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**JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY**

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN
SOCIETY

VOL. XXXIX

1952

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
2, HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W. 1

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Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXXIX

JANUARY, 1952

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PUBLISHED BY

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2, HINDE STREET, LONDON, W.1

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SOVIET SIBERIA

By DR. T. E. ARMSTRONG

Research Fellow in Russian, Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge.

Report of a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society on December 5, 1951, Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We are fortunate enough today to have with us Dr. Armstrong, who is at present Research Fellow in Russian at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. He has over the years gone through a number of Russian papers and journals dealing with North Asia and Central Asia. Although he has not been to that part of the world he probably knows as much about it as anyone, and he has written a book which is due to appear shortly on the Development of the Northern Sea Route.

I MUST confess here and now that I have never set foot in Soviet Asia. It is not for want of trying. Both in the army—where I found a knowledge of Russian was almost sufficient in itself to get one sent elsewhere—and since the war, I have tried in vain to get there. It seems that as the number of unwilling visitors to Siberia grows larger, so the number of willing ones is reduced to a minimum. My knowledge of Siberia is based, then, upon what I have read in books and newspapers—mostly Russian ones; and I have accepted the invitation to speak here because it seemed to me that at the moment there appears to be no other way of finding out anything about this vast country. It was this sort of situation which led a British war correspondent in Moscow to say, “There are no experts on Russia; there are only varying degrees of ignorance.” My own degree you will be able to judge for yourselves.

There is another apology I must make in advance: I cannot even provide you with beautiful pictures to look at. For, as anyone who has ever looked at Soviet publications will know, it is quite commonly impossible to make out whether an illustration is a portrait of the author or a view of the Kremlin; and in no case is it sufficiently clear to reproduce adequately as a slide. So I am afraid there will be only one or two maps to enliven the talk.

I intend to take as my subject recent developments in Siberia. By Siberia, a term which is not used to connote any administrative district, I would like you to understand that part of the U.S.S.R. which lies to the east of the Urals and to the north of Kazakstan—an area of twelve and a half million square kilometres, or a quarter the size of the whole of Asia. I shall not therefore be discussing the Soviet Central Asian Republics. Siberia, as you will all know, has been developed most intensively along the line of the Trans-Siberian railway—along a comparatively narrow strip at the southern edge of the territory. With your permission I will put greater emphasis on the developments outside this strip, because it is the area normally best covered in English accounts of contemporary Siberia. By “recent” I mean roughly the last dozen years, and especially the post-war period. I shall not therefore be concerned with the Soviet Government’s early decision to turn its face towards Asia and with the gigantic eastward

surge of industrial development and population that took place between the wars.

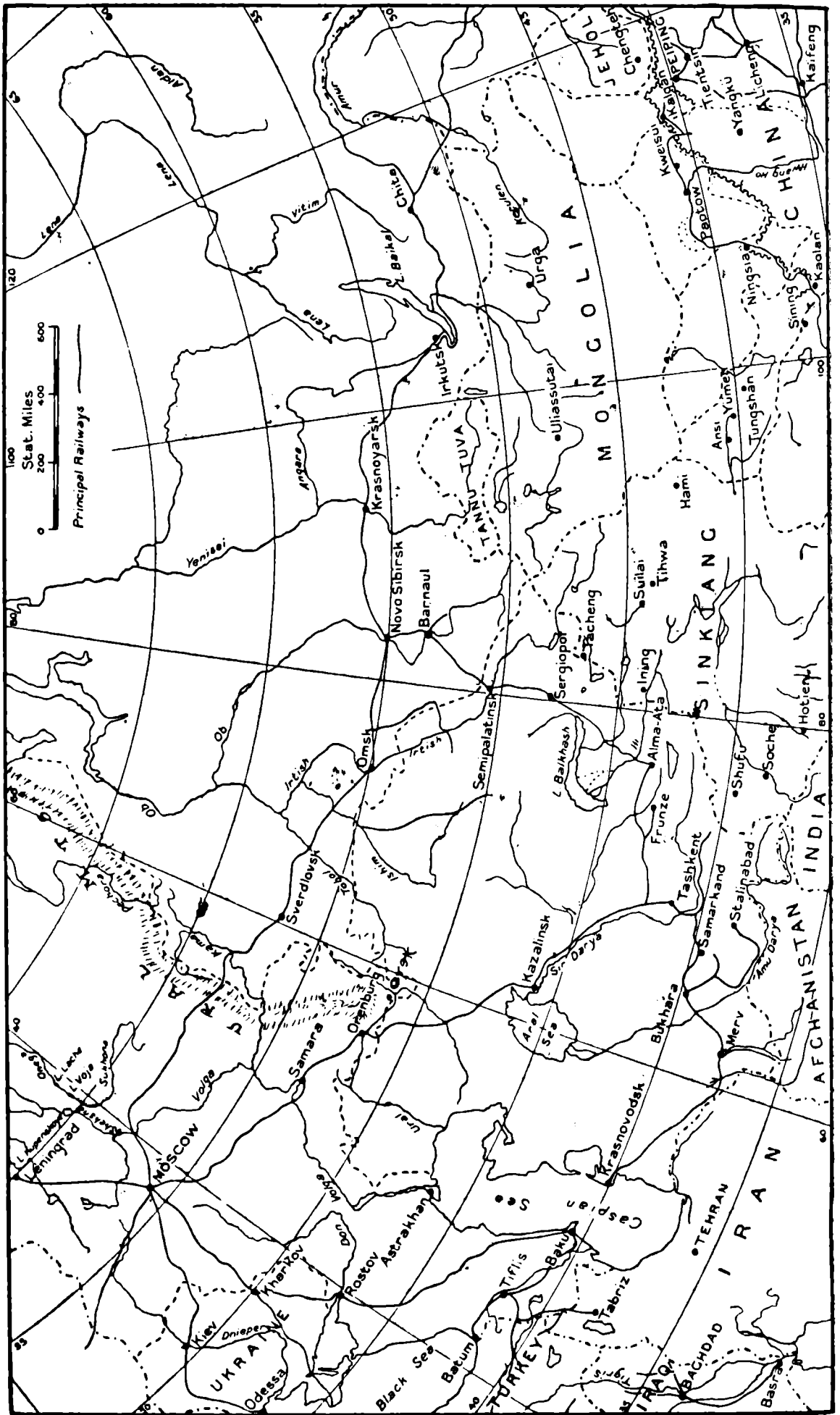
ADMINISTRATION

On the international plane there have been some territorial changes affecting Siberia. As a result of the Yalta agreement the Soviet Union acquired, in return for coming into the war against Japan, the Kuril Islands (*Ostrova Kuril' skiye*) and the southern half of Sakhalin (*Karafuto*). These acquisitions are important. The Kurils, stretching across the entrance to the Sea of Okhotsk, command that sea absolutely; and southern Sakhalin, which contains useful mineral resources, had been considerably developed by the Japanese. Both territories had in fact been claimed by Russia in the nineteenth century—southern Sakhalin had actually been a Russian possession up to 1875; but whereas their importance to the Russian Empire was not very great, the Soviet Government's development of its Pacific seaboard has made them a vital interest. There was some talk* of questioning their restoration to the Soviet Union when the Peace Treaty with Japan was being discussed a few months ago, but nothing came of it. A third territorial gain is Tannu-Tuva. This mountainous and extremely remote region, previously an independent republic recognized by its only two neighbours, the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia, slipped quietly into the Soviet Union in 1944, allegedly at its own request. Its worth to the Soviet Union is not entirely clear, though a road crossing it which links Western Siberia and Outer Mongolia gives it some strategic significance. An American writer† has put forward the theory, based entirely on guesswork, that it may have been selected as an atomic energy centre; certainly no part of the country seems more secure from attack.

The internal administrative division of Siberia is worth considering for a moment. Siberia, as I have said, is not an administrative unit. The whole of the region we are concerned with forms part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), the largest of the sixteen constituent republics forming the Soviet Union. Within the R.S.F.S.R. the administrative breakdown is of a dual nature. One series of sub-units is determined chiefly by considerations of economics and of administrative efficiency: *Kray* (territory) or *Oblast'* (region), and below them *Okrug* (area), *Rayon* (district), and *Selsovet* (rural or urban unit). Parallel to this series is another determined on the basis of nationality; this descends from Constituent, or Union, Republic, of which the R.S.F.S.R. is one, through Autonomous Republic (A.S.S.R.), Autonomous *Oblast'*, and National *Okrug* to National Local Soviet. This subdivision by nationality is the more important of the two, since it reflects a fundamental principle of Marx-Leninism—respect for national minorities. Both sets of subdivisions are inherently dynamic: changing economic conditions bring about alterations in the administrative districts; and national minorities may, according to their political and cultural development, climb the "nationalities ladder" and finally become Constituent Republics of the Soviet Union. I

* *Times*, April 2, 1951.

† Mansvetov, Fedor F., "Tannu-Tuva—The Soviet 'atom city'?" *Russian Review* (New York), vol. 6, No. 2, 1947, pp. 9-19.



have given this outline in order to show that comparison of successive editions of the political and administrative map of the U.S.S.R. can be quite informative. We will return to this point later.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Let us now pass on to the economic life of the country. Because of the vast size of Siberia the most important feature of its economy is transport. Nothing can be done with the country's resources until some sort of transport system has been made to function. Nature has provided one such system: the rivers. The Ob', the Yenisey, the Lena and the Amur are all among the dozen longest rivers in the world. The first three flow from south to north, but their branching tributaries reach out towards each other and thus provide the elements of an east-west waterway. The Cossacks, the earliest Russian settlers of Siberia, used the rivers in their advance across the continent, and they have been used ever since. They have disadvantages: for between five and eight months of the year, depending on latitude, they are icebound; for another month in the autumn the water is often dangerously low for shipping. Nevertheless large fleets of tugs, barges and passenger vessels are maintained on all of them. Every year new stretches of river are brought into use. Just before the war some of the smaller northward-flowing rivers—Yana, Indigirka, Khatanga, Olenek and others—were being exploited for the first time; and this year it was reported* that the Podkamennaya Tunguska, a tributary of the Yenisey, had been navigated to a higher point upstream than ever before. The river system is still a vital part of Siberian transport (as it is in European Russia) and is likely to remain so. By itself, however, it is clearly insufficient.

Next in importance comes the railway. It was the building of the Trans-Siberian railway in the nineties of the last century that really started the opening up of the country, and brought the Far East closer to St. Petersburg by years. The most important piece of Siberian railway history since then was the completion during the first five-year plan of 1928-32 of the Turkestan-Siberia, or Turksib, line, linking the agriculture and industry of Central Siberia with the cotton of Central Asia. A number of branch lines feeding the Trans-Siberian were built between the wars and the main line itself was double-tracked. It was decided some time in the 1930s to relieve the strain on the always overburdened main line by building another line roughly parallel to it, running south of it in western Siberia, crossing the older line between Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk, and from that point eastwards running some two to three hundred miles north of it. The tenuous link with the Far East—one line passing close to the frontier in many places—would thus be made more secure. Bits of the first section are now known to be complete; priority was naturally given to this half, since it links important centres in the southern part of the industrial belt. The eastern section, however, is still surrounded by secrecy. It is believed that work started in about 1937. There have been no Soviet reports on progress. Some† believe it was finished during the war; in support of this

* *Ogonek* (Moscow), No. 32, 1951, p. 12.

† E.g., *L'Asie soviétique. Études et Documents Série D3*, Paris, 1949, p. 147.

view one may argue that the Soviet Union would not have attacked Japan in 1945 without the security of the Baikal-Amur line, as it is called. On the other hand, the terrain which the line must cross is formidable, and, apart from the gold-mining area on the Vitim, no industrial regions lying on the route provide additional incentive. The truth is anybody's guess. It is, however, known that the most easterly section has been finished. For several years Soviet maps have shown the Khabarovsk-Komsomol'sk-Sovetskaya Gavan' line. We may note as corroborative evidence the adjustment, made some time between 1945 and 1948, to the provincial frontier in this area: the district of Sovetskaya Gavan' was taken from Primorskiy *Kray* and came under the control of Khabarovsk, the town for which it became the closest seaport. There are many other projected lines in north-eastern Siberia: one up to Yakutsk, another even to Anadyr'; but it seems most unlikely that anything will be done about these for many years. There have also been rumours of plans for southern branches of the Trans-Siberian, crossing Mongolia and the Gobi desert and linking with the Chinese network. The line to Ulan Bator, capital of Outer Mongolia, has in fact been completed,* and this would no doubt be the first lap of such a branch. Two existing lines in the far north should be mentioned, since they are interesting both economically and as pieces of engineering: the Dudinka-Noril'sk line, which carries the output of the Noril'sk mines to the Yenisey; and the Vorkuta-Salekhard line, marked for the first time on Soviet maps in 1950,† links the Pechora coalfields with the lower Ob'.

Sea transport off the Siberian coast seems at first to be a rather hopeless proposition. The north coast is icebound for at least eight months in the year, the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk for six, even Vladivostok, the Soviet Union's most southerly Pacific port, for about three. Nevertheless an enormous amount of energy and money have been put into the job of trying to make a workable sea route round the Siberian coast. A Government department was created for the purpose in 1932—the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route. Annual freight turnover along the north coast had reached about half a million tons before the war.‡ During the war a total of 452,000 tons of lease-lend supplies, carried in 120 ships, was sent to ports along the Northern Sea Route.§ The overhead expenses of keeping this route running are very great: a network of some seventy meteorological stations, a fleet of at least fifteen icebreakers, aircraft for ice reconnaissance, a large staff of scientists, and so forth. But the advantages that may be gained from successful working of the route are commensurately large: vast areas of northern Siberia become accessible for the first time; and on the strategic side the Soviet Union acquires a sea route linking both ends of the country, Atlantic and Pacific, a route which never leaves friendly waters and which would be difficult to attack because the Russians could deny the attacker the vital ice and weather reports, without which ships are liable to get into great difficulties. Of the recent functioning of this route we know very little, except that it undoubtedly does still

* Clews, John, article in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 12, 1951.

† *Geograficheskiy atlas S.S.S.R. dlya sredney shkoly*, Moscow, 1950.

‡ Armstrong, Terence, *The Northern Sea Route*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 122.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

function. It is likely that improvement in the technique of forecasting movements of sea ice—a study pioneered by the Soviet Union—and improved design of icebreakers is leading to a lengthening of the navigation period. Analysis of turnover figures before the war shows that by far the biggest single item was timber exported from the Yenisey, across the Kara Sea to the west. Probably this tendency—to use the route as a way of getting at local resources in the Arctic—will continue to be the most important feature. Use of the whole length of the sea route as a relief to the Trans-Siberian railway seems less likely to be a success, except in the carriage of goods to the north-eastern corner of Siberia, which is a long way from the railway's Pacific terminus.

Air transport has of course assumed the same importance in Siberia as it has in the rest of the world; greater, perhaps, since there are fewer alternative means of transport in Siberia. There have been since before the war regularly running air routes across the main east-west axis, and down the valleys of the Ob', Yenisey and Lena. Occasional flights were made along the Arctic coast. The northern network increased in importance during the war, when the Alaska-Siberia (Al-Sib) air route was pioneered and used for ferrying planes from America to the Red Air Force. Thus ground facilities—largely supplied by lease-lend—are available for a route running up through Yakutsk, Oymyakon, Markovo and Anadyr' to the extreme north-east.

A fairly efficient transport network has therefore been established and is being continually extended. There are still enormous gaps, as a glance at the map shows. But the existing network has permitted industrial development to take huge strides.

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

It would be lengthy and very tedious to enumerate the industrial resources of Siberia. I shall touch extremely briefly on the most important. The backbone of the industrial region of western Siberia is the Ural-Kuznetsk combine, in which iron ore from the Urals is smelted with coal from the Kuznetsk basin. These coal and iron deposits are some 1,200 miles apart, and it is a striking testimony to Soviet purposefulness that the combine was planned and made to work, and very successfully, in spite of this. More recently closer sources of raw materials have been found. Another combine is now being developed farther east—the Angara-Yenisey combine, an industrial complex to be based on hydro-electric power from the Angara and Yenisey rivers. Coal is also mined in the vicinity, at Cheremkhovo. There are many mineral deposits in Siberia. One has to be careful when assessing their importance to make allowance for the enthusiastic Soviet method of reporting them: there is not always a clear distinction between deposits actually being mined and deposits known to exist; or between deposits known to exist and deposits thought to exist. One comes across such remarks as "These reserves are inexhaustible and as yet unexplored." It is clear however that there is, for instance, a very great deal of gold in Siberia. It was mined before the revolution at a number of points. In the 1930s the organization known as Dal'stroy was

formed to get gold in the remote upper Kolyma area. Reports from those who have been there* make it clear that Dal'stroy achieves its end by the utterly ruthless employment of forced labour, but it is also clear that a large quantity of gold is obtained. The output is secret. But a Pole who spent some time in forced labour camps and later collated reports of similarly placed compatriots estimates an average of 250 tons a year from the Kolyma area during the period 1932-46.† Deposits of minerals hitherto lacking in the country have been found in Siberia; one may mention particularly tin, of which at least three important deposits—Ege-Khaya, the Chaun region and one near the Manchurian frontier—have been found since the late 1930s and are now being worked. I will catalogue no more. I can only say that there would seem to be no doubt that Siberia as a whole has vast mineral resources, even when Soviet enthusiasm has been discounted; and the main limiting factor in their development is inaccessibility. Industrial development, which is of course largely conditioned by availability of raw materials, received a very considerable impetus during the war by the evacuation to Siberia of plants from the western territories, and is undoubtedly spreading. One may infer as much from changes‡ in the administrative map. Since 1939 three new *Oblasts* have been created in western Siberia. *Kemerovo Oblast'* and *Tomsk Oblast'* have been carved out of *Novosibirsk Oblast'*, and *Tyumen Oblast'* has been created to relieve *Omsk Oblast'* of the responsibility of its vast northern sector on the lower Ob'. Clearly this argues increased population in this district.

AGRICULTURE

One of the objects of Soviet internal policy is regional self-sufficiency in food. The industrial development of Siberia has therefore been accompanied by a drive to promote agriculture. Great advances have been made both before and during the second World War. The west Siberian lowland has long been a very rich agricultural area: the black soil belt which crosses European Russia continues to the east of the Urals. Grain and dairy products from here help to supply deficiencies in Central Asia, the Far East and the urban regions of central and northern Russia in Europe. Neither eastern Siberia nor the Soviet Far East are self-supporting, however. In an effort to make them so, various steps are being taken; new crops have been introduced—such as sugar beet, which is having considerable success—and stock raising has been increased.§ Particularly interesting is the battle being carried on in the northern settlements between the agriculturists and the rigorous climatic conditions. The latter include not only a short summer and a long and very cold winter, but also, more unexpectedly, frequent shortage of water. Soviet claims to have overcome

* Dallin, D. J., and Nicolaevsky, Boris, *Forced Labour in the U.S.S.R.*, London, 1948. Lipper, Elinor, *Onze ans dans les bagnes soviétiques*, Paris, 1950.

† Mora, Silvester, *Kolyma: Gold and Forced Labour in the U.S.S.R.*, Washington, 1949, p. 50.

‡ Morrison, J. A., "The evolution of the territorial administrative system of the U.S.S.R.," *American Quarterly of the Soviet Union*, vol. 1, No. 3, 1938, pp. 25-46. *Geograficheskiy atlas S.S.S.R. dlya sredney shkoly*, Moscow, 1949; *ibid.*, 1950.

§ Baranskiy, N. N., *Ekonomicheskaya geografiya*, 8th edition, Moscow, 1947, p. 223.

these difficulties are often heard, and undoubtedly some remarkable results have been obtained. On the other hand, it seems clear that yields are considerably lower than normal—from half to three-quarters—fertiliser requirements are very heavy and self-sufficiency is still far distant.* A word may be said here about the reindeer industry. The reindeer performs a vital function in the Asiatic Arctic and sub-Arctic, both as a transport medium, by no means yet replaced by anything mechanical, and as a source of food and clothing to the local inhabitants. Every encouragement has been given to the industry. It is indicative of the official attention paid to it that a complete reindeer farmer's handbook of some 130,000 words, dealing with all aspects of tending reindeer, was published in 1948.† This is now being translated into English.

POPULATION

The population of Siberia is now somewhere in the region of 20 million. Since the turn of the century, when the Tsarist Government started to encourage emigration to Siberia, the population rapidly increased. The large-scale industrialization which took place between the wars played a big part. The most recent census of the country was in 1939, and this showed a population of 16·6 million.‡ The figure of 20 million given by post-war Soviet geography books§ is no doubt partly accounted for by wartime evacuation from the overrun areas.

About 90 per cent. of the population of Siberia is Russian or Ukrainian in origin. What of the natives of the region? The Communist policy of self-determination for minority peoples results, as I have mentioned, in the "nationalities ladder" of administrative subdivisions. In Siberia there are two Autonomous Republics—those of the Yakuts and the Buryat Mongols; Jewish, Khakass, Tuva and Oyrot (now called Gorno-Altay) Autonomous *Oblasts*; and National *Okrugs* for the Koryaki, Chukchi, Evenki (formerly Tungus), Dolgany, Nentsy (formerly Samoyed), Khanti (formerly Ostyaks) and Mansi (formerly Voguls). There has been almost no change in these since before the war. No one has climbed the ladder. This is perhaps to be expected, for the Yakuts and the Buryat-Mongols number only about a quarter of a million each, and the northern peoples only a few thousands. Equally, no one has moved down the ladder—or, as in the case of the Volga Germans and some other national minorities in European Russia, been pushed off the ladder altogether. This is possibly because the loyalty of the Asiatic peoples has not been recently put to such a severe test. But while this autonomy for native peoples exists in the pattern of local government, does it, one may well ask, in fact preserve the identity of those peoples in face of the great tide of Slav immigration? This is of course precisely the sort of question that can only be properly

* Richens, R. H., "Crop Production in the Soviet Arctic," *Polar Record* (Cambridge), vol. 6, No. 42, 1951, pp. 227-36.

† Zhigunov, P. S., and Terent' Yev, F. A. (eds.), *Severnoye olenevodstvo*, Moscow, 1948.

‡ Lorimer, F., *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects*, Geneva, 1946, p. 243.

§ Baranskiy, N. N., *op. cit.*, p. 215.

answered by a visit to the place. All I can produce is circumstantial evidence. An American mining engineer, John D. Littlepage, was working in Soviet Asia in 1932, and he found that in his mine "the Communist authorities insisted that the tribesmen should be given 50 per cent. of the responsible positions."* Littlepage found this a considerable drag on efficiency. The Government, he knew, realized this too, but was nevertheless determined to adhere to the principle. There are signs that the general policy is unchanged. One can find plenty of recent references in the Soviet press† to current good treatment of the small northern peoples. Two books by Tikhon Semushkin,‡ published in large editions, deal with life among the Chukchi. Various recent novels have a northern setting.§ Even in the Kolyma gold-mining districts, where one might expect the native peoples to be quite elbowed out, it appears from a casual reference that a Yukagir collective farm was functioning in the neighbourhood of Zyr-yanka in about 1942.|| One feels that if there were not some truth in all this too many people would recognize its falsity and there would be no propaganda value. It is a fact, however, that the 1939 census figures for the northern peoples have never been published; and one cannot help feeling that possibly this is because the results were not a good advertisement for the policy which boasted about saving small peoples from extinction.

WATERWAYS AND IRRIGATION

A very grandiose scheme has been put forward for the future development of Siberia. Many of you will have seen an outline of this in *The Times* a month or two ago. The scheme centres round the waterways, which, as we have already noted, constitute one of Siberia's greatest natural assets. The object is fourfold: to obtain hydro-electric power, to extend the inland waterways system, to irrigate Central Asia, and to stabilize the level of the Caspian, where present fluctuations make difficulties for fishing and shipping, and which will in any case soon be receiving much less water when the hydro-electric and irrigation projects on the Volga, at present under construction, are functioning. The basic feature is to divert southwards the water of the northward-flowing Ob', and use it to irrigate the Turanian plain and the Aral-Caspian depression. The scheme is not new; projects for diverting Ob' water southwards were put forward by a Russian named Demchenko in 1900, 1922 and 1924. The present plan has been worked out in some detail by M. M. Davydov,¶ a Soviet engineer, and the earlier ideas have been welded together. Davydov's method is to build a dam at Belogor'ye, at the confluence of the Ob' and Irtysh. This would create a reservoir of 250,000 square kilometres—

* Littlepage, John D., and Bess, Demaree, *In Search of Soviet Gold*, London, 1939, p. 110.

† *Pravda*, Feb. 16, 1948, Mar. 5, 1948, May 30, 1949, July 13, 1951, Aug. 24, 1951.

‡ Semushkin, Tikhon, *Chukotka*, Moscow, 1939; *Alitet ukhodit v gory*, Moscow, 1847-48.

§ Azhaye, Vasiliy, *Daleko ot Moskvy*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1950. Koptyayeva, Antonina, *Ivan Ivanovich*, Moscow, ? 1951.

|| Boldyrev, S., *V. Kolymo-Indigirskoy tayge*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1947, p. 45.

¶ Davydov, M.M., "Ob'-Aralo-Kaspiyskoye vodnoye soyedineniye," *Gidrotekhnicheskoye Stroitel'stvo* (Moscow), No. 3, 1949, pp. 6-11.

nearly two-thirds the size of the Caspian. The land inundated would be only 10 per cent. farmland, the remaining 90 per cent. being swamp. The river Tobol' would rise to the level of the base of the watershed between the west Siberian and Turgay lowlands. Here a canal would be built. This would allow the water to flow into the Sea of Aral along the course followed by a river in Tertiary times. The level of the Sea of Aral would then rise and allow water to flow along the course of another ancient river, the Uzboy, to the Caspian. All the surrounding areas would be irrigated from these revived rivers.

For the scheme to work properly, Davydov estimates that from 300 to 350 cubic kilometres of water a year are needed. This represents just about the total flow of the Ob'. The plan is therefore to deflect water into the Ob' system from the Yenisey by building a dam on the latter which will form a reservoir from Yeniseysk nearly to the mouth of the Kan. Water will then flow into a tributary of the Ob' by way of a new Ob'-Yenisey canal 90 kilometres long (there has been such a canal since the end of the last century, but it is so narrow and shallow that it has seldom been used).

The result of all this is expected to be an increase in the amount of irrigated land in Soviet Central Asia by five times; 12.9 million kilowatts of electric power, which will be sufficient to supply the Urals region, western Siberia, and the Kazak, Uzbek and Turkmen Republics; an optimum level for the Caspian; a deep-water shipping route from the Caspian to Lake Baikal, 5,000 miles long, of which about 750 miles would be in canals and 600 miles in old waterways; and changes for the better in the climates of Kazakstan, Central Asia and western Siberia. The estimated length of time required to get the scheme working is twenty years.

The difficulties that will have to be overcome are, I think you will agree, considerable. The canal over the Turgay watershed, it is stated, will be 575 miles long. The dam on the Ob' is to be 78 metres high—and I calculate that it will have to be not less than 60 kilometres long; it will also have to withstand the incredible force of the spring break-up of the ice. But the project was reviewed by Vladimir Obruchev,* an Academician and the senior and perhaps most distinguished living Soviet geologist, and he dismissed the question of whether the whole thing was possible or not by simply stating that the plan was "entirely feasible" and recommending that detailed planning should now be started. The scheme has been debated, Davydov tells us, by numerous research institutions and technical societies, and has now been approved by the Science and Technology Council of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Power Stations.† In 1950, the year after Davydov put forward his project, the so-called "great construction works of Communism" were announced. These were the building of several major canals and hydro-electric stations, and one of them was the construction of the "Main Turkmen Canal" from the Amu-Darya to the Caspian. This canal forms the last link in Davydov's Caspian-Baikal

* Obruchev, V. A., Inzh. M. M. Davydov, "Ob' budet vpadat' v Kaspiyskoye more," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R. Seriya Geologicheskaya* (Moscow, Leningrad), No. 6, 1949, pp. 230-33.

† Davydov, M. M., "Siberian Rivers change their Course," *News* (Moscow), No. 6, 1951, pp. 17-20.

waterway. Although I have never seen a reference, in the large literature that has recently come out about the Turkmen canal, to the fact that it can form part of a much bigger scheme, yet it seems hard to believe that choice of this particular canal had nothing to do with Davydov's plan.

The effect of the Ob'-Aral scheme on the economy of Siberia would be immense. The waterway and the electricity production would give a tremendous impetus to the industrialization of the area, and may be expected to extend northwards the present industrial area of central Siberia. The existing water communications on the Ob' and Yenisey are not to be squeezed out; the plan makes it clear that sufficient water is to be left in both rivers to ensure their continued usefulness in this respect (the flow of the Ob' at the dam is to be reduced by only one-seventh, the Yenisey at its dam by nine-tenths). The other advantages are more difficult to assess. The moderating effect of a large lake on the climate of western Siberia may perhaps not be so marked as was expected, with the result that there may be no spectacular northward movement of agriculture. There are some possible disadvantages. For instance, the diminished flow of the Yenisey and Ob' may be expected to retard materially the rate of melting of the ice in parts of the Kara Sea in the early summer, though possibly the resulting higher salinity of the coastal waters will delay the freezing in autumn. The diminishing salinity of the Sea of Aral and to a lesser extent the Caspian is likely to affect the fisheries. But it is a waste of time to speculate on the by-products before we know whether the plan is really going to be carried out. And in assessing the ability of the Soviet Union to carry it out, we must bear in mind that the country is now so organized as to ensure for such purposes as this a very large if unwilling supply of labour.

Now that it is time to finish I feel that I cannot properly draw detailed conclusions from what I have said, since the information I have collected has inevitably been come by in a somewhat haphazard fashion and it would therefore be misleading to try and piece it together into a complete picture. I should simply like to echo a sentiment expressed by my teacher, Professor Elizabeth Hill, when she addressed your Society nine years ago: Northern Asia is surely the land of the future, because it is capable of tremendous development for the next few centuries. And, I would add, the Soviet Government shows no sign of losing its conviction that this is true.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Dr. Armstrong if he could tell us what information he has at his disposal as to the depth of water and the size of the ships that could be run on the north coast trips and as to the navigation of the rivers: whether vessels are sea-going vessels and how far they go up those rivers; any information he can give us as to the navigability of the north coast, the rivers and their tributaries will be of interest.

Dr. ARMSTRONG: It was thought by the early Soviet pioneers of the northern sea route that it would be only good for vessels drawing no more than about 18 feet. That is largely due to the fact that the waters off parts of the coast are extremely shallow for a long way off-shore. However, during the war when Lend-Lease supplies came round Liberty ships were used. They were very much the largest freighters that had ever been used

in those waters and apparently they were used with success. It may be that they were not able to get into all the small ports in the north-east, but they were able to make the trip along to Archangel.

As regards the rivers, I can only say that the Yenisey is navigable to ships drawing up to 24 feet to a point some 500 miles up from the mouth, which is the main point at which timber leaves the country. The Ob is not good, because it has an 8-foot bar; the Lena is not so good as the Yenisey. I have not seen any figures for the depths of the canal system—the shipping route from the Caspian to Baykal—but the Russians say it is to be a deep-water canal.

Mr. C. G. HANCOCK: Arising out of what the lecturer said about gold, can he tell us how much gold has been produced lately and what the Russians do with it? Do they spend it on imports? Also, did Dr. Armstrong get any evidence as to uranium being found there; if so, how much do the Russians think they have?

Dr. ARMSTRONG: In the matter of gold I am afraid I do not know anything about production figures since 1946. The figures I gave for the period 1932 to 1946 were not Soviet official figures, but based on the calculations of prisoners who have been in the country. What the Russians do with the gold is anybody's guess. It is suspected that when they have sufficient they will make some dramatic announcement such as that they are going on to the gold standard, or something of that nature. Everyone assumes that they must by now be getting a very large quantity of gold.

I do not know where the Soviet sources of uranium are, but it is quite possible and even easy to find out. There has been a good deal published in Soviet technical literature on the subject of uranium deposits and someone has written about the subject. I do not myself know the answer.

Group-Captain H. St. C. SMALLWOOD: I would like to ask as to the state of development of industry in the very far eastern side of Siberia. One knows that Russia could not fight a war on two fronts unless there was tremendous development in the far eastern corner. Could Dr. Armstrong throw a little light on that?

Dr. ARMSTRONG: As far as I know, there has not been very much development in the far north-east; very little is done except the gold-mining, and there is also tin up farther north. There has been considerable development particularly at Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk, the first of which has grown enormously during the last twenty-five years; the second did not exist twenty-five years ago. There is also shipbuilding on the Amur.

Dr. E. LINDGREN: Before asking questions I would like to say how grateful I think we should feel to the Scott Polar Research Institute for allowing Dr. Armstrong to take time off from experimenting with skis and sleeping bags, which is, I suppose, their proper work, in order to indulge his morbid interest in these barren wastes. We are grateful for that. We are also grateful to Dr. Armstrong for the information he has given us, and for the fact that when he can only infer, he says "infer."

My two main questions are, I fear, rather widespread. The first is the question of the comparison with development in Canada, not so much as to what is planned but as to what has actually been achieved, and again,

not as to the means by which it has been done but how much the development really amounts to. I feel that is a matter to which Dr. Armstrong must have devoted thought.

With regard to minorities, I am thinking of the ethnographic map which the Russians produced in 1927, and wondering whether any subsequent similar map has been produced which would enable comparisons to be made. As to minorities, I had thought the Jewish Republic was in Birobidjan, east of Mongolia, but now I hear of a whole Oblast to the west.

Dr. ARMSTRONG: On the question of comparison between the development in the Soviet Arctic and Canada, I think it is clear that the Soviet side is a long way ahead of Canada. They have been trying to do things in their piece of the Arctic in a more intensive way over a longer period than the Canadians. Of course, the Canadians would argue that their population is very much smaller and they have not the man-power to do all those things which they would otherwise do; but the fact remains that on various technical questions, such as building in the far north on permanently frozen soil, laying railways, sinking oil wells and so on, the Soviet side is considerably farther ahead. There is also an interesting comparison of shipping routes, because the Canadians have a shipping route which goes from the North Atlantic into the Hudson's Bay and picks up grain at Churchill, and it is roughly similar to the Soviet route into the Kara Sea to pick up timber. And certainly the Soviet route flourishes to a much greater extent than the Canadian has up to now.

On the question of ethnographic maps, I do not know any map which one can compare with the map published by the Soviet in 1927, which was on quite a large scale; all one can get now are things like sheets in Soviet school atlases, where little blobs of colour are alleged to represent various nationalities. One has to draw whatever inference one can from that sort of material. I know of nothing more reliable than that that has yet come out of Russia.

As to the matter of the Jewish autonomous area, as far as I know there is still one near the Mongolian border, which is still marked on most maps, and I believe it does function. There were rumours to the effect that it was not going on at all well, but I believe it still exists as an administrative area.

Miss M. WENTWORTH KELLY: The lecturer obviously has a wonderful knowledge of the area. He did say that the majority of the labour employed on the various projects—presumably a great advantage to the Soviet Union as against Canada—is forced labour?

Dr. ARMSTRONG: Yes, I believe that to be so. Certainly the Dal'stroy gold mine in the far north-east is largely run by forced labour, as also are various other large projects. At the same time, it would be wrong to suppose that all labour is forced labour. In the far north, the shipping route and its allied industries are not, as far as one knows, run by forced labour. There is still sufficient glamour in working in the Arctic to attract free labour in sufficient numbers.

The DUCHESS OF ATHOLL: Has the development of gold in the far north-east benefited very much from the British Lena Goldfields which were taken over by the Soviet?

Dr. ARMSTRONG : The Lena Goldfields are, as far as I know, still being worked, but they are dwarfed in importance now by those on the Kolyma, which is the next big river to the east. It is about the Kolyma that one hears most, because the Polish prisoners who worked there are those who have returned and tell about it.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

RECENT IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH EAST ASIA

By C. A. F. DUNDAS

Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on September 26, 1951, Dr. V. Purcell, C.M.G., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: My excuse for being in the chair is that I have spent most of my adult life in South-east Asia and it is thought that I may be able to lead the discussion. Mr. Dundas has spent most of his time elsewhere and has only been a visitor to South-east Asia. He started by spending a number of years in the Middle East in the Sudan Political service, then with the Iraqi Government and later as representative in the Middle East of the British Council and was seconded as Additional First Secretary at the British Legations at Beirut and Damascus from 1944 to 1949.

After that he returned to service with the British Council, directing their activities in the Middle East, and later was posted to Peking. He has been recently touring South-east Asia after finding it impossible to reach Peking, where he directed his attention from the British Council point of view to the problems of the area.

Actually the Dundas family are by no means newcomers to South-east Asia, because one of the family was a Member of the Council in Penang 150 years ago, and there is a street named after him there to this day.

I KNOW only a few of the countries in South-east Asia and those only superficially. I spent the best part of a year in Hongkong; I visited Japan for a few months, and at the request of the British Council I spent a short while in Siam, in Rangoon, and in Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore. What I have to give you, therefore, are purely my own impressions; they do not carry the weight of the organization for which I work or of any organization for which I have worked in the past. They are merely my own impressions gained at the time I was in those countries, and they are gained by one who has spent most of his working life in the Middle East. Therefore, if I at times tend to compare with the Middle East what I saw in South-east Asia I intend no disrespect to either; it is simply that it may be easier to explain my meaning in terms of something that I know in the Middle East.

I propose to run briefly through the countries I visited; then, quite briefly I shall sum up my general impressions; and then others, I hope, will have something to say on the subjects I shall have mentioned.

Hongkong.—Hongkong is like no other colony I have ever visited. Part of it is, as you know, the island Hongkong itself and a part is on the mainland of China: the New Territories. The frontier on the mainland is now the only common frontier between Communist China and the West. It is remarkable at the present time for being, not quite like Berlin, but for being, perhaps, the only place in the world where there is free access into and out of a Communist country. There is little to prevent Chinese nationals passing freely both into and out of China. The interest of that from the point of view of the British Council is, of course, that it is the point of contact for ideas—for Chinese Communist ideas coming out of China and for the other ideas going in.

The British Council is still able to carry on at two* centres in China, but they have to be serviced through Hongkong. It is not possible to say how long those centres can continue, as it has not proved possible for the past two years to get entry permits for British Council staff to go into China. Hence, as the staff comes out the numbers are dwindling.

As to Hongkong as the main point of contact between Communist China and the rest of the world, a majority of the people of Hongkong are, I think I am right in saying, refugees from the mainland of China. There are, of course, still remaining in Hongkong a number of families who have been born and bred there, but the population has increased very rapidly since the war, and I think the figures now show a balance of refugees from China proper.

