other hand, regarding the health of the people and Eastern habits and morals there are no words minced. The people in Pearse's book are just as he saw their lives from the angle of his work. His conclusions about the Jewish migration from Europe into these Arab lands, which he had such a good opportunity for studying, are therefore the more interesting because the suggested justification for improving a backward people could be subjected to careful scrutiny.

Be it said first that it is surprising that the ordinary Briton, soldier or civilian, who should on the face of it have no reason to oppose Jewish ambitions in Palestine, sees in it, after a very brief contact with the problem, something which he feels derogatory to all Europeans, including himself; that a hospitable and kindly people, however backward by some standards, should be so raped (as he regards it) with all the modern paraphernalia of money, arms and intense racial fanaticism, and propaganda borne in every language, to which the Arab can have no reply or like resources, is to him just wrong. Then looking at it from the Jewish point of

view, which he has himself tried to understand and for years has endeavoured to convince the Arab is the natural viewpoint of a homeless refugee, it seems to the security soldier or the Palestine policeman precarious to hazard what are mainly European lives, if Jewish ones, only to rouse the Mahommedan world again in an old anti-European vendetta. The Arabs may have no reply now against modern Czechoslovakian arms or American tanks and aeroplanes, but there may well be a terrible one in years to come. And why do it? Europe and America have bargained well and successfully for the oil resources and rights of transit they need, and there are many lands in the world safer for displaced persons than living in a military enclave in Palestine. To add further complexity these very doubts have enraged the Jews against the British, for the mounting attack upon the British obscured the true position during the occupation. Since the withdrawal the need for a still stronger Jewish strategic position has become apparent, and the need for a stronger labour force and army to be recruited by any questionable means from East or West where Zionist sentiment can be aroused. Something not a little akin to a panic or a "putsch" of Hitler's type thus, of necessity, gathers momentum.

The Jewish case and the Arab case are reviewed at length by Pearse as the soldier saw them. Not on the classical grounds of Balfour Declaration and history, but as the protagonists themselves spoke and operated. He criticizes the Arabs for selling land to the Jews, making profit from them as they could; the Jews for their inveiglement and unscrupulous use of other (racially remote) Jews with centuries-old friendly Arab associations. He praises the Arabs for their relative restraint, and agreement to take a far larger proportion of these tragically unwanted intelligentsia than any other country in the world; he praises the Jews for the two blades of grass growing where none grew before, for the swamp reclaimed, the anopheles destroyed, their determination, organization and unquestionable efficiency. He describes the Jewish child raised to be a fanatic and trained in arms from youth, while a few miles away is the Arab village with its dirty children and animals both drinking the same polluted water.

In the eyes of those tribesmen is a hatred at this intrusion on their lands that few but those intimately associated with the common Arab fully sense or understand, and a feudal loyalty to their chieftain that awaits but his command to reck nothing of death and obliteration in a Jihad or holy war. These are the positive and negative electrical charges that hang like a dark thundercloud over Palestine. It is an ominous atmosphere, and to-day the high moral grounds of persecuted Jewry that led them back to Palestine are gone: instead it is the thousands of homeless Arabs, clothed in rags and emaciated with starvation, that emphasize, and are probably calculated to emphasize, the strident heartlessness of the invading infidel. It is a picture that will not be forgotten in the Muslim world. The Jews risk religious jealousies being aroused in the twentieth century that would have done little credit to the tenth. And the justice of his case, in this instance, gives the Arab patience not to be mistaken for weakness. Chapter XXXII of the book is headed "Zionist Fascism," and gives a remarkable account of pressure of all sorts, up to kidnapping of children, being brought to bear on Iraqi and Levantine Jews—activities that only a Security officer would know about, and which, as in Germany, in the end offer only a melancholy outcome.

The book deals with the Levant from as far west as Haifa to as far east as Iraqi Kurdistan, and there is scarcely any trend concerning the many peoples there that does not call forth some able comments from the writer. The present drift of the Armenians to Southern Russia and why; the instability of Kurdistan, notwithstanding the charm of the remarkable Kurd himself that always wins hearts and won his, even the much less publicized Assyrian problem have some space in the 294 pages.

In one respect, splendid Security man though Pearse undoubtedly was, his book rather naturally lets the many problems overshadow the solutions to those problems—for various solutions there are, and our national duty, if Britain and Europe are to retain any standing in the Middle East, is to labour unsparingly for their fulfilment. Broadly speaking, they are entirely technical and of an engineering and agricultural nature. Specially the great valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates have long cried out for development. The skill which is needed is not in the technical problems themselves—they are relatively easy for engineers.

The real task is to secure the adoption of adequate development plans and carry them through with enthusiasm and confidence, irrespective of boundaries (for geography and not politics defines a river valley or a climate), and above all to make it apparent that every section of the peoples concerned will acquire benefit or new industry—not alone those of the south or of the north, of the east or of the west, or Kurd or Assyrian or Arab or Jew. It is a job for people with calm and disinterested judgment, and where European influence of the best type can be of immense value, but where fear and fanaticism can have no place. With men such as Pearse we could persevere with that fine project, for it has already been ably begun in a hundred major engineering achievements. Everything is possible if one finds real affection for, and from, the people one works with. Pearse and many Britons like him have that art in exceptional measure; it is but the overall policy and detailed proposals that have to be put forward clearly and convincingly.

Three Years in the Levant is one of those rare books that are conducive to profound thought on all Middle East problems, and the author is to be congratulated.

A. M. H.

Bird of Time. By Melvin Hall. Pp. 307. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1949. \$3.50.

This book supplements the same author's *Journey to the End of an Era*, with many fresh tales of things seen and done and personalities encountered in the course of travel and war.

From the Burgundian hillside where Colonel Hall has made his home (or perhaps I should say, his base, for his home is the world and he has not done with travelling yet) the reader is sped away to Bangkok, to Gifu, to Darjeeling, to Shanghai, to the Ypres of 1915, to Khorasan, of course—whithersoever, in fact, the memory of something interesting or beautiful, comical or strange may beckon. Every page is enjoyably alive. An approach to life essentially robust, yet essentially civilized, has added philosophy to the traveller's zest, and both are reflected in his vivid but thoughtful narrations.

It is the author's broad, humane outlook which endows this book with its uncommon charm, reminding us once again that the individual traveller can be a more effective channel of understanding and amity between nations than many an instrument created by the official policy and impersonal acts of governments. No traveller can earn for his country or himself a better tribute than that, when he has told his tale and gone, one of the company should remark to his neighbour: "You know, I *like* that man. I hope we shall meet him again."

E. D.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,

ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL.

SIR,

The brief survey of the Yemen by Squadron-Leader Eric Macro, published in the January edition of your JOURNAL, was very interesting to everybody who has been some time in the Red Sea countries. The impression, however, people not acquainted with the Yemen will get from this article is far from being a true one. May I just indicate a few items not mentioned in the article at all.

1. There is not a single hospital in the Yemen.
2. There is not even the beginning of a democratic representation of the people in the Government of this member of the U.N.O.
3. The author is certainly aware of the very amazing fact that General Hoffman and other German generals are in charge of the training of the Yemenite army.
4. The author's remarks on page 47 that the old-established Jewish community "appear happy enough with their lot in spite of the restrictions imposed upon them, and worry little over the politics of the outside world, even in respect of their brothers in Palestine," is in striking contradiction to the fact that these Jews are fleeing Yemen under extremely difficult conditions, abandoning all their property and waiting, sometimes for years, in Aden for immigration into Israel.

Yours faithfully,

E. KWILECKI.

RAMAT-GAN (ISRAEL),
June 28, 1949.