Siam.—From Hongkong I went to Siam. It was an unusual experience. Siam is one of the few countries in which I have been, and the only country in South-east Asia, which has had for many centuries an independent history. It was occupied, of course, during the war, but from all accounts, shall we say, lightly occupied, and I found there, as it seemed to me, a quite remarkable tradition of friendship for the British and particularly for British education. I met a large number of British-educated Siamese. There was a club flourishing in Bangkok, before the war, of returned "English students" as they call themselves, not only university students but those who had been at schools and technical colleges in England. The club, I was told, went underground during the Japanese occupation, during which time it flourished, and re-emerged in 1945. It is now operating enthusiastically and has a membership of 400 or 500. Unfortunately, up to the present† there has been no possibility of the British Council being able to work in Siam and to meet any of the requests made for continuation of this educational and cultural contact with Great Britain. Possibly I am exaggerating, for the Information Officer there has been able to do something for the Council, but he has his own work to do. Finance has prevented the British Council assisting, but some six months ago the Council were able to give some assistance to the re-establishment of the returned English Students' Association, and it is hoped that a British Council centre will be opened in Siam. It is important that it should be.

In Siam there is a unique situation in that the country has governed itself for quite a long time past. It is, I believe, the only country in South-east Asia in which there is not a large popular movement against the Government. It is, I think, the only country in South-east Asia where one can walk about in the country without the risk of being liquidated by some form of anti-something organization. That is probably due to the Siamese having looked after themselves for a long time. They are at the moment being offered assistance in a number of ways by the United Nations Organizations. They are most grateful and they do seem to feel a very deep attachment to the British in regard to educational and cultural matters.

Burma.—In Burma Government control by no means extends through-

* Now only one, Shanghai.

† A British Council Representation was established in Siam during the autumn of 1951.

out the country. In order to get anywhere in Burma other than the immediate outskirts of Rangoon one has to fly. I was told there was a once-weekly armoured Irrawaddy convoy. It is possible by paying the tithes to the right type of controller of the intervening area to do a motor journey between two villages or two towns, but it is not to be recommended. This country, which was under British rule and is now entirely independent, was extremely badly damaged by the campaigns fought over it. Rangoon itself is an appalling mess. I say that with no disrespect to the people. It was very badly damaged during the war. I was in Rangoon some years prior to the war, and when I saw it on this occasion there was hardly any building standing that I could recognize.

The lack of internal security and the difficulty of communications in Burma has produced a difficult economic situation for the Government, and, like so many other governments, they have no money. They have schemes for reorganization of industry and for the rebuilding of their main towns; for their oil industry; for reopening their teak industry and for growing rice, but, up to the present, lack of money has prevented them going ahead on any large scale to rehabilitate the country.

With few exceptions, the Burmese I met went out of their way to say that I ought to have seen Rangoon before the war; it was a lovely place then; it was very sad that it should be as it is, but they had not any money and they hoped to do something about it eventually. They struck me as having very clearly in their minds—more clearly than any of the other South-eastern Asia peoples—what they wanted to make of their country and how they proposed to set about it. I do not know the reason for that, but that was the impression they gave me.

The United Nations Organizations when I was in Burma were just beginning to offer help in a big way. The obvious problem then was the holding of elections, and how they could be held without having to rely too much on the army for maintaining control of the country.

Indonesia.—From Burma I went to Indonesia, but only to Djakarta and Bandung. I am so ignorant of South-east Asia that I do not know whether Bandung has always gone by that name, but I know Djakarta was once Batavia. Djakarta was, I thought, one of the climatically most unpleasant places to visit that I have ever been in. That probably was due to the dampness, which I found horrible, to the dust which was blowing about the whole time, and to the fact that to get into a taxi cost about 14s., and to go anywhere in it cost 26s.; also all the taxis I saw were built about 1922.

The capital itself is extremely overcrowded and the British Council as a result has been unable to open its headquarters in Djakarta, but has done so in Bandung, about 70 miles away; and even that 70 miles, I am told, is not normally done by anybody by road. It is usual to fly it, not necessarily because of saving time but because, again, of the internal security situation, which is fluid. I was told also that even the army normally has to fly about Indonesia and not travel on the surface.

The Indonesians are, again, people who, having been under European rule, have now become independent and are starting out on their own. They, again, I found had a desire to learn about British things and to

acquire a knowledge of the English language. To give one small example, the price of imports from the U.K. in Indonesia owing to their regulations is rather more than three and a half times the London price; that is to say, that an Indonesian firm in order to import has to buy the currency from the Indonesian Government at three times its value. The British Council gave a small exhibition in Bandung of books on the teaching of English. I do not know the latest figures, but within a few weeks orders had been placed for more than 20,000 books from this one small exhibition, and the books cost between three and four times as much as they should have. I feel sure that there is a real demand amongst the Indonesians for contact with things British which they have not had to any extent, certainly for a knowledge of English and for the opportunity to visit England and see visitors from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

Singapore.—The remainder of my time was spent in Singapore, which, again, is a rather curious place, a colony most of whose inhabitants are Chinese. I was told that the latest figures were over 75 per cent. Chinese, and of those over 75 per cent. were born and bred in Singapore.

Singapore, of course, is an *entrepreneur* for Malaya and South-east Asia in Asia. Its life-blood is the import and export of commodities. The commercial centre of the whole of the area lies in Singapore. When I was there the people were suffering from difficulties due to the high cost of living, due, I suppose—I am no economist—to the high prices of rubber and tin, with which one thought they would have been pleased, but everybody said they could not make ends meet because the cost of living had gone up higher than their salaries, which seems to happen in any country. I am not suggesting that that is peculiar to Singapore.

In Singapore the British Council has a centre which acts as a cultural centre for clubs in Singapore interested in the various arts and specialized professions—doctors and so on. Outside I was only able to visit Penang and Kuala Lumpur. There there was actually taking place the process of handing over the Federal Government to local ministers. While I was in Kuala Lumpur the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Information were put in charge of Malayan ministers. Prophecy is an interesting occupation, but I am not going to pretend to look into the crystal and suggest what is going to happen. Again I found a real desire amongst the local inhabitants not to sever their connection with the British, particularly on educational matters and more particularly, of course, on the matter of the English language. The British Council have one man in Kuala Lumpur at the moment who has made contact with the various adult education groups and youth movement groups of the Federal and of the individual States.

So much for the various countries I have visited. I want to say now a word or two in general about what I found.

First of all, wherever I went I discovered a new creature. I am not quite certain what it is, but to the people of all the countries to whom I talked about him he is Anglo-American. I was told the “Anglo-Americans” want this and want that; the “Anglo-Americans” are doing something or other and in most cases the term is used in a bad sense; the “Anglo-Americans” want a third World War; the Anglo-Americans are

not supporting Pakistan against India; the Anglo-Americans are not supporting India against Pakistan; the Anglo-Americans are grabbing oil; the Anglo-Americans want to exploit, and so on. That Anglo-American idea does certainly exist in a rather bad sense. I do not quite know how it has come to the fore, possibly through hearing so much of the Voice of America broadcasts interlarded with the B.B.C. Possibly through listening to Communist broadcasts. I do not know. The Anglo-American idea is certainly very real, and it is rather dangerous to both the Angles and to the Americans. Mixed up with the Anglo-American there is a lot of talk about "Democracy." It is always coming out about how democracies do this or how they themselves have a democratic form of government, but actually the people have not the slightest idea about it. They know that at least one Democracy is very rich; that democracy has some connection with being rich and strong, and they know that democracy has governed in those parts, so again they are not very keen about democracy. It all slips easily off the tongue; the people themselves do not really know what it means, and they are perfectly ready to try some other form of government that appears to offer more immediate results than following democracy, which appears to them to be rather a slow business, though it leads to being rich and powerful in the end.

Since I have raised the two points of the Anglo-American and democracy, I may add as my own purely personal opinion that in the field of public information and British Council activities there are opportunities, which have not been exploited fully, of co-operation on these matters amongst the Commonwealth countries and the United States of America. I personally would like to see the Commonwealth people in our own information service—the British Council has a few—and I would also like to see Americans. Moreover, I would like to have an opportunity to serve with the American information service. For better or worse, we have to accept in South-east Asia that the Anglo-American idea is there, and we have to try to put a better aspect on it than the peoples of that part of the world have in their minds at the moment. But, please, that is my own idea and nobody else's, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN: It happens that Mr. Dundas's journey to South-east Asia and my own were separated only by a matter of about six months. Therefore I listened carefully to see how his impressions concurred with my own.

As regards Indonesia it does not seem that the situation has improved very greatly internally, because I travelled from Bandung to Djakarta by road, and apparently that is rarely done nowadays. Mr. Dundas's approach is different from that about which we hear most, the political and economic approach. To my mind, his approach has probably more promise for the immediate future than either of the other two approaches, because the economic approach, unfortunately, is held up by rearmament and the hamstringing of the various planning enterprises—perhaps that is too strong a word, and I should say by the handicapping of the various enterprises for the development of South-east Asia. On the political side the speaker has told us the difficulties he met with over democracy and such

like. There remains the cultural approach, which, of course, cannot be separated entirely from the others, but I know from my own experience that it is the approach which is much more acceptable to these peoples than any other.

As regards Indonesia, I wish to ask the lecturer to tell us a little more about the relationship of the Government to the English language. I was told when I was in Indonesia that the two standard languages of the country are Dutch and "Low Malay," which is trade Malay, and an artificial product which seems to be suitable at least for elementary education. I heard that it was the intention of the Indonesian Government to teach English as the second language in place of Dutch, not so much from a slight to the Dutch language—it would be wrong to suggest that there was any anti-Dutch feeling—but because it was so much more useful. Could Mr. Dundas tell us more about the Indonesian Government's actual practical plans for making English the second language in Indonesia?

I saw the British Council's department in Bandung and, incidentally, I was much impressed by the library there. They had a miniature library which was extraordinary representative, and I wish I had a similar one. In fact, I have not seen a library of that kind in England, a library covering reference, general literature and up-to-date books and standard works altogether in so small a space. I was told that the books were lent to the people of the town and that not a single book had been missing so far. Perhaps Mr. Dundas would elaborate a little more as to the language question? And perhaps also he could say a little more about the proportion of English to other teaching in Singapore and the Federation?

Mr. DUNDAS: With regard to English teaching in Indonesia, I can only tell you the situation when I was there. I think probably Mr. White can tell you whether there has been any alteration since. When I was in Indonesia last April there had been no decision put into operation to make English the second language. I believe, however, that the decision had been taken, but that no actual action had followed on the part of the Government to put the decision into operation. There are, as you can imagine, vested interests, which mean that considerable inertia has to be overcome to make a change. The initiative, as I saw it, seemed to be coming not from the Government but from the teachers who were busy forming themselves into societies and teaching each other English and learning from the English, buying English textbooks, and so on. As an example of the present state of affairs: when I was there all textbooks for teaching English used in the schools were written by Dutchmen. There were no English language-teaching books written by English people or produced in English. So the answer seems to be that theoretically English is the second language, but at the time I was in Indonesia very little had been done by the Government to implement the decision in that regard. I do not know whether Mr. White can say if there have been any further developments?

Mr. WHITE: I do not think there has been any particular development since last April. Of course it is an enormous business to change a second language from Dutch to English when you are dealing with a population of 80,000,000 in which all the language teachers are trained to teach Dutch

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and not English. The first idea was to import teachers of English from Great Britain, but it was soon pointed out that even if the Government could afford the sterling to get those teachers out to Indonesia and pay them, they would not be able to recruit sufficient teachers of English in this country where there is already a shortage of teachers. It is hoped to bring over one or two principals from teachers' training colleges for training in Great Britain, and we have added to our British Council staff in Bandung a specialist in education who has been in our employ for some time, so that he is able to advise the Indonesians. We have heard from our representative there that the Indonesian Government are taking this matter up very cordially and giving us every opportunity to give advice to them on this big task of getting their teachers trained in English.

We are also hoping to send out a professor of English to take up a post either in the University at Djakarta or more likely in the other University at Jogjakarta. That is about all there is to be said about the change-over to the teaching of English.

In respect of textbooks for teaching, there is an enormous problem in that most of the textbooks used in Indonesia are in Dutch. They have tried to get hold of textbooks in English, but there was great difficulty in getting the sterling to import them. That difficulty is being overcome to some extent, and the British Council have been able to help them get in a certain amount of books, and have arranged exhibitions of educational textbooks and so on. It can only be done gradually.

The chairman has mentioned the library and said what a good one it was. The enormous extent to which the Indonesians have made use of that library has always surprised us. We have comparative statistics of our libraries in pretty well every country in the world. Last year the figures for Indonesians using the library were second only in the whole of the world to those using the British Council library in Paris.

Mr. DUNDAS: With regard to the question about Malaya, I fear my visit to that country was not very extensive, so that I could not give anything other than a very sketchy reply. Certainly wherever I found non-Malayan communities there was some form of English being taught either by Indians or Chinese. There have been, I know, special requests from such places as Penang and from some of the Malay States for assistance by the British Council in the teaching of English, which the States are prepared to finance and to organize if an English teacher can be made available from time to time to come and help their own teachers and show them how to do the teaching. There is the demand for more English. How much that demand is being met, I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN: I should think one way in which to help would be to persuade the Indonesian Government to reduce the duty on textbooks.* If that could be done it would be an indication of their desire to spread English.

Group Captain H. St. C. SMALLWOOD: When in Burma during the last war I saw many hundreds of acres of felled teak trees. As the world is so short of timber it seems highly desirable that that timber should be got

* The duty has now been reduced.

out. Is there any co-operation, as in the case of oil, with the idea of tapping, with the aid of some English and some Burmese money, that immensely rich source of teak which remains in Burma, much of it felled and lying on the banks of rivers? That represents a wonderful lot of money lying absolutely idle.

Mr. DUNDAS: So far as I know the teak is still there. The internal lack of security of the country does not allow of it being removed. Before Burma can be developed the internal security problems must be solved. How they can be solved I have no idea. Obviously before Burma can become economically prosperous she must be able to reopen her internal communications. They are at the moment closed. I understood when I was in the country that things were improving. When I was there one could motor some miles beyond the golf course, whereas a month before it had not been safe to go beyond it. Things were generally looking up, but obviously it is a major problem. I do not see how the teak or the rice can be got out of Burma until the security problem has been solved.

Mr. WEATHERHEAD: The lecturer mentioned that one of the factors holding up the development of these South-east Asian countries was that of finance. Would he not agree that one of the important factors also holding up development is that which the lecturer expressed as anti-Anglo-American in the form of not wanting foreign advisers as technical advisers or as operators, or even foreign capital? Even if Burma is cleared up from the security angle and people can travel about the country, under the present Government's policy of running the timber industry by the Burmese themselves will that timber, in fact, get out? Does not that apply to the whole area where economic development has to take place very rapidly, if, for example, the Colombo Plan is to be met? And what is the way to overcome this psychological antipathy towards foreign technical assistance? Is the way to meet it through supplying technical assistance through an international and therefore impartial body, or are there any other ways in which that can be met?

Mr. DUNDAS: Certainly there is in the whole of the area a very marked anti-White, anti-European, anti-American feeling. There is no question about that. It exists. I believe the major objection to the acceptance of money and advisers and experts is the fear that some form of strings will be attached. They have had British advisers or Dutch advisers or French advisers and they did not like what went with them. They do not want the same thing to happen again. It is really for that reason that I feel the major effort at this moment and for a while should be made on the educational and rather specialist level where, in my opinion, there is not the same suspicion as there is to foreign loans and to foreign technical advisers. That is a purely personal opinion. But we must accept that there is a very real suspicion of the motives of the Europeans who want to go and work in South-east Asia. They are suspected of wanting either to exploit the country or to gain political influence. That is a fact, and we must accept it.

Mrs. GREGORY: May I be a little cynical. Is it really thought that people would be likely to learn cultural things on the lines indicated, or would they be more likely to learn if left alone for a bit?

Mr. DUNDAS: That is an interesting point. I am surprised how quickly these peoples do learn through cultural and educational contacts. It is to me a lasting wonder when I meet somebody in a remote part of the world who has spent, possibly, only three months, or it may be a year or two years, at a European university, and realize the amount of knowledge that individual has acquired. It really is absolutely amazing. That holds for South-east Asia, and the people do acquire something fairly quickly through that approach. In any case, I feel it is the only approach really possible now other than letting them alone; one does not, however, quite know what the outcome of that would be.

Miss M. KELLY: Is there any encouragement for the intrusion from a northern source, from Russia?

The CHAIRMAN: It happens that this economic question is one which has been occupying my mind. I have just returned from the League of Nations at Geneva, where we were going over this particular ground. It is a matter which has been discussed in the Economic and Social Council. As far as I can simplify the situation, it seems to be very natural that there should be this suspicion at the end of a régime. After all, the European Powers have only just withdrawn, some with rather ill grace, from the territories in South-east Asia, and they have left behind them a good deal of feeling and suspicion. In the case of India I am happy to feel we were very wise in withdrawing from India and Pakistan at the time we did, for we have left behind a good feeling. That I can say as a result of first-hand experience in India last year.

As regards the methods of helping these peoples, the question is to find some way of assisting them without their feeling there are any strings attached. The attitude is to Anglo-Americanism, but they are not precisely the same thing. There is a certain divergence of attitude and policy between the United States of America and ourselves over the Far East. I think it is not untrue to say that the American attitude towards helping these countries is conditioned by her own strategical power. The British official attitude has been rather that we should regard planning by itself apart from strategic considerations. That is why the Colombo Plan has come into being. The Colombo Plan itself is only an overall plan. It certainly provides for national plans by the individual countries, and it is a means of ensuring that this aid is given without any conditions attached. It integrates, so far as Commonwealth countries are concerned, other kinds of assistance, and it also contemplates going beyond the Commonwealth countries in assisting other countries of South-east Asia generally. The Colombo Plan cannot succeed without very large financial help, and the country from which most of that help will have to come is the United States of America. The United States has given its sort of provisional blessing to the Plan, but it holds that rearmament has first place, and I am afraid for the time being that there is not a chance of that Plan coming to anything because of that. There is a lot of work being done, but the Plan itself, the big undertaking, has yet to be put in motion.

As to the suggestion of allowing these countries "to stew in their own juice," unfortunately I do not think we can afford to do that because they will not stew in their own juice. It will mean that the chaos will become

greater, and when conditions are chaotic, or when the suffering of the people is beyond endurance, that is the time when Communism can enter, and Communism has a very great appeal to people living very near the subsistence level.

Mr. SOLGUNJI: Is there the same amity between the Dutch and the English as between the English and the United States of America in regard to the teaching of English? English is, after all, a common language as between the latter two; although they speak the language differently, it still can be called English. Is there any chance of misunderstanding between the Dutch and the English on this particular point?

Mr. DUNDAS: There is always a chance of misunderstanding but so far as I know there has been none yet with the Dutch over this question of language in Indonesia.

Col. ROUTH: The lecturer did not touch much, except in regard to Singapore, on the growing Chinese influence in South-east Asia. Perhaps he has come to some conclusions which he can pass on?

Mr. DUNDAS: The answer has to be that I do not know enough about that matter to speak in public on it. Obviously there is a considerable Chinese influence, and there is going to be also considerable Japanese influence. Those are facts. What they are and in which way the influences will go is beyond me to say. One must accept that there already is considerable Chinese influence and that the Japanese influence is coming through commercial channels first. What is likely to happen when they meet and merge I do not know, but they will be obviously much concerned in the remaking of South-east Asia.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: Before we came into this meeting we had a little discussion as to the virtues of Paget, M.P., as to how much knowledge he would acquire in a short time and how little. Our final decision was that it would depend upon the particular Paget as to what he could acquire in a short time. People who have been visiting a country might notice something which those living in it have never noticed. We can all congratulate Mr. Dundas on his very clear description of the complicated part of the hemisphere which he has observed and on the able manner in which he has been able to answer the difficult questions put to him.

Although in certain careers education seems almost no advantage, we have been helped in the past by a number of people who have had their education in England. Those people, funnily enough, although one thinks they are badly treated in this country, when they go home only remember the good things about us, and the help we get in all those countries in South-east Asia comes from those who have been educated in England.

As to the development of the English language in Indonesia as it is now called, it seems a pity, when they have a perfectly good Dutch language which everybody there has spoken ever since they were born, not to keep to that instead of imposing our very difficult tongue on them.

I should like to correct Mr. Dundas on one particular point, and say that when Djakarta was Batavia it was one of the most enchanting towns in the world and in most beautiful order.

I would like to emphasize what Mr. Dundas said in regard to Anglo-American co-operation in all spheres—not only in education and information. We have got to stand and fall together. Therefore, the more we try to understand each other, the better. It is very difficult, because we are different people. There is no doubt about that. We all have our faults and we each see the faults of the other, perhaps without seeing entirely our own. But if we can get a happy solution of that problem it will be all to the good; at any rate, we have to work towards it. After all, in the last war we worked in co-operation, and now anything we in our Society or anybody elsewhere can do to help promote that will be rendering a great service to the world.

GOLDEN JUBILEE DINNER

The Annual Dinner of the Society, which took place at Claridge's, London, on Thursday, October 11, 1951, marked the occasion of the Society's Jubilee. The President of the Society, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., presided at the Dinner, at which some 200 members and guests were present. Those who accepted invitations to attend as guests of the Society were the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.; the Earl of Scarborough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; the Rev. Canon C. B. Mortlock, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A., and two of the original members of the Society, Sir Edward Penton, K.B.E., and Colonel J. Woolrych Perowne, T.D., V.D.; but Lord Mountbatten and Colonel Perowne were unfortunately kept away at the last moment by ill-health.

THE President (General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.):
Your Grace, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
I know perfectly well that if I followed precedent I ought to talk to you about world affairs, but as this is our jubilee celebration I think that on this occasion we ought to try to keep as happy as we can and forget the happenings in, shall we say, countries like Persia or Burma.

Of course, we are always full of hope—and although we are in no sense a political society, I think it is permissible to hope that we will soon get someone in charge of the affairs of the countries in which we are interested who knows something about the inhabitants of those countries and where the actual places appear on the map. And so, with your permission, we will miss world affairs and talk about the Society.

The Royal Central Asian Society quite definitely is in a flourishing condition, and this achievement is indeed thanks to the efforts of the staff and the members, and of the Regional Secretaries in the foreign countries. Before the war the membership was 1,760. We had 200 casualties in the war. Our annual wastage is approximately 90. Today our numbers are 1,860. We have made up our wastage in the war, we have competed with our annual wastage, and we have 100 extra members. That is a fine record.

But we always tell you in the Society what is the state of affairs, and there is no doubt that with the rise of prices and the raising of salaries—which it was only our duty to do—it appears inevitable that in the near future we will have to increase the very modest subscription which we now have for this Society.

Having fired that bombshell at you, let me now try to talk about pleasanter things. We have here tonight as our guest Sir Edward Penton, who is an original member of this Society. We still have three of our original members: Sir Edward, Lord Zetland and Colonel Woolrych Perowne. It is good to have Sir Edward here tonight; we are sorry that the other two have been prevented from coming. To talk about Sir Edward is the privilege of the Chairman of the Council; but I can, however, talk about Miss Kennedy, who was secretary of this Society for twenty-five years. In fact, a lot of people said, no doubt with truth, that

she *was* the Society. She did wonders for it. I am credibly informed that if ever anybody of any interest came back from abroad and could possibly conduct a lecture, she was waiting either at Waterloo or Tilbury to catch him immediately he landed. We owe a very great deal to Miss Kennedy, and we thank her most sincerely for all she did for this Society.

We have always had in the Society, too, an Honorary Secretary, and with your permission I would mention two: one is Sir Percy Sykes, who was Honorary Secretary from 1932 until the date of his death in 1945. He was a soldier, a traveller, and a historian, and he wrote two splendid works: *The History of Persia* and *The History of Afghanistan*. His memory is commemorated by the Sykes medal, which is given to those who further the relations between this country and foreign countries in the East, especially in the sphere of letters. Marco Polo was Sir Percy's hero, and so he is portrayed on the medal with the motto, "What thou seest, write in a book."

I would also mention Colonel S. F. Newcombe, who for so many years was an Honorary Secretary. Colonel Newcombe was a very distinguished engineer officer, who worked with Lawrence, and when he tried to blow up the Hejaz railway was unfortunately captured. He found his way eventually to Constantinople and, what is much better, he found there somebody who helped him to escape—and somebody who not only helped him to escape, but, as Mr. Churchill expressed it in his book, has helped him "to live happily ever after."

Now I would like, with your permission, to speak of some of the Presidents who helped to make this Society and whom I personally knew. We did not have a President for seventeen years, and our first President was Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon was a commanding figure and a great statesman, with a distinct superiority complex, but he did not like soldiers; in fact, he had a very poor opinion of them. Yet the soldiers who were in India with him during his viceroyalty were unanimous in saying that he was the greatest Viceroy which India had ever seen up to that time. It was indeed a tragedy that his time in India finished with such a violent quarrel with Lord Kitchener, his Commander-in-Chief. This unfortunate estrangement was a remarkable contrast to that wonderful combination of later years: Lord Willingdon and Sir Philip Chetwode.

I had not the honour of knowing Lord Peel as a President, and so I pass on to Lord Allenby. The curious thing is that Lord Allenby never intended to be a soldier. He went up for the Indian Civil Service and failed. A very possessive mother issued orders to him that he had to go into the army; but once he was in the army his great determination of character and his very high sense of duty were, of course, very evident. He has been described as a bad general in France and a good one in Palestine, but as his biographer, General Wavell, said, the bare crossing of the Mediterranean could not possibly effect this change, and there was no question that he gained a great reputation as a brilliant leader in Palestine.

Lord Allenby was not a very easy man. He had a very strong character, and he used frequently, as the soldiers put it, to "blow up." In the army they have a word which is called "raspberry," and a raspberry can be applied in varying severity from mild to fortissimo. Lord Allenby's

doses were invariably fortissimo, and it was not convenient for one who got a so-called "raspberry" to answer him at the time. But once, and once only, was he answered, and that was from a distance.

On the eve of his last great triumph in Palestine he visited a certain divisional headquarters. The task of this division the next day was to march a considerable distance and take the Turkish headquarters. The general happened to be out when Lord Allenby went to the headquarters, and so he asked the chief staff officer, among other things, "When does your general expect to get to Tul el Kerim?"—which was the name of the Turkish headquarters. The staff officer said, "He hopes to be there at 5 o'clock." "Tell him not to be an adjectival fool," said Allenby, and walked out. But by good luck, and with everything going well, the troops arrived there next day at 4.58, and so the general very happily called for a telegraph pad and wrote out a message to the Commander-in-Chief: "I have the honour to report to you that I have taken Tul el Kerim at 4.58."

Lord Allenby was a very explosive man, and in the army he earned, by his rather bulldozing characteristics, the name of "The Bull." But he was not always like that, because on occasions he could be most pleasant and, as he was a very well-read man, he liked to talk about affairs, books, poetry, birds and flowers. He changed considerably in his old age, for when he was Rector of Edinburgh University, at the conclusion of his inaugural address, he told the students that war was a stupid and futile thing, and that there should be some other method of settling international disputes.

Following him came Lord Lloyd, whose dynamic energy and love of travel made him almost jet-propelled. He was a very ambitious man in his youth, but later he grew into a great imperialist whose only desire was the greatness of the Empire and the prestige of the British name. He died far too early, shortly after he became Colonial Secretary. The Empire has never suffered a more grievous loss. He was a wonderful host and entertained most lavishly, especially in his appointments as Governor of Bombay and High Commissioner in Egypt. He certainly had a love of the pomp and circumstance of those high offices. He was also passionately devoted to music and was deeply religious, and it was his combination of all these things that probably made him, originally of Quaker origin, find, in the end, consolation in the ritual and practice of Anglo-Catholicism.

Next came Lord Hailey, a very distinguished Indian Civilian, who was Governor of the Punjab and of the United Provinces. After his career in India he turned his attention to Africa. He was head of the Committee on Africa and of the African Survey, and wrote a Report which is very possibly the mainspring of the present Government's colonial policy towards that continent.

Following him came Lord Wavell. Lord Wavell was a great admirer of Allenby and copied his methods in war. He was silent and reserved, but the British soldier has an uncanny instinct in knowing a fine leader and true man, and they would all have followed him wherever he went.

Different from Allenby, Lord Wavell began his command in Africa

during the last war in a blaze of glory, and his victories resounded throughout the world. Later, however, fortune turned away from him and, leaving the field that he loved, he became Commander-in-Chief in India and, later, Viceroy. He never really intended to go into the army, but when a decision had to be made he thought that he might as well enter it because there was not anything else in which he was particularly interested. His headmaster, however, said that he would do his best to prevent one of his most promising pupils from taking this disastrous step.

A curious thing happened to determine his great career. When he went to India in the Black Watch, he was very fond of big game shooting, and wanted to go to Africa with the King's African Rifles to indulge in his favourite sport. His father said that he desired him to come home, so he made this bargain: "I will go up to the Staff College. If I pass, I will come home; if not, I will go out to Africa." Needless to say, he passed, and then his great career began.

I have already trespassed on your indulgence far too much, but I should like to mention just three Chairmen who did much for this Society. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, familiarly known by everyone as "Micky," was Governor of the Punjab in India and possessed all the most charming characteristics of an Irishman. I do not suppose that any Governor before him was more completely in touch with the inhabitants of his Province, and he was greatly loved. It was indeed a tragedy that this man, who was so popular and who never, in the whole of his life, did anybody any harm, was assassinated by an Indian fanatic at a joint lecture of this Society and of the East India Association in 1940.

Next we have Sir Philip Chetwode. Unlike Allenby and Wavell, Sir Philip Chetwode always intended to be a soldier, and he never looked back. He had a joyous career as a young officer in the 19th Hussars, and adored a hunt. He used to come down in the morning and say, "My heart is on fire and eager for the chase." Just at that time a very distinguished M.P. shook his head at him and said, "You won't ever do any good. You are much too light-hearted." When Lord Chetwode became a Field-Marshal, he took a rather peculiar pleasure in asking that M.P., who was still alive, to come and lunch with him.

He was a wonderful man to serve. After he had given his lucid and very clear orders or instructions, he left his subordinates entirely alone unless they wanted some help. After he finished his active service he was Chairman of the British Red Cross, and for his work there he was raised to the peerage; and he occupied his spare time by looking after old soldiers.

When he died, he had given instructions in his will that he did not wish for either a public funeral or a memorial service, and so he slipped quietly out of a life of great distinction and service. If I may use an expression which every Irishman will know and understand, "He was a lovely man."

Last but not least, we come to General Carton de Wiart. General Carton de Wiart was, quite obviously, born in the Elizabethan age, went to sleep like Rip Van Winkle, and woke up a Victorian, because he has had a life of adventure which is unparalleled by any of his contemporaries

in the army. Incidentally, I think I am right in saying that he left bits of himself on almost every battlefield in the last half-century. I am sorry he is not here tonight, but he is otherwise engaged, because I understand that he has just got married; and so we wish him all the happiness and good luck which he so thoroughly deserves. We thank him also for the story of his life, *A Happy Odyssey*, which is such an inspiration to the youth of the present day to seek adventure.

Now I will ask our very esteemed Chairman of the Council, Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, to propose the health of the guests.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O. (Chairman of the Council): Before I propose the toast of "The Guests," I must tell you of the bitter disappointment it has been to us, and also to him, that Admiral Lord Mountbatten was laid low by influenza yesterday at noon and is unable to come. I have a very nice letter from him saying how very much he regrets this, particularly because the principal labour in going to these dinners is the preparation of speeches and he had got through all the misery of that, and would like to have enjoyed some of the pleasure that has been denied to him.

I am personally very sorry that Lord Mountbatten is unable to come, because he is an old shipmate of mine and I had the honour of serving under his distinguished father, Prince Louis of Battenberg. Naturally, as an old shipmate, I have followed his career as closely as I could, and I am filled with admiration at what he has accomplished and the way he has done it. Among his advantages are that he is one of the best polo players of his day and in the Navy; what we really like is that he plays hard and works hard; no trouble is ever too great for him.

If you have not read his despatches on the South-East Asia campaign, you will have read reviews of it by the great military critics, who speak so very highly not only of the conduct of the operations, but also of the modesty with which the report has been written. When reading it, however, I thought it odd that, at a time when it was so essential to have the best and happiest relations with the United States, he made no mention whatever in his despatches of Mr. Errol Flynn, who, I understand, was principally responsible for the great success of his operations!

There is a Biblical saying which I have always looked upon as a fixed and immutable law: that is, "Be sure your sin will find you out." I can give hope to all of you: there is just a chance that you may "get away with it" very occasionally! I committed the cardinal sin of inviting two very distinguished guests to the same dinner. That is something which is not done, but this was a very exceptional occasion.

It was the occasion of our Jubilee, and Lord Scarbrough, as the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the East India Association—those two sister societies with which we have always worked in such happy concord—very kindly consented to come tonight to honour our festivities. The result of that has been that now Lord Scarbrough, who was going to share with Lord Mountbatten the honour of being a principal guest this evening, takes upon himself the whole of the labours.

Lord Scarbrough, after his distinguished military career, devoted a great deal of his life to India. He was for six years a Governor of Bom-

bay at a very critical time, was afterwards Under-Secretary of State for India, and recently has been employed on what is called the "Scarborough Report," which is not what some of you may think—it has nothing to do with the recent Labour Party Conference. It concerns a subject which is very much more important for us, dealing with the whole question of oriental studies of all sorts, not only for British students of Eastern languages, but also for the treatment and well-being of the students from these countries coming to England.

Some of the fruits of that Report are already being enjoyed. I believe that the Centre for Arabic Studies in the Lebanon, through which a great many of our members have already passed, is a direct issue of this work, and I am sure that a great many more recommendations of the Committee have been, or will be, brought into force as soon as possible.

We are most grateful indeed to Lord Scarborough in having come to-night, and we wish him very great success in the appointment, which he is shortly going to take up, in the very high post of Grand Master of English Freemasonry, a post which is usually held by a member of the Royal Family.

We then have our "landlord," Canon C. B. Mortlock, Honorary Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Society. It is thanks entirely to the happy arrangement come to between him and Colonel Newcombe that we are so admirably lodged at the present time, much better than we have ever been in the course of my experience of the Society. Our present quarters are more fitted to the talents of our incomparable secretary, Miss Wingate, than were the hole-in-the-corner places in which we have sometimes been in the course of our peregrinations.

Canon Mortlock is apparently the vicar of six churches; and in addition he is a canon of Chichester Cathedral. He is one of the most distinguished authorities on ecclesiastical architecture. In addition to his work in the literary world, he has a very high place in the journalistic world. He is one of the board of directors of the *Daily Telegraph*, and at one time, in his moments of relaxation, he was actually a contributor to "Peterborough," which I think is one of the best daily features of any newspaper in England.

We have too Sir Edward Penton. It had been our intention to get as many as we could of the original members of the Society together tonight. We hoped, as the President said, to get Lord Zetland and Colonel Perowne, too, but the only one who has turned up is Sir Edward Penton. Those who founded this Society did so in the days when they—Lord Ronaldshay and many of the others—used to take their recreational walks in the Pamirs and strolling about on the Roof of the World, instead of going to the Downs.

That is where Sir Edward Penton got his interest in this Society, which he has kept up with such vigour during fifty years of service. He was to have been the first Honorary Secretary of the Society, but he happened to be abroad returning from one of these trips, and so Sir Francis—then Major—Younghusband took it on for a few months.

At the time the Society was founded and until 1919, Sir Edward Penton was the Honorary Secretary. He then undertook the still more

onerous position of Honorary Treasurer, until at the outbreak of the last war he was called away to the other services he was rendering to the country. Right up to the present, however, he has been, and we hope will continue to be for a good many years to come, one of our trustees. He has rendered a service of fifty years to this Society, which I think is without parallel. We all owe him a great debt of gratitude.

It is usual to refer to all the distinguished people who are present, but there are so many of them and I have been talking for so long that I will merely bracket them all together and say how very glad we are that they have all been able to come tonight to honour this very special occasion.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF SCARBROUGH, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. : No one in this very distinguished assembly is more sorry than I am that the protocol has been changed and that Lord Mountbatten has been laid low with influenza. All of you, I am sure, will be still more sorry with me when I reveal to you that, a few minutes before I stepped light-heartedly into my bath this evening, the Admiral telephoned to tell me of this disaster and to instruct me that I was to take upon myself the reply to this toast.

One must be thankful for small mercies, however, for this is better, perhaps, than the plight of a very distinguished politician who a short time ago at a dinner—I think, of the English Speaking Union—had prepared no doubt a wholly admirable speech; but while he was listening to the previous speaker someone came up to him and said, “He is being too long. You must cut down yours by five minutes.” The reverse is the case as far as I am concerned. When the Admiral rang me up, I felt that at that late hour there was really nothing at all that I could do about it. However, I will do my best.

First of all, Mr. President, on behalf of all your guests, I would like to bring to you warmest congratulations on the fiftieth birthday of your Society. Usually on the occasion of a golden jubilee the guests who are invited are expected to bring with them some suitable gift. No doubt, if he had not been otherwise occupied, Lord Mountbatten would have done so on behalf of your guests, but I had no time. In any case, it seemed to me that our gold reserves are already too slender to permit of any raid upon them to provide you with a suitable Golden Jubilee gift.

But then I comforted myself with the thought that better than gold and more excellent than rubies is wisdom—not that I suggest I am bringing wisdom to you. On the contrary, I know only too well that in the ranks of the distinguished members of your Society is a very great deal of wisdom about that part of the world which you describe as “Central Asia.”

I have always found it rather difficult to discover where the Near East ends and the Middle East begins, and how far west the Far East extends. But your Society has solved that problem by taking unto itself the whole of Asia, with the exception of India and Pakistan, I think. That is a very happy solution of a difficult problem.

But I know for other reasons of the wisdom which resides in your distinguished Society. A few years ago, as the Admiral has said, I was chairman of a Commission which was given the task of enquiring into what was done in this country for Oriental studies. It is true that there

were also thrown in African, Slavonic and East European studies, just to balance it. But I rather think that the main part—perhaps the main importance—of our work was concerned with Oriental studies, and we found, considering the great rôle which our country had played in the East, that remarkably little had been done for those studies in this country up till then.

But we also found that amongst those who had done something were those learned Societies such as yours, who, for a very large number of years, had pressed for something more to be done and who, through their own actions, by providing a forum for discussion, publication and meeting, had done a good deal to keep alive in this country interest in those parts of the world.

We set before ourselves the business of suggesting what place in the post-war outlook of the British people knowledge and understanding of all those countries should take. In particular we recommended that strong departments in some of the Universities of this country should be built up in order that there should be gradually permeating the outlook of the British people some knowledge and understanding of what is, in fact, the largest part of the peoples of the world.

But I think we realized that whatever may be done in the Universities—and I am glad to think that since we made our recommendations a good deal has been done—it is also vitally necessary that there should be bodies divorced from the Government in this country which should continue to be gathering-places for all those interested in these various parts of the world, which should sponsor, as you do, important and authoritative publications and which should generally help to maintain interest in this country in these parts of the world. If therefore, Mr. President, your Society has during the past fifty years done a great deal in this regard, I feel quite sure that in the years which are before you there is a great future for that kind of work.

In the past fifty years you have provided one of the links between this country and those parts of Asia with which you are specially connected. But recently other links—political, commercial and military—have been broken, and if nothing were to replace all those broken links, the divorce between this country and those countries of Asia might be permanent and deep.

But if your Society, Mr. President, and the other Societies which do similar work to yours, are able to preserve their identity and to continue their work, you may still, perhaps with greater help from the Universities of this country, continue to form a link, and a very important link—the cultural link—between those countries and our own country here in Great Britain.

And so I hope it will not be thought that, because British influence today is not quite the same as it was in those parts of Asia in which you are interested, there is therefore no need for a Society such as yours to continue its work. On the contrary, I would hold that there is even greater need. Therefore, in congratulating your Society on its Golden Jubilee today, I would couple with that the best wishes of all those who have had experience of and great affection for those countries whose interests your

Society has served, and I express the hope that you will continue your work in the great opportunities that will present themselves to you in the future.

Rev. Canon C. B. MORTLOCK, F.S.A., Hon.A.R.I.B.A. : Because of the very unhappy absence of Lord Mountbatten, I find myself in the enviable position of having the privilege of responding to this toast. Like Lord Scarbrough, I also took a bath before dinner, and long experience has taught me to have a telephone extension beside my bath. I also had a conversation with Sir Howard Kelly, and so learnt of this distinction, although I did not expect that it would be coupled with the sinister title of "landlord"!

I returned this afternoon from a tour in Europe, in which I had been divorced from all correspondence and telephone calls, and so looked forward to this evening without any of the usual preliminary pangs to which reference has been made; so I must ask my fellow guests for their indulgence in the inadequacy of any response which I can make on their behalf.

A jubilee is a very notable occasion, whether in private history or in the history of such a Society as this. I know that when I entered my fifty-first year I took pleasure in beginning a conversation by saying, "Having lived in this world for the better part of a century . . ." This Society can now look forward with that dignity of maturity which comes only at the attainment of a jubilee.

I am quite certain that Sir Edward Penton and others who can remember the beginning of this Society will testify that not in their most romantic or melodramatic imaginations could they have foreseen the many changes that have passed across the face of that mysterious and rather nebulous region of the world to which they are devoted; but all of them who know the character of British institutions could have predicated with accuracy and certainty that this Jubilee would be suitably observed: and so it is.

It is my pleasure to return thanks for this most delightful hospitality which we have received this evening. By no means the least part, Mr. President, was in hearing from your lips the recital of those distinguished men who have been your predecessors or who have preceded Sir Howard Kelly in the Chairmanship of the Council. One or two of them were known to me, and perhaps I may be permitted to add a word or two to what you, sir, have already said.

Lord Allenby, for example, was in character as you have described him, but there was also about him a deep humility, which was demonstrated, as many here will remember, when the moment came for him to enter the old city of Jerusalem. He remembered a former entry, and, unlike the Kaiser Wilhelm, who had the wall broken down for him, Lord Allenby dismounted and walked on foot through the Jaffa Gate.

I have a link also with Lord Lloyd, who, I think, was the most completely proconsular person I have ever met. I remember being his guest in Cairo and being greatly impressed with the magnificence of every occasion which he adorned. He said this was necessary because Lord Allenby had gone to the other extreme, even as far as to ride in the streets of Cairo on a push bike. And so Lord Lloyd thought it necessary to redress the balance.

I remember that he had occasion to go to Alexandria to see the King of Egypt. As you know, there is an excellent Pullman train which goes

every morning from Cairo to Alexandria, but Lord Lloyd ordered, as was his wont, a special train. He was accompanied suitably at the station; there was red carpet and hydrangeas—that, he said, was necessary and proper. How far the events of today illustrate that is not for me to speculate.

But you who are members of the Society are now looking forward to the next fifty years of your history, and it must be an immense strength to you to know what lies behind you, because there is nothing to inspire confidence more than experience and the success which comes from proved methods. Therefore, Mr. President, I tender to you, on behalf of my fellow guests, our great thanks for your allowing us to be present on this occasion, which will be historic in the annals of the Society; and when the Centenary is celebrated—which some of those I see about me will no doubt attend—this evening will be recalled and some of the names of those who are privileged to be guests here tonight will be recalled again with pride and honour.

Sir EDWARD PENTON, proposing the toast of “The Central Asian Society,” said:

The Society, in entrusting this toast to me on its 50th birthday, has done me a very great honour, and although I realize that I owe it to my years rather than my merits, that realization does not dilute my pleasure.

Sir Howard, since you asked me to undertake this rôle it has been puzzling me to decide how it ought to be played. Was I to be the slippered pantaloon crooning over the success of his descendants and the magnificence of their surroundings, so different from the more modest setting of earlier days, or should I think of myself as Rip van Winkle back from a long sleep in the Catskills to see how the boys were getting on? The latter interpretation may, I think, be the more appropriate; for, supposing we could bring our founders back to this birthday dinner, none of them could be less astonished at the world they found around them than was the old sleeper when he descried on the signboard of his local hostelry, instead of a portrait of His Majesty King George III, the unknown Virginian called George Washington.

You, sir, have treated us to an enthralling account of what I may call, in these days of film stars, the Society’s glamorous period, and you have reeled off a list of Presidents with whose names every schoolboy should be familiar. I am going, if I may, to transport you for a few moments to a more straitened period. I will start by paying my tribute to those three great ladies who have succeeded each other as secretaries of the Society. I associate myself with everything you said about Miss Kennedy. I could joyfully spend the rest of the evening talking about Miss Wingate. But seeing so many young faces among the company, I am going to speak about a lady—whom I prefer to think of as Miss Hughes, though later she became Mrs. Frazer—and who many of you never knew. I speak about her not only because she was, true to the tradition of the Society, a brilliant secretary, but because she forged a link which did much at its foundation to make the Society possible. She was, in fact, the Society’s nanny.

At the time of the Society’s conception, Miss Hughes was assistant secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose rooms, including her services,

the infant Central Asian Society hoped to use. They were incongruously situated over Asprey's Albemarle Street shop. I notice that the door and staircase which then led to our rooms is now closed, so that nothing so indiscreet should ever occur again.

The Royal Asiatic was an incredibly learned Society, and its secretary was more incredibly learned than the Society he administered. In this atmosphere Miss Hughes, though nominally assistant, was in fact for all mundane purposes its secretary. It was she who realized that there were people among her own membership who did not wish to be learned all the time, but would like opportunities to be a little outspoken and a little critical, particularly in the forbidden realms of politics.

I am grateful to Lord Scarbrough for applauding the Society's boldness in taking all Asia (India excepted) for its province. But if excuse is needed, the knowledge, experience and achievements of its founders are sufficient justification. Among them were Francis Younghusband—a veritable Mahatma—with his legendary reputation as traveller, political officer and author; the soldiers Thomas Gordon and Edwin Collen: the Politicals, Algy Durand—more like an ambassador than any ambassador could ever have been—and Lepel Griffin, always gay and debonair; Lord Zetland—Lord Ronaldshay as he was then—fresh from service on Lord Curzon's staff, with his distinguished career ahead of him; and many others whose names can be traced in the Society's records. But there were two whose boldness of conception and courageous outlook are engraved on my memory: Sir Thomas Holdich, the geographer and engineer, and Sir Alfred Lyall, the statesman.

If the Society had a "nanny," it also had a godfather—a wonderful godfather, Dr. Cotterell Tupp. He had been Accountant-General in India, and it is not surprising that he was often known as "Tottle it up." At all the Society's meetings he sat beside the Chairman: he actually was the honorary treasurer—a pillar of security. He was always accompanied by his wonderful wife, distinguished in appearance, and each the complement of the other, gracious and friendly to all. Her lovely head of white hair moved among the members at Miss Hughes's adroit pre-lecture teas. These two did much to create the social atmosphere that gave the Society its early tone.

At its start many of the Founders read papers, sometimes more than one: but when that source was exhausted, fresh papers were often difficult to secure, for the Society was not well enough known to attract lecturers who had something to say and wanted a platform to say it from. Besides, it was embarrassing to ask eminent travellers and others possessed of unique knowledge to risk addressing a very sparsely attended meeting. Miss Hughes always comforted me with her perfect sense of proportion, but I could never cure myself of accepting too great a share of responsibility for the attendance, and I lived in agony for the last thirty minutes before every lecture, watching the empty chairs slowly fill, and trying to induce late-comers to occupy the vacant front row. Most lecturers gladly accepted quality for quantity, and were better pleased to discuss their information with our founders than to broadcast it to a larger but less distinguished gathering. But I shall never forget how, at one of our

early meetings, a disappointed speaker, himself a member of the Society, who instead of rows of empty chairs had anticipated an audience eager to absorb his views, forced me to accompany him up Bond Street to listen to his vituperations, until at last, having led me into his tailors, he switched his wrath on to the cutter because his trousers did not fit to his liking! When Sir John reeled off the membership figures of the later period, I thought of our pride when we reached our modest hundred.

But what was the reason for founding the Society and courting those early struggles? There are doubtless many versions, and the Society possesses a wealth of literature to inform the curious. But I have a conviction, bred of long observation, that the Society was founded by men who through a lifetime's experience recognized the constant conflict of the peoples of the Heartland and the sea-going nations on their perimeter. You may particularize it, if you like, as "the integrity of India": but, instinctively, those founders realized the wider dangers, and it was because of their fervent anxiety to preserve their work that they founded the Society to warn their countrymen of the perils to come.

Some wanted to preserve the *status quo* at all costs—by which they meant, to prevent Russian access to the Persian Gulf. But there were others, notably Sir Alfred Lyall, who realized that coming events could not be merely resisted, but had to be accepted and moulded to our advantage. I remember an argument at a council meeting specially convened to discuss the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, the bogey of the moment. There were several notable members present. Sir Alfred, by that time a very old man, sat apart, a gaunt solitary figure, his head bent forward with his chin resting on his chest, neither moving nor speaking, and looking like a moulting bird. An unconstructively hostile resolution was ultimately accepted, but, as other members rose to go and I was completing my notes, Sir Alfred's hand shot out to seize me by the wrist: "See that I am not associated with that resolution," he hissed. The wise old statesman's final protest. Sir Thomas Holdich, on the other hand, actuated by the maxim, "If you see a force you cannot control, lead it," would have driven the railway across Persia, through Afghanistan and into India. For him a railway had no terrors as long as he constructed it.

Impossible as it may sound now, Sir Edward Grey in 1907 reached an agreement with Russia over spheres of influence in Persia. You might imagine that the Society would have been delighted at his success, but instead its first reaction was, "What are we going to talk about?" Was it the Society's death-knell? But that impression was momentary. There was still a wide scope for discussion!

During the early years of the 1914-18 war the Society almost ceased to function. But as the war progressed Colonel A. C. Yate realized that the men returning from the Mesopotamian campaign would have acquired an interest in Central Asia and would welcome a meeting-place to discuss their new-found knowledge. So he awakened the sleeping Society, and its influence has been its justification. Among its new members it enlisted Geoffrey Stephenson, who I regret is not here tonight. Loaded with a sheaf of membership forms, he stalked his returning friends. The parlours of St. James's Square were his most prolific hunting-ground. Once

found, his quarry could expect no sanctuary, and either in a club smoking room or in the open street with a lamp-post for a table the form and banker's order were signed. So the tide was taken on the flood. The Society recruited its thousand members and more and entered into its brilliant period.

Those were the two first acts. The first, the struggle supported by conviction; the second, success through being there to seize the opportunity. Now the curtain is rising on the third. The scene has changed. The problem is the same, but the script has still to be written.

I want to thank Lord Scarbrough for his speech. Particularly to the younger men and women who are here tonight, he has emphasized the continued need for this Society. He has shown the way that so many of us have been trying to find. The road will be the same, the method will differ. We may not get the flow of distinguished and experienced members from the same sources as hitherto. But that does not mean that there are not thousands of people who are necessarily interested in the area we cover. On the contrary, the sources are possibly less restricted today. From these our membership must be drawn: residents in the countries which already correspond with us: visitors travelling for information who will want to tell the Society what they have found; business men who trade in Central Asia (as interpreted by the Society), and, above all, the politicians who need such a repository of knowledge.

On August 7, 1947, *The Times* Literary Supplement published an article entitled "The English." It was a criticism of the character of England, edited by Ernest Barker and published by the Oxford Clarendon Press. It was not a flattering article. It gave more prominence to the English faults than to their virtues. But it ended with a note of encouragement: "The English at present are sleeping as a sailor sleeps after a storm, cast up on the beach in the sun. But in their dreams they know very well that they will have to rise and go forth. There are traces of this in their current light writing, in their actions, even in their thoughts. Miss Rebecca West suddenly breaks into it at the end of her essay: 'We were to know again,' she says, 'the conflict of continental faith and local genius: there came back into life something of a Tudor strength and richness: the hammer was striking on the anvil again.' These quick, tremendous, intensive, bold people have to be tested once more. They will have to move suddenly from the period of Racine to the period of Villon. One of the great epics of the world is about to be played out before us and played out now."

For this epic the Society can write its share of the script. Mr. President, may I give you the toast of "The Society," long life, success, and tremendous usefulness!

THE TOMBS OF THE TIBETAN KINGS

By DR. GIUSEPPI TUCCI

No transcription of Tibetan has yet been found that is satisfactory to all scholars. In this article, for easy identification by English readers, the Survey of India spelling has in general been followed for place-names; and that of Sir Charles Bell for personal names. Where there are markedly different alternative spellings Dr. Tucci gives them in brackets.

ONE of the principal aims of my journey in Tibet in the year 1948 was to identify the place where the tombs of the Tibetan kings were located. I knew from literary sources that they were to be found in the valley of Yarlung, and specially near Chonghie Dzong. But, at least to my knowledge, no precise information could be gathered from the very few travellers who had gone as far as that place. It was therefore necessary to investigate carefully the southern part of the Yarlung valley, and to search for the remains of these tombs if they still existed. In this way not only the historical tradition could have been confirmed, but also there was a chance of discovering inscriptions or historical documents of great value. In fact the valley of Yarlung was the cradle of Tibetan civilization. The dynasty which during the times of Song-tsen Gam-po (Srong btsan sgam po) conquered the greater part of Tibet and, in a few years, grew to such power as to rival even that of contemporary China, started its march from this valley. Therefore, leaving Lhasa in early August, 1948, I came by boat down to Kongka Dzong on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Chusul, where the Kichu (Kyid chu) river enters the Tsang po (Brahmaputra). I preferred going by boat, because in this way I could visit without inconvenience important places on both sides of the river; I could stop, for instance, in the small village of Sinporì (Srin po ri), in Dorjetra (Dorje Brag), where there is a very important monastery belonging to the gñinmapa sect, to Samye, etc.

From Samye I proceeded by caravan to the On valley, at the very end of which there is the famous monastery of Chöding and the chapel of Ke ru founded by Ti-song De-tsen (Khri sron ide btsan), a king who lived in the eighth century.

From this place I came down to Ngaritaktsan, where it is impossible to proceed any farther by boat, because the river narrows there and navigation would be dangerous; it is in fact forbidden by the Government, as I was told. From Ngaritaktsan through Zanrikangmar I went up to Oka, a place which in former times was very important, but now is nothing more than a hamlet. From Oka I moved to Chinji, a monastery very famous in Tibetan tradition, because the great reformer Tsong-ka-pa spent there some years of his life in meditation and wrote some of his most interesting works. From Oka I could easily have gone to Chortenghie, but, having reason to think that research work in Yarlung would

detain me in that part longer than I had previously anticipated, I came back by the same route to Ngaritaksan, where I crossed the river by a ferry and went to Tsetang. Before continuing to describe my journey, I must say that an archæologist would be rather disappointed in those parts of Tibet. The internecine wars of the sects and then the invasions of the Zungars, whose memory has not faded among the people, have destroyed a great part of the ancient monuments, and those which survived were then restored. To restore a temple is a meritorious work, and this is done in general without taking into consideration the historical or the artistic value of the thing repaired; in this way many frescoes which could formerly be admired on the walls of many old temples have disappeared. But a few statues—for instance, in Samye—go back to the time of its foundation; so also an important inscription which still exists in that same place and records the first acceptance of Buddhism as a State religion by the kings of Tibet.

Tsetang nowadays is no more than a big village; it has also a certain importance as the most important commercial centre of South Tibet (Lokha). As in Lhasa and Shigatse, there are even a few Kache or Moslems who are chiefly tailors by profession, but the bazaar is rather poor and it cannot be compared with that of Gyantse. About two miles to the south there is Nedong, itself a small village, with a big monastery; but this place was formerly very important, because the capital of a dynasty which ruled in Tibet from the end of the Sakya supremacy (thirteenth-fourteenth century), and was started by a famous leader, Changchub Gyal-tsen (Byang chub rgyal mts'han). But even this dynasty had not a very long duration; it fought against the district of Tsang, chiefly against the ruler of Sandubtse (now Shigatse), and then, its power being gradually reduced, it gave way to the yellow sect which it patronized and which with the fifth Dalai Lama took possession of the temporal power. Proceeding to the south one meets, at every step, places very important in the history of Tibet and its religion, but these also have all been fully restored. Even the Yambulakhang and the Potrang, which are recorded as the oldest castles of the royal dynasty, have been completely rebuilt; Potrang has been rebuilt below the hill where formerly it was and where only a few remains of the old palace are preserved. Not very far from Yambulakhang the valley divides into two: one is the Yarlung valley and the other the Chongye valley, so called after the river which runs in its midst; at the end of this valley the village of Chonghie is found. This place is found on the map 1,014 inches to 16 miles (revised edition 1927, Sheet n. 77): Chongche Dzong. In Chonghie (Phyong rgyas) Chonghie itself on the slopes of the rocky hill to the left on the river one finds the fort where the fifth Dalai Lama, the scion of the Chonghie princes, was born, the ruins of the old castles, the village and the big monastery of the yellow sect called Ri bo chos sde, founded by Kal bzang rgya mts'o. The fort itself is very interesting, because it is one of the most powerful castles of central Tibet. Two layers are easily visible in the building: the upper, made of stone bricks, is certainly mediæval, the second is composed of huge dried clay blocks and represents the oldest part of the construction. Just on the top of the hill there

is a temple, and a tradition goes that underneath there is a tomb. This castle was called Pyin ba stag rtse, according to the local tradition, which is also met with in literary sources.

The country on the right side of the river, a quarter of a mile to the south of the village, is called even now Donkhar. This is the place where, according to tradition, the greater part of the tombs were built. The first natural hillock, on the right side of the river and on the top of which a small temple is built, belonging to the red sect, is universally known as the tomb of Song-tsen Gam-po. It is surrounded by the usual *skor lam*, the circumambulation, but clear traces can still be seen of a very old wall, which encircled the entire place.

Near by there are many other mounds which are said to be the tombs of other kings either anterior to Song-tsen Gam-po or who followed him, the most important being that of Ti-de Rong-tsen (Khri lde srong btsan), near which a pillar with an inscription still remains.

All these tombs are natural hillocks created by the erosion of the valley, but in many of them the adaptation by man to a regular square form is still quite evident. There is no doubt that the tradition has an historical foundation and that these mounds are really the tombs of the old kings of Tibet. First of all, this tradition is old, since we met it in some of the more reliable chronicles of the country; then it is confirmed by those traces of adaptation by man alluded to above and also by the erection of the pillar (*rdo ring*) near the tomb of Ti-de Rong-tsen.

The inscription contains a eulogy of the king, records his wars and conquests in Central Asia, and in some way confirms the authority of some old books which, speaking of this ruler, quote almost literally some portion of the text of the inscription itself. This also shows that funeral ceremonies were still performed according to the prescriptions of the Pönpo—that is, the representatives of the old religion, anterior to the introduction of Buddhism. Of course, it would be extremely interesting to undertake excavations on the spot, since we know that many treasures were buried along with the corpses of the kings; sometimes, at least in former times, even their wives and children. It is true that these tombs were opened and violated in the ninth century, but it is very likely that on that occasion only valuable objects were taken away and that many interesting documents connected with the history of old Tibet and its culture might still be found in these tumuli. But the time has not yet come for an investigation of these monuments; the Tibetans still consider these tombs as sacred places, and until the situation changes, would never allow them to be excavated. The place, however, has now been fully identified where the archaeologists of future times will have to make their investigations.

TO ARABIA IN SEARCH OF DATE-PALM OFFSHOOTS

By V. H. W. DOWSON

Report of a lecture delivered on May 23, 1951, Brigadier S. H. Longrigg, O.B.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very lucky to have Mr. Dowson here to lecture to us again. He has been a member of the Society since 1922, when he was in government service in 'Iraq, and has lectured to us on a number of previous occasions. He is particularly welcome because he speaks of matters in regard to which he has knowledge at first-hand. In 1939 he gave the Society a lecture about the growing of dates in southern 'Iraq, on which he is one of the world's leading experts, having given most of his life to the study of date culture.

Since the war Mr. Dowson has had the opportunity of travelling in Syria, Lebanon, North Africa and Arabia. Two years ago he accepted a post under the Colonial Office with the title of Officer-in-Charge, Date Scheme, Somaliland Protectorate. He is advising the government of Somaliland on the cultivation of dates, and the scheme is one of those paid for under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

The development of this project took Mr. Dowson to Arabia, and it is of those trips, and in particular of Hasa, that he is to speak today. If he has time to speak about British Somaliland as well as Arabia, I shall be glad, because I have never known whether it is slightly more respectable to say Somalis or Somals. Both are said, but I believe one gives a slight *cachet* that the other man has not got!

THE DATE SCHEME

I MUST first explain how it comes about that I have recently been visiting Arabia. I went there in order to buy date offshoots for the Somaliland Protectorate. This country, which lies on the southern shore of the Gulf of Aden, opposite the port of Aden, is inhabited almost entirely by nomads, who pasture their flocks and herds, following the grazing. The country is overstocked, and the government wish to encourage the people to till the soil; but the development of agriculture is hampered by the capriciousness of the rains. However, much of the rain that falls on the northern mountains and seeps into the sandy soil makes its way below ground to the sea, so that, in many places along the coast, fresh water can be found only a few feet below the surface. Here then would appear to be a district capable of growing irrigated crops, were it not that the Somali shore is swept in summer by so hot and so fierce a wind that ordinary plants wither and die. The date palm, however, appears likely not only to be able to use the underground water, but to withstand the rigours of the summer climate and, perhaps, to provide shelter for under-crops. The Colonial Office has consequently authorized the expenditure of £45,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to be spent during the six years 1950 to 1956 on experiments to determine whether date cultivation is indeed possible in Somaliland and, if so, what is the best method to adopt and what are the best date varieties to import. The project is known as the Date Scheme; and I have been placed in charge of it.

My first care, after my arrival in the country early last year, was to

prepare date-introduction stations and to staff them; my next, to buy date shoots from the chief date-growing districts of the world. My assistant, Mr. Adan Hajji Ahmad Naleyā, a Somali, and I have had time so far to make only two date-shoot-buying journeys, of which the earlier was to the Hadhramaut, whose government was so good as to grant us facilities, and the later to the Hasa. The Sa'udi authorities were so kind as to give permission for the purchase and export of the shoots, and the Governor of Hasa placed a Ford pick-up at our disposal for the whole time we were in the province, gave us every assistance and treated us with all kindness.

Much has been written about the Hadhramaut in recent years by abler pens than mine, but there has been less written lately about Hasa, so that it is to what I learnt on my second journey that I shall confine my remarks this afternoon; but before getting down to my proper place on the soil amongst the date palms, I venture to introduce some remarks on the Sa'udi-Arabian scene as it appeared to me earlier this year.

THE NEW ARABIA

I was prepared for the abruptness of the nomad, for the dignity of the shaikh, the austerity of the Wahhabi: I was not prepared for a people smoking openly in the streets of Jidda and Hufuf and on the aerodrome at Riyadh, for the radio in the coffee shops, for the Coca-Cola factory with its chromium-plated machinery behind plate-glass windows, or for the conversion of the country to bureaucracy.

Sa'udi Arabia has gone the way of Egypt, 'Iraq and Syria—telephones typewriters and reams and reams of paper. I may be speaking with insufficient experience, but the impression I have of Egyptian bureaucracy is that, being so old (it started with the Pharaohs), it has mellowed, so that the Egyptian official will become human with only a little encouragement. The newer bureaucracy of Sa'udiya, it seemed to me, is often staffed with persons who take themselves more seriously. In the Lebanon and 'Iraq, we had an old tradition of Turkish bureaucratic administration, so that in those countries there is much in government that has not changed. Ahmad Effendi, holding the paper two inches from his eye, and slipping into his pocket the little something that has been passed across the table to make it easier for him to sign the required document, is much the same as he used to be. The fez has given place to the *sidara*, the *majidi* to the *dinar*, that is all; but in the kingdom of Arabia there has been recent change, more rapid, more spectacular, more profound. A state depending on the *zakkat*, the slender tithes of the faithful, and the tax on the pious pilgrim, within ten years has so changed that it now receives from the infidel between sixty and seventy million United States dollars annually, more than three-quarters of the budget.

EXPENDITURE

How is the money spent? On a few roads, many public buildings, wireless communications, a fine jetty at Jidda, a railway, a mushroom civil service staffed largely by Syrians and Palestinians (for the Sa'udis are not sent abroad to study and the educational system of the country itself is rudimentary) and on a very large number of expensive automobiles and of

splendid palaces. There has been a striking rise in the standard of living of the highest classes. A person of distinction nowadays maintains a greater establishment than formerly, and, in one way or another, supports a large number of his compatriots of both sexes, running sometimes into hundreds. These dependants are not engaged in productive labour, but the economist would probably regard with indulgence the state of society portrayed when he realized that the alternative—namely, the life of Arabian labour—would be only that of the leisurely herding of camels from one lean pasture to another, of all the activities of man one of the least productive.

Early in this century the cereal geneticists produced the Marquis wheat, whose special property was that it required a shorter growing period than that needed by any good variety till then produced, and which could therefore be grown in a great belt of barren country north of the existing Canadian wheat lands, where the snow lay so late in the spring and the summer was so short that ordinary wheats had no chance of ripening. I introduce this seemingly irrelevant fact because I wish to add that, if some scientist could perform a feat parallel with that of the creator of Marquis and produce a wheat that would mature on only 3 inches of rainfall, he would be conferring on the Arabian peninsula perhaps an even greater benefit than that of the geologist who discovers oil: most of Sa'udiya could then turn to agriculture, but, as things are at present, that land, except for the oases, is to the sons of Ishmael. There are also 30,000 oil employees. A word then about oil.

OIL

The activities of the Arabian American Oil Company have now put Sa'udi Arabia fifth amongst the oil-producing countries of the world, although thirteen years ago it produced none, and although production on the grand scale did not start until after the war.

The company's concession, according to the 1939 agreement, comes to an end in the year 2005, but recent events farther up the Persian Gulf have directed public attention to the degree of trust that can be placed in agreements between government ants and oil-company aphids; and, although relations between Aramco and the government of Sa'udiya are excellent, it is only natural for there to be speculation as to what will happen when, in the course of nature, there is a change of ruler. The company certainly made a bold and generous bid to strengthen the friendship between the government and themselves, and to identify the interests of the two parties, by their recent supplementary agreement whereby they will pay the government half the annual net profits. While the present sovereign rules, events in the country are to some extent predictable. One can expect to receive the rough but ready justice of a great Badawi leader brought up in the tradition of the Quran and its Prophet, fearless, direct in speech, honest in purpose, but one does not need to be endowed with much prescience to be sure that the future will bring changes.

The Arabian oilfields lie clustered near the eastern shore of the peninsula opposite Bahrain, and present much the appearance of other oilfields in the Near East, within the wire fences oases of soaring offices, machinery

and workshops, crowded active life, trim bungalows heated and cooled by vast central plants, where live 2,000 Americans, with schools for their children up to high-school standard; and outside the fences a sea of sand dunes, of bare, broken, burnt-up country that shimmers in the heat haze. At Bu Qaiq, in the Dhahran neighbourhood, is the starting-point of that gigantic project the 1,100-mile long pipeline, a pipe thirty, and thirty-one, inches in diameter—an elephant among pipes, the world's longest, and of all the world's long ones, the largest, which carries the Arabian oil to the Mediterranean, and which will save annually millions of dollars in freight and canal dues. Along its course communication is maintained not by ordinary telephone with its wires and poles, but by radio-telephone alone.

Within the wire fence the American way of life prevails: there are waffles and maple syrup for breakfast, and if anyone asks for jam with his bacon nobody screams; but outside the wire the law of Islam still puts up something of a rearguard action, and it was in deference to local susceptibilities that there had been displayed the notice I saw as I was being shown round the magnificent recreation centre at Dhahran, appealing to ladies to dress conservatively when they visited neighbouring towns. But, judging by what some of the oil ladies wore when attending the official opening of a public building in Bahrain, honoured by the presence of the principal persons on the island, where the ladies were arrayed in the kind of sun-suit that allows the rays of the sun the maximum opportunity to exert their beneficial effect, I should have thought that the appeal would have been for them to dress not conservatively but more liberally.

Until recently it was a common thing for the American employees of the oil company to fly over to Bahrain for the week-end or for an afternoon's shopping, but these innocent amusements are no longer possible, for the Sa'udi government now levies a landing tax of 100 dollars on anyone returning to Dhahran from the island.

RAILWAY

The oil company undertook to construct a railway on a cost-plus basis from Riyadh, the capital of Sa'udi Arabia, to Dammam on the east coast, opposite Bahrain, where its terminal is out in deep water at the end of a jetty several miles long. This railway is already in operation for the 100 miles or so from the coast to Hufuf, but there is no obvious economic reason for the construction of the railway beyond the first fifty miles—that is to say, as far as the main oilfields—unless, as has been suggested, oil operations are to be extended to the neighbourhood of Hufuf; and the difficulties that railways have in paying their way, even in populous countries, suggest that a smaller sum than that spent on the railway, spent on a good road connecting Riyadh with the sea, would have enabled lorries to provide cheaper and faster transport than the railway is likely to do.

SA'UDI ARABIAN AIRLINES

There is a maxim whose truth is widely recognized in the East, and indeed also in the West—namely, “the foreigner pays double,” but I

confess I was surprised, when I took my ticket at Jidda for Hufuf, to find that the Sa'udi Arabian Air Lines applied the principle to air passages. A Sa'udi pays Rls. 180 for his seat, the foreigner Rls. 260.

The Sa'udi Arabian kingdom employs Muslim time, and watches are altered to show twelve o'clock when the sun sets. Foreign air lines use the Western system, so that another imponderable is added to air travel, if a change of planes has to be made at Jidda or Dhahran. In fact, however, the printed time-table is less useful as a guide than the procedure adopted by the experienced traveller, who inquires the name of the most important person travelling, finds out what time that official finishes his breakfast, and who then arranges to reach the aerodrome shortly afterwards.

The traveller may have his little joke about the time of departure, but he is quite properly grateful for there being an aeroplane at all, instead of a camel, to carry him the 750 miles across the sub-continent—for being able to make the journey in a day instead of a month. Of course, one does not see the country so well from the air as from the ground; but with anyone except an oil geologist or a xerophytic botanist a little of the desert goes a long way. During the whole course of the journey from Jidda to Hufuf by air one may observe only one populous district, Riyadh. For the rest there is only the vast plain, stretching as far as the eye can see, with an occasional jagged-edged mountain or a depression holding a few patches of winter corn, and here and there a *wadi* bed providing grazing for a herd of camels.

On each of the six occasions when I have been on the Jidda aerodrome about a dozen Sa'udi planes were to be seen, Bristol freighters and Dakotas, but it was said that not all were serviceable. The pilots are American and Egyptian.

HOSPITALITY

On my two Arabian visits in search of date shoots, I have had no cause to complain that the Arab of 1950 and 1951 has forgotten his traditional hospitality, but I was also delighted to find that the Somali is no wise behind him. On my arrival in Somaliland early in 1950, I was disappointed to find that it was not the custom for British officials on their travels to put up in the guest chambers of tribal headmen, as they did, and do, in the Arab world. Indeed, in the year I have been in Somaliland I have only twice entered the Somali circular hut of woven-grass mats—once to take out to hospital one of my men who was sick, and once, on a night of furious, annihilating rain, when my jeep had been washed away in a sudden flood and the kit I had rescued I left in the nearby hut of an old man, whose two comely daughters, so scantily arrayed as to suggest that, like Anna-Rose and Anna-Felicitas, they were “dressed for drowning,” helped me carry in my boxes.

When, however, my assistant and I reached Hasa, not only did we enjoy the princely hospitality of that indeed noble governor, who embodies the best of the older Arabia, H.H. the Amir Sa'ud bin Jaluwi, and of other Arabs, but we were entertained by a Somali, Jama' Muhammad, long in the king's service, but now a land, and lorry, owner; and, later,

at Dhahran, the Somali community there, about 400 strong, entertained us, while Mr. 'Abdi Farah, a Somali contractor working for the oil company, placed a car at our disposal both at Dhahran and in Bahrain, and, not content with that, insisted on paying our hotel bills, as a mark of his appreciation of the Somaliland government's having undertaken the Date Scheme to provide a living for his countrymen.

A MORNING IN AND AROUND HUFUF

May I now try to describe a morning in and around Hufuf, the chief town in the province of Hasa, that wide, empty land in whose centre lie loosely clustered a large number of oases with their towns and villages? We begin by visiting Muhammad, the agent of a Jidda merchant, to whom I bring an introduction. Muhammad, seated at a desk in an open-fronted mud-built shop filled by three chairs, a large safe, a stack of sacks of wheat and a pile of "Flit" pumps, gives me a bagful of *riyals*. These he will debit to the account of the Jidda merchant, who in turn will debit my account in one of the banks there.

We now drive off through the crowded street, lined with open-fronted shops, well stocked with food, cloth, hardware and haberdashery, automobile parts and donkey pack-saddles, to a bigger merchant, also named Muhammad, whose house is in a lane too narrow for the car. The open doorway leads to a courtyard surrounded by storerooms, above which are the living quarters. Carpeted benches line three of the walls, on which visitors sit tailor fashion, wrapped up in their woollen cloaks, and with their sandals beneath them on the floor. At one corner is a charcoal fire in a hearth, provided with a hand blower off a forge, where Muhammad's sons and younger brother make tea and coffee. Muhammad, a courteous host, a wide-awake business man, and something of a scholar, has the ability, familiar to those who have had to frequent oriental offices, to do several things at once. He chaffers for old brass with a ragged badu, who has just brought in a load of it; he sells a neighbour a sack of Siamese rice; he signs letters; he gives alms to the beggars, who, after wishing the company salvation, squat silent, awaiting his attention, in the place of least honour near the doorway; he discusses the news with friends; and he finds time to produce different kinds of dates for a visiting date farmer and to send for a broker who can arrange for the purchase of shoots.

Taking the broker with us, we set forth again, and leave the town by one of the gates in the massive encircling mud-brick wall, passing the policeman, in British battledress, on point duty, who, one surmises, has not yet received his diploma in traffic control. We are now in a bare, rolling, gypseous world with no trees, hardly a bush, and with only, in the hollows, a thin, green sheen of February grass, not to be seen unless the eye be near the ground and looking along it. Here and there on the horizon dark patches indicate oases; and to one of these we proceed, the driver secure in the knowledge that he would not have to pay for broken springs, protected by the astonishing robustness of the Ford pick-up and evidently watched over by the providence that has a tender care for black slave drivers.

We enter the oasis. We pass from the glare of the desert—the glare that those who have always lived by green fields cannot know—to the semi-obscurity of the gardens, where, in regular rows, seven yards apart, stand the erect stems of the date palms, sturdier here than in most of the date-growing districts of the world—as sturdy, perhaps, as those in southern California, though, it was said, less so than the palms of Kharj.

The yield of these palms is reputed to be heavy. I heard of many said to bear 560 lb. of dates and of one which bore a ton, but such reports strain credulity. I have weighed some thousands of yields in Basra, where certainly the palm is less prolific than in Hasa, without finding one that yielded as much as 300 lb. of fully ripe dates in a season. Indeed, the average annual yield of all the palms on the Shatt el-'Arab is probably not more than 50 lb.

Through the gardens babbles a laughing stream, having its source in one of the district's numerous springs, mostly, perhaps all, hot. My Hasa notes I left behind in Berbera when I came home on leave last month, and I do not remember the number of the names of the different springs I collected, but I think they were nearly sixty. I cannot check this number from a map, because, although the oil company has prepared large-scale maps of the province, the government does not allow them to be published. The babbling stream serves for irrigation, drinking, bathing, washing clothes and dishes, and for other purposes with which those who have lived in the East will be familiar. Rice plots amongst the gardens lie softening under water nearly stagnant for months at a time.

By reason of the infected water supply, or of the vast mosquito breeding grounds, or of other causes, the health of the oases dwellers is deplorable. Bent, toothless, halt or blind, sallow, skinny or scrofulous, were the date cultivators and most of the townsmen. If one saw a pretty girl, she was a tribal visitor: if one saw a handsome man, he was a Baduwi; but not one good, clear, clean, straight pair of eyes did I see in the head of a *fallah*. What a contrast was here with the Somalis! In the part of the Somaliland Protectorate with which I am acquainted the men, women and children are healthy, lithe and upright, clear-eyed, clean-skinned, with white and even teeth; but the appearance of those rheumy-eyed or sightless Hasawis still haunts me.

Dr. Storm, the eye specialist, and Mrs. Storm, from the Bahrain Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, had arrived in Hasa shortly before my visit, and were engaged almost without intermission on their labour of mercy. The doctor saw about 300 outpatients from 9 to 2. From 3 to 9 he operated, and from 10 at night onwards he paid his professional calls on the notables; but one ophthalmic surgeon on a short visit, however hard he works, can bring relief to only relatively few of the quarter of a million Hasawis.

We continue our journey through the gardens, past the ancient stone sluices, where date logs control the flow of water under the direction of an irrigation official the origin of whose office must go back many centuries, past the men who are hoeing in stiff clay, employing small hoes, past other men hoeing in sandy soil and using hoes with blades 18 inches by 15, and past the donkeys carrying manure from the village to the

gardens. The donkey boys, seeing my camera, shout, laughing, "Take a picture of Jasim! Take a picture of Jasim!" Jasim, one of their number, a pathetic, loathsome leper, takes the joke in good part.

In a clearing between the palms and a cave-riddled mountain sprawls a village of one-storied mud houses and narrow twisting lanes hardly wide enough to take a laden donkey. We push open the date-palm door of the headman's guest chamber and seat ourselves on rush mats on the floor. The ceiling is supported by date-palm beams, and on top of these are the mid-ribs of palm fronds which carry the mats over which lies the earth that keeps out the heat in summer, the cold and rain in winter. The door and window lintels are of date-palm wood, and the strainer in the coffee-pot spout is a wisp of date-palm fibre.

One by one the elders of the village, and others not so old, come and seat themselves. The coffee in the brass pot simmers gently on the date-log fire. It is early to broach business. First comes half an hour of pleasant conversation with these Shi'a, half Persian cultivators, ranging from Mr. Stalin's intentions to a cure for warts. The speech of the people was near that of Basra, and for once I was able to score off my assistant, who had no idea, for example, of the meaning of *shlaunak*, or *chai 'ala batna*, although he speaks Sudani and Adeni Arabic fluently and is well versed in the Quran.

DATE CULTURE IN HASA

I found several date cultural practices in Hasa that were new to me. One of these was the burning of the garden soil. The firewood collected from the gardens, the rubbish, the dried fruit stalks, the smaller fronds (the larger ones and the frond bases are generally sold in the market) and dried grass and weeds are spread out on a path in the garden in a long line, perhaps 10 feet wide, 100 feet long, and 2 feet deep. Earth is brought from round the palms of about a quarter of the garden and piled on top of the fuel, and the whole is burnt, and afterwards the fired soil is returned to the palms. The operation, a considerable labour, is carried out annually, so that the whole garden should be burnt through once in about every four years. The gardeners say that the treatment rejuvenates the soil. It is possible that it has the same effect that it does in our English greenhouses, where the lost balance between the protozoal and bacterial populations is restored. It is also possible that the benefit, or some of it, lies in the reduction of the insect life; but the matter must remain undecided until it has been investigated.

Another thing done in Hasa, which I have not seen elsewhere, is the tying up of the female date inflorescences in a palm-fibre wrapper immediately after pollination. It is possible that this precaution is taken against the cold, but I do not believe that Hasa in spring is colder than other places where dates grow and where the inflorescences are not wrapped.

In Hasa, as well as in southern Arabia, the spathe, the woody envelope in which the immature inflorescence is enclosed, is cut off on pollination as near its base as practicable; but this custom is not followed in Iraq. It is possible that the reason for the removal of the spathe is to reduce the incidence of attack on the young dates by the Greater Date Moth, whose

larva, when very small, before it eats dates, lives on the soft spathe tip; but if this practice really benefits the date crop, one might have expected the Basra date growers to have adopted it, since there has long been at least some intercourse between that town and Hasa, for Basra has imported Hasawi date varieties and has also introduced the Hasawi donkey.

I shall not burden you with all my list of queer things that the Hasawis do to their palms, but shall mention only one more, and that because it raises an interesting point in genetics. In Basra, the number of male spikelets inserted in each female inflorescence varies from about five to about twelve, depending principally on two factors, the size of the spikelet and the variety of male palm from which it has been obtained. I must explain what is meant by "spikelet." Flowers are of two kinds, simple like the daffodil and compound like the lilac. The sprig of lilac blossom is an inflorescence composed of many separate flowers, several of which are borne on each branchlet. These little branchlets are called spikelets. Supposing the sizes of the spikelets were equal, the Basrawi *fallah* would use the less number if he employed, for example, Ghannami pollen, which is considered potent, and the greater number if he employed, for example, Khikri pollen, which is considered less potent. The Hasawi cultivator, on the contrary, does not distinguish between his male palms. He considers them as all of one variety, and varies the number of male spikelets he uses, not according to the kind of male palm from which he obtained them, but according to the variety of female pollinated. In other words, the Basrawi thinks the male palm has the greater influence on the date, while the Hasawi thinks it is the female.

PALGRAVE, PHILBY AND CHEESMAN

In 1866 William Palgrave listed the papaw amongst the products of Hasa. On pages 155 and 156 of volume two of his *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* he says: ". . . the papay too, so well known in the more easterly Peninsula, appears, though seldom, and stunted in growth. . . ."

Mr. Philby, in his *The Heart of Arabia*, published in 1922, devotes (vol. ii, pp. 117-156) considerable space to disproving Palgrave's claim to have visited Hasa and other parts of Arabia, although he grants that the earlier traveller visited some of the peninsula. He lists many discrepancies between what he observed himself and what Palgrave claimed to have seen, and amongst these is what the two observers report about the papaw. Palgrave, as we have noted, says it grows in Hasa. Philby says it does not.

In 1926 Major R. E. Cheesman enters the arena of controversy. On pp. 69 and 70 of his book *In Unknown Arabia* we find the following relative paragraphs:

"There are two plants given in Palgrave's list as occurring in the gardens, namely the Papay tree and the Sugar-Cane, neither of which grows there, as Philby points out, but I think it can be explained that this error is not so preposterous as at first appears. The castor-oil plant does grow there, and, owing to similarity in shape of leaf, the blue-green

colour of the foliage and general appearance, it might easily be mistaken for the undergrown Papay tree which Palgrave says he observed."

and, on the next page :

" Enough has been said to show that much of Palgrave's descriptive detail . . . is quite unreliable. Philby has rightly challenged a great deal of his information, but in at least two instances in which Philby comes into conflict with Palgrave, I found not only is the latter right, but Philby wrong. On sifting the evidence I came to the conclusion that they both must have been in the Hasa."

That is the end of the quotation.

Although it is twenty-five years since I first chuckled to myself on reading how Cheesman thus turned the tables on Philby, I had not forgotten the matter when I visited Hasa three months ago. Imagine then my surprise at finding the papaw tree growing there after all! Dare we then conclude that not only Philby, but my old friend Cheesman also has not visited that district? It is a pity to spoil this conclusion, but in fairness it must be admitted that it is possible that the papaw was introduced into Hasa after R. E. C.'s visit.

BAHRAIN

The literature of travel is so full of complaints by those who have suffered harassment at the hands of customs officials and similar unloved ones that I cannot forbear to give an account of our reception at Bahrain, where we arrived by native craft late one night after all offices were closed and most officials abed. The representatives of the Customs Department on the jetty told us that he much regretted that the regulations compelled him to ask us not to land until the doctor or his agent had given our boat a clean bill of health, that there was no member of the Health Department then on duty, but that, if we wished, and would be so good as to wait, he would be happy to go and fetch one. The Customs young man was as good as his word, and later returned with the doctor's representative, who, though he had just been haled from his bed, was so polite as to apologize for having kept us waiting. This perhaps trivial incident set me thinking of what I had previously heard, that Bahrain is indeed a happy island, where the relations between the different races and between the government and the governed are courteous, friendly and pleasant.

Bahrain provides an instructive example of the uses to which wise administration can devote oil royalties. Bahrain receives from this source only a small amount compared with the vast sums that flow to Su'udiya, and has reached the amount she now receives by more gradual increases than those which have been made annually to her great neighbour; but perhaps it has been no bad thing that she has grown only slowly from poverty to affluence, for thereby she has had time to adjust herself to her changing circumstances. Certainly the objects on which the royalties have been expended in the island have been admirable. Primary schools are now widespread, secondary schools are adequate, and there is a technical

college. The government hospital is large and well attended, anti-malarial work is being undertaken with vigour, and the provision of a modern domestic-water supply and sewage system is being proceeded with. The civil service is not top-heavy, and the customs duties are maintained at an agreeably low level.

I bring my remarks to a close with a reminder of the interest of the Arabian scene at the present time. You will have observed that I have been less than enthusiastic at the replacement of the shaikh and his mare by the government official with his Cadillac and his filing cabinet, but we Europeans and Americans invent these marvels, and, having invented them, we keep ourselves alive by selling them to less inventive peoples, whom surely we should not blame for buying them, and, having bought them, using them. However, the old look back with regret to their youth, and I, from my age, might be expected to prefer the simpler Arabia of Captain Shakespeare's day to the present. Nevertheless, if I had to dwell in Arabia and could choose the epoch in which to live, I should choose the present. Arabia is more interesting now than she has ever been since the seventh century, for the impact of sudden wealth on a country consisting chiefly of desert creates problems as absorbing as they are complex. The closest historical parallel that comes to mind is that of Spain suddenly enriched by the gold of the Indies, but the enrichment of Arabia has been even more rapid. Will she produce statesmen to lead her wisely in the modern world? In any event, her future and the methods she adopts to make herself master of it cannot but be of profound interest to every student of political economy, the oil industry, the Near East, and Islam.

Mrs. GREGORY: I was interested to hear that Ibn Jaluwi is still alive in Hasa.

Recently there was mention in *The Times* of Sa'udi Arabia having asked Pakistan for a loan of one million pounds sterling or of two million dollars, because Sa'udi Arabia was hard up. I rather wondered about that.

Mr. DOWSON: I am grateful for the information about the request for a loan, about which I had not heard.

As for Ibn Jaluwi, it may be that Mrs. Gregory is thinking of his father, 'Abdullah el-Jaluwi, who died, I think, about fifteen years ago. His son, Sa'ud, carries on the tradition of his father, whom he much resembles.

Colonel ROUTH: I gathered from the Chairman that the object of the lecturer in going to Somaliland was to produce dates as a crop where grass and other crops will not grow. The lecturer did not develop that. Is it possible to produce dates in places where it is not possible to grow ordinary crops?

Mr. DOWSON: Yes, sir. Dates can be grown in places which will not produce other crops.

My duty in Somaliland is to find out if the date palm can be successfully cultivated there, although my experiments are not necessarily limited to places where other crops will not grow; and it was arising out of that

duty that I went to Arabia. My object was to secure offshoots of the more important date varieties of the world and to be quite certain that the shoots I bought and planted out in Somaliland were correctly named. When it is found what variety is best suited to the country, repeat orders can be placed for it.

Colonel ROUTH: They say in Basra that the date palm has its feet in heaven and its head in hell. Apparently the Somaliland surroundings are very much of that type of climate.

Mr. DOWSON: Yes, the coast of Somaliland provides that sort of climate for the palm pretty well, though sometimes, as the subsoil water there may be salty, it isn't always heaven for the palm roots.

In Basra there is a strong, hot and dry north-west wind which blows for about forty days in midsummer, while in Berbera there is a hot, dry and even stronger south-west wind, the south-west monsoon, which blows from mid-June to mid-September, but by about mid-October the north-east monsoon has established itself, and Berbera then has strong winds cool and damp from over the sea. The difference in the climate between that of Berbera and that of other date-growing regions is one of the reasons why experiment is necessary before the Somaliland date scheme can be started in a big way.

Asked how long it was before the date palm actually bore fruit,

Mr. DOWSON replied: It depends on the variety of the date, the conditions under which the shoot is grown and on the size and age of the shoot when planted, but, roughly speaking, a shoot begins to bear at six years old and comes into full bearing at twenty years.

Judge W. AMEER ALI: Is the ill-health of the oasis-dwellers caused by malaria or bilharzia?

Mr. DOWSON: I am sorry I don't know, but I should expect both these diseases, and many others, to be prevalent. In the Basra date gardens, where conditions in many respects appear similar, both diseases are well known to be exceedingly serious.

Mrs. GREGORY: As to the papaws, they grow very quickly and easily die out. They could have died out in three years and come back again quite easily.

Mr. DOWSON: That is a good point, but you must not spoil my story! The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS

BY JAMES H. D. BELGRAVE

OF all the Persian Gulf shaikdoms the Bahrain islands have had by far the most interesting and varied history, of which this brief outline must of necessity mention only the most outstanding events. The riches of Bahrain's ancient pearling industry have drawn the attention of many rulers to the islands, whose strategic position and fresh-water springs have meant that for centuries there has been a settled population.

It is believed that the names Niduk-ki and Dilmun (or Tilwun) which appear in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions found in Iraq were the ancient names of the Bahrain islands, in which case events in Bahrain's history are recorded from the third millennium B.C., as long as 5,000 years ago. Unfortunately only one cuneiform inscription has been found in Bahrain itself, an inscription which has been translated as follows : * " The Palace of Rimugas, the servant of Inzaq (Mercury) of the tribe of Aqiru."

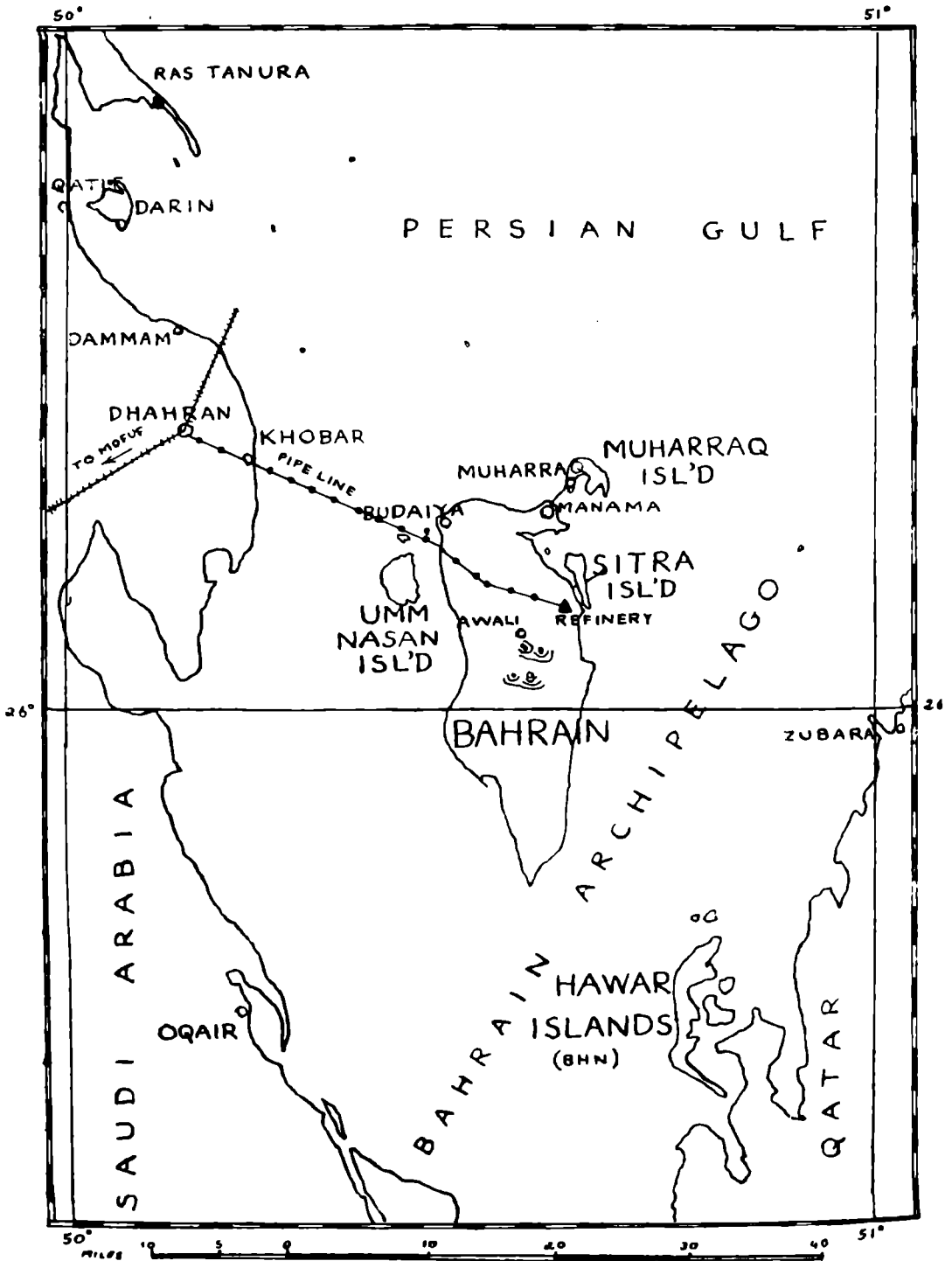
This inscription appears to have been removed from a Bahrain mosque by its finder, Captain Durand, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

The place-name Niduk-ki appears in the Babylonian myth of the Creation, while the Assyrians also had a tradition that their civilization, and more especially the invention of the cuneiform script, originated in Dilmun. The tumuli of Bahrain, whose number has been estimated at 30,000, bear a very striking resemblance to Phœnician graves, a fact noticed by many writers from the time of Strabo to the present day. Archæologists who have studied them are, however, still unable to agree as to their origin beyond saying that they are of great antiquity.

The first historical reference to Bahrain appears in an inscription concerning the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, who reigned in the third millennium B.C. In this inscription he is described as having reduced Niduk-ki and another seaport, and during the following centuries there are many references to Niduk-ki and Dilmun, giving the impression that the places referred to were both islands and trading centres. In 1820 B.C. a king of Larsa, in Southern Mesopotamia, sent a trading expedition to Bahrain, obtaining there stone, metals, wood and ivory, materials probably brought to Bahrain from India. Towards the end of the eighth century B.C. another Sargon, the Assyrian monarch, also gained control of Dilmun by means of threats and economic pressure, and we have an interesting description of the contemporary Bahraini ruler : * " Uperi, king of Dilmun, who lives like a fish thirty double hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts."

* Durand, " Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

The inhabitants of Dilmun also sent tribute to Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, after he had sent them some of the debris of Babylon, which he had destroyed, as a sign of the fate in store for cities that incurred his displeasure.



After the fall of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C. we hear no more about Bahrain until the time of the Macedonian adventure in the East, when Alexander sent three vessels on voyages of exploration down the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. Two ships under the commands of Archias and Androthenes sailed only as far as the island of Tylos,

which has been identified with Bahrain. Later Roman geographers seem to have become somewhat confused in their descriptions of the Persian Gulf, and while Arrian applies the name of Tylos to Bahrain, on the map of Ptolemy Bahrain appears as Ichara and Tylus and Arathus are shown at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whatever were the ancient names of Bahrain, it is interesting to note that the name Aradus is still applied to part of Muharraq in the Arabic form *Arad*.

After the fall of the Mesopotamian civilizations no foreign power seems to have controlled Eastern Arabia until early in the fourth century A.D., when Arab tribes from that area raided Fars and sacked many of its cities. The young Sassanian king Shapur II repelled the invaders and carried the campaign into their own territories. He landed on the Arabian coast and annexed East Arabia and the Bahrain islands to Persia, which acquisitions were later placed under the authority of the King of Hira, an Arab buffer state on the south-west border of Sassanid Persia.

THE COMING OF ISLAM

A somewhat confusing aspect of the history of Bahrain is the change in nomenclature which took place in the Persian Gulf during Portuguese exploration there. From the third to the sixteenth century, the name "Bahrain" was applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, while the main Bahrain island was known as *Awal*, but since the last date the name "Bahrain" has been applied to the islands. In the following passages the modern names will be used to simplify matters.

When the first Moslems came to Eastern Arabia they found there a people strangely mixed in their beliefs. There were Christians and Jews, Zoroastrians who followed the state religion of Sassanid Persia, and pagan Arab bedouin. The local Persian governor, Mundhir b. Sawa, was a Christian and, according to Syrian Christian records of the late seventh century, there were in Arabia at this time five Nestorian bishops, one of whom appears to have been bishop of the Bahrain islands. The Christian viceroy and many of his Court accepted Islam, but on his death, and again on the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the bedouin, who made up the bulk of converts, if indeed they had really been converted, "apostatized," and it required expeditions from Medina to restore the country to the Moslems.

For the next 350 years Bahrain and Eastern Arabia were ruled by governors on behalf of the Caliphs, but from time to time there were politico-religious revolts against the central authority and both Shia' and Kharajite schismatics sought refuge on the Bahrain islands, where for short periods they were able to defy the power of the Caliphs. Isolated by the sea from the rest of Arabia, Bahrain was often, during its history, the refuge of political and religious fugitives.

The Servile War that ravaged lower Iraq during the second half of the ninth century also detached Bahrain from the Caliphate, and although on the fall of the Slave State the Caliph regained some of his former territories, a power was shortly to appear which finally removed both Bahrain and the mainland from his control.

THE QARMATHIANS*

An offspring of the extreme Ismaili sect, but with many other contributing features, the Qarmathian movement was most successful in Eastern Arabia, where a State was established with its capital at al-Mu'miniyah. The Qarmathian rule in East Arabia was probably beneficial for the inhabitants of this area, which during most of its history played the part of a neglected border province and which was now the centre of an empire. The success of the new belief in Arabia at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries has been partly explained by the presence in East Arabia of a number of Magians and Jews, happy to aid any power hostile to the Caliphs, and also of the Arab tribesmen, who resented authority and were delighted to carry out raids on their neighbours in the name of the Qarmathians.

The first Qarmathian ruler was Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi, and it was during his reign that in 903 the Qarmathians seized Hajar, many of whose inhabitants fled to the Bahrain islands, while under Abu Tahir, Abu Sa'id's son and successor, the Qarmathians shocked the Moslem world by sacking Mecca and removing the Black Stone from the Ka'aba to their capital, where it remained for thirty years. It is not known when the Qarmathians occupied the Bahrain islands, but while they were in them they put them to good use. Not only did they send exiles there, but also established on the islands a customs station, from which they levied taxes on Persian Gulf shipping; in addition they received half the proceeds of the pearling industry.

THE ARAB DYNASTIES

About the year 1058 Abu-l-Bahlul, a leading inhabitant of the Bahrain islands, revolted against Qarmathian rule and made himself ruler; he defeated a Qarmathian army sent against him and appealed to the Caliph in Baghdad for aid and recognition, but shortly after his victory he was driven from Bahrain by the ruler of Qatif, Yahya b. 'Abbas. War followed between the successors of Yahya and Abdallah al-Ayuni, who had succeeded the Qarmathians in Hasa, in which the latter triumphed and seized Bahrain, which he and his family ruled for many years. Little is known about Ayuni rule in Bahrain, but in 1154 we have a description of Bahrain left by the famous Arabo-Spanish geographer Idrisi. After giving a remarkably accurate description of the islands, in which he describes in detail the method of pearl diving, the agriculture and the various fresh-water springs and streams, he records the apparently Utopian state of the administration: †

“The island is governed by an independent chief. The inhabitants of the two banks are satisfied with his justice and his piety, and when he dies he is replaced by a person who equals him in virtue and justice.”

Although Idrisi says that the chief was independent, he qualifies this by stating that the Governor of Qais, himself a tributary of the Caliph at Baghdad, received tribute from Bahrain. A number of Arab writers have

* de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

† Idrisi, *Troisième Climat—Sixième Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

left us descriptions of Bahrain in the fourteenth century, a period in which the islands changed hands many times. In 1346 Bahrain appears in the story of the struggle between the ruler of Hormuz, Kutb ed-Din, and his nephews, in which the latter take refuge in the islands, and in the following year we have the first reference to Manama, present capital of Bahrain, when the Hormuz ruler visited that town. In 1384 there was a war between the ruler of Bahrain and Qatif, independent at this time, and the ruler of Qais island, in which the latter was victorious and received in the peace settlement a number of Bahrain islands and an annual tribute of 500 dinars.

Early in the fifteenth century Bahrain was united with Qatif and Hasa under Shaikh Ibrahim al-Maliki, but previous to the year 1475 the islands were under the control of Hormuz, and in this year they were granted to a certain Agwad b. Samigh in return for the aid he had given the ruler of Hormuz in capturing that island from his brothers. In 1487 the tyrannical reign of Agwad's son was terminated by an 'Umani invasion of Bahrain, when 'Umar b. Khattab was appointed governor.

THE PORTUGUESE*

The voyages of Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese mariners towards the end of the fifteenth and the start of the sixteenth century resulted in the opening up of the Persian Gulf to European ships, and in 1507 the Portuguese, under Alfonso de Albuquerque, conquered Hormuz and set about developing it into a great trading centre. The first sign of Portuguese interest in Bahrain was the visit there, in 1514, of de Albuquerque, but his only act was to confirm existing treaties between the local shaikh and the king of Hormuz, who had been retained by the Portuguese as a "puppet" ruler; however, he also took a great interest in the pearl industry and realized its possible value to Portugal. Some time after this visit Mukarram, king of Hasa and son-in-law of the Shaikh of Mecca, seized Bahrain and Qatif from Hormuz, and in 1521 the king of Hormuz gave the loss of Bahrain as his reason for failing to pay the agreed sum of tribute to his Portuguese overlords. This loss of revenue and the interference caused to trade between Iraq and Hormuz by the ships of Mukarram angered the Portuguese, and the governor of Hormuz, Diego Lopez, despatched a fleet against Bahrain under his nephew, Antonio Correa. The Portuguese fleet was accompanied by another sent by the ruler of Hormuz under his vezir, Rais Sharaf. After having been delayed by storms, the fleets arrived at Bahrain and the Portuguese set about attacking the defenders. Although the Hormuzi force stood aloof until they were sure the Portuguese were gaining the upper hand, the Europeans finally triumphed. Mukarram was wounded and died a few days later; the remains of his army fled to the mainland, whither they were pursued by Rais Sharaf, who returned to Bahrain in triumph with the head of Mukarram, which he sent to his sovereign in Hormuz. A bilingual inscription was erected in Hormuz to commemorate the victory, and on his return to

* Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

Hormuz Antonio Correa was granted the honour by the King of Portugal of bearing on his family arms the title "Barem" in honour of this event.

Soon after the fall of Bahrain the king of Hormuz, restive under Portuguese domination, organized simultaneous revolts against their rule in Muscat, Hormuz, Bahrain and Sohar. In the first two towns the revolts were soon crushed, but more success was met with in Bahrain, where Hussein b. Sa'id led the inhabitants in executing the hated Portuguese governor and expelling the garrison, but after a short period of independent rule Hussein came to terms with the Portuguese and accepted their adviser.

The year 1529 saw another challenge to Portuguese authority in Bahrain, occasioned by their exiling the vezir of Hormuz, a relative of the governor of Bahrain, for refusing to pay additional taxes. When the Bahrain governor copied the example of his relative, a Portuguese fleet was sent to Bahrain under the command of Simeon da Cunha, brother of the Viceroy of India. Despite the governor's reluctance to come to blows with the Portuguese, they attacked the Bahrain fort, but found themselves short of gunpowder. Fever then reduced the number of able-bodied men to thirty-five. However, the governor aided the fleet to leave Bahrain, for he was afraid he would incur the serious wrath of the Portuguese if he destroyed their expedition, but on the return journey a storm destroyed most of the ships, and Simeon is said to have died from chagrin at his defeat.

By 1534 the Portuguese had again lost control of Bahrain, for in that year the independent rulers of Bahrain and Hasa sent envoys to welcome to Iraq the Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. In 1551 one of the three surviving ships of Piri Rais, Kapudan Pasha of Egypt, after the loss of the rest of his fleet by defeat and storms, was wrecked on the treacherous Bahrain reefs. Local tradition says that the ship was loaded with treasure, plunder from the pasha's expedition. Three years later the Turkish author-admiral Sidi Ali paid a peaceful visit to Bahrain, which he speaks well of, and was entertained by the governor, Rais Murad. However, in 1559 the same governor was attacked in Bahrain by a strong fleet and brigade of janissaries, but the Turks were severely defeated by a Portuguese fleet which came to the aid of the beleaguered governor. The last Portuguese governor of Bahrain was Jalal ed-Din Mahmud Murad Shah, under whose reign the Manama fort, built by the Portuguese soon after their arrival in Bahrain, was repaired, as testified by an inscription to that effect on the little island of Jidda, where the stone for the repairs was quarried. The fort still stands, in ruins, a short distance from Manama on the northern coast of Bahrain.

The Portuguese attempted to maintain their rule over Bahrain by a carefully conceived policy. They would appoint as their governor a Persian Sunni Moslem, hoping that because he was a Moslem he would be acceptable to the inhabitants, but that being a Persian he would not always side with the Arab people of Bahrain, and being a Sunni that he would not intrigue with the Shia' rulers of Persia. Despite this system, however, Portuguese rule in Bahrain was very insecure during the period 1522-1602.

THE FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The immediate cause that brought about the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bahrain was the behaviour of their governor, a relative of the king of Hormuz. He set the seal on a most tyrannical rule by the murder, in 1602, of a wealthy and respected Bahraini in order to gain control of his wealth, especially his famous collection of pearls. The victim's brother, Rukn ad-Din, having gained the confidence of the governor, slew him, and with the aid of the people seized the fort. The rebel then put himself under the protection of the Persians, as being the main rivals to the Portuguese, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force which withstood a Portuguese counter-attack and then took over the islands in the name of the Shah of Persia. In 1580, Spain and Portugal had been united under King Philip, and at the time of the fall of Bahrain the Spanish were officially at peace with Persia, but when the Spanish protested about the seizure of Bahrain, the Persians retorted that they had taken the islands from the king of Hormuz and not from the Spaniards. Not content with this answer, the governor of Hormuz sent a fleet and army against Bahrain, but the governor of Shiraz marched on Bushire and drew the Portuguese forces from Bahrain. Despite this, the Portuguese forces would probably have taken The Island but for trouble in their own ranks which prevented the success of the expedition. In 1603, Allah Werdi Khan again seized Bushire and other territories of the ruler of Hormuz, but was ordered by the Shah to retreat from Bushire and to hand over Bahrain to the Portuguese; however, the latter order was ignored.

During the next decade the Spanish king in letters to the Viceroy of India emphasized the importance of the recapture of Bahrain, and also made diplomatic representations to the Shah for the return of the islands. Even the capture of Hormuz in 1622 by an Anglo-British force did not make the Iberians give up hope of the eventual recovery of Bahrain, and in 1645 a Portuguese fleet set out from India destined for Hormuz and Bahrain, but it was destroyed by 'Umani pirates before it had even entered the Persian Gulf.

From 1602 till the end of the century a series of Persian governors ruled Bahrain with the aid of a garrison of some 300 men, but at the turn of the century the 'Umanis invaded Bahrain, and the havoc and suffering they caused have been graphically described by a contemporary writer, Samahiji.* The invaders were of the Kharijite sect of Islam, enemies of the Shia' inhabitants of Bahrain, and their acts drove most of the population of Bahrain to flight to Qatif, where many of them settled. In 1720 the Persians purchased Bahrain from the 'Umanis for "a large sum of money."

THE PERIOD OF ANARCHY

The confusion in Persia early in the eighteenth century which was caused by the Afghan invasions loosened Persian hold over the Gulf and independent shaikhdoms reappeared. Bahrain fell into the hands of the shaikh of Nabend, and he was later overthrown by the powerful Shaikh

* Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

Jabbara of Tahiri, chief of the Huwala Arabs, whose wise and beneficial rule lasted till 1736. In this year Nadir, who had settled the affairs of Persia and made himself Shah, ordered the Persian admiral Latif Khan to capture Bahrain. The admiral seized two British ships, including the *Northumberland*, for which he paid 50,000 tomans, and sailed with these and other ships for Bahrain. Shaikh Jabbara was away on the pilgrimage to Mecca and his reduced garrison was soon overpowered by the invaders. Bahrain was put under the control of the governor of Shiraz and a Persian garrison was stationed in the Qalah ad-Diwan, the Manama fort built at this time by the Persians and now used as the headquarters of the Bahrain State police.

In 1738 Bahrain underwent another 'Umani invasion, when the army of Saif b. Sultan invaded the islands, and again many refugees fled to Qatif and other Persian Gulf ports. It is probable that these two 'Umani invasions in the eighteenth century were responsible for the many deserted and ruined villages noticed in Bahrain by Niebuhr, who stated that wars had reduced the number of towns and villages in Bahrain from 360 towns and villages to sixty "wretched villages." The occupation, however, was of short duration, for in the following year the Persians annexed Muscat and so regained Bahrain. Later Bahrain was captured by the Huwala Arabs, only to be taken from them by Shaikh Nasir al-Mathkur, shaikh of Bushire and an Arab of 'Umani origin, one of the many semi-independent shaikhs who appeared in the Persian Gulf at this time.

THE AL-KHALIFAH

The present ruling family of Bahrain trace their origin back to the great 'Anizah tribe, which once inhabited the deserts of Iraq and later moved down to Najd; the Sa'udis of Sa'udi Arabia and the Subah of Kuwait are also descended from the same tribe.

In 1716 the Bani Utbah clan, consisting of the three families of the Khalifah, the Subah and the Jalahma, gave up its nomad habits and settled on the site of the present town of Kuwait. Under the guidance of Shaikh Khalifah b. Muhammad, the clever and enterprising chief of the Khalifahs, the family prospered and became powerful, developing a special interest in the pearl trade. In 1766 Muhammad, successor of Khalifah, led some of the Khalifah families down to the little village of Zubara, on the west coast of Qatar, in order to be nearer the Bahrain pearling industry. The villagers of Zubara welcomed the newcomers, and soon the remainder of the Khalifah and many other families came to the new settlement, but the Musallam tribe, the rulers of Qatar, resented the intruders and demanded tribute from them. The Khalifah refused, and with the support of other clans from Kuwait they repulsed an attack of the Musallam. They then continued the construction of a large town between the bay of Zubara and their great fort, Qalah Marir, the ruins of which stand to this day.

In 1776 Basra was captured by the Persians, but during its siege many of the inhabitants had fled to Zubara, where they were welcomed, and helped to increase the size and importance of that town. The Persians watched with apprehension and envy the expansion of Zubara, which

they felt was a threat to their hold over nearby Bahrain, and when Khalifah, Muhammad's son and successor, was away from Zubara on the pilgrimage, they attacked Zubara but were driven off. Khalifah died before returning from Mecca and was succeeded by Ahmed, who had led the Zubara garrison against the Persians.

Although the first visits of the Khalifah to Bahrain had been carried out on a friendly basis, for the purpose of buying pearls, friction soon developed between them and the local inhabitants, and there was some fighting in which a number of deaths occurred. The governor of Shiraz then despatched a fleet against Zubara under the command of Shaikh Nasir; the Persians landed on the Qatar coast near the town and were faced by a confederation of Arab clans led by Ahmed al-Khalifah. The two forces joined in combat beneath the high walls of the town, and after hours of bitter fighting in which "the sword play and spear play commenced, heads flew away from bodies and warriors attacked each other with cries which melt away cowardly hearts,"* the Khalifah and their allies triumphed and the Persians fled to their ships, leaving many dead on the sands. Meanwhile the Subah of Kuwait, having heard of the Persian attack on their cousins, descended on Bahrain and cut off the Persian retreat, forcing Shaikh Nasir to retire to Bushire. Soon after the Persian defeat Shaikh Ahmed al-Fatih (The Conqueror) occupied Bahrain and sent Nasir's family, which he found there, to him. It was a result of the Khalifah victory that Rahmah bin Jabir, who had fought alongside the Khalifahs at Zubara, broke with that family and became a pirate, reserving his special hate for the new rulers of Bahrain.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF KHALIFAH RULE

Ahmed, the first Khalifah shaikh of Bahrain and Zubara, ruled till the year 1796, passing the summers in Bahrain, in the fort built by Nadir Shah in Manama, and the winters in the town of Zubara. Ahmed was succeeded by his son Sulman, who was responsible for the emigration of many of the inhabitants of Zubara to Jaw, in Bahrain, out of fear of the Wahhabis, who were at this time expanding their power in Arabia. In fact, the danger came from another direction; in 1799 the Imam of Muscat sent a fleet and occupied Bahrain, and Shaikh Sulman, believing that he was too weak to withstand the invasion, retired to Zubara, from where he made a treaty with Sultan b. Ahmed, and sent him his brother Muhammad as pledge of his good behaviour. Sulman remained inactive in Zubara till 1808, when the death of his brother left him free to attempt the reconquest of Bahrain. He appealed for help to the Wahhabi ruler, 'Abd al-'Aziz, who had just captured the Holy Cities, and in 1809 the latter sent an army against Bahrain and drove out Salim, its governor, and the garrison which was stationed in the fort that the 'Umanis had built at Arad, on Muharraq island. The Khalifah expected to be reinstated in Bahrain, but the Wahhabis were loth to give it up having once controlled it, and meanwhile their garrison maltreated the Shia' inhabitants and tried to convert them to Wahhabi beliefs. Shaikh Sulman's protests at this

* An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tariḫ al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

treacherous behaviour were ignored, and he was taken with other members of his family to Dar'iyah, the Wahhabi capital, but resistance continued in Bahrain, where the youthful 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Fadhli, a relative of the Khalifah, set out secretly for Muscat, giving out that he was going on a trading expedition to India. He appealed for help to the Imam, who gave him money and a sword, and then proceeded to Persia, where he enlisted the help of the governor of Shiraz; he also enlisted men with the money he had received from the Imam. Having met at a rendezvous on the mainland, the Arabo-Persian force was led by 'Abd ar-Rahman against Bahrain and the Wahhabis were expelled, their governor flying to Qatar. Once Bahrain had been retaken, the Khalifahs travelled there from Zubara, as did many other Arabs who disliked the oppressive and harsh rule of the Wahhabis, and despite the measures of its Wahhabi governor, Zubara was left completely deserted. By means of a trick the Khalifah hostages freed themselves from their captors and returned to Bahrain, where Sulman again took up the reins of office.

Concerning Bahrain we have a description of the islands written by J. M. Kennier in 1813:*

"Bahrain island is the finest island in the Gulf. It is covered with villages and date gardens; there is a town and fort of Medina [*sic*] with 800 or 900 houses. It carries on much trade with Basra and other Gulf ports."

The first contact between the British and the Khalifahs of Bahrain occurred in 1814, when the British Resident in Bushire assured the ruling Shaikh of British neutrality if Bahrain were attacked by the Imam of Muscat. In return for this rather negative promise (though the Resident did advise Sayyid Sa'id of Muscat against attacking Bahrain), the Shaikh agreed not to carry out acts hostile to the British interests. The attack actually took place in 1816, probably incited by Rahmah b. Jabir, but a dispute between the Muscatis and the Bushiri force resulted in their defeat at Arad and the death of Hamed, brother of the Muscat sultan. In November, 1828, Sa'id again arrived at Bahrain, this time with allies from the Trucial Coast, and a battle took place at Jufair, site of the present British Political Residency, but the disunity of the 'Umani army again brought about their defeat by the Khalifah. Although in 1829 Sayyid Sa'id officially recognized the independence of Bahrain, to the end of his reign he did not cease intriguing with other rulers for the downfall of the Khalifah.

THE KHALIFAHS

In February, 1820, the joint rulers of Bahrain, the shaikhs Sulman and 'Abdallah, signed the "General Treaty,"† the first official contact between the East India Company and Bahrain, which followed a successful British attack on the pirates of Ras al-Khayma. In 1833 Shaikh 'Abdallah of Bahrain, who was at war with the Wahhabi ruler of Najd, captured a number of ports on the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, but was prevented

* Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

† For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British see Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

from consolidating his position there by dynastic troubles which broke out in Bahrain. These troubles were exploited by the interested powers, Britain, Persia and Egypt, for their own ends, and while Persia and Britain backed different claimants to the throne, Britain warned Egypt and the Sultan of Muscat, whose ruler seemed likely to come to a rapprochement with Mehmet 'Ali over Bahrain, that she would tolerate no Egyptian interference in Bahrain, and Mehmet 'Ali's aspirations in this area were finally ended by the co-operation of the European powers against him.

In 1843 'Abdallah was expelled from Bahrain by his nephew and co-ruler Muhammad, and retired to Bushire, where he died in 1848, leaving a son who later became very much concerned in the affairs of Bahrain. Muhammad enjoyed a long and comparatively untroubled reign, although in 1855 and 1856 the Wahhabis again put forward claims to Bahrain, but these were rejected by the British, who had already recognized the independence of Bahrain. In 1861 Muhammad signed a "Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship" with Great Britain concerning such matters as slavery, maritime aggression and Britishers trading in Bahrain, but the peace of Bahrain was disturbed by the raids of Muhammad, son of the 'Abdallah who had died in exile in Bushire, who, with the aid of the Wahhabis, attacked Bahrain shipping from his base in Dammam. In 1861, the British expelled Muhammad b. 'Abdallah from Dammam, but he remained in the Persian Gulf and returned to Bahrain seven years later.

After six years of peace war broke out between the Qataris, tributaries of Bahrain, and the Khalifahs. Having invaded Bahrain and been defeated, the Qataris were then involved in a naval battle with the Khalifahs between Bahrain and Qatar, and were again defeated, but the British, angered by the actions of Muhammad, declared that he had acted contrary to the Treaty of 1861, and sent a man-of-war to Bahrain. Muhammad b. Khalifah fled to Qatar; the fort of Abu Mahar, near Muharraq, was destroyed, and the Bahraini fleet was burnt. 'Ali b. Khalifah, who had succeeded his brother on the latter's flight, was forced by the British to pay a fine of 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars, and Muhammad was forbidden to return to Bahrain. The last condition was later relaxed, but Muhammad b. Khalifah continued his intrigues, and was re-expelled, fleeing to Kuwait. He later travelled to Darin, where he built up a force with which he invaded Bahrain in September, 1869, defeated and killed 'Ali and again became ruler of Bahrain. In Muhammad's army he had as lieutenant Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, who had been expelled by the British from Dammam, and later in the year this Muhammad overthrew the new shaikh, imprisoned him, and made himself shaikh.

The confusion caused in Bahrain by these troubles resulted in the appearance there of the British consul from Bushire in a man-of-war. The consul arranged for the deportation to Bombay of both the new shaikh and his imprisoned rival, and then consulted the local notables to see which member of the Khalifah family they would prefer to have as shaikh. The choice fell upon 'Isa, son of 'Ali b. Khalifah, who was at the time residing at Qatar, and he was summoned to Bahrain and acclaimed as its ruler. He reigned for fifty-four years till his abdication in 1923.

THE RULE OF SHAIKH 'ISA

From time to time during the remaining years of the nineteenth century the British Government rejected Turkish claims to sovereignty over Bahrain, as in the years 1870 and 1874, while at the same time the British took the opportunity to consolidate their power in Bahrain by means of two treaties signed between Shaikh 'Isa and the British Government in December, 1880, and March, 1892. By these treaties the shaikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government, other than the British, without the latter's consent, and there were also stipulations about the disposal of Bahrain territories. In 1902 a British Political Agent was posted in Bahrain, and in July, 1913, a Convention was signed by the British and Ottoman Governments which included the recognition of Bahrain's independence and control of a number of nearby islands. Three years later Ibn Sa'ud signed a treaty with the British Government in which he also agreed to refrain from aggression against Bahrain. In April and May of 1923 there were internal troubles in Bahrain which led to the abdication of Shaikh 'Isa and the succession of his son, Shaikh Hamad, who ruled for twelve years as deputy ruler, and on the death of Shaikh 'Isa in 1935 became shaikh of Bahrain.

BAHRAIN IN RECENT YEARS

With the accession of Shaikh Hamad the story of modern Bahrain begins, and during the nineteen years of his rule Bahrain was transformed into a modern State. Conditions in the pearl industry were reformed, the position of the divers was bettered, municipalities, education and other public services were developed, and in many ways the state of the people of Bahrain was improved. In 1930 Shaikh Hamad signed a Concession Agreement with a company known as the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), and three years later the first tanker-load of oil left Bahrain. A refinery was later built in Bahrain to process Bahraini and Sa'udi crude oil. The first payments of oil royalties came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-1945 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian air force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamad died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued, but this is another story, that of modern Bahrain, with which this article is not concerned.

THE ISMA'ILIS OF SYRIA TODAY

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IN medieval times the Syrian Isma'ilis played a great part in history, but since the thirteenth century little has been heard of them. A community exists today, however, of which this article will attempt to give some description. Reference will be made particularly to recent history and to the social and economic condition of the people, no discussion being attempted of the highly technical subject of Isma'ili religion.

Something must be recalled of the early history of the sect. It arose out of the Shi'ite ferment of the first Islamic centuries, and became a politico-religious movement aiming at the overthrow of the 'Abbasid caliphate, its replacement by the rule of 'Alid Imams, and the establishment of a universal religion. Its name derived from Isma'il, son of the Imam Ja'far es Sadiq. Isma'il was the focus of the whole revolutionary movement, a semi-divine figure in his followers' eyes. He was disowned by his father, so that orthodox (Sect of the Twelve) Shi'ites trace the line of Imams through Musa, Ja'far's other son, whilst the Isma'ilis particularly honour both Isma'il and his son Mohammed.

In the second half of the ninth century A.D. the town of Salamiyya, in central Syria, became one of the chief centres of this underground revolutionary movement. Here, some twenty miles east of Hama, the descendants of Isma'il lived in concealment, whilst their partisans were at work in North Africa making ready for the great day, which came early in the tenth century, when the coming of the Mahdi and the rule of the Fatimids were proclaimed. It is worth noting here that the first of the Fatimids, the Mahdi himself, was probably not an 'Alid at all, but the shadow-Imam or substitute who bore the burden and danger of the enterprise on behalf of the true Imam. Dr. Bernard Lewis has disentangled the difficult history of this period in his fascinating book *The Origins of Isma'ilism*, in which he shows how Isma'ili claims as to the legitimacy of the Fatimid line can be reconciled with evidence which apparently points to a different conclusion.

After the first decade of the tenth century we hear little of Salamiyya. The town was sacked by the Mesopotamian Carmathians (themselves an offshoot from the Isma'ili main stem) at about the time of the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate. We may presume that in any case it lost importance once the centre of Isma'ili power had shifted to Egypt, and we know that during part of the troubled tenth century the Salamiyya region became Beduin territory.

The Syrian Isma'ilis became prominent again at the time of the Crusades, when some at least of them were known as Assassins. The traditional accounts are familiar: how Hasan es Sabbah and his successors took and held the Persian mountain fortresses round Alamut; how Rashid ed

Din es Sinan, the "Old Man of the Mountains" of the Crusader chronicles, maintained Masyaf, Qadmous and other fortresses of what we now call the Alaouite mountains, between the Franks of the coast and the Moslem interior; and how these two interlinked Isma'ili centres sustained their power and terrorized their opponents by the aid of fanatical emissaries who willingly embraced paradise by assassinating the enemies of their lords, the Grand Masters of the sect. This last and most violent Isma'ili ebullition came to a sudden end in the thirteenth century; the great castle of Alamut itself, stronghold of the Persian Assassins, was taken by Hulagu the Mongol in 1256, whilst less than twenty years later the great Mamluke Sultan Baibars broke the power of the Syrian Assassins.

The Fatimids had long gone from Africa and Isma'ilism had had its day. From henceforth the history of the Syrian Isma'ilis is obscure. Colonies of them survived, often poor and persecuted, in various parts of the country. Notably, some thousands of them remained in and near the old Assassin centres of Masyaf and Qadmous, mingled and at enmity with the Alaouites (or Alawis, Nusairis or Ansairis). The two heretical Moslem sects, sometimes confused by outsiders, had at least one thing in common—their dislike of each other was only slightly less than their hatred of the Sunni Turks, from whom they were able to maintain a near-independence amongst the mountains. The much more numerous Alaouites won a famous victory over the Isma'ilis in 1808. Two Alaouites, having gained the confidence of the Isma'ili Emir of Masyaf, were admitted to the castle. There they stabbed him and then opened the gates to the inrush of their co-religionists who were waiting in the vicinity. The Alaouites held the castle for a few months and were then forced to retire by a Turkish punitive expedition. Further civil strife was followed by a harsh incursion by the troops of Ibrahim Pasha, who ravaged a belt of country, burning villages and wrecking the old castles, after the mountaineers had revolted against his conscription. The Isma'ilis were weakened by feuds amongst their leaders, notably between two families of Emirs, centred at Qadmous and at Masyaf respectively. The Turks, of course, made good use of these internal rivalries. In 1843-4, Emir Milhem of the Masyaf branch seems to have been in favour with the Turks, and to have supported the Turkish nominee, an outsider of the Haroun family of Latakia, in a struggle for the governorship of Qadmous, although his relative Emir Isma'il of the Qadmous Emirs had a good claim to the position. Not only did the Qadmous Emirs have virtually a hereditary right to the post, but Isma'il had recently reinforced his claim by bribing the governor of Tripoli.

Isma'il was, however, taken and imprisoned by his enemies. His cousin, Tamir, scaled the walls of the castle in which he was confined, killed the Harouni, Isma'il's rival, and rescued Isma'il. The two Emirs were now rebels, and were hunted by the Turks and the forces of the Haroun family. The co-operation of Emir Milhem of Masyaf was secured, and he succeeded, by treachery, in securing both Qadmous and Emir Isma'il, whilst Tamir apparently died of wounds received in the struggle. Milhem may not have been altogether the villain of the piece in all this, for although he had been offered Qadmous if he removed Isma'il, he and the Isma'ilis in general had also been threatened with a Turkish punitive expedition if the

two rebels were not given up. Emir Isma'il must certainly have been a very powerful personality, but the record of these episodes reflects only his success as an adventurer. Milhem, on the other hand, seems at least to have served the Turks faithfully, and is still remembered as an astute politician.

Emir Isma'il was taken to Latakia and then shipped to Beirut. The vessel was, however, driven by bad weather to shelter at the island of Ruad, and Isma'il seized his chance, escaping under cover of darkness with his followers (probably with the connivance of their ten Albanian guards) to Tartous and thence to the mountains. He established himself in the castle of Khawabi, another of the medieval Assassin castles, and from it terrorized the district, punishing those villages in his former sphere of influence which had supported his enemies, and revenging himself on the latter. With his band of 300 men, he plundered some fifteen villages during the first three months of 1844.

Emir Milhem then intervened and acted as go-between for Isma'il and the Turks. The authorities consented to pardon Isma'il on condition that he and his followers left the area, and Isma'il agreed to go to empty lands east of Hama to settle with some of his people. They were to be given free land, to cultivate and to pay taxes, and to defend Hama and her villages against the Beduin. As the story is told today, even while negotiations were in progress in Hama the Emir and a few of his men beat off a raid on the town, his services being acknowledged by the gift of the territory he wanted. This was the beginning of a new era for the Isma'ilis of Syria.*

Let us return to the story of Salamiyya. After its great days as a nursery of Imams and Caliphs, and a further long period when it was known as a pleasant desert-edge country-town, "charming and rich, with abundant water and trees," it was deserted and all but disappeared. In the long centuries preceding the nineteenth, misgovernment, insecurity and economic stagnation took their toll. Population shrank, the frontiers of law and order and settled life retreated from the deserts, and almost all the great tracts of land east of the road from Aleppo via Hama to Damascus and thence to the Holy Cities of Hejaz were deserted and left to the Beduin and their flocks. Salamiyya became one of the many ruins strewn the desert fringes, where a few ragged walls and leaning pillars emerged from the heaps of rubble and decomposed mud bricks. These were the remains of a temple, a citadel, churches, mosques and a vaulted public bath.† In the same district there are still extensive sites where the Arabs graze their flocks amongst the tottering ruins of Byzantine churches or of an Umayyad pleasure palace.

* The above account is largely derived from two sources. The first of these is the traditional story as given to me by Emir Muhammed Milhem, a very intelligent and knowledgeable leader of the Salamiyya community, to whom I am grateful for a great deal of help. Second are two letters dated January 21, 1844, and March 22, 1844, from Mr. E. V. Elias, British Consul-General in Beirut. These letters are preserved in the archives of the Consulate at Beirut, and I am much indebted to the authorities for permission to use the information given therein.

† Lady Hester Stanhope and her physician, Dr. Meryon, passed through Salamiyya not long before the Isma'ili reoccupation. There are descriptions in *The Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope* (by Dr. Meryon), London, 1846, vol. ii, p. 93 and pp. 210-12.

The Isma'ili story runs that Emir Isma'il, learned in the history of his people, was determined to find and to occupy their ancient capital. He knew approximately where it was and so claimed from the Hama authorities lands east of the city. Then he led his little band of followers into the steppe, first to one site which gave no clue, and then to another and finally to Salamiyya. Here the Beduin knew the old name, and the foundation inscription of a mosque, 1,100 years old, which is still proudly exhibited, showed that the goal had been reached. Immediately there started the process of colonization which has continued until today. The little group of men lived in and defended the old citadel, and ploughed the land nearby with their weapons at the ready. Then messengers were sent back to the Isma'ilis of the Alaouite mountains and the great trek began. Gradually the people were collected and came to build up their little polity of a score of villages grouped round their centre of a thousand years before.

In leading his people in this new venture Emir Isma'il's energies were at last well directed. Many stories are still told of him and of other personalities of the pioneering days. The land was freely granted by the Turks, but it had to be won, and the nomads were only slowly fought off or bought off. The Isma'ili area of expansion infringed on Mowali territory in particular, and also on those grazing grounds for which the 'Aneza tribes—Sba' Feda'n and Rualla—fought each other during the second half of the nineteenth century. A loose alliance was formed with the Sba', an alliance which is still useful in troubled days. The Emir was not content with war and diplomacy. He urged his people to the plough by force if necessary, and is even said to have had young men whipped if he caught them lounging in the market place in their best clothes when they should have been working in the fields.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, then, there have been two main groups of Isma'ilis in Syria, those of the Qadmous-Masyaf area in the mountains west of Hama, and those of the Salamiyya area on the plains east of Hama. The first group number perhaps 10,000 today, and the second between 25,000 and 35,000. Elsewhere there are only a few scattered villages.

The two groups are divided not only geographically, but on a sectarian basis. All were formerly Nizaris (the Indian Khojas), members of the main Isma'ili group, who trace their line of Imams through Nizar, that son of the Fatimid Caliph el Mustansir Bi 'llah (d. 1094) who was supported by Hasan es Sabbah. The forty-seventh Imam of this line is the Aga Khan. (The Indian Bohras and most of the Isma'ilis of Yemen derive from the followers of Nizar's brother and rival Musta'li.) The great majority of the Salamiyya Isma'ilis are still fervent followers of Aga Khan and of his son and successor Ali Khan, but the mountain group have broken away and do not regard these two princes as Imams. The schism may not be final. Relations between the two groups are friendly. Emir Muhammad Milhem, one of the leaders of the Salamiyya group, puts it like this: "If they are not sure of our present Lord, Aga Khan, the truth will appear to them in the near future and they will return to the spring from which we all drink."*

* But see Ivanov in *J.R.A.S.*, 1938, p. 79.

The mountain group are not, on the whole, well off. As in all the Syrian mountains, land hunger, overpopulation and poverty are chronic evils. This must have been a factor behind the migration to the Salamiyya area. There is still a drift from the mountains to the wealthier eastern areas, as well as seasonal migration. Landowners of the Salamiyya area import men, women and children by the cart- and lorry-load to help at harvest time, and some stay for lengthy periods. That some of these mountaineers are poor, backward and ignorant is not surprising in view of the difficulty and inaccessibility of their environment—this is the price paid for survival in such a region of refuge.

The Isma'ilis of the Salamiyya area are a fortunate people. Their land is fertile and well watered, and they have flourished. They have been successful in creating and maintaining their little state within a state, and till recently have done very much as they liked. They are proud and clannish, with a reputation for toughness. Their attitude to the non-noble Arab tribes and to other peasant groups tends to be condescending, not unlike that of the Druzes of the Jebel Druze to their neighbours. Living on the open steppe which merges into desert, and in close contact with the nomads, they have adopted or conserved many attractive Arab traditions. Each village headman maintains his guest house where travellers are welcome to bitter coffee and a meal, and in the town of Salamiyya the Emirs keep hospitable state. All love horses and interest themselves in breeding, and a network of horse-coping links the Isma'ilis with the Beduin of all the deserts and with the race tracks of Beirut and even Alexandria. Most of their 100,000 sheep are out amongst the tribes in the desert in winter, and in summer the tribesmen come in to village territory with their flocks. All these contacts strengthen the "Arab" tradition amongst the Isma'ilis, and of course they wear the flowing clothes and headdress of all the Syrian plainsmen.

Their relations with official Sunni Islam are strained and complex. Like most dissident minorities, they tend to be "agin" the Damascus government. More than once, especially in the first World War, they have earned trouble for themselves by their pro-British sympathies, of which, of course, the Englishman hears more than is warranted. In this they exhibit the usual propensity of minority groups to cleave to a protector, the pro-British orientation springing from their loyalty to H.H. Aga Khan.

The Aga Khan is the spiritual and temporal head of the sect and possesses attributes of divinity. A tithe is paid to him, and he is at the centre of all religious and political considerations of his people. Amongst the great majority of the ordinary men, uninitiated into religious secrets, loyalty to the Imam is paramount to the near exclusion of most other religious belief. A large share of the reverence due to the Imam has already been transferred to H.H. Ali Khan, who succeeds his father and who has already taken over some of his duties. Extraordinary and magnificent scenes of enthusiasm greet "The Prince" when he visits the town. His arrival is the opportunity for a fantasia when dozens of horsemen gallop along with his car, firing rifles into the air as they go, and then a great crowd is assembled in the town to greet him. People fight to see

him or touch his clothes, and whilst he stays the community is in a ferment.
The boys of the town march about chanting :

Ali Shah, hāmina,
Fi sēf wa martina,
Wa illi ma bihubbū
Mnisruf bi saramina.

(The "martina"—Martini—for rifle is interesting.)

Ali Shah, our leader,
With sword and rifle girt,
And we will crush beneath our feet
Whoever loves him not.*

I do not know how systematized is the process of initiation into religious knowledge, but it is certain that the majority of the people—like their Sunni neighbours—bear their religion lightly and are ignorant of all theological subtlety. Prayers are held three times a day in the unassuming mosques, but only a small proportion of the men attend regularly. Theirs, the casual observer would say, is a free-and-easy religion; for whilst they do not fast in Ramadan they join with fervour in the celebrations at the end of it; polygamy is allowed and so is alcohol—although both these pleasures are usually indulged in only very moderately.

There is at present some falling away from the sect, slight but of interest. Not many of the triumphs of orthodox Islam have been won by direct and brutal proselytizing accompanied by persecution. Minority sects in fact frequently react to persecution by developing faithfulness and cohesion. Sunni Islam has more generally spread by a process of social infection. Representing the dominant classes, practised by the great majority of the population, permeating the whole social and psychological fabric of the Arab peoples, Sunnism imperceptibly gathers to itself new adherents. In periods of relative prosperity and tolerance such as the present this is probably particularly marked. It is also true that in such periods there is a general falling away from the beliefs and practices of religion—people who are comfortable in this life are less concerned with the welfare of their spiritual selves in the life to come. "Houris in Paradise I do not look for: does any man of sense?" as Walid II put it. There is likely to be a particular falling away from, or diminution of interest in, Isma'ilism and related sects. Having sprung originally from a movement of protest against unfavourable economic, social, political and religious conditions, they have developed the secret and mystical elements in their religious life as a compensation and a refuge, and stress the idea of the second coming of a messianic Imam. Sunni Islam, however, triumphs even at such times, for the demands it makes are not rigorous, and there must be a considerable relief felt by ex-members of heretical sects when they find how easy it is to become one of the favoured, dominant majority

* H.H. Ali Khan's marriage to Rita Hayworth naturally disturbed conservative opinion, as doubtless subsequent events will have tended to do. However, the theologians' view that the Imam's spirit is inviolable and unaffected by worldly affairs is echoed by the common man's feeling that the Prince can do no wrong and may naturally marry as he wishes.

and to leave behind them all feelings of being a peculiar people. A squabble with the Emirs, or a revolt against the tithe-paying, may lead to a group of people declaring themselves Sunnis, or perhaps at first merely withdrawing themselves quietly from Isma'ili religious and social activities. Such a movement has, however, hitherto been slight. Prince Ali Khan has in recent years taken a great interest in his people here, and in starting half a dozen village schools and sending missionaries from East Africa to preach in the mosques he has done something to combat indifference and ignorance.

In taking the bold step of migrating and creating for themselves a new environment in and around Salamiyya, the Isma'ilis provided a stimulant for themselves which many oriental groups sadly lack. In breaking with tradition and initiating a pioneering movement they developed a somewhat more active and enterprising turn of mind and body than some of their neighbours, and because of the fertility of the area in which they have settled they are fortunate in being able to gain considerable reward by work and investment. Partly for these reasons the process of economic and social change which is going on throughout the Middle East is particularly apparent in this area.

During the mandatory period security was established, the country well administered, communications improved and increased trading and other links established with the world. The circumstances of the second World War favoured the country's economy in general and that of the Salamiyya area in particular. Under the Office des Céréales Panifiables, an internationally administered, quasi-military organization set up under the ægis of the Middle East Supply Centre, all the wheat and barley the area could produce was bought at good guaranteed prices. Many men were able to enlist in the French local levies or in the British army, or to obtain employment as civilians in the hundreds of camps, depots or offices established in Syria and Lebanon. There was a general rise in prices, including those of agricultural products, and a rise in the standard of living of all but the poorest in this producing area. The demands of the war and severe restrictions on imports gave rise to inflation. The Salamiyya area was only dependent to a small degree on imports, and the greater part of the newly earned surplus cash was saved.

Since the end of the war there has been a prolonged spending boom. A good deal of money has gone on consumer goods such as cars and radios, which were a rarity before the war but which are commonplace now. Some has been spent on goods of more general and direct value to the community, like the dozen or so buses which now ply between Hama, Salamiyya and the villages. The most important investments have been in farm improvement and especially in motor pumps, many hundreds of which have been installed in the area. These bring the subsoil water to the surface, where it is largely used to irrigate cash crops—grain, vegetables, fruit, vines and notably cotton. Cotton growing is immensely profitable, owing to the high world prices now prevailing, and the acreage under this crop is constantly being extended. The traditional near-subsistence economy based largely on unirrigated wheat and barley growing is giving place before these changes to a complex cash economy.

People are now better off than ever before, better fed and in better health. With economic change has gone a broadening of outlook and a demand for education. The fatalistic, passivist spirit so characteristic of the backward areas of the Moslem Arab lands is disappearing, and at the same time there has been a weakening of the power of custom and of religion itself. The power of the Emirs has also been weakened. Ten years ago these hereditary landowners and chiefs were undisputed masters of their people. A number of government posts were in their hands, but more important than that they were the accepted representatives of the people, and all the affairs of the community were channelled through them. The restricted scope of the economic, social and political machinery of the region both made their existence necessary and guaranteed its continuance. They lived off the products of their lands, needing relatively few goods and services from outside the area, and they paid for most of the services rendered to them locally by patronage, protection, hospitality and occasional gifts of bags of wheat. They were hospitable and extravagant, knowing nothing of profit and loss accounts, spending freely when they had money and living on credit when they had none. Various factors are against them today. Although some of them are notable men, they have not the strength of character and mind which made Emir Isma'il and his companions such formidable figures. Their own interminable quarrels help to weaken them. Most notably, however, modern economic conditions do not favour them. Their needs are now greater, for they must now have cars and radios and other luxuries, whilst they still maintain their guest houses and stables. They need cash for an increasing range of goods and services—to buy fuel for their new motor-pumps, for example, and to pay wages to their chauffeurs. The smaller man, labourer or mechanic, equally involved in the cash economy now prevailing, demands money payment for his services, and becomes increasingly discontent with an inequitable share-cropping system or with patronage. The latter is of far less use than it was—protector-lords are now out of fashion, and in cases of official business the ordinary man is turning more freely direct to members of the new official middle class, who have displaced most of the Emirs from their government posts.

Faced with the need for money, the big landowners frequently sell or lease part of their land, and in this way help to undermine their own fortunes. Many of their own people and of the new, non-Isma'ili immigrants—contractors or tradesmen or officials—are now wealthier and better educated than some, at least, of the Emirs, and so the esteem in which the latter are held declines. There are, however, exceptions—young, able men of the old families become improving landlords, whilst some have the education to fill official posts. The characteristics of the district are thus changing rapidly. Modernization is in full swing, and there is a weakening of the old religious and social ties.

On the other hand, links with Prince Ali Khan and world Isma'ilism are now closer than ever before, and there is a growing interest in social reform. There is a tremendous demand for education. An organization called "El Ikhwan es Safa" (The Brethren of Purity) has been founded. The name is significant, for it derives from the medieval association of

thinkers in whose works were expressed many of the philosophical and religious tenets of Isma'ilism. The new brotherhood is now actively interesting young educated men in religious, philosophical and social affairs. It seems possible that Isma'ilism may develop new strength and adapt itself to the changing conditions of Syria today.

REVIEWS

Excavations in Azarbaijan, 1948. By T. Burton Brown. Pp. xiv and 279. John Murray, London, 1951. Four guineas.

Mr. Burton Brown, in carrying out his excavations at Geoy Tepe, in south-western Azarbaijan, in 1948, a project that he had had in mind for a number of years, has made a good beginning in the arduous task of discovering the many secrets that the numerous *tepes*, or mounds, of that historic province doubtless hold. Although he is not the first archæologist to interest himself in that region, his predecessors did not do more than, quite literally, scratch the surface. To Mr. Burton Brown belongs the credit of being the first to make a careful examination of a long stratified sequence of material there, an undertaking which, unfortunately, he had neither the time nor the funds to complete. Nevertheless, as is abundantly clear from his excellent book, he made a number of important discoveries.

Geoy Tepe, which is situated four miles to the south-east of the town of Rezaieh (formerly Urmia), is one of a large number of mounds in that district, which was obviously densely populated in remote times. There can be no doubt that this area, like others in Azarbaijan, was a centre of primitive culture then. The geographical situation of Azarbaijan is such that it seemed reasonable to conclude that it often served in the past as a bridge or corridor for ethnic movements, these movements being usually from east to west, and sometimes from north to south. Mr. Burton Brown's discoveries at Geoy Tepe seem to afford much support for this belief, as the similarity of certain of his finds there to those made in other parts of the Near East appears to point conclusively to some interconnection between those regions in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Not only does Mr. Burton Brown consider that there was a connection between this part of Azarbaijan on the one hand and Egypt, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and elsewhere on the other, but also between it and Armenia and other parts of Transcaucasia.

There is a time-gap, according to Mr. Burton Brown's calculations, of two thousand years between the earliest and the latest objects which he discovered at Geoy Tepe; they date from, approximately, 3,200 to 1,200 B.C. There may well be objects dating even further back than 3,200 B.C., because, owing to limitations of time and money, it was not possible to reach virgin soil in any of the pits sunk.

Mr. Burton Brown pays a tribute to the kindness and co-operative spirit of the late Professor Bahrami (who died recently) and his assistants of the Persian Antiquities Service. Not only were they of great help to him whilst the work at Geoy Tepe was in progress, but when the time came for them to select what they required of the material discovered, they proved to be extremely generous, thus enabling Mr. Burton Brown to take away to England practically all his finds.

Mr. Burton Brown is to be congratulated not only on the thoroughness of his work as an excavator but also on the preparation of his book. It is lavishly illustrated with plates and drawings, and it is well furnished with plans and maps. The book, as one would expect, has been excellently produced by Messrs. John Murray.

One may express the hope, in conclusion, that Mr. Burton Brown will some day be able to return to Azarbaijan not only to complete his work at Geoy Tepe, but also to excavate elsewhere in that most interesting region.

L. L.

World Geography of Petroleum. Edited by Wallace E. Pratt and Dorothy Good. Pp. xvii+464. Published for the American Geographical Society by Princeton University Press. 1950. £2 8s.

In the period between the two World Wars a great many books were written on the subject of oil. The authors of certain of these books gave their imaginations full play and paid little or no attention to facts. The most sinister of motives were

usually imputed to the great oil groups, which were often alleged to be largely, if not entirely, responsible for the outbreaks of war and revolution in various parts of the world.

It is therefore a welcome change to come across the *World Geography of Petroleum*, which is a most authoritative and carefully written book by a team of experts each of whom is a specialist in his or her particular field. A further recommendation of this work is that it has been produced under the auspices of the American Geographical Society.

Members of the Royal Central Asian Society will be interested mainly, but not exclusively, in the portions of this work that are devoted to Asian oil-producing countries. The excellent chapter on the Middle East (covering Persia, Kuwait, Iraq, the Trucial Coast and Turkey) is by Dr. G. M. Lees, F.R.S., the chief geologist of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, while the one on Saudi Arabia and Bahrain (which are treated separately from the other Middle Eastern countries) is by Messrs. Steineke and Yackel. Dr. Lees's attainments are so well known to members of the Royal Central Asian Society that it is unnecessary to say anything further here; of the other two writers, it may be said that Mr. Steineke is consulting geologist to the Arabian American Oil Company, while Mr. Yackel is a geologist in the service of that company; both are therefore very well qualified to deal with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

The chapter on Persia was, of course, written before the outbreak of the present dispute, but the following words by Dr. Lees in his "Political Background" on page 197 will be read with interest: "Throughout the centuries Persia has demonstrated a capacity for balancing on the brink of administrative chaos and yet being steadied time after time by a new strong hand."

While the Middle Eastern oil-producing areas have been admirably dealt with, one might consider that some of the other Asian countries have been rather scantily described (only four pages on Burma and just over one for India and Pakistan). The section on Indonesia is, however, adequate.

Other parts of the book deal with the finding of oil-bearing regions and the origin of petroleum, the organization of the petroleum industry, the description of drilling methods, oilfield installations, transport, refining and the distribution of products, the actual use of petroleum, where it goes to, and how the rates of production and consumption compare amongst the nations. There are also chapters on the geographical aspects of the use of petroleum in the second World War and on the effect of the world distribution of petroleum on the power and the policy of nations. In addition there is a detailed statistical survey by Miss Anastasia van Burkalow, of the Department of Geology and Geography, Hunter College.

The American Geographical Society has contributed fifty specially prepared maps and eleven diagrams, and the book is lavishly illustrated with nearly a hundred photographs.

L. L.

Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel. By L. A. Mayer. Pp. 50 and 60 plates. Published by the Government Printer, Jerusalem, Israel. 1950.

In November, 1948, the Provincial Government of Israel set up a "Commission for the Preservation of Muslim Religious Monuments," composed of Dr. L. A. Mayer, Professor of Art and Archæology of the Near East at the Hebrew University (Chairman), Mr. J. Pinkerfeld, architect and Custodian of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel, and Dr. J. W. Hirschberg, Director of the Muslim and Druze Department of the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs. Of these, Dr. Mayer needs no introduction to Western orientalists. His excellent work in Palestine on Muslim archæology goes back to a fairly early period of the Mandatory Rule, and he is now Honorary Adviser on Muslim Religious Monuments to the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs.

The task of the Commission is, as the Minister of Religious Affairs, Rabbi Maimon, says in his foreword, to protect places of worship and graveyards which, as he somewhat euphemistically puts it, "had been abandoned by the Muslim community when it departed from the country"; and the book before us, whose text is printed in English, Arabic and Hebrew versions, gives the Commission's account of its

stewardship. The actual report, by Dr. Mayer and Mr. Pinkerfeld, takes up thirty pages (out of fifty) of the English version, and is preceded by an Introduction of ten pages of valuable administrative information by Dr. Hirschberg. It is interesting to learn incidentally from this Introduction that there are about 15,000 Druze residents in Israel, and that under the new dispensation they are no longer subject to Muslim religious jurisdiction, but recognized by the Israeli Government as an independent religious body "not depending on any alien religious authority."

No buildings of the first importance come, of course, within the purview of the report, which covers the mosques, *zawiyat* and other Muslim sanctuaries of Yibneh, Ramleh, Lydda, Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Safad, Tiberias and some lesser places. In each case it gives a businesslike description of the structures and their present condition, with something of their history and with practical recommendations for such work as may be required on them.

This is a competent and factual record of an investigation usefully undertaken; and the volume, illustrated with sixty good photographs and carefully drawn plans of buildings, is typographically a creditable achievement for the new State.

H. C. LUKE.

Muslim Sea-power in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the Seventh to the Tenth Century A.D. (Studies in Naval Organisation.) By Aly Mohamed Fahmy. Luzac and Co. Pp. xi + 194. 20s.

To many readers this book will reveal a New World :

" Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield."

And what a treasury of information is contained in the covers of Dr. Aly Mohamed Fahmy's book!

As he points out in the Introduction, it is not so much the revelation of new facts of primary importance as the accumulation of small details which build up such a vivid picture of the Muslim conquerors of Egypt launching forth on the Mediterranean against Byzantium, and the business-like way in which they set about it.

In the Red Sea and farther east it was customary to stitch the planks of ships together and rub them with oil; but in the Mediterranean they learnt the necessity of nails. A letter written before Anglo-Saxon kings reigned in England, from Basilyus, pagarch of Aphrodito, to the villagers of the Five Fields, instructed them under the orders of Qurra, the governor, to make nails for the arsenal at Babylon :

" Receive from your Pagarch 50 Litræ of dirty lump iron from the Government stores, and make of it, when clean 33½ litræ of nails, and pay them over for the Carabi and Acatenaria in the present indiction and the raid of the 9th indiction, and if you give wages [instead], pay for the 50 Litræ of lump iron for cleaning 1½ nominal solidus only."

Such letters give a feeling of homely intimacy with the people of those provinces, over a thousand years ago. We learn how copper chain cable came to them from Cyprus, hence its name.

Again, the outline description of the naval arsenals in Egypt, Spain, Africa and Crete, and the methods made to improve and protect them, will be found in Chapter II.

Ibn Tulim, to maintain his hold on Syria, ordered a stone wall to be built around the anchorage at Acre; the inland artificers said: "No man can lay foundations under water," but the writer Muqadassi's grandfather, an architect, was called in and solved the problem.

The chapters on the timber, metals and other materials used for shipbuilding, and those on naval organization and personnel, make good reading. Some requests, such as to "supply 2½, or 3½ sailors," are somewhat startling till the system is explained. The references to wages, costs of supplies, and the paragraphs on fugitives and passports, make almost up-to-date reading; but the many new words for a ship present a problem to Western minds not familiar with the verbal riches

of Arabic with 200 different names for a camel, 400 for a lion, and over 100 for a ship! To learn the Arabic origin of many words is most interesting.

The instructions issued in the eighth century A.D. by the Abbasid Caliph on the responsibilities of a flag officer could equally apply to the present day.

For the general reader it would be helpful to have had the little map on p. 89 of the Naval Centres of the Eastern Muslims, shown double the size, say within the cover of the book, for easy reference, as places like Clysmā and that Babylon mentioned in this book are not commonly known; nor are those of administrators like Eparchs and Pagarchs, which are not explained till late in the book. A modern interpretation of the word *indiction* would also help.

Altogether Dr. Fahmy is to be heartily congratulated on filling such a void in nautical knowledge by writing this book, and on his industry in consulting over 300 authorities in the process.

FRANCIS CADOGAN.

South Arabian Poetry. I. Prose and Poetry from Hadramaut. Edited, collated and corrected with an introductory preface by R. B. Serjeant. Pp. xiv + 87 + 184. Taylor's Foreign Press. Arabic. 35s.

In this book Dr. Serjeant presents some prose and poetry from the Hadhramaut in the original Arabic in which he selected it, mainly from a vast collection made by a poor scholar of Tarim. His object has been to approach the study of Hadhrami civilization through the medium of the language. There was plenty of material from which he could select, for the Hadhrami Arab has a natural aptitude for handing down contemporary events and daily customs to posterity by describing them in verse.

Of the poetry, Dr. Serjeant tells us that for centuries it appears "to have consisted in slight variations on traditional themes in traditional diction." Although some of the modern intellectuals have now turned their eyes towards Cairo for inspiration, there is still a very faithful adherence to the traditional colloquial poetry.

Even more than the poetry, the song and dance play a prominent part in Hadhrami life. Many of the songs and dances, as Dr. Serjeant points out, are of ancient origin: in particular the songs of the chase, and notably those on the hunting of the ibex. This animal was once considered sacred and its horns are still not infrequently hung on new buildings to protect them. Then there are the well-irrigation songs, perhaps the most characteristic of all the peasant songs. Dr. Serjeant gives an account of the drawing up of well water by human and animal teams, one of the commonest sights and sounds of the Hadhramaut, where so much cultivation depends on this tedious but picturesque method of irrigation.

The various classes of society have their different songs: there are the songs of the labourers, of the beduin, of the tribesmen and of the townsmen; whose Shabwani dance, which is fully described in this book, is often to be seen on festive occasions. There are songs of pilgrimage, of religious ceremonies, tribal dances in which men and women take part together, and more stately measures danced and sung in the seclusion of the harem. Musical instruments are still considered by many of the Hadhramis to be unlawful, and accompaniment to the songs and dances is therefore usually provided only by drums.

Although the Arabic text is not translated, Dr. Serjeant has given much interesting background information in his preface, and he has thrown more light on the daily life and customs of the Hadhramis, and on their traditional culture.

D. I.

Sufism. An account of the mystics of Islam. By A. J. Arberry. London: George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 141. 1950. 8s. 6d.

Sufi is the Arabic name for a Muslim mystic, and the hybrid word "sufism" has been coined to denote the movement. A captious critic might try to dismiss the present book as "scissors and paste," though even he would admit that the implements had been used with skill. As far as possible the mystics are allowed to speak

for themselves. The treatment is historical; mysticism began as a turning the back on this world, a meticulous performance of the duties of religion and a multiplication of them. Then the idea grew up that there was a more direct and immediate communion with God than was possible under the ordinary rules of religion. The last stage was to create a theology or theosophy to explain or justify this communion. Prefixed to this exposition are two chapters which one might expect to find in the middle of the book; they contain a selection of passages from the Koran and tradition which implied the mystic creed or, as some would prefer to say, into which mystic ideas could be read. There is a sketch of the organization of the Sufi fraternities and notes on the famous Persian poets. It is not the aim of the writer to deal with influences external to Islam. Lip service is done to the existence of mystics in other religions, but the reader feels that the Muslims are the only ones who count. It is a pity that some Sufis did not copy the modesty of the Christian who was caught up into the third heaven and heard words which cannot be uttered.

A. S. T.

Sunset from the Main. By Lieut.-Gen. H. G. Martin ("Al Khanzir"). Pp. 288. Museum Press. 1951.

This is a very charming book, and consists of a series of stories, some of which have already appeared in *Blackwood* and *Cornhill*, telling of the adventures of a soldier who knew how to make the best of India. Here, too, is the fascination of the attractive story-teller; while in the descriptions of country and of scenery it is easy to recognize the pen of the Military Correspondent who, in style and presentation so far excels his contemporaries.

Many members of The Royal Central Asian Society will recognize, not indeed without a feeling of nostalgia, the places where General Martin shot and fished or hunted the pig; and will see again the vista where "away to the north, across the leagues of sun-bathed void, blue range climbed on blue to the Everlasting Snows." They will learn too how the River Giri came by its name and, in the intervals of sport, revel in Indian history, folk-lore and mythology, of which the author has such an extensive knowledge.

It is difficult to imagine a more delightful companion than *Sunset from the Main*; for after it has been read, with absorbing interest, the first time, it can be picked up at any time and re-read, tale by tale, with equal pleasure.

J. S. S.

China to Chitral. By H. W. Tilman. Pp. 128. 69 illustrations, 4 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1951. 25s.

Mr. Tilman's second visit to Chinese Turkistan was no doubt inspired, and certainly facilitated, but the presence in Kashgar of his old friend Mr. Eric Shipton, who, as Consul-General, was "still spreading his beneficent rays" over Kashgaria. Access to Sinkiang (the modern nomenclature) had normally been by way of Gilgit and the Mintaka Pass, or by way of Kashmir, Leh and the Karakoram Pass. But on account of the political situation both these routes were ruled out and the author was transported by air to Shanghai and Lanchow, and continued his journey thence by post bus to Urumchi. We feel at one with Mr. Tilman in his distinction between the traveller who takes time to look about him and the passenger who is "carried" swiftly by machine, and his agreement with the missionary author of *Through Jade Gate and Central Asia*, who laments the ousting, in the Gobi desert, of the camel caravan by motor transport. To their minds, as to ours, "a truck is a vehicle fatal to romance." However, flying in China seemed to be remarkably cheap, especially when compared with a hair-cut, which cost 70,000 kuchen.

In the neighbourhood of Urumchi, now capital of Sinkiang, rises Bogdo Ola, the "spirit mountain," which was the chief objective of Mr. Tilman and Mr. Shipton. Although the author states in his preface that his theme is to be "mountains unsullied by science and alleviated by Chinese brandy," a great deal of his book is given

to vivid description of "that fascinating country, Chinese Turkistan," and of his many strange encounters there, and the fact that their attempted ascents of Bogdo Ola and Chakra Agil were unsuccessful does not detract in the least from the interest and charm of the story. Failure seems to give even more scope for the exercise of the Tilman brand of humour and wit, which apparently thrives on adversity and frustration, notably when, baulked of his wish to return to Chitral by a route following the south side of the Hindu Kush, he finds comfort and resignation in "double-marching" towards the scene of yet another rumoured world-war, and, frustrated again, is almost disappointed to learn that "a more or less deep peace still broods over Europe, Africa and Asia"!

The four maps and the many photographs provided are most interesting. This is a very pleasant book.

H. W. T.

Out of This World: *Across the Himalayas to Tibet.* By Lowell Thomas, Jr. The Greystone Press, New York. 1950. \$3.50. Macdonald and Co. (Publishers), Ltd., London. 1951. 18s. net. Copiously illustrated with photographs both in black-and-white and in colour.

On August 1, 1949, the author, who has travelled widely, and his father, Mr. Lowell Thomas Sr., who has long been well known as a traveller in many lands and as an author and radio commentator, arrived at the foot of the Himalayas armed with an invitation from the Tibetan Government to visit Lhasa. Some ten weeks later they were back in India. A similar journey had been undertaken in 1944 by another American, Mr. Arch Steele, who contributed a series of long and excellent articles to the *Chicago Daily News*. In such accounts of brief visits to Tibet one does not expect evidence of deep research such as are to be found in the late Sir Charles Bell's *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, but such accounts have a particular value of their own, because men who are familiar with many lands may be trusted, when they visit a new country, to pick out what is essential and to be free from bias.

The book contains a few slips, such as the statement that from 1904 to 1947 the British Trade Agents (who actually were located in Tibet at Gyantse and Yatung) "kept in close touch with Tibet, but mostly from the Indian side of the border"; that Kangchenjunga is visible from the train as it approaches Siliguri, or that the Bishop Cotton School in Simla is "for sons of maharajas"; it was not in September, 1939, but in October that the present Dalai Lama first reached Lhasa, nor has it yet been ascertained that the Tibetan Himalayas are unquestionably a virgin source of tremendous mineral wealth—as the author admits, the region is (largely) unexplored and geologists appear to be of opinion that it is well to the north of the Himalayan chain that valuable deposits, which may include oil, are most likely to occur. And it is incorrect to say that "every devout follower of Tibet's god-king tries to make at least one pilgrimage to Lhasa each year." But such minor inaccuracies of detail in regard to matters which for the most part did not come within the range of the author's actual observation detract little if at all from value of the vivid account which he gives of what he himself observed.

He found the Tibetans devoted to their religion and to their Dālai Lama, welcoming and hospitable, but apprehensive of the threat of Chinese domination, which has since the time of his visit become a reality. He gives attractive accounts of the young Dālai Lama and of Lhasa society and manages, in little more than two hundred pages of easy writing, to give a remarkably full account of much of Tibet's history and of present conditions in the country. The illustrations are well chosen and of excellent quality and help greatly towards making the reader feel that he is at home in Tibet. In the American edition, but not in the English edition, there are useful sketch maps, printed as end-papers, (1) of Tibet and adjacent regions, and (2) of the author's route. To these might well have been added a map, on a larger scale, of Lhasa and its immediate neighbourhood. In the English but not in the American edition are included Tables of Contents and of Illustrations and indexes of Persons and of Places. Messrs. Macdonald and Co. are to be congratulated on the fact that in get-up and print and paper, and especially in the reproduction of the illustrations, the English edition is markedly better than the American edition.

B. J. G.

The Upanishads. Translated by Swami Nikhilananda. Pp. 319. Phœnix House, 16s.

This rather misleading title heralds a new translation of four of the more important of the 108 Upanishads—the Katha, Íśa, Kena and Mundaka—with liberal extracts from the commentaries of Śankara upon them, preceded by an introduction in which the translator discusses Vedic literature in general and expounds the main tenets of Upanishadic philosophy and psychology.

Swami Nikhilananda's sincerity is patent and his translation is painstakingly faithful, but it is a pity that his command of the English language is not sufficient to enable him to do justice to the sublime thoughts expressed in the Sanskrit original. This defect is less felt in the commentaries, which are of the prosaic meticulousness beloved of Indian philosophers. For the serious student it is an advantage to have this interpretation by one of the most famous Monists readily available, but the general reader will find less pleasure in this version of the Upanishads than in that of Shri Purohit Swami and Yeats.

As a primer the introduction suffers from a certain prolixity, consisting as it does very largely of lengthy quotations from the Upanishads themselves. It tends to repeat what has already been set out more clearly and discussed more fully in other works, such as Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*. H. O. C.

A Doctor in Siam. By Jacques M. May. Pp. 224. Jonathan Cape. 1951. 12s. 6d.

Here is a man who loves his fellow-men. And what a grand story-teller he is! Extraordinarily modest, too, for one who breaks into print. In spite of this it is quite clear that he is no mean surgeon. Eight years of work in Siam and Indo-China provided him with multitudinous observations and studies. The wonder of it is that, tumbling upon him as thick and fast as they did in the natural course of his work, he was able to select and retain so many of these human dramas. But here they are, witty, sharp and clear, kaleidoscopic, deeply moving.

Dr. May, having studied tropical medicine, went out to Bangkok as chief surgeon of the French Hospital. Overcoming the prejudices of the Siamese Court, and against the advice of French authority (who feared that failure would mean the banishment of French medicine from Siam), he operated so successfully on a frightened little Daughter of Heaven that operations became the vogue and Dr. May physician to the Royal Palace. Later on he moved to Indo-China as professor of surgery in the imperial city of Hanoi.

A self-styled emotional Frenchman, every line he writes proclaims him a romantic. But he is no sentimentalist. Read his story of the exquisite little Siamese ladies who formed a regrettable habit of poisoning off their Western "husbands" when they showed a tendency to start moving on. Dr. May deplored this habit and found a most ingenious way of curing it, and at least one quaking Englishman no longer felt obliged to drag his leaden feet back to his love-nest. The last two words of the account, however, leave no doubt as to where his saviour's sympathies were. He commands respect for old Alarm Clock, the opium den proprietress who found she had a corpse on her hands. There is inspiration for another Madam Butterfly in this Far Eastern Mona Lisa. The story of a marriage between East and West has a brief reference to missionary work more revealing than a whole chapter on the subject were it written by a lesser pen.

When he went out in 1932 Siam was still emerging from the dark ages. His medical picture of this disease-ridden country is startling, but not hopeless. In a chapter on tropical surgery he gives some extremely interesting facts about the constitutions of the natives which bear little relation to any preconceived ideas brought in from the West. For instance, a native of Indo-China seldom has more than three and a half million red cells, instead of the normal five million; his hæmoglobin rate is generally not higher than 75 per cent.; 100 per cent. of them are worm-ridden. Even their food has not the nutritive value expected from food in Europe. Milk (goat's), for instance, if drunk at all is richer in microbes than in any tissue-building properties.

Such material conditions are a constant challenge to medical powers of invention.

On spiritual grounds, too, bridges have to be built across apparently unbridgeable gulfs. Impressing on his students that surgery, being a Western art, should be practised according to Western principles, he is obviously a good deal puzzled when he attempts to relate this to local standards. In a chapter entitled "The Value of Life" he summarizes his conclusions on the essential differences between Eastern and Western attitudes to life, and produces a brief monograph which might profitably be studied by any man or woman proposing to work in the East.

Dr. May is a born story-teller, and fortune sent him out to a story-teller's paradise. After the fall of France he escaped from the Far East and joined the French Resistance. In the service of the Allies he crossed the equator eighteen times on "incredible missions." There's the material for a next book, surely. After that, if his New York suburban practice has not crowded him out with fresh grist, it would be a pleasure to hear about the typical French aunts of his boyhood. In fact, anything he writes will have at least one eager reader. This reviewer has already purchased *A Doctor in Siam* as a present for his wife.

B. W.-P.

The Malay Magician. Being Shaman, Sava, and Sufi revised and enlarged with a Malay Appendix. By Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt.(Oxon). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1951. Pp. 160 + vii. 14s. net.

Islam bears lightly on the Malay (he has, we should remember, been part of it for less than six hundred years), and he is not, like the fanatic Arab Muslim, haunted day and night by hopes of heaven or (more realistically) by fears of hell. At the same time the spirit world so adjacent to his own material one and often impinging on it and interfering with its normal processes is a constant factor in his daily life. This is the basic, primitive faith on which Islam has been superimposed. In every hamlet (Sir Richard Winstedt tells us) there is a Pawang or magician, repository of immemorial superstition and older faiths. The majority of these Pawangs are traffickers with the supernatural and are concerned with the luck of fishing or agriculture or mining and with traditional cures for the sick, professing to be expert only in spells and tabus, talismans and amulets, and simple methods of divination. A minority practise Shamanism and, acting as mediums through a familiar, interrogate spirits as to the cause and cure of a disease. The two kinds of magician are quite distinct both in method and in temperament. "In some parts of the Malay archipelago the initiated priest or magician has for his provision the cure of the sick and the care of the rice-fields and house-building; but only the sky-born hereditary magician (who may also be a Chief) can invoke ancestral spirits or act as an intermediary between man and heaven." Whatever the distinction between the two classes, however, the Malay magician, whether an ordinary practitioner or Shaman, commands respect "by possessing a body of occult knowledge derived often from cultures greater than his own and framed by the ingenuity of many forerunners into an acceptable dogma of superstition." Some of it Sir Richard traces to the divination from the liver of animals or the flight of birds in far-off Babylon.

In this book Sir Richard gives us a complete account of the Malay Magician under the headings, The Primitive Magician, Towards Animism, Primitive Gods, Spirits and Ghosts, Hindu Influence, The Ritual of the Rice-field, The Shaman's Séance, Sacrifice, Magician and Sufi, Muslim Magic and Magic in Daily Life. The book is written with great sympathy and penetration as well as deep scholarship, and makes an indispensable companion for the same author's *The Malays: A Cultural History*, which is already in every properly equipped library on Asian subjects along with Sir Richard's numerous other contributions to the understanding of the Malays.

V. P.

Anglo-Assamese Relations, 1771-1826. By Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Ph.D. Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam. Pp. xxiii + 636. Gauhati. Rs. 25.

This is an invaluable contribution to the literature on the early history of Assam, and is probably the most important work on the particular period with which it deals

that has yet been published. Many will regret that it could not have been completed many years earlier. The author observes that the study of national history has "an intense practical utility, as every past event induces us to search for the lesson it has for the present," but it is to be feared that at present at any rate those in authority in Assam are so involved in the present and the future as to be unable to spare much time for the lessons of the past.

The years 1771 to 1826 contain three important landmarks in the history of Anglo-Assamese relations. 1771 saw the East India Company take notice for the first time of the possibilities of trade with Assam: 1817 saw the first Burmese invasion: 1826 was the date of the Treaty of Yandabo, which sealed the expulsion of the invaders and the inauguration of British rule.

But, as far back as a century previous, Europeans had learnt of and written about Assam, though always as a forbidden land. Mir Jumla's ill-fated expedition against the Ahom king in 1662 excited their interest as promising a new opening for trade, and Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci all had much to say about the country. In 1742 one Colonel James Mill built up a flourishing trade in salt with Assam and made himself both useful and agreeable to its rulers, though even he was not allowed to establish himself on Assamese soil. Ten years later a Frenchman, Chevalier, established himself at Goalpara, then not, as now, in Assam, but in Bengal, just on the boundary. In 1765 the famous James Rennell was surveying the course of the Brahmaputra, though he too was strictly barred from entering Assam. Then in 1771 the East India Company comes into the picture. Stimulated by a report from Hugh Baillie, who had been at Goalpara from 1765 to 1769, on the possibilities of trade in this direction, the Court of Directors addressed the Government of Bengal and requested them to inquire and report. As a result Baillie returned to Goalpara in 1774 in an official capacity, charged with the duty of promoting commercial intercourse between the two countries.

Then followed a long period during which trade was carried on both by the Company's servants and by private traders, in spite of internecine quarrels among the traders themselves and the general insecurity of life and property which prevailed. In the end trade was brought almost to a standstill by the depredations of armed freebooters from Bengal, known as "Barkandazes," and the Supreme Government at last acceded to the requests of the feeble Assam Government to intervene. In 1792 Lord Cornwallis sent Captain Welsh with some 400 Sepoys to Assam, with orders to quell the disturbances and at the same time report on the possibilities of trade. This change of attitude on the part of the Assamese rulers, from an inexorable opposition to the entry of any foreigner into their land, is a measure of the straits to which they were reduced.

The situation with which Welsh had to deal is best described in his own words. "History," he exclaimed, "does not furnish an example of a more corrupt, cruel and despotic government than that which has existed in Assam for some years past." He soon brought the Rajah to his senses, had his advisers replaced by better men, and within a very few months had restored a great measure of tranquillity at least to Western Assam and had put the business of commerce on a fair way to recovery. Before, however, he could finish his task, Cornwallis had gone, and the policy which had approved of Welsh's expedition was replaced by the rigid non-intervention favoured by Sir John Shore. Orders of recall reached Welsh when he was in Rangpur, the capital, and was still engaged in pacifying the country. They were received by the Assam ruler with dismay, but neither his nor Welsh's protests availed, and Welsh and his force returned to Bengal in July, 1794.

Disorder immediately followed his departure, trade was dislocated, and now the Burmese seized the opportunity of an easy conquest. At this stage a great name, David Scott, comes into the picture, and Doctor Bhuyan does full justice to his qualities. Scott was appointed Magistrate of the Bengal frontier district of Rungpore in 1813: and in 1823 he was made Agent to the Governor-General on the North-east Frontier, a post he continued to occupy until he died at Cherrapunji in 1831 at the early age of 45. It was during Scott's term of office that the Burmese first invaded Assam in 1817, taking the route over the Patkai Hills, which was followed in 1942 by the refugees fleeing before the Japanese. In 1819 they made a fresh incursion, and steadily tightened their grip on the unhappy country until they finally drove Chandra-

kanta, the last Ahom ruler, out in 1822 and became complete masters of his kingdom.

The British in Bengal were now faced across the border by a formidable and aggressive power which by 1824 offered a serious threat to the security of that province. The decision to intervene was taken, and the operation, which commenced in March, 1824, ended with the Treaty of Yandabo, executed on Burmese territory, which marked the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the inauguration of British rule. The duty of reorganizing the administration was wisely entrusted to David Scott.

Such, briefly, was the sequence of the intensely interesting events which are described in Professor Bhuyan's book. His narrative is obviously based on the most careful and exhaustive research, and it sets forth events with the impartiality of the true historian. The only criticism one may venture is that he indulges in too much detail—detail, too, often irrelevant to the subject in hand. It is a pity, too, that the map provided is not of rather better quality. Admittedly, it gives a good general idea of the boundaries of Assam as in the period 1682-1826 and as in 1936, but it is scarcely worthy of the book. It is also inconsistent to show Manipur as a part of the Province of Assam in 1936, while showing Balipara Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract as outside the province. Manipur was then under a ruling Chief of its own, while the two Frontier Tracts, though not strictly part of Assam proper, were a direct responsibility of the Governor.

This admirable book will of course never attract the general reader. But for the scholar, the research worker and the historian, or, alternatively, for anyone with a gift for working up the "romance" of a frontier and of its men, it not only affords a unique store of material, but points the way to other stores as well. R. N. R.

Historical Records of the Survey of India, Vol. II, 1800 to 1815. Collected and compiled by Colonel R. H. Phillimore, C.I.E., D.S.O. Survey of India 1950. Pp. xxviii + 478. Rs. 20 or £1 11s.

A History of British Diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwas (1786 to 1818).

By R. D. Choksey, Ph.D. Published by R. D. Choksey, Irwin Road, Poona (Agents, Luzac and Co.). 1951. Pp. xix + 399. 27s. 6d.

When Warren Hastings left India in 1784 he recorded that the expansion of the East India Company's influence had led to the enfeeblement of "every Power in connection with it." The Mogul Emperor at Delhi and the rulers of Oudh and the Carnatic, who were in name his feudatories, had all become clients of the Company. Another of the Emperor's supposed servants, the Nizam of Hyderabad, was about to become a satellite, but was now the object of contention between rival heavenly bodies. The Emperor's Rajput dependants had fallen within the Mahratta orbit; in the Punjab the Sikhs were at war with their Muslim enemies. Apart from this and other regions still beyond the Company's control there remained but two genuinely independent Powers, Tipu, the Tiger of Mysore, and the Mahratta Confederacy to which as much as to the Mogul Emperor the British were the imperial successors.

After Hastings came Cornwallis and Wellesley, under whom John Company's supremacy in the sub-continent was established through skilful diplomacy, such as is Mr. Choksey's subject, through subsidiary treaties with the potentates, through armed force. One of the influences making for British expansion was the Napoleonic threat to India. This is part of Mr. Choksey's story, and, as Colonel Phillimore explains in his great record, the French menace "led to several political missions beyond the western frontiers, and drew surveyors to Sind and Persia, Peshawar and Lahore, whilst a treaty with Ranjit Singh extended the Company's control westward to the Sutlej." These more distant surveys are described in an interesting chapter of a work which will be found interesting throughout, not only for its valuable historical and technical material, but for the human interludes provided by frequent quotations from field books and letters, some of which may stir the memories of erstwhile touring officers of a more modern generation.

The Historical Records of the Survey of India from 1800 to 1815 and Mr. Choksey's distinguished account of British diplomacy at Poona from 1786 to 1818 convey dif-

ferent aspects of a decisive period of Imperial history. This period witnessed the death and downfall of "Citizen Tipoo," the submission of Oudh, the conquest of the Mahrattas, the destruction of the Pindari freebooters, the deposition of the Peshwa and the annexation of Poona to the Bombay Presidency.

French diplomatic correspondence contemporary with the opening years of Mr. Choksey's study justly describes the Mahratta system as "la seule puissance réelle dans l'Inde." Mr. Choksey paints a vivid picture of this formidable conquering community and of its corruption and anarchical decline. The year 1786, when his story begins, saw the arrival at the Court of Savai Madhavrao of Sir Charles Malet, whose Oriental scholarship and pleasure in the company of all classes was more typical of contemporary British officers than of those who came after the Mutiny. Malet's successors were Colonel Palmer (Resident 1798-1801) and Sir Barry Close (Resident 1801-1809). The latter appears in Colonel Phillimore's volume in connection with a survey in the Nizam's Dominions (1806). Mr. Choksey's book ends in 1818, on November 5 of which year Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose eccentric, melancholic and inspired personality dominates much of the story, "very coolly intimated to the gentlemen and officers of his family who were still at the table after tiffin, that they had better soon finish their wine, as they had no time to loose, the Peshwa's force being actually on the move towards them." The nemesis of Bajirao's capture and deposition were likewise a mater of time; but Elphinstone's signal administrative achievement in the settlement and uplift of the annexed territories is reserved by Mr. Choksey for another work.

His present book is written in that excellent literary English to which we have been made accustomed by many accomplished Indian authors. Its value to the serious student of history lies in the painstaking use which the writer has made of the Residency Records (including Elphinstone's voluminous unpublished correspondence), the edited records at the Peshwa Daftar and the Baroda Records.

Mr. Henry Russell's (Acting Resident 1809-11) appeal for clemency on behalf of those accused of an outrage against some British officers, when the Peshwa wanted them to be blown from the mouth of a cannon, is represented by Mr. Choksey as "British hypocrisy" on the strength of the Acting Resident's letter to Lord Minto recording the good effect of this magnanimity on the public mind. On the evidence presented by the author, the judgment seems unfair; but Mr. Choksey is in general a fair-minded historian.

His book is of great use, but the reader may feel entitled to a higher standard of publishing and even to some maps and illustrations for the sum he is asked to pay. The price of Volume II of the *Historical Records of the Survey of India* is not much more than that of Mr. Choksey's history, although the former has excellent maps and plates. The volume is indeed a credit to Colonel Phillimore and his colleagues of a great Service, and constitutes part of a worthy memorial to men like Colin Mackenzie and William Lambton.

JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON.

History of Chinese Society : Liao (967-1125). By Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-Sheng. American Philosophical Society and Macmillan. \$12.50.

This is a work of research scholarship of such magnitude that it is a volume for capitulation rather than review. Where there are facts there are no opinions, and the Chinese historical records from which, under the ægis of the Rockefeller Foundation, scholars have been working since 1939 contain the most complete and detailed collection of facts that can ever have been compiled.

The twelve Dynastic Histories cover the whole epoch of Chinese imperial society from the third century B.C. to the beginning of the twentieth century, and the Chinese History Project at Columbia University is engaged in making this gold mine of historical knowledge, which is also a store of human experience, easily accessible.

It is also the first time much of this information has been available even to scholars, for the Manchus kept the records of the five invading dynasties secret, as until the time of Sun Yat Sen such knowledge was dangerous.

This volume is the first of the projected series to be published. It deals with the dynasty of Liao, the first of the conquest dynasties, founded by the Ch'i-tan, a tribal people, who brought the name to history from Central Asia: Khitay, Cathay, China.

Aristotle expected history only to produce "singular statements," and it is true that a collection of facts has no more scientific value than a collection of stamps and shells, as an intelligent foreword advises us here. This volume is a most remarkable collection of facts, but these relating to the Liao dynasty are of particular interest, for though the Ch'i-tan continued their traditionally pastoral way of life after their conquest of China, and did not replace it by Chinese manners, so that in some sort a dual civilization existed in the country, it was a scion of the Liao Yeh-lu Chu'ts'ai, one of the greatest political figures in the history of Asia, who drew the blue-print for Mongol administration. The Liao was itself the first attempt to impose the rule of a pastoral people on the great agrarian civilization of the East.

The sixteen sections of this magnificently produced publication represent categories under which socio-economic, cultural, administrative and military history have been considered. The Dynastic Histories have formed what the authors call the "Textual center of our effort," and a selection from these are given with accompanying translation in some sections. Most of the supplementary sources of information have also been considered, literary records and archæological researches included, and the completed work is an impressive, indeed awe-inspiring, contribution to our knowledge of Eastern civilization.

E. SWIFT.

The Buddhist Way of Life. By F. Harold Smith. Pp. vii + 189. Hutchinson's University Library. 1951. 7s. 6d.

This admirable work should be upon the shelf of every student of Buddhism. In a remarkably small compass Dr. Smith manages to give a life of the Buddha himself, an account of the spread of his teaching throughout India and thence to China and Japan and a coherent summary of the development of Buddhist philosophy from the Hinayana to the many schools of the Mahayana. And, unlike the majority of Europeans who are attracted to Buddhism and tend to write in uncritical praise of it, he brings to bear upon the various and often contradictory theories of its followers an analytical mind, thoroughly trained in Western philosophy and theology.

He rightly points out that what divides East from West is an entirely different theory of knowledge. Buddhism identifies objects and reality with immediate sense or psychological experience, whereas the concepts that we postulate interpret to us in some sense a real world, even though we recognize that our mental concepts cannot exactly correspond with objective reality. In fact, there is some justification for looking upon the Buddha as the originator of a system of therapeutic psychology rather than as the founder of a new religion. During his lifetime he expressly refused to give an opinion upon the great problems of the nature of this world, the self and the hereafter, because the discussion of such questions was not profitable and it was only necessary to follow the Eightfold Path; and he quietly dropped the Upanishadic conception of Brahman, so that his disciples were left without a god either transcendent or immanent; and it was not until centuries after his death that his own deification by the Mahayanists and their development of the idea of the Bodhisatva transformed his teaching into a true religion. It is perhaps because of this psychological basis that Buddhism has attracted the interest of so many from the Western world in an age which has witnessed the birth of psychiatry and the growing importance ascribed to it.

Buddhism is often accused of being pessimistic, because its goal, Nirvana, is taken to be a state of annihilation. It is true that the Buddha was apt to describe it in negative terms, but Dr. Smith does a service by emphasizing that this was because it is a transcendent state which can only be known in experience after strenuous psychological exertion, and which is undefinable in logical terms; and, though a negative conception in relation to the world of existence, it is positive as supreme rapture to the mystic who has attained it. As Buddhism spread throughout

the East, the means that its teachers proposed to achieve that bliss varied, according to the temperament and tradition of their followers, from the heroic striving of the lonely arahat to the sudden illumination of the zen monk, to the simple faith of the multitude in the redeeming grace of Amida. Each nation had its special contribution to give, as Dr. Smith makes clear, and our only regret is that he should not have added a chapter upon Tibet, whose subtle Mongolian scholars did much to elaborate the teaching that they inherited from ill-starred Nalanda, and where a Buddhist theocracy still exists to this day.

For those who wish to learn more of any particular aspect of Buddhism, Dr. Smith has added to each chapter a brief but excellent bibliography, and we hope that many people will be encouraged to read the books that he recommends.

H. O. C.

An important issue

A History of Persia

by

SIR PERCY SYKES

K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

The third edition of this monumental history appeared in 1930 following a decade of important changes in Persia, and such questions as the renaissance of national spirit and, in foreign policy, a new-found freedom from the hated Capitulations, were then included in the new material of the revised work. Its re-issue provides an authoritative background to the present situation in Persia. *With maps and illustrations. Two volumes. 3 gns.*

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IN MEMORIAM

THE EMIR JELADET AALI BEDR KHAN THE PASSING OF A KURDISH PRINCE

NEWS from Damascus that the Emir Jeladet Aali Bedr Khan died recently gives one pause to consider for a moment the influence that he and his family, the Azizan princes of Bhotan, have had on the modern Kurdish national movement.

In 1821 his grandfather, Bedr Khan, became prince of Bhotan. He was the scion of a family that traces its descent back to the days when Abdul Aziz, son of the Khalif Umar, built on the banks of the Tigris the town of Jezirat-ibn-Umar, which has since been the capital of the principality of Bhotan.

Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey introduced in 1826 a new policy that aimed at centralizing administration and curtailing the powers of the semi-autonomous tribal chiefs. The arrival in Bhotan of strange Turkish officials, who interfered with what had hitherto been the prerogative of their prince, caused discontent among the Kurds, and by 1836 rebellion began to smoulder.

In 1840, choosing a moment when Turkish forces were fully occupied repelling an invasion of Turkey by the Egyptian army of Mehmet Ali, Bedr Khan formed an alliance with other Kurdish chiefs of Van, Hakkiari, Miks, Kars and Ardalan and set up an independent Kurdish government of which he himself became head.

His reign lasted until 1845, when the intervention of the great powers removed the threat to Turkey of an Egyptian invasion and left the Sultan free to concentrate against Bedr Khan sufficient forces to bring about his surrender. He lived a prisoner in Crete for ten years and died at Damascus in 1868.

His eldest son, Amin Aali, with the rest of the family, were kept in Constantinople by the Turks as hostages for the good behaviour of their tribe. It was there that Amin Aali's three sons, Suraya, Jeladet and Kamuran, grew up. Two of their uncles, Osman and Hussein, escaped in 1879 and revived again the rule of the family in Bhotan for a period of eight months, and again in 1889 their father, Amin Aali, and his brother Midhat tried to reach Bhotan, but were captured and brought back to Constantinople.

Meanwhile a Kurdish national movement had been gaining ground amongst the Kurdish notables held in *residence forcée* in Constantinople, and about 1887 they decided to publish a newspaper to foster this movement. As this was impossible in Turkey, Midhat Bey escaped to Cairo and there published a paper which he called *Kurdistan*. Turkish pressure on Egypt compelled another move and another brother, Abdul Rahman Bedr Khan, who was now editor, took the paper to Geneva and then to England, where it was first published at Folkestone in 1892.

The rise to power of the Committee of Union and Progress and their

publication of the new Turkish Constitution induced the Bedr Khan family to return to Constantinople, and in 1908 the Kurdish nationalists formed a political society (the Kurdistan Taali ve Taraki Jamiyati), of which Amin Aali Bedr Khan was a founder member. For a while this society was able to work in the open with the apparent approval of the Young Turks, but in 1912 it became clear to the Kurds that the C.U.P. meant to suppress them. The society therefore went underground and its leading members, including Amin Aali Bedr Khan, went abroad.

When the Turks declared war on Great Britain during the first World War, Amin Aali's eldest son, Suraya, was in Cairo and was there able to continue the publication of *Kurdistan* with British approval and support. It was therefore only natural that, when the Allies entered Constantinople after the Armistice, early contact was made by the British intelligence service with the Kurdish nationalists.

Shortly afterwards, in 1919, two of Amin Aali's sons, Jeladet and Kamuran, accompanied Colonel E. W. Noel, a British staff officer, on a tour of Mardin, Diabekr and Malatya, which was intended to find out the feelings of local Kurds towards Kurdish independence. This tour was cut short by the intervention of Mustafa Kemal, who was then gaining control of eastern Turkey. (It was on this tour that I first met Jeladet and Kamuran Bey.)

When Mustafa Kemal first came to power he led the Kurds to expect a liberal policy towards them, but shortly after the treaty of Lausanne was signed it became clear that Mustafa intended to assimilate all Kurds in Turkey into the Turkish nation.

The Bedr Khan family were again compelled to leave Turkey as exiles, and they lived for a while in France and Germany. As no money came to them from Turkey, they had to work for their living, and Jeladet Bey has told me that he worked as a gardener, a waiter, a house-painter, and a type-setter in a printing works. It was the knowledge that he gained at this latter occupation that enabled him to print and publish single-handed a Kurdish paper, *Hawar*, when in later years he lived in Damascus.

The establishment of the French mandate in Syria encouraged the exiled Kurdish leader to collect there, and in 1927, at a conference of Kurdish nationalists, a committee was formed, called the Hoybun, to co-ordinate the movement. Jeladet Aali Bedr Khan was elected the first president of this committee.

Kurdish nationalists had planned to assist the Kurdish rebellion led by Shaikh Said of Piran which broke out in 1925. However, Shaikh Said acted prematurely, and little if any help reached him from across the border. The Hoybun were able to give support to Ihsan Nuri in his revolt, which kept 60,000 Turkish troops in action against him, in the region of Mount Ararat, from March to October, 1930.

The activities of this committee caused some friction between the French and the Turks, as a result of which the French called upon the Kurdish *émigrés* to avoid giving any further cause of complaint to the Turks so long as members of the Hoybun were permitted to live in Syria under French protection.

This agreement, arrived at between General Weygand and the Hoybun leaders, was loyally kept by the latter, and when the British entered Syria together with the Free French, the Hoybun renewed their promise to the British authorities.

There were many moments during the next few years when the Kurds were itching to take advantage of the preoccupation of the Turkish Government with external dangers. However, during all this time, the counsel of Jeladet Aali Bedr Khan and other moderate members of the Hoybun kept their more excitable followers from taking rash action that might have embarrassed the British in their dealings with the Turks. One incident will show the loyalty which Jeladet Bey felt for his British friends. On the day when news of the fall of Tobruk reached Damascus, he called three times at my office to express his sympathy, and to promise the full support of the Kurdish National Movement to General Wilson should he need it. He was no fair-weather friend.

Jeladet Bey concentrated now on the development of Kurdish culture, and in his papers *Hawar* and *Ronahi*—the latter being illustrated—he strove for a cultural unity among the Kurds by reminding them of their old traditions and their folklore.

When the war was over, Jeladet Bey remained in Damascus, but his brother, Kamuran Bey, went to Paris, where he opened a bureau of Kurdish studies from which he hopes to keep the Kurdish question before the Western world. He has addressed a petition to the Secretary of the United Nations asking that the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the Charter of the United Nations Organization be applied to the Kurdish minorities in Turkey, Persia and Iraq.

The Kurdish demands have changed much since the days when Bedr Khan formed an independent Kurdish government in eastern Turkey: all that his grandchildren now demand is that Kurds in Turkey, Persia and Iraq be permitted to live openly as Kurds, to speak Kurdish, to wear their national dress, use Kurdish as the instrument of instruction in primary schools, be free to print books and newspapers in their own language, and that the officials appointed to Kurdish districts should be Kurds or at least have some knowledge of the Kurdish language and of Kurdish tradition.*

Once these concessions were guaranteed there is no reason why Kurds should not be loyal subjects of the countries in which they live, while remaining true to their own traditions. In this way they could become a valuable factor in unifying, or at least bringing together, the Middle East countries in which they now form minorities.

I cannot end this note better than by quoting Kamuran Bey's reply to my letter of sympathy:

MON CHER COLONEL,

J'étais très profondément touché des sentiments si sincères que vous avez bien voulu m'exprimer au sujet de mon frère aîné Djeladet.

Lui également avait une très grande affection pour vous.

* *Bulletin Mensuel du Centre d'Études Kurdes*, Paris, No. 8, p. 3.

Sa perte me laisse presque seul dans la lutte que nous avions entreprise ensemble et dans laquelle il était toujours mon grand soutien et mon maître.

KAMURAN AALI BEDR KHAN.

In Kurdish politics feelings often ran high, and led to quarrels and feuds, but even amongst those who disagreed with him most, I never met anyone who did not love and respect Jeladet Bedr Khan. He was a lovable character, wise, simple, kindly and courageous.

W. G. ELPHINSTON.

REV. OSKAR H. HERMANSSON

OSKAR HERMAN HERMANSSON, who died of a sudden heart attack in June last, was one of the most gifted members of the Swedish Missionary Society. To a very attractive personality he united an exceptional flair for languages, and, in particular, had a knowledge of Eastern Turki (the language of the Uighur Turks of Central Asia) that has probably never been surpassed even by a Turki. He had been a member of the Royal Central Asian Society since 1947.

Born in 1889, Hermansson was the son of a smallholder of Kisa, a village in Ostergötland, Sweden. After leaving school he worked on his father's land until, in his early twenties, he was accepted by Svenska Missionsförbundet (the Swedish Missionary Society) for training at their seminary at Lidingö for work in Africa. But during his four years there his interest in the Muslim world was awakened, and he decided instead to take up the necessary subjects to qualify himself for work in the society's mission in East Turkestan (Sinkiang), the westernmost province of China. In 1918 he completed his courses and was ordained. But the chaotic condition of Russia at that time had closed the normal travel route, and while waiting permission to cross British territory he began the study of Arabic, Hebrew and Turki. In 1920 with five other workers he left for India to reach Turkestan via Srinagar and Leh. Being delayed at Srinagar by an attack of typhoid fever, he and I crossed the Karakoram passes in the winter, and after a bitterly cold six week's ride we reached Yarkand at Christmas-time.

On completing his first period in Turkestan, Hermansson went to Cairo to pursue his studies in Arabic, and after a year at the School of Oriental Studies of the American University there he completed and passed the examinations for their four-year course. But in the spring of 1927 he had caught a severe chill in Cairo, which later developed into a slight attack of T.B. that meant a year's sick leave at a sanatorium in Sweden before he was passed fit for duty again and returned to Kashgar in 1930.

In 1933, during the civil war in Sinkiang, the Emir Abdallah, the so-called "Shahi Mansur," a leader of the Khotan rebels who had declared the Jihad (Holy War) against Unbelievers and had slaughtered many Chinese, also arrested the Turki Christians and the three Swedish men missionaries at Yarkand. A Turki Christian was publicly executed for his faith, and the three Swedes found themselves tied to posts with their hands behind their backs, a firing squad drawn out before them, and an executioner with a large club ready to administer the *coup de grâce*, which execution by muzzle-loader often made necessary. And as they stood there waiting for the officer to give the word of command, Hermansson found it difficult to fix his mind on higher things than a wish that the firing squad had Bofors equipment. But their lives were saved at the last moment by two Indian Aqsaqals (representatives of the Moslem Indian merchant community at Yarkand), who persuaded the Emir to postpone execution in case the Swedes could be used as hostages. During

the subsequent months they were imprisoned and still in danger of their lives, but were able to make friends of their gaolers by using their medical skill to care for ill and wounded men, until another turn of political events set them free.

Oskar Hermansson had an enthusiasm for Turkestan and for its language. From his first years in the country he translated or composed a number of hymns which show a feeling for the idiom and metaphors of Turki. For some years he had charge of the Mission Printing Press at Kashgar. With a colleague, Rev. G. Ahlbert, he worked on the translation of the Old Testament, and after Ahlbert's death he completed single-handed the translation and revision of the text of the whole Bible in Eastern Turki. He also translated a number of modern school textbooks which are still used in Turki schools in Sinkiang, and some lighter reading, and wrote an Arabic grammar and a Turki grammar for use by Turkis: all this in addition to his pastoral work in the Turki Christian church.

From 1933 to 1944 the Governor of Sinkiang was General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who had achieved power with Russian help. By degrees he got the southern part of the country under control, and in 1938-39 the Swedish missionaries were interned and then expelled from Sinkiang and nearly every member of the Christian Church in the south was murdered. In 1937, during a lull in the civil war, Hermansson had undertaken an adventurous and successful journey to get the precious MSS. of the New Testament out of the country to India. The Old Testament was completed at Bombay, where the Mission now works, and in 1946 the whole translation was accepted by the Bible Society, who elected Mr. Hermansson an Honorary Member of their Council, and in 1947 he went to Cairo to see it through the press. Since the Egyptian Government would allow him only temporary visas and no colleague who could read Turki to help him, he worked against time. With his usual complete thoughtlessness of himself, he often forgot food and sleep, and just as the task of proof-reading neared completion, he fell dangerously ill with pneumonia, which left his heart damaged. He was able, however, to finish the proofs in Sweden, and the whole Bible was bound and published in 1951. This translation is a considerable literary feat, and it is astonishing to think that both it and so much other literary work was achieved in the intervals of the busy life of a man in charge of a mission station with its responsibilities and perpetual interruptions.

Above all, however, those who knew him will remember his enjoyment of life, his lofty idealism and enthusiasm for his Christian calling, and the wide range and generosity of his friendship.

C. PERSSON.



Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXXIX

APRIL, 1952

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
2, HINDE STREET, LONDON, W.1

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NOTICES

THE Annual Dinner of the Society will be held this year on Wednesday, July 16, 1952, at Claridge's Hotel, London, W.1. The cost of tickets will be 30s. a head, exclusive of wine but including waiters' tips. Members coming home on leave from abroad who may wish to attend are asked to get into touch with the office for further particulars.

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

Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide 1898-1937, by J. K. Fairbank and Kwang Ching Liu. Harvard. 1950.

Ten books on Central Asian subjects presented by Sir Edward Penton, including :

The Life of Abd-ur-Rahman in two volumes.

Tibet and the Tibetans, by Sandberg.

Eastern Persia, by Sir F. Goldsmid.

The Middle East Question, by Sir Valentine Chirol.

Central Asian and Tibet, by Sven Hedin.

Also the following pamphlets :

Manchuria: A Bibliography, from the Library of Congress, 1951.

The Geographical History of the Mesopotamian Plains, by Dr. G. M. Lees and N. Falcon.

The Philosophy of Persian Art, and other pamphlets, by Dr. H. Field.

A Contribution to the Anthropology of Timor and Roti, by Dr. A. Feltkamp.

Landforms of Arabia: A Diagrammatic Map Study, by E. Raisz.

The Oxford University Exploration Club Bulletin No. 4, of 1951, gives an account of the Club's most ambitious venture to date, the 1950 Expedition to Persia.

Under the leadership of Mr. P. H. T. Beckett (Wadham), the party was based on Kirman, and some scientific data were collected on the local climate, crops, fauna and plants, etc. The expedition had the advantage of facilities provided by the Persian Government. They also acknowledge a debt to much expert advice in arrangements. A further article is promised on the use of motor transport for such purposes, based on their experience. From their accounts it appears that for a stay of eight weeks in the Kirman district the cost of food for five members of the expedition was £38 10s., and the cost of travel to and from Oxford, in all, £425 15s. The Club are to be congratulated on a well-planned trip which it is to be hoped will be the precursor of other expeditions to Asia.

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

DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE VI

THE following messages were sent on behalf of the Society :

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

May it please Your Majesty,

The President, Chairman, Council and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society beg leave to express to Your Majesty our profound sympathy on the death of our beloved Sovereign his late Majesty King George VI.

We also crave your gracious permission to tender to Your Majesty our unswerving loyalty and devotion at the time when it has pleased God to bring you in the plenitude of your powers to the Throne of your illustrious ancestors.

We pray for Your Majesty a long life and happiness in the devotion of your subjects and the prosperity of the British Commonwealth.

We subscribe ourselves on behalf of the Society,
Your Majesty's most devoted servants,

HOWARD KELLY,
Chairman.

W. H. INGRAMS,
H. W. TOBIN,
OSWALD WHITE,
Honorary Secretaries.

HOME OFFICE,
WHITEHALL.

The President,
Royal Central Asian Society.

SIR,

I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the President, Chairman, Council and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society on the occasion of the lamented death of His late Majesty King George the Sixth and have received the Queen's Commands to convey to you Her Majesty's grateful Thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID MAXWELL FYFE.

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH
THE QUEEN MOTHER

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President, Chairman, Council and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society, beg leave to offer to Your Majesty our most respectful homage and sympathy on the occasion of the death of our beloved King.

We pray God that you may have strength to support the sorrow which has befallen Your Majesty through the death of our Sovereign, and find comfort in the loyal devotion which her subjects bear to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

We subscribe ourselves, on behalf of the Society, Your Majesty's devoted servants,

HOWARD KELLY,
Chairman.

W. H. INGRAMS,
H. W. TOBIN,
OSWALD WHITE,
Honorary Secretaries.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The Chairman,
Royal Central Asian Society.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

I am commanded by Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, to thank you and all those for whom you speak for your most kind message.

The thoughts and sympathy which surround her have greatly strengthened Her Majesty.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. DAWNEY,
Private Secretary.

At the meeting of the Society on February 13, 1952, Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., Chairman of Council, said :

We are a Royal Society, so I ask you to bear with me for a few moments while I speak of the recent happenings which have been filling all our thoughts.

Though in the spirit of the continuity of the Monarchy we echo the cry of the heralds "Le Roi est mort, Vive le Roi!" we can still pause to pay homage to a great King who has just passed away.

It was in January, 1914, when as naval attaché in Paris I was staying on board H.M.S. *Collingwood* during an official visit to Toulon, and walking the quarter-deck with the Captain, he said, "I should like you to meet Prince Albert," then, turning to a midshipman, his "doggie," he said, "Tell Smith I want him"—for this was the happy anonymity the Gunroom had found for him to avoid all awkward questions of title and precedence. When I stood there, holding the hand of this rather shy midshipman, how could either of us have imagined that twenty-five years later he would be my King and leading the country through the greatest dangers of our long history? I think this Gunroom nickname so well personified his character. He was the very type of the perfect Englishman, loyal, honest, straightforward and God-fearing, with a courage to meet every circumstance; which last, as it turned out, was so sorely needed. Instead of the life to which he had looked forward in a happy home, occupied with his many duties and interests, of which the youth movement owed so much to him, through a constitutional crisis unprecedented in the Royal House of England, he was suddenly called to assume the intolerable burden of kingship so alien to all his desires.

He never faltered but went straight forward, his hand in that of his consort who was through his whole life his greatest earthly prop and stay; he met and overcame all the difficulties he had to face with that same courage he showed when leading the nation through the years of adversity to the victory which brought us to a hesitant and precarious peace. I think we owe much to his steadying influence that the difficult transitional period went off more smoothly than after the previous war, though the material difficulties were greater.

After the long strain and anxiety of the war he had no relaxation in peace, and his health, never robust, began to suffer. With this same courage he faced illness when it came, first the risk of amputation, then the grave operation successfully performed last autumn, and the struggle towards convalescence.

To me, one of the saddest pictures I can recall is that of the

bare-headed King standing on the tarmac waving good-bye to his beloved daughter leaving, with a complete renunciation of all her private and family instincts, to carry out a mission he had hoped to carry out himself, and in the sure knowledge that he would never see her again. Then the return to Sandringham, the last day's shooting, the quiet family Good-night, and the blessed and happy release to one for whom the future held no hope.

The French have an epitaph reserved for those who have rendered exceptional service to their country, "Il a bien mérité de la patrie," of which a rough translation would be "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Have we anybody in our history more worthy of this epitaph?

Now for the future, having his example, we can go forward in hope and confidence in our service to his beloved daughter, and can all cry with one accord: "God Save the Queen!"

CHINA—PAST, PRESENT AND ? FUTURE

By RONALD FARQUHARSON

Author of "Confessions of a China Hand"

Report of a lecture given on January 16, 1952, the President, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

ON my first visit to Peking—I think it was early in 1924—I found myself drinking with a stranger in the Wagon Lit Hotel whom I shortly discovered to be Osbert Sitwell. In the course of our exchanges I inquired what had brought him all the way to North China; was it a book? Yes, he agreed, it was; but he had come to Peking, he added, to write a book about an entirely different place—it was to be a book about Brighton. He had, unlike alas! too many others, sufficient sense to realize that it is quite impossible to write a book about a country like China or about a people like the Chinese unless one is at least prepared to spend some years living right amongst them, not in the Westernized atmosphere of erstwhile Treaty Ports, International Settlements or in the British colony of Hongkong, but in the vast hinterland through much of which it was in my experience to travel and to learn a little—probably a very little—about the nature of the Chinese, their philosophy and their way of life. Even then, one is left with a wealth of uncertainties and doubt regarding these truly enigmatical people, once so aptly summed up to me by a missionary who had then spent forty years living in the interior of China, when he said the longer he lived among them indeed the less he discovered he really knew about them. I think it is appropriate to describe the characteristics of the Chinese people as being the eternal enigma.

I think we must accept the fact that that old missionary was wise and right; otherwise we immediately fall into the error of judging the Chinese people by Western standards, and it is quite fatal to try and build up a better international understanding on that basis. Far too many people who have never visited China, and a great number of others who have lived only in its main coastal ports, have come to dismiss a nation of 470 million people, scattered over 4 million square miles of territory, as largely if not altogether a slightly sub-human, ignorant and quite uncultured people. They forget, if indeed they ever knew, that China was at the height of her civilization at the time of the Norman Conquest of this country—and although in the course of his travels some three centuries later Marco Polo noted some slight tendency towards decline in culture, in effect China has remained until very recent times quite impervious to the march of a thousand years.

Progress, as we know it, has no part in the fundamentals of Chinese philosophy, and only remotely has an awareness of the term even now been forced upon certain sections of the community by outside influences. A preponderance of people in the Western world—particularly, it would seem, in the United States of America—have come to regard the Chinese

people *en masse* as wholly uncivilized. Sticking only to what I know first-hand, I can say that the Chinese regard our twentieth-century so-called civilization as something much akin to barbarity. It is merely a difference in point of view. My own lasting impression of the Chinese people in their own country, and away from the influences of what they call "the foreign devils," may be summed up in one word, "elegance." And wherever I travelled beyond the wide outposts of the missionaries I never received any impression of the "heathen Chinese." Much the reverse, in fact: I found the old laws of cultural perfection and filial piety—so much a part of the teachings of Confucius—still in sway, and those, added to an indestructible belief in a better hereafter, seemed a pretty good form of practical Christianity to me! Wherever I went I seemed to meet with courtesy and kindness, although, through a lack of all the ancient elegances so inherent in them, I was undoubtedly regarded as something of a barbarian—this despite the fact that I had tried to make a special study not only of their language but also of their customs and philosophy. Without that knowledge I should have appeared uncouth in the extreme.

The whole trouble is that East and West are so far removed from one another in practices and beliefs that they just do not mix any better than oil and water. This state of affairs has been considerably aggravated by the fact that the Westerner has sought to inflict too much of his own ideas and way of life upon the Chinese without any regard for the fact that the Chinese themselves, apart from a strong antipathy to change, regard their own philosophy and practices as being a better form of peaceful culture. Who shall say they are wrong? I think, only the people who have never taken the trouble to study the matter at close range.

All this I have said—and it may well have been expressed better elsewhere—to illustrate from my own experience how wrong Europeans and Americans are to approach the present problem of China and the Chinese with the yardstick of Western standards.

I do not require to delve too far back into the past, nor dwell on the unhappy history of Anglo-Chinese relations during the past hundred years. China has much of the responsibility on her side, but by no means all. As I see it, in those days we were busy building up an empire, and though in the process we also built up a pinnacle known as British prestige (both of which have today fallen into decline), we were apt to ride a little roughshod over Oriental sensibilities. In China, as in some other countries, for a time we survived any stigma attaching to our part in opium wars or to the questionable annexation of native territories (though perhaps not the looting of Imperial Palaces) because we were an all-powerful nation, and nothing so commands the respect of the Chinese as strength. But once there is any sign of hesitance, a weak gesture, a withdrawal—and all these things have happened in the last thirty years—then that over-riding respect is immediately lost, British prestige, to the impressionable minds of the Chinese, disintegrates into dust, and then comes the native clamour for the old wrongs to be redressed. Aided by Borodin and other Russian advisers, who successfully exploited the gullibility and nationalistic hysteria of the Chinese masses, the first real blow to British prestige in China happened in 1926, when the Red armies swept up to the Yangtze from the south; and

because at the instigation of an apathetic Whitehall it was left woefully unprotected, the British Concessional territory in Hankow was limply handed over with no resistance at all. I belonged to the Hankow British volunteer force at the time and can speak from first-hand evidence of the humiliations we were called upon to suffer at the hands of native authorities and soldiers—backed by Russian influence. When the Chinese have been taught to respect a nation for its strength and infallibility it is a horrible sensation to see it suddenly go out like a light and be at the receiving end of inspired anti-British insults after the apparent myth of British strength and infallibility has been exploded for the first time. That was the beginning of the end of British prestige throughout China. Thereafter exploitation of a weakened position was to continue. Perhaps in the fullness of time it had to be that way, anyhow: I am not prepared to argue what might have happened in the future if the British Government had given us the means whereby to have held on to the British Concessional territory in Hankow at that time. I must just be content to repeat that at Hankow in 1926 occurred the first wholesale loss of British “face” in China. But, though the stigma remains, particularly in the minds of Britishers who were there at the time, that unhappy piece of history is best forgotten in the present flow of events in China, which assume a wider—and indeed a vital—world importance. But I refer to the incident for two reasons, to illustrate significances which I hope may emerge from this talk as a whole.

The first is that weakness, even more than lack of elegance, breeds contempt in the minds of the Chinese. The second is that those victorious Red-Russian-sponsored armies which swept up to the Yangtze from the south were commanded by a then unknown soldier called Chiang Kai-Shek. It is common knowledge, no doubt, that after the capture of Nanking and the lower Yangtze ports Chiang Kai-Shek, who, despite many failings from a Western viewpoint, was essentially a Chinese patriot, threw off the Russian influences that lay behind the Kuo Min Tang party and, with the troops which remained loyal to him as their leader, was destined to spend more than the next twenty years of his life fighting against the Red elements which had first brought him into prominence. But in the event it was to become in ever-increasing terms a losing battle. The reason, as I see it, is simple and was probably best expounded in a remarkable and authentic book first published in 1937 called *Red Star over China*, written by a keen observer called Edgar Snow. Chiang Kai-Shek, able and inspiring in many ways, became through marriage an integral part of what was popularly known as the Soong Dynasty. This consisted of the three famous and influential Soong sisters, one of whom was the widow of Sun Yat Sen, whilst the others were married respectively to Chiang Kai-Shek and Dr. H. H. Kung, erstwhile China's Finance Minister; and of course their brother, who for a time also held the key Finance Ministry—Dr. T. V. Soong. According to Western standards, though perhaps not so much in the accepted order of things in China, the so-termed Soong Dynasty must, in a masterpiece of understatement, be called corrupt. It went rather beyond the simple expedient of feathering their own nests, and I think there is ample evidence to show that much of the hard-won aid that Great

Britain and the United States poured into China to help them in their struggle against the Japanese invaders was utilized by the Central Government to fight its own internal enemies, the Red armies of China, whose growing strength caused as much if not more consternation to Chiang Kai-Shek than did the common foe of all China at that time. Now, the Red armies were rapidly absorbing a new ideology which may have been born of subtle propaganda direct from Russia, but more probably sprang from the application to Chinese philosophy of certain basic Communist principles acquired in Moscow by their leader, General Mao. At all events, there was no evidence of corruption about Mao, his administrators or army commanders, and I have not heard, or read, from anyone who has recently been in China any suggestion that the present People's Government in Peking is practising corruption. They have acquired a lot of other things we don't care much about, maybe, but it seems that, for the time being at least, they have shed that prime evil which was largely responsible for Chiang Kai Shek's downfall.

But, to revert to the ascendancy of the Red Star over China, it was only natural that if Western aid was being misappropriated by Chiang to fight his internal enemies, more and more must the Red armies turn to the East, and as Hitler's war ended derive the strength they required in ever-increasing momentum from Russia. It carried with it, of course, certain long- or short-term obligations which, because and while Russia is strong and would appear to get quite a lot of her own way in world councils, China will respect. If Russia were discredited to the extent of withdrawal in other spheres I should say she would in a very short time lose much of her hold on the imagination of the Chinese people. Let us, however, postpone consideration of the future and take a look at the present.

From such sources of foreign information in China as were at my recent disposal, I can find no evidence to support the general feeling in Western countries that the present People's Government of China is entirely dominated by Moscow.

Whilst Mao Tze Tung and Chou En Lai, who represent the Moderates as opposed to the extreme left-wing policies of Li Sen and Lin Piao—while they continue to hold leading rôles in the Peking Government, the facts make it abundantly clear that their policies are aimed towards adapting and administering China on lines specifically suited to the requirements of the country; and though it is true that their ideas are largely based on the fundamental principles of Communism, they are by no means slavishly related to the extreme ideologies of the Kremlin.

Here I feel I must touch on recent reports appearing in the press regarding mass executions in China, since they seem to be ascribed to some particular reign of terror introduced by the Communists. But wide-scale executions are nothing new in China, where lives have always been forfeit on the mildest provocation. Lack of co-operation in Government planning, for instance, is sufficient to start the heads tumbling; and this is hardly surprising in a country which not only puts to death traitors, but robbers and petty thieves as well. It is easy to exaggerate this old order of things, and for the enemies of the new régime to make capital out of attributing them solely to the present Government. I should say that the erstwhile

corrupt Central Government under Chiang Kai-Shek has an equally good, if not a better, record for Roman holidays. So much for that.

Now, I am sure that everyone here will agree with me when I say that this country's over-all interests in China extend only to a desire for the peaceful pursuits of friendly trading, whilst, at the same time of course, we must maintain regard for our obligations to the United Nations as a whole.

It is equally true to say that business can flourish only in an atmosphere of goodwill; and it is with this end in view that I particularly wish to emphasize certain clear statements of conditions as they are found to exist on the spot; and which may well help to disprove certain earlier beliefs regarding "Red China" in the minds of Englishmen.

It may surprise quite a few people to know that both Chinese and foreign capitalists receive encouragement from the Peking Government. Chinese capitalists can enter and leave the country freely, and there has been no sign or suggestion of persecution. The movements of foreigners in China proper—as opposed to the British colony of Hongkong—are a little more restricted. Nevertheless, if they wish to leave they are at liberty to do so, provided they give proper notice of their intention and they leave some responsible person of approximately equal status, either foreign or Chinese, in charge of their administration; and, of course, always on the assumption that they have no outstanding obligations.

There is no evidence of any coercion of workers, and in cases where there has been a deliberate slowing down of production the Government is more inclined to exercise incredible patience by means of "education" than through coercive action. In Chinese Government-owned mills, for instance, the majority of managers are non-Communist, but no restriction whatsoever is put upon their movements. If they should wish to leave they would be at liberty to do so.

What is more widely appreciated by foreigners and Chinese alike is the general atmosphere of courtesy which is met with in every Government Department and organization operating throughout the entire country. Even the most ardent critic of the present régime freely admits that the police and all other officials are courteous, even to the extent of cordiality; and this was by no means usual in the days of earlier administrations, of which I myself had considerable first-hand experience.

I am told, also—and the fact has been confirmed from a variety of sources—that travellers by rail seldom fail to record the vast improvement in cleanliness, efficiency and service. This, to me, is the most significant, and the most miraculous, change of all. I have memories of travelling on the railway between Peking and Hankow when it was not unusual to be jolted and jostled along under really appalling conditions, and eventually to arrive at one's destination two or sometimes even three—not hours but days late, and that is no exaggeration.

Up to date there has been no significant discrimination against foreigners, not even (if I may be allowed to quote) against "Americans, who are regarded as the arch-enemy," or against the British, who are frequently interpreted—more perhaps through the rightly or wrongly conceived actions of their rulers at home than by their own individual behaviour—as being double-faced.

Here I would like to deviate for a moment and invite you to reflect on the possible reasons why the Britisher—once, and I hope still, so honoured among the merchants of China for his never-failing integrity—should have, politically and collectively, inherited the stigma of being double-faced.

In my view it has been brought about largely through our natural anxiety—an anxiety not entirely born of necessity—to appear in full accord and harmony with the United States; and who will deny that only the best relationship between Great Britain and America can safeguard the world against a bleak and barren future that is utterly devoid of freedom in its most elementary sense?

But, at the same time, we have shown the courage of our firm convictions and adopted an individual policy, as opposed to that of America, in recognizing the present régime in China, and may I say that I for one believe—as indeed do all British business men past and present in China—that our policy was the right one.

Now—one like myself who does not altogether profess to understand them, but through a long association has some little appreciation of the more simple, child-like machinations of the Chinese mind, can partially see their point of view. They cannot understand why, if we are at variance with the United States in the matter of Red China's recognition, we do not implement this gesture of friendship towards Peking by further individual acts, rather than so obviously giving support to America—even though it be under the umbrella of the United Nations—in so many of her Far Eastern policies. The Chinese have never been a nation to understand the broader canvas of world affairs and the urgent necessity of Anglo-American co-operation; their world and ancient civilization has seldom taken heed of affairs, except those that are within or abutting upon the borders of China itself. Perhaps a more readily understandable reason for their considering us inclined to be double-faced arose following our recognition of the present Government at Peking when a speech, attributed to a prominent British Minister, was re-broadcast in the vernacular throughout China, emphasizing the fact that although our Government found it expedient to recognize the Chinese Communists, it did so only with the greatest distaste. So you see how it may be, that the ever-suspicious nature of the Chinese may have some slight justification for regarding our good intentions with a certain amount of misgiving.

From what I have already said, you will understand that our unavoidable participation in hostilities, unhappily now being directed against the Chinese, must react as a set-back to the good relations necessary for the development of our trade with China. Here it may be interesting to note the wide belief that the Chinese entry into operations in Northern Korea was brought about through fear on their part. Whether that fear was generated through any grounds for persistent but unconfirmed reports that a considerable Russian force, consisting of many divisions, had moved into the central plain of Manchuria, or whether it was fear brought about through a mistrust of the intentions of the United Nations forces south of them, is not clear.

Such a mistrust, again remembering the suspicious nature of the

Chinese, may not be too surprising. It may be remembered that we first declared, or at least implied, that our intention was not to cross the 38th Parallel. We did so, however, and then said that we would not cross the Manchurian border. Unfortunately, however, there were quite a number of "accidental" bombings across the Yalu, which may well have appeared to the Chinese as being deliberate. Indeed, in total war the difficulty surely must be to determine where strategy ends and wantonness begins. The fact remains that bombs—accidentally or otherwise—fell on Chinese as opposed to Korean territory.

We—and when I say "we" I am referring to the over-all conduct of United Nations operations—then said that we would not in any way interfere with power supplies; but, after crossing the 38th Parallel and dropping bombs on Manchuria, one wonders if China can be reasonably blamed for underestimating our good faith in this respect, and taking military action themselves in order to prevent the switches being pulled, as a consequence of which the main industries of Central Manchuria would become paralysed. That fear in particular, and lack of faith in our declared intentions in general, rather than menacing intimidation from the north, is the widely accepted belief, at least among qualified British observers, for China's active participation in the Korean hostilities.

It is essential, I think, that we should treat these events as a blackcloth against which to review the prospects of restoring China's trust and confidence in the British people.

One cannot, I suppose, discourse on China without taking into consideration the British colony of Hongkong, since it has now become the virtual hub, the main gateway, of all foreign trade subsequently moving into and throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese mainland.

Hongkong is not just a happily situated assembly point for British trade alone. More and more is it becoming the accepted commercial centre for foreign trade as a whole into China, and is freely recognized and regarded as such by the Chinese Government itself, whose buying agents are either located within the colony or visit it at regular intervals to negotiate and take delivery of their large-scale purchases. Surely, therefore, if the Chinese Government itself feels happy enough about the existence of British Hongkong and its undoubted value to them as a trade centre, not only for British but for world imports into China, it becomes quite unrealistic for certain sections of opinion abroad to suggest in effect that Hongkong, unlike India, Pakistan and Ceylon, remains amongst our depleted possessions purely as a factor in favour of British commercial interests alone. Nearer the truth, perhaps, lies the fact that China recognizes her dependence for foreign trade upon the *order* of British-administered Hongkong as opposed to the *chaos* of a vast country in the throes of still uncertain change. Here, in my view, lies the vital key which may regain for Britain her prestige in the always shrewd calculations of the Chinese, but only provided we act with a brave display of strength and independence.

It is unfortunate that over-all opinion in America does not appear to see eye to eye with our concept of Hongkong. Sir Oliver Franks' broadcast from Washington in May last year was in my view—and I am certain in that of the great majority of British people—full of timely words of wisdom.

May I repeat some of the British Ambassador's remarks made on that occasion.

"The importance of Hongkong," he said, "was a factor, but not a major factor, in Britain's recognition of the Chinese Communist régime." There is more to our recognition than this. We had to decide whether it was wise or sensible to unseat the Communist Government of China, or should our policy be to try to win over China into the society of free nations. We chose the second as the better course. Sir Oliver Franks went on to say that the Soviet Union were trying very hard to treat China as a free, equal and independent power, but they might finally be compelled to try and reduce her to the status of a satellite. "If they ever try," he said, "Chinese nationalism will resist, and if that happens, provided the door has not been finally closed from our side, China, like Yugoslavia, might well be ready to enter into relations with the Western world."

Sir Oliver Franks had advanced the belief that Hongkong is to China what Western Berlin is to the Iron Curtain. "Hongkong," he said, "is the showcase, the shop window of our democratic way of life; here Communist Asia can see in practice the beliefs and intentions of the free world."

I am sure there are none present who would deny the well-spoken truth which lies behind the British Ambassador's timely statement to the American people. It is important, I think, that this particular feature of Hongkong should be as widely appreciated as possible, especially since, as I have suggested earlier, the British colony is such a vital factor in our foreign trade with China. But, despite the sincerity of one's beliefs, one's statements and one's actions, one has no right to expect that all sections of the free world should think and act alike. We can—thank God!—differ in our opinions and continue to be the best of friends. So that, although we do not subscribe to their views, we must maintain our respect for those—and a recent leader in *The Times* suggested that they now include the great majority of Americans—who believe that all trade with China at the present time is immoral and ought to be stopped.

If one ponders for a moment on this difference of attitude between certain British and American sections of opinion, it becomes evident that it no more than reflects the divergent policies of the British and United States Governments towards the whole problem of the Far East and the war in Korea. The British Government has recognized the Chinese Communist Government and still hopes to persuade it to accept a negotiated settlement of the Korean war, and for this reason they have been willing to continue commercial relations with China—so far as that is compatible with honour and security.

The United States Government, on the other hand, would appear to regard the Chinese Communists as implacably hostile and as already at war with the Western Powers.

Here I must make it abundantly clear that I am inflicting upon this distinguished audience only what are my own personal views based on my own experience and subsequent research. But I cannot overcome the conviction that American opinion is based on an under-developed appreciation of Chinese character and history. Certainly they have by their attitude towards China since the advent of the new régime impaired Sino-American

relations to the greatest possible degree and at the same time, at least to some extent, contributed towards the greater reliance of Peking upon Moscow.

It may be that they still harbour beliefs that the future of China lies in the resurrection of Chiang Kai-Shek and in the resuscitation, through American aid, of the Soong Dynasty. I don't know: but I would suggest that were it so it would be particularly ill-conceived in that I am sure it would not be what the Chinese people want. Neither would it be the vehicle for a United China, and that is what the country has been seeking ever since the Revolution of 1911. The American view is more probably that they have written Red China off as a full-blooded and unswerving satellite of Russia without appreciation of the inherent Chinese characteristic of independence.

All this leads up to that supreme, significant and somewhat vital question-mark—what is to be the future of China?

Nothing will detract from my personal belief that the will of an ancient civilization, the supreme sense of independence inherent in so many among 470 million people, and the freedom for which they have fought through history, will prevail against subjugation or dictatorship by any neighbouring State. As I suggested earlier, if Russia—even at this stage of China's transition—should overburden that essentially proud and independent nation with too extensive demands, China will revolt. I say "even at this stage" because I believe that over the period of change from the corrupt and swashbuckling régime of the war-lords to the proper establishment of a more united, less precarious and oppressive Government, the present rulers of China will derive all the aid and assistance that is forthcoming from Russia whilst paying little more than lip-service to the extreme ideologies of the Kremlin. It may take many years, but my belief is that when China has put her house in order and achieved an ordered independence she will cast off the tow line of Russian influence and any slight tendency towards her policies being dominated by Moscow.

I have quoted the instance of Chiang Kai-Shek doing exactly that thing a quarter of a century ago, and Chiang and Mao have one essential factor in common—they are both Chinese, and, as such, representatives of a people who are proud and independent and whose aims lie more in self-sufficiency than in being in any way participators in world domination or even in world affairs. They represent a peaceful, industrial people who, though when it suits them to do so, they may follow one man or another, may be liable to recite a changing set of slogans and pursue for a brief spell some new ideology, do not change fundamentally nor part from the basic principles of their own ancient philosophies, which are never wholly interpretable to the West.

I would like to leave with you the thought—already expressed—that I cannot conceive a China so changed since my day as to have become, or to ever become, subjugated to influences which arise from beyond her wide borders. And I would like to suggest, if the world is to be allowed to live in peace, that in the interests of friendly relations and beneficial trading we, as a nation, re-cast much that seems to predominate in current reactions towards China in her present state of transition. Certain changes have

come about, others will inevitably follow. But I do not believe the essential qualities of the Chinese will ever change. Let us endeavour to approach them in all our dealings, political or commercial, with a full appreciation of the fundamental differences between our two nations which are unbridgeable except through the mediums—so much a part of the age-old Chinese elegances—of patience, tolerance and the best we can achieve towards understanding.

Group-Captain H. St. C. SMALLWOOD: The lecturer mentioned that the Chinese were offended by the dropping of bombs on Chinese territory north of the Yalu river, but I would like to defend the attitude of the Air Commander in Korea. I can, of course, understand the Chinese being offended, but there were, as a matter of fact, very few incidents and great provocation. I ask you to put yourselves in the position of an Air Commander who is being attacked by a number of aeroplanes—aeroplanes which in this particular instance flew from just outside the battle territory. Imagine trying to win the Battle of Britain without attacking the enemy airfields in France. Failing such attack we should have had little chance of winning that fight. In Korea the Air Commander is in the position of being able to attack aircraft only when they come over into the territory of Korea, so that we must all acknowledge that forbearance on the part of those Air Commanders in that theatre of war has been very great indeed.

As to the recognition of Communist China, the lecturer said that we were all in agreement with regard to the desirability of such recognition. I hate to dispel illusions, but I can assure Mr. Farquharson that a number of people in England did not agree with that attitude; we all thought there should have been joint action on the part of the United States of America and ourselves and, possibly, our Dominions, Australia in particular. I have criticized that action considerably, but my criticism was shot to pieces by being told that in fact Great Britain approached the United States before she recognized the new Chinese Government and the United States said that they hoped Great Britain would go ahead; America was rather busy at that time, but that it would make it possible for them to recognize Communist China later if Great Britain had already done so. That I believe to be historically correct, but I would much appreciate a word from Mr. Farquharson on the point.

Mr. R. FARQUHARSON: Group-Captain Smallwood, my information has always been that negotiations were carried out with the United States and that they did leave us with the impression, as you have said, that they would undoubtedly follow suit in due course. When I referred to our individual policy in recognizing the present régime in China I think I used the words that "all British business men past and present" agreed with that policy; they thought it an excellent thing, and I again stress that I do not think we have as a nation any particular interest in China apart from the best friendly trading conditions. If I may say so, we have in the audience an influential and prominent business man on leave from China who might be able to confirm that statement, or otherwise. He is my old friend Mr. Victor Farmer.

Mr. FARMER: Your question to me, Mr. Farquharson, is whether the business community as a whole were in favour of the recognition of the People's Government or not, and not the British people as a whole. I think I heard you correctly when you stated that business men were in favour of that recognition. I confirm that. I will also add that my impression is that the bulk of British business men who have trading relations with China were overwhelmingly in favour of such recognition, not for the sake of the few pounds, shillings and pence that they could get out of it, but because they thought it was the best tactical and strategic approach to a *modus vivendi* with China: the opposite to what Mr. Farquharson said the United States were doing—namely, driving the Chinese towards Moscow. I should have said pushing them towards Moscow. I think that answers your question, Mr. Farquharson.

Sir JOHN PRATT: There are two points in regard to which I happen to have some special knowledge which is probably not available to the general public. I greatly sympathize with the feelings of anybody residing in the British Concession of Hankow in 1926, when the decision was taken not to defend that concession against the armies that had marched up from Canton. Mr. Farquharson may like to know that the ultimate deciding factor in the decision not to defend that Concession at Hankow was the opinion of the Admiral then on the spot, who pointed out that of the total British interests in Hankow only 10 per cent. were situated in the Concession while the remaining 90 per cent.—consisting of merchants, missionaries, etc.—were situated outside the Concession. It would be quite easy for him to pour troops into the Concession and defend it, but that would mean abandoning the 90 per cent. of British interests situated outside the Concession. Such a betrayal would not have been in harmony with British traditions and the Government decided not to defend the Concession.

Another reason was that the attack on the Concession was a deliberate effort on the part of the extremists who were trying to capture control of the Kuomintang, switch the Nationalist movement into Communism and start the world revolution in China. They were endeavouring to sabotage the British policy of trying to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Nationalist movement in a friendly spirit. This policy had just been announced in the famous December Memorandum which the British Government made public on December 25, 1926. It was felt that this was the only way to prevent the whole movement being driven into the arms of the extremists in the Kuomintang, which of course was exactly what Stalin wanted. Our decision not to defend the Concession at Hankow was unfortunate for those on the spot. I sympathize with them; they were in a very difficult position, but it did mean that Stalin did not capture the Nationalist Movement. Instead the Kuomintang split into a right wing and a left wing and Chiang Kai Shek, the leader of the right wing, carried on as head of the Nationalist Government of China. He would still have been at the head of the Chinese Government if he had not subsequently betrayed the revolution and sunk into corruption, incompetence and tyranny greater than the world has even seen.

Another point I would like to deal with is the recognition of the Communist Government in China—the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is true that there was overwhelming commercial support for recognizing China. There had been a conference in Singapore in November of all our representatives in the whole of the Far East, and their unanimous opinion was that we should recognize the People's Republic immediately and without any conditions whatever. What did we do? Bevin said he would first consult the United States of America, and he went hat-in-hand to the State Department in Washington. The State Department wanted to recognize the People's Republic of China, but they were afraid there might be violent opposition in Congress. The Republicans did not want to recognize the People's Republic of China; they wanted to pursue the opposite policy of supplying Chiang Kai Shek with arms and money to bomb Shanghai and overthrow the Communist Government in China; also the Republicans wanted to supply arms and money to Syngman Rhee in South Korea in order to overthrow the Communist Government in North Korea. The State Department thought, however, that it would be a good idea if Great Britain recognized Peking first, as this would provide a good test of the reactions of the Republicans and the China Lobby. It was arranged that British recognition of the People's Republic in China should take effect at midnight on January 5, 1950. On the afternoon of January 5, Mayhew, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, made a speech at Poole in Dorset in which he publicly insulted the Government of the People's Republic of China. For a whole week that speech was broadcast from Peking to all parts of China. On January 13 in the Security Council the question was raised as to who was entitled to occupy the permanent seat on the Council reserved for China—the representative appointed by Peking or the delegate sent by Chiang Kai Shek, who had been driven out of China and had taken refuge in Formosa. The Council decided to accept the delegate from Formosa. The British delegate abstained from voting. Is it surprising that from that time onward the Chinese have regarded Great Britain as a country which goes cringing hat-in-hand to the United States of America and as a country to be despised?

Mr. R. FARQUHARSON: It is a great honour for me to find in the audience such a very distinguished student of Chinese affairs, probably the most distinguished student in this country. What Sir John Pratt has said has interested me enormously, but I think, to a very great extent, it probably bears out entirely a great deal of what I have said. I have enjoyed listening to Sir John very much indeed, as probably everybody else has, because we have learned something which has possibly brought a little more light to bear on events which I barely touched on.

The PRESIDENT: The lecturer has convinced me that China will always be China, whatever happens. The danger today—certainly the apprehension—is, does China wish to extend her borders? There certainly is a question being discussed in the United States with regard to South-east Asia, and there is no question about it that China has already taken steps to extend her borders. The whole time I was commanding the Eastern Army in India there was always the suggestion that China was

claiming suzerainty over Tibet; she has now for all practical purposes occupied Tibet and has set India two very difficult problems. To my certain knowledge, because my command marched with the Tibetan frontier, there is inside the Indian frontier, within six miles of it, a very famous Indian shrine at Badrinath to which crowds of pilgrims go from all over India throughout the year. China has set Mr. Nehru a difficult problem by claiming that Badrinath is inside the Tibetan frontier, which it is not. That is, if anything, aggression beyond Chinese borders.

Mr. FARQUHARSON: Sir John Shea, I was endeavouring to say in the course of my lecture that I did not think the Chinese themselves have any territorial ambitions outside their own country. I would say that in return for the aid which they have received to enable them to fight their internal battles in China there are certain long- or short-term obligations to the U.S.S.R. I should say that any territories which the Chinese may have annexed or on which they may have designs are at the instigation of Russian rather than Chinese policy. That is only my point of view. From my knowledge of the Chinese I do not think they are a people who have any strong desires to extend their own normal territories.

Sir JOHN PRATT: Tibet has been a part of the Chinese Empire for several hundred years.

Dr. V. PURCELL: May I add a few words to the lecturer's remarks in regard to the non-expansionist nature of the Chinese in South-east Asia. There have been a number of references to the desire on the part of the Chinese to expand and take over South-east Asia. From my own observation in South-east Asia not very long ago, and from a study of the subject, I should say there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the Chinese are in an expansionist state of mind. I saw a headline in the press yesterday which said that Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, had warned the Chinese of South-east Asia against their expansionism. From my observation I maintain that there is no ground for that warning. Taking the Chinese in the various countries I visited in South-east Asia, there are 10,000,000 of them against 160,000,000, and the atmosphere was not one of expansion at all; in fact, the Chinese were on the defensive in Burma, in Thailand, in Malaya and in Indonesia. To assume a desire for expansion as the result of action by a few Communists in Malaya is, to my mind, entirely wrong and misleading. I do not wish to venture on to that, but I feel that Tibet was regarded as part of China, certainly by the American Department of State, because in their White Paper on China they included Tibet in the map at the end as part of China. I only speak with certain knowledge and long experience of South-east Asia, and I should say that all suggestions as to Chinese expansionism there are entirely unfounded.

The PRESIDENT: As the lecturer came here at my instigation you can readily understand how delighted I feel that I invited him, and before I call on Admiral Sir Howard Kelly to propose a vote of thanks I would like to say how very deeply impressed I am by what you, Mr. Farquharson, have told us and how much I have enjoyed listening to you.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: I feel that the lecturer and I can certainly shake hands on this subject.

I do not want to go into the question of the attitude adopted by the United States and their policy.

Sir John Pratt mentioned that the Admiral on the spot at Hankow in 1926 took the decision not to defend that Concession there. I was not the Admiral, because I did not go out to that part of the world until 1931, but I was probably the first Admiral to go to Hankow after the Concession had been given up, and I must confess that I was astounded to see how admirably everything was working and how the Chinese were working in with us. It was exactly the same at Wei-hai-wei. I was the first person to hand that over. The Chinese were very careful in regard to the selection of the people they were putting in charge.

The Chairman then proposed votes of thanks to the lecturer and to the President, and the meeting closed.

ISLAMIC AND WESTERN IMPACTS

By SYED WARIS AMEER 'ALI, C.B.E., I.C.S.(ret.)

AN article on the Middle East recently appeared in *The Times*. It contained the surprising statement that "in the Moslem countries a violent reaction against the West is exaggerated by an intolerant religion which teaches the duty of shunning foreign influences." This was followed by the contradictory exhortation that "a proper understanding of the feelings and wishes of the Arab peoples is essential before any sound policy can be formed." A letter from the Aga Khan to *The Times* of November 6 commenting on the first statement says: "This sweeping generalization . . . shows a lamentable dearth of knowledge regarding Islam, even amongst the leading writers of the leading journals of the West."

Some of you may recollect a recent talk on the B.B.C. programme "Taking Stock" about the same part of the world, in which it was emphasized that to understand its problems it was necessary to comprehend the underlying factor, the religion of Islam. There is therefore no need to excuse a short survey this afternoon of the past impacts of Islam and Christianity upon one another. One of my audience has already informed me that Islam is unpopular at the moment with the British public owing to recent acts by the Persian and Egyptian Governments of the day. Human nature being what it is, it is quite possible for such acts in breach of the comity of nations to outweigh the fact that millions of Moslems are still, in spite of Empire liquidating policies, our fellow subjects, and that Moslem soldiers and sailors in large numbers in the allied forces and merchant ships did not fall short in their fighting contribution to victory in the late war.

In view of the western world's vital interests in the Middle East, emphasized by the new and growing importance of Arabian oil and the desire to complete a Middle East defence organization, it is incumbent on all concerned to understand the background of a religion which is a pure monotheism professed by the inhabitants of these areas. Atheists and agnostics are virtually unknown in Islam; those who profess it would not be Moslems unless they believed in a religion which, as most of you know, was first preached by the Prophet Muhammad about A.D. 600.

Now let me first deal with the charge of intolerance. In that distant and barbarous age the western world was in a state of decivilization owing to the invasions of the old Roman territories by barbarian tribes, who for their part were in process of being assimilated by different varieties of the Christian faith. In the neighbouring East a number of the Arabs had embraced Christianity from a very early date, others professed Judaism. Muhammad as a youth had come much in contact with Christian Arabs of Syria—indeed, one old monk of the Hauran proclaimed him in his youth as the messenger destined to lead his idolatrous countrymen to the pure worship of God. Muhammad proclaimed that he had come to restore the

pure worship of the God of Abraham, and he preached a monotheism free alike from the contradictions of contemporary Christianity, and divorced from the Rabbinical accretions of the Judaism of the time.

Muhammad was outspoken in his denunciation of polytheism and idolatry, but that did not mean that, like many before or after him, he condemned other revealed religions root and branch. In fact, all his teaching speaks of Christians and Jews as "Peoples of the Book" endowed with a revealed religion in the Old Testament and the Gospels. "Say, we believe in God, and in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes. And in the 'Books' given to Moses, Jesus and the Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one another among them." A "Messenger of God" as he was styled by his countrymen and followers, "Rasul-Illah," who proclaimed in those bitter times, "Dispute not with the 'Peoples of the Book' save in kindly sort," and, "Search for knowledge even unto China," cannot be accused of inculcating intolerance amongst his followers. I need not elaborate on his almost nineteenth-century rationalism and tolerance; the whole subject has been exhaustively dealt with by my late father, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer 'Ali, in his classic work *The Spirit of Islam*.

We all know, however, there is sometimes a considerable gap between preaching and practice. The popular conception in the West is that the early Arabs overspread the old world with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. As a matter of actual fact, the early Moslem conquerors were amongst the most tolerant of mankind, and their conduct compares favourably with the devotees of different ideologies of the present day.

The orders of the Caliph Omar to 'Amr ibn al-'Ās, the conqueror of Egypt, are a model of their kind: "Molest not old people, women nor children, nor cut down the tree that beareth fruit. And ye will find certain men gathered into religious communities leading lives of prayer—be sure to respect their foundations and to leave them in peace." The unfortunate 'Amr and his forces have often been falsely accused of burning the famous Alexandrian library, which was in fact dispersed or destroyed long before in the vicissitudes that beset the city in the break-up of the empire under Theodosius. For one thing, the early Arabs *were*, and all Moslems *are*, most chary of destroying any written matter lest it should contain the name of the Almighty.

Less than two years ago an Anglican prelate of high degree compared in his Easter sermon the present-day Communist threat to religion with, as he said, "the destruction of the early Christian churches of the Near East and Africa by the early Moslems." So far were they from being destroyed that their patriarchates exist to this very day. The Fatimide Caliph Aziz-b'illah, whose capital was Cairo, was married to a Christian lady. Her brothers were Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. Many Arabic-speaking Christians descended in an unbroken line from very early converts, and remained unmolested until many of them found themselves refugees from Israeli territory in 1948. "Ah," said a London Rector to me, "you have omitted the destruction of the flourishing Christian church of North

Africa." Berber resistance to the early Moslem conquest was indeed in the first instance ferocious, but the recent British Archæological expedition to Cyrenaica has discovered evidence of a long process of peaceful conversion, such as a Christian church transformed at a later date into a mosque by the simple insertion of the Mihrab or prayer niche.

The Christian and Jewish subjects of the Moslem empires were guaranteed their religious rights under a formal instrument, a custom which commenced in very early days in Arabia; hence they were known as "Zimmis"—persons under a bond between the Government and their religious communities. Up to the present day in central and south Arabia there existed communities of Arabic-speaking Jews, descended from such Zimmis, exempt from tribal blood feuds under their "bonds" and therefore not obliged to bear arms, but living in peace and amity with their tribal Moslem neighbours and acting as their armourers and goldsmiths.

The Caliph Ali proclaimed, "The blood of the Zimmi is to me as the blood of the Moslem." When we consider the mass conversions to Islam of early days, we must not only regard them as due to a desire to stand well with the conquerors, but in most instances as acts of conviction by men bewildered by past disputes amongst varying and disputing Christian sects in the East—Arians, Orthodox, Catholics, Nestorians and Monophysites, and even Manichæans. Within a very few years most of the Monophysite peoples had become Moslems. The difference between those professing a Trinity with one nature, and Moslems professing one God and Jesus as the Spirit of God, is far from profound. Nevertheless the conquests were, as I have tried to show, secular conquests of a peculiarly tolerant type. The Christians of Persia professed delighted surprise at their kind treatment by the early Arab conquerors, and the Christians of Spain and Sicily were left unmolested in their religious freedom. In fact, when the early conquests were stabilized, there seemed every prospect of the two great religions settling down in amity side by side. You have all heard of the brilliant intellectual life of Spain under the Moors, of the universities of Cordova and Seville, and how the former was even sung by Hroswitha, the German nun of the tenth century. Long before Oxford came into being, and before even the University of Paris was famous, scholars from Western Europe made their way south to learn the wisdom of the East in Spain. This was chiefly how the ancient Greek learning and philosophy were preserved by the Arabs and other Moslems in the Dark Ages and handed on to the West before the Renaissance. The early Moslems studied the survivals of classical culture with avidity, and the great Moslem physicians and scientists, such as Avicenna and Rhages, handed on the work of Hippocrates and Galen to a barbarized West thirsting for the older civilizations. I give you a curious instance. Michael Scott, known to legend as Michael the Wizard, was born under the Eildons and went to Paris University about A.D. 1200, and thence down into Moorish Spain to learn the medicine of the day. He became Court physician of the Hohenstauffen Emperor Frederic II. This Emperor was left an orphan at a tender age and neglected by his German and Sicilian guardians, distracted as they were by war and revolt. He had been brought up as infant King of Sicily by his subjects, the Arab merchants of Palermo. He was tri-

lingual and tolerant, and therefore doubly anathema to the Papacy of the day.

Michael had a brother Scot as assistant, one Alexander Ramsay. Michael, evidently having second sight, foretold his own death as the result of a stone falling upon him from a mountain, when he was on a journey to Germany with the Emperor. Ramsay then returned to Scotland. The tale goes that he looked into the entrails of the reigning King Alexander II of Scotland with a magic glass, cut him open, and cured him of a sad affliction. His fee for that operation was the grant of the manor of Bamff in Perthshire, still held by his descendants. This story is obviously a local rendering of the fact that the Arabs had primitive magnifiers, used opiates as anæsthetics, and in all probability possessed the common vegetable antiseptics and astringents still in use in India. Another celebrity to profit by Arab learning was Robert of Reading, now much advertised in *The Times* by I.C.I. as "the father of English chemistry," which he also learnt from the Moors of Spain, where he was Archdeacon of Pamplona about A.D. 1140. He is less commonly known as the first translator of the Koran from Arabic into Latin. This was for the purpose of religious controversy.

Yet, in spite of the difference between Trinitarian and Unitarian, the deeper minds of both faiths were moving nearer and nearer in contemplation of the Absolute. Islamic mysticism received a tremendous impulse from the neo-Platonists of Alexandria. Moslem and Christian mystics were wont to foregather in Spain, and there even existed religious foundations where they went into retreat together. The interaction of the two faiths in influencing medieval Catholic philosophers is well known, but it remained for that profound and sympathetic scholar Monsignor Don Miguel Asin y Palacios, professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid, to fathom a still closer relationship.

He goes so far as to speak delightfully of "our Spanish mystics," and has elaborated on the influence of Muhiuddin El Arabi, whose works are known as the quintessence of Muslim Sufi mysticism, upon the Catalan saint Raymond Lull. After preaching on the Barbary coast for twenty years, Raymond died ironically in 1320 after an assault by Algerian fishermen. The Friars of the Redemption, on the other hand, worked unmolested in North Africa for the ransom of captives from medieval times to a century ago. The learned Don Miguel furthermore unearthed the remarkable fact that the plot, so to speak, of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is of Islamic origin, and based upon a series of Moslem works elaborated from a single sentence of the Koran, describing the Prophet's miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem in one night. Later commentators developed the theme to describe the transit of the prophet on the occasion through the garden of Paradise and the seven Heavens. Don Miguel found that Dante's preceptor, Brunetto Latini, was for a time Florentine envoy to the Court of Castile and evidently communicated to his pupil Dante the allegory that he had learned at Seville. That city had been taken from the Moors by Alfonso "El Sabio" (the Wise), the King of Castile, who then styled himself "King of the two Religions," a title soon ended owing to the disapproval of the Church.

Now, how is it that a closer and closer approach and mutual toleration, which might easily have resulted in much the same relations as those between Latin and Greek Christians, never came to fruition, and ended in misrepresentation and hatred that has persisted until this day?

Two terrible factors are principally to blame—that outburst of mass fanaticism and feudal colonization known as the Crusades, and the Inquisition. The series of irruptions from the West were characterized by a far greater barbarity than any Moslem conquest; we have only to compare the massacre of the Arab and Jewish population of Jerusalem, irrespective of age and sex, by Godfrey de Bouillon's Crusaders to the shouts of "Deus le Veult," and other similar acts, with the conduct of the Caliph Omar and the Arab conquerors. Thirty years before, the Seljuq Turks absorbed in six years almost the whole of Asia Minor after their victory at Manzikert, with the tacit acquiescence of the Greek peasantry, whom they treated with a consideration unknown to their former Byzantine Government. The great mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi, founder of the Mevlevi dervishes and a collateral of my own stock, had as his closest friend the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Konieh (Iconium), and both at their own wish were buried side by side. The Christian Greeks of Konieh have for long spoken Turkish, and therefore I believe have escaped the exchange of populations between the two secular States in 1925 which marked the expulsion of other Greeks from Asia Minor who had been there since the Seljuks and long before.

These dervish orders and their founders and patron saints are, to be sure, born out of Islamic mysticism allied to an unconscious desire to emulate the Christians of the time. There is nothing in the Koran or in very early Islam to warrant them or the hagiology that has grown up round them. They probably attain their extreme in North Africa, where they are perhaps a survival of the old pagan Berber worship of a myriad local deities, "Decuriones Dei"—town councillor gods, as they are styled by that woman-hating early father of the Christian Church, Tertullian.

St. Louis IX, the saintly King of France, who averred that the only way to talk theology to a Saracen was to "Le ferir a l'estoc parmi le ventre dedans"—that is to run him through the stomach—led a Crusade to the Nile Delta. He and his knights met rout and capture at the hands of the local fellahin, who swarmed to defend their spiritual guide, the "Crouching Saint of Tanta," El Bedawi, the founder of that Dervish order. Up to the nineties of the last century the modern devotees of the saint took the trophies of their ancestors' battle with St. Louis, captured armour and the like, in procession once a year through that turbulent town.

You will remember that the Crusades were ostensibly fought to recover the Holy Sepulchre, and redounded to the supposed spiritual advantage of the participants and the material advantage of some greater men, and also younger sons. The only Crusade which we may say resulted in a durable settlement was that of the Emperor Frederick II, Michael Scott's master. In that there was little or no fighting, to the disappointment of the chivalry, and the amazement of the Pope. The Arabic-speaking emperor entered into a Concordat with the then Sultan of Egypt that settled the rights of Christian pilgrims and the custody of the Holy Places for many

a century. In fact, when Sir Ronald Storrs took over the military governorship of Jerusalem, I think in 1917, a venerable Arab gentleman appeared as custodian of the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, with a document of appointment to his family at the hand of this very Sultan Malik Al Kamil in 1227. Frederick of Hohenstauffen died in middle life at the height of a war with the Papacy which viciously exterminated his descendants by the compaigns of the ferocious Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, and in a very short while Frederick's Arab bodyguard in their feudal settlement in Apulia were exterminated or forcibly converted to Christianity, and toleration for Moslems in Sicily soon ended.

Now for the second reason, as I see it, for exacerbation between Christians and Islam—the Inquisition. In the century before Frederick II the curious Albigensian heresy had made great headway in southern France amongst those not enamoured of the local clergy and their ways. Indeed, the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux declared that he had found many heretics much more pious and well conducted than orthodox Catholics of his time. This heresy, which approached as far as we can see pure Manichæanism (of which my father says, “Will it ever die, this child of a bizarre genius to which Christianity owes so much and acknowledges so little?”), had spread from Marash in East Asia Minor through Bulgaria and North Italy to South Gaul. Its roots were so deep that Raymond, Count of Toulouse, their principal protector, always went accompanied by two Manichæan “Perfecti,” or initiates, to give him extreme absolution in case of need. Matters were brought to a head by the murder of the Papal Legate, Peter of Castelnau—an unpopular personage—on the steps of the church of St. Gilles in Provence in 1205. The Papacy proclaimed a Crusade against the heretics, joined with avidity by pious and ambitious North Frenchmen. The most famous leader was that progenitor of an unpleasant family, the elder Simon de Montfort, killed at his siege of Toulouse.

Just before the storm of Béziers by the Crusaders, their leader asked the Papal Legate how his men were to distinguish between heretics and good Catholics. “Kill all,” was the reply. “God will know His own.” With the military subjugation of the south of France the search for heretics and the suppression of dangerous thoughts were entrusted to the Inquisition, whose functions were performed for the most part by the Dominican order of friars, hence the pious nickname “Domini Canes,” hounds of the Lord. The first and most ferocious leader of the heresy hunt was the fanatical Fulk of Marseilles, justly famous as a poet. Rebuffed because of his mercantile origin in an approach to his liege lord's lady, the Countess of Marseilles, he took holy orders and found consolation in religion. This remarkable man, styled “Venerabilis Fulco,” by the orthodox, was able to compose sacred poems of great beauty and sincerity, with others of vicious raillery of heretics: “Deign to speak to me a little, O heretic, whilst the fire awaits you.” It was about this time that the last Moslems of the Canton des Maures were forcibly converted or expelled.

The organization and spirit of the Inquisition rapidly spread to Spain, where we all know its subsequent achievements. It soon ended the old spirit of mutual respect if not of toleration. We can see the effect in the

bitterness shown in the next century by the famous traveller Ibn Batuta of Tangier against the Christians of Spain, compared with the almost casual description of his visit to Greek Constantinople. The ill-treatment and final expulsions of both Moslems and Jews in the century following Ferdinand and Isabella, when the Inquisition flourished perhaps more than ever, brought a terrible nemesis.

Piracy was always endemic in the Mediterranean, as in the narrow seas, and the exiled Moslem gentry and fighting men from Spain found in it both a living and a means of revenge. Hence the rise of the Corsair States of North Africa as Turkish provinces (save for Morocco) and as part of the armed forces of that empire. The exiled Sephardic Jews of the Peninsula found shelter and toleration in Moslem lands notably the great colony of Spanish-speaking Jews that still remained at Salonika until this century. Most Jews were contented with financing the piratical war, but the famous Sinan of Smyrna was a great Admiral of the Porte and a later contemporary of the Barbarossa brothers, who were Moslem Greeks from the isles. The piracy and slave-owning of North Africa have often been quoted as an example of Moslem original sin. We have seen the origin of the piracy, and slave-owning was common in all lands. Moslem slaves were also held in Christian countries. Boswell helped a couple of Tripolitan "Turkish" slaves escaped from Spain at the top of St. James's Street in 1762, and about the same time the future Lord St. Vincent, when captain of one of his Majesty's ships at anchor in Genoa harbour, covered another two Moslem escapees with the Union Jack. The sufferings of galley slaves, prisoners of war on both sides, were shocking, but domestic slaves in Moslem countries were always treated, according to the tenets of the Koran, as part of the family, and were often ransomed. An Anglican service was held for English slaves off the Suk at Algiers every Sunday, in a century when a boy was hanged at Edinburgh for saying that Muhammad was not so bad after all. A touching book printed in London in Charles II's reign, called *Ebenezer or small thanks for a great Mercy*, by an Englishman who escaped from Algiers, recounts his hesitation at leaving a kind old master who treated him as a son, not as a slave, and taught him the secrets of alchemy. Smith's Trust in London was originally dedicated to the ransom of English captives in Barbary. A curious feature of the age was the part of Englishmen themselves in the Corsair wars against a common enemy. English and other Protestant seamen "ran from their ships" to join the corsairs, and not a few "took the turban"—that is, professed Islam. The Barbary corsairs first learnt the use of square-rigged ships and deep-sea navigation from Bosun Ward, formerly of Queen Elizabeth's navy, who became "second only to the Bey of Tunis" and renowned for his hospitality to English visitors. Another deep-sea teacher of the Algerians was Dansekar, a Dutchman. The port of Flushing was a favourite winter harbour of Moorish pirates. Some of its people throve on stolen goods, others protested to the town council that too many of their lads ran away to sea with the Sallee men. Englishmen of position, such as the Shropshire knight Sir Henry Mainwaring, became admirals of Sallee rovers. His depredations upon Spanish commerce became so serious that his Sovereign was desired to intervene, with the threat of war by Spain

unless his subject was kept under control. Sir Henry was tempted home by being appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James I, and was soon elected M.P. for the Cinque Ports. Having fled from an unhappy marriage, Sir Francis Verney was more unlucky. Captured in an Algerian ship of war "wearing the turban and habit of the Moors," he was found dying as a Spanish galley-slave by the English consul at Messina.

You may say, What of the terrible Turk, the Suzerain of all these peoples as far as Morocco, and anathema to Gladstonian England and the Nonconformist conscience in his non-secular and imperial days?

The great Turkish conquests in Europe were accomplished *not* by the Seljuqs, but by another family, the descendants of Osman Beg, men with an hereditary flair for administration as well as for war. Their conquests in Asia were more extensive even than in Europe, and largely accomplished by European Slavs and Albanians rapidly Islamized through the great order of the Bektashi Dervishes, which by its elaborate and heterodox ritual, commensality and tacit permission for indulgence in strong liquor made easy the change of faith for these primitive folk. It is true that Muhammad, the Conqueror of Constantinople, whose mother was a Serb princess, took St. Sophia for the great mosque of the city, but exactly the same thing was done in reverse by the tolerant Alfonso the Wise when he took Seville. Muhammad's father, the Sultan Bayazid, carefully avoided annihilating the small remnant of the Byzantine Empire as long as *he* was alive, and it is recorded that when provoked to war by a unilateral breach of a treaty by the Hungarians, he raised his hands to Heaven in full Divan, crying aloud, "Lord Jesus, I call upon Thee to witness the ill-faith of Thy people." In any case, the Turks preserved the religious liberties of their Christian subjects and left the jurisdiction of civil justice in their causes to a large extent in the hands of the heads of their churches. Their rule may have been stern, but, as seventeenth-century English travellers remarked, they had tough peoples to deal with, and according to them it compared favourably in efficiency and all else with contemporary European countries. From all accounts the Christian tenantry were no worse dealt with and probably better in many cases than other tenants in those times.

Edmund Lear, the artist and author of *Nonsense Rhymes*, tells us of a kindly Turkish landlord he met in Thessaly a century ago. Rich in flocks and herds like King Admetus in the same province in ancient times, the Bey's Greek shepherds received as their perquisite every tenth lamb born in his flocks. Amongst other good deeds, the Bey had endowed a hostel in the vale of Tempe, halfway between two towns, where every one of numerous benighted travellers could find shelter and a free meal, cooked by the wife of the non-celibate dervish in charge, who was assisted in his duties by a small son clad in the same costume. The Bey was following the precept of the Koran enjoining kindness to travellers, "sons of the road," so happily followed by the hospitable Turks, and which no doubt has led to the word for a guest in Osmanli Turkish being the Arabic "Musafir," or traveller.

The national upsurge in the nineteenth century of the Christian sub-

jects of the Turkish Empire owed much if not all to Russian instigation, for Russian policy was as expansionist then as now. The patriotic fervour of an allegedly oppressed Christian peasantry against the oppressive Turk was in many cases directed against native landlords of their own race and language who had been Islamized, such as the Dihis of Belgrade, who were a Moslem Serb family of the Sandjak of Novibazar. Anyone who knows the dislike of any eastern peasantry to paying rents in cash or kind, and the acquisitiveness of some eastern bailiffs, will realize this. The Albanians, who resisted the early Osmanlis more ferociously perhaps than any other race, remained part Catholic, part Orthodox Greek, whilst many became Islamized through the Bektashis, and some identified the founder of that order with an Epirote Orthodox Christian saint. Yet as long as they were left alone to their tribalism and, sad to say, to their blood feuds, there were no more loyal subjects of the Padishah, and in them the empire found many of its Grand Viziers and most gifted functionaries. In our own time there were Albanians who had both Christian and Moslem names, and went to the mosque on Friday and to church on Sunday.

I hope I have told you enough to show that, in the words of the Aga Khan's letter to *The Times* of November 6, "even a little knowledge of Islam will show that its religion is not only tolerant of other faiths, but most respectful of and indeed fully accepts the divine inspiration of all theistic faiths that came before Islam!" He goes on to say, "It is of course true that Moslem countries, like modern European races, have acquired in this century a strong sense of nationalism which has no connection with their religion. As such if there has been violent reaction against the West in some of the Moslem countries, the reason is to be found in the attitude and behaviour of the westerners, their ignorance of and want of respect for the faith and culture of Islam, of which the reference to that faith in your leading article is a typical and usual example." Can we deny that misrepresentation or misunderstanding, however unintentional, of the beliefs of a person or a people are powerful influences in creating strife?

Group-Captain H. ST. C. SMALLWOOD: I have been told that the Middle East generally is considerably disturbed by Egypt's offer to lead the Arab peoples. I should much like to know whether our lecturer could throw a little light on that important point. Is it the fact that Egypt wishes to lead the Arabs and the Arab peoples do not like being led by Egypt?

Syed AMEER ALI: Naturally everybody prefers to lead. I do not know sufficient about the subject to say what is in the minds of the particular people concerned at this moment. I can only deal with the question from the point of view of the religious and historical background. I imagine some of the Middle East countries are not entirely happy with the way things are going. How can one be? If co-religionists do unfortunate things one cannot always approve of them.

Mr. G. E. KIRK: I would like to thank Judge Ameer Ali for his very fair, frank and illuminating address, and to endorse the impression which I am sure he meant to convey that the conflict which there may appear to be between Christianity and Islam is not basically a religious conflict, but

an unhappy by-product of a conflict of secular power politics. Islam was the religion of a great empire which started from small beginnings and spread halfway across the known world, and then with the come-back of European power in the Middle Ages—first, with the reconquest of Spain and Sicily, then the Crusades, and then the extension of Europe since that time—the conflict between Islam and what still professes to call itself Christendom has naturally been accentuated. I feel sure that the nationalism of the Moslem world at the present time is, in part at least, an expression of the natural resentment that that power, which Moslems felt had been divinely conferred on them in the great expansion of their religion in the seventh century, was suddenly reversed by the expansion of Europe in the nineteenth century. I would say, again, that that is surely a secular conflict and not a religious conflict at all.

I venture to question Judge Ameer Ali's suggestion that Moslem piracy in the Mediterranean was a consequence of the Inquisition. Surely there has always been piracy in the Mediterranean? Julius Cæsar was instrumental in putting down the pirates of Cilicia; and Moslem sovereigns of North Africa were raiding various cities and even driving into Rome as early as the ninth century. It will not do to say therefore that the Inquisition was responsible for piracy in the Mediterranean.

Syed AMEER ALI: I agree entirely with that, but the speaker will remember that I said that piracy was always endemic in the Mediterranean, but it reached a more epidemic form after 1492; the irritation was accentuated by the expulsion of the Jews and Moslems from Spain. The speaker evidently knows a good deal about the subject, and he is probably aware that the Jews expelled from Spain used to finance those piratical raids on a large scale, and one Jew, Sinan of Smyrna, even became an Admiral of the Porte—a Turkish Imperial Admiral.

Colonel S. F. NEWCOMBE: Could the lecturer tell us the fundamental difference between Islam in 622, and Unitarianism whenever it was started, I believe between 1600 and 1700? What are the fundamental differences between the religions?

Syed AMEER ALI: That is a very material question. The speaker is, I think, a little out in regard to the date at which Unitarianism was started. Actually it was started by Socinus of Siena, about 1550. I do not think there is the slightest difference between the two religions. Socinus said only one God; the Moslems said only one God and Jesus is the Spirit of God.

Professor A. S. TRITTON: One of the great differences between Christianity and Islam is that, according to Islam, morality is as God wishes it to be; what He has commanded is right; what He has forbidden is wrong. Christians believe that if there were no God there would still be morality. And then, of course, the ultimate difference is the higher recognition given to Jesus Christ. Christianity does teach that there is one God, not three.

A great deal might be said about Moslem intolerance. There was a time in Egypt when Christians borrowed turbans of the Jewish colour so that they might go out. I admit that much of what the lecturer has said is correct, but he left out the darker side entirely.

Syed AMEER ALI: I am not talking about the dark side. Of course I left it out. There is a dark side to everything.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I read the article which appeared in *The Times*, which in Mr. Ameer Ali's script reads that "In the Moslem countries a violent reaction against the West is exaggerated by an intolerant religion which teaches the duty of shunning foreign influences." I also read the Aga Khan's dignified and very trenchant reply. I think anybody, especially those many of us who have served with Moslems, will agree that the statement in the article was ridiculous, especially in days when the wave of nationalism and sovereignty run mad has swept from the Pacific to the Mediterranean. You will find, I am sure, if you study the religions of the past that in all faiths there was a period when they were intolerant and resorted to violence. I am perfectly certain that if you could produce two efficient debaters to debate the question of Christianity and Islam, each of them would prove conclusively that the other was the villain of the piece. But that is all finished with; it is past.

I had a very interesting conversation recently with an official whose business it has been for a considerable number of years past to study Communism in Europe, and he said: "Of course there is much that is sordid and horrid and selfish and self-seeking about Communism, but make no mistake there is a very large section of Communists who believe that their faith or creed, or whatever you choose to call it, will lead to the ultimate benefit of mankind. They have an ardent and a burning faith and you can only oppose them by a faith which is as ardent as their own." You can reply that faith can be found in other religions, whichever you like to name, and I am perfectly convinced that you will find such faith in Islam.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: I should like to offer thanks to the lecturer for his admirable exposition of this critical subject. The whole of the future—not only of the Middle East and of Asia, but the whole of the future everywhere—depends on our contacts with the Moslem World and the satisfactory adjustment of our respective relationships. Anything we can do to encourage the happiest relations with the Moslems will enable us to make a *bloc* which can resist any dictation anywhere; without that we may come to the most terrible grief.

The meeting closed with votes of thanks.

IMPRESSIONS OF ISRAEL AND JORDAN

By S'R CLARMONT SKRINE, O.B.E.

ON March 12, 1952, Sir Clarmont Skrine gave a lecture illustrated by a colour film to show the present appearance of some of the best-known areas of Palestine and Jordan.

Consideration of the boundaries fixed by the various Armistice Agreements concluded under United Nations auspices in 1948-49 between Israel and the four neighbouring Arab States of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon shows that on the basis of the Land Classification Survey of Palestine carried out under the British Mandate, the part of Palestine now occupied by Israel includes 96 per cent. of the best three grades of soil as well as most of the best watered regions. On the other hand, four-sevenths of the area of Israel consists of the desert and semi-desert lands of the Negev which the Israel Government, assisted with funds by the Jewish Agency, is striving hard to colonize and irrigate. The success of previous efforts is plainly visible in the aerial views that were given of two of the older-established agricultural settlements and of the orange orchards of Rishon le Zion.

Another photograph showed a deep-well boring plant in operation near Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba, with the Prime Minister of Israel, Dr. Ben Gurion, looking on.

At Haifa the great expansion of the town is noticeable. It was also pleasant to see that the gardens and tombs of the Persian Bahai sect were as beautiful as ever. When showing views of Galilee, the lecturer drew attention to the contrast between undamaged Nazareth with its predominantly Arab population living and working quietly under Jewish rule, and the pathetic ruins of el Masmiya: the people of Nazareth stood their ground during the fighting, then surrendered their town intact to the Haganah, whereas el Masmiya, like many another Arab township farther south, was abandoned in the first panic and its ground is now occupied and cultivated by Jewish immigrants.

The scene then shifted to Jerusalem. A map of present-day Jerusalem shows how the city is cut in half by the armistice lines and the belt of blitzed "no man's land" in between. There is here another striking contrast, that between the Arab and Jewish occupied halves of the city. The former includes the whole of the walled city; historic Jerusalem, picturesque, completely oriental and medieval: the latter comprises the modern business quarter and most, though not all, of the new town and its residential suburbs, many of the best houses in which were built by formerly well-to-do Arabs who now live in poverty-stricken exile beyond the Armistice line. Even in the Jewish half of the city, the Musrara and Mea Shearim quarters are still inhabited ghetto-like by Orthodox Jews from Poland, Russia and Central Asia.

Sightseers in Israel look across the frontier at an Arab sentry on a house-top commanding no man's land that runs through the centre of

Jerusalem. In Jordan-held Jerusalem the audience saw Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's massive Damascus Gate, the Via Dolorosa and the Patriarch and priesthood of the Orthodox Church issuing in the Epiphany procession from the Holy Sepulchre: then down through the souks to the Wailing Wall, sacred to the Jews as the only identifiable portion of the vast platform on which Herod's Temple was built. There were no longer the mourning crowds of former days, only two Arab schoolboys playing. The most striking views in the Old City were those of the Haram, the great courtyard of the Muslim Holy Places. Here, where three successive Temples of the Jews were built and destroyed between 950 B.C. and A.D. 72, stands the beautiful Dome of the Rock glowing with the soft colours of its medieval tiling; beyond it is the no less ancient Mosque of el Aqsa, near which the lecturer pointed to the spot where the late King Abdallah of Jordan was assassinated.

From the Arab-held Mount of Olives can be seen a panoramic view of the walled city: sunset lights over Mount Zion and the hill-tops of Moab in the far distance beyond the deep trough of the Jordan and the Dead Sea valley. Christmas was celebrated in the traditional manner at Bethlehem; guarded by Arab legionaries and police and escorted by clergy in rich vestments, high dignitaries of the churches moved slowly in processions towards the Church of the Nativity to bend double as they entered its low, narrow doorway. The scene shifted to Jericho, thence to the northern end of the Dead Sea, 1,287 feet below ocean level, where the gaunt shells of the Palestine Potash Works and of the luxury hotel at Kallia stand as grim evidence of a vanished *Pax Britannica*. Sadder still were the views shown of a huge refugee camp on the Nablus road, north of Ramallah, one of many in which, with United Nations' assistance, the Jordan kingdom supports 700,000 Arabs rendered homeless and destitute by the Jewish occupation of their villages.

Lastly, Sir Clarmont showed views of the hill-village and Crusader castle of Ajlun in the remote hill-country east of the Jordan and north of the Wadi Zerqa, the impressive ruins of Jerash and the road to Petra via Madaba and Kerak. Sir Clarmont's impressions of Petra follow here.

PETRA TODAY

I HAD heard and read so much about the wonders and beauties of Petra, the "rose-red city half as old as Time," that I fully expected to be disappointed when I got there. I was wrong. Of all the deserted sites of ancient cities I have seen east of Suez it is by far the most spectacular, colourful and romantic. It is worth circling half the globe to see.

In the soft light and still, mild airs of early dawn in Arabia, two friends and I set off by car on a morning in November last from Amman, capital of the Hashimite kingdom of the Jordan. The road, metalled at first, soon degenerated into a narrow "motorable track" along which our Ford saloon, driven skilfully by a Palestinian Greek chauffeur from the British Consulate-General at Jerusalem, bumped and lurched at an

average speed of eighteen miles an hour. The way led southwards along the flat tops and ridges of the hills of Moab east of the Dead Sea, with periodical dives into the great "wadis" which carry the scanty waters of the Transjordan plateau down to the sea, 1,300 feet below ocean level. We picnic-breakfasted in the dawn-lit depths of the first wadi, by a clear stream bordered by tall oleander bushes still flaunting a few rosy blooms, while three Arabs wearing the Jordan headdress of black *agal* and white *kefiya*, advance guard of a large family party on mules and donkeys, watched us curiously from beside a neighbouring pool. Climbing dizzily out of the gorge, we crossed an even wider and deeper wadi, that of el Majib, and an hour later came suddenly upon the medieval fortress-township of el Kerak, with its minarets and Crusaders' castle. Lunch we ate beyond Tafileh in a small olive-grove perched on a steep hillside flecked with orchards and commanding a magnificent view of the southern end of the Dead Sea and the broad Wadi Araba to the south of it, with the brown hills of the Promised Land beyond. At four o'clock we came at last to Wadi Musa village, another hill-township terraced and scantily watered like a hundred I have seen in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Persia. Here at a fort-like police post we paid our visitors' tax of £1 each, in return for which the police produced saddled ponies and a baggage-donkey for hire, with a guide and several cheerful, cherubic village boys to guide us down to Petra and look after the animals. At dusk we dived into a narrow slit of a canyon which cut through a range of sandstone crags; soon the cliffs closed above our heads and for half an hour we rode or walked by the light of a lantern carried by one of the boys, our steps echoing among the rocks, which here and there opened up enough for us to see a few stars, then closed again. At last we came out into a widening gorge and found ourselves in the cliff-girt amphitheatre of Petra.

It was like old days in India to be met with lanterns at a ready-made camp by a bowing Moslem butler, Solomon, who administered tea closely followed by whisky pegs in a long dining-tent among blue-gum trees at the foot of a cliff. The inner walls of this tent were embroidered in red and yellow and blue like the tents of Rajputana and Bahawalpur. There were sleeping-tents too, but our beds were ready for us, with mosquito-curtains all complete, in a large Nabataean dwelling-cave reached by steps in the cliff, and fitted out as a dormitory with double and single cubicles. The bathroom was a smaller cave next door, where Solomon had rigged up a Heath-Robinson shower-bath of his own invention, of which he was very proud. The kitchen was in another cave beneath, at ground-level, and the food Solomon produced from it, though mostly out of tins, was excellent. Bread we had ourselves brought in a box from the Philadelphia Hotel at Amman, the proprietor of which runs the spring and autumn camps at Petra. He took the camp equipment over, it seems, in 1936 from Messrs. Thos. Cook, who originally established the camp for Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany when he visited Petra.

From dawn to dusk next day, with short intervals for food and rest, we clambered, cameras in hand, up the valley and down the valley, up rock-hewn stairways and along dizzy ledges and through narrow clefts half-blocked by bushes and the twisted trunks of ancient junipers. We

marvelled at a score of strange monuments from the Arab-named "Palace of Pharaoh" to the "Great High Place," from the "Theatre" to the "Baths," from the amazing "Palace Tomb" to ed-Deir, the "Monastery." As I have said, to me Petra is the most colourful and romantic of the dead cities of the Orient. In architecture it does not compete with Persepolis, Fatehpur Sikri, Karnak or Baalbek, because only one of its *buildings* in the proper sense, the "Palace of Pharaoh," still stands, and that, though impressive, is roofless and battered by earthquakes. All else that survives is hewn out of the perpendicular cliffs which enclose the amphitheatre of Petra and the canyons which branch off it. Among rock-cities, again, Petra does not compete with the sculptured exuberance of Ajanta and Ellora, or with the tremendous cliff Buddhas of Afghan Bamiān. What makes the place unique is, firstly, its situation, and secondly, its colour. Petra is the robbers' stronghold of the fairy-stories, if ever there was one. It needed no fortification, for Nature made it very nearly impregnable. And it was a *secret* stronghold, so secret that it is hardly mentioned in history at all. We do know that long before 312 B.C., when the Greek Antigonos seized it for a time, it was used by a race called the Nabatæans—possibly the same as the Nabaioth of the Old Testament—as a base from which to prey on the land-route between Egypt and Arabia. In the centuries which followed its recovery by the Nabatæans they waxed rich and powerful, until by the first century A.D. their empire extended to Damascus and beyond. After several failures the Romans succeeded in capturing it in A.D. 106, and they garrisoned and embellished it in their own style till the fall of the Empire, when it disappears altogether from history. To quote the excellent brochure of the Department of Antiquities at Amman:

"The very memory of the great and mighty city was lost, its situation completely forgotten, and it became a legend of mystery and wonder. Explorers tried in vain to find its fabled glories, but the utter inaccessibility of the rocky fastness, and the wildness of the few remaining inhabitants of the country, kept for centuries the secret of its entrance. Mysterious and elusive, it excited the imagination of all early travellers, and finally in 1812 Burckhardt succeeded in penetrating the veil. He was the first European to look upon the fallen glory that was Petra, or, at least, the first to return and tell an astonished world about it."

But its colours! The whole vast massif of sandstone which enfolds it has a dozen different colours and shades of red and yellow and brown and rose, and it is veined and marbled into a thousand patterns, beyond the wildest dreams of a Rackham or a Dulac—a whole school of surrealist painters might have been at work on some of the rock-cut façades. The stone, too, is in many places sculptured by weather into no less fantastic and surrealist shapes which, combined with the appalling height of the crags and depths of the abysses, make an eerie, dream-like, quite frightening setting for the highly stylized carved palaces and tombs. Some of the latter are huge, a hundred feet high and more, but most of the rock-cut "buildings" (and there are hundreds of them) are of moderate proportions. Whereas all the tombs have ornamental façades, finished or unfinished, the dwelling-houses are strictly "utility," the cliffs and natural

bastions of rock being merely shaped into cubical form and then hollowed out. The "streets" with their houses and water-channels and galleries and staircases in the rock are really more interesting than the tombs, about which (except for some outstanding specimens) there is rather a sameness. You see how the people of Petra lived through those centuries and can picture the women in their bright-coloured robes (they must have worn colours in such surroundings) clambering up and down the rock-hewn stairs and gossiping with their neighbours across hundred-foot-deep chasms, and the great ones of the city swaying in rich-hued palanquins borne by sweating slaves. You can hear the bearded horsemen clattering down the gorges and see the white-robed priests filing slowly up the dizzy cliff-face to the Great High Place of sacrifice.

Petra has one living link with the past—the Tomb of Aaron. On the topmost crag of the rocky wall which guards the city from the west you can see, dwarfed by the vastness, a tiny white dome. It is the *ziarat* or shrine of Nabi (prophet) Harun, Aaron of the Bible. Over the traditional tomb, we are told, is a fair-sized mosque with a piece of flat ground in front of it the size of a football field. From below it looks impossible to all but roped Alpine climbers, but it seems that the local tribesmen scramble up it with their ponies and hold festivals, with horse-races if you please, in the spring, after the harvest, and at midwinter. That these feasts are seasonal, not lunar like the festivals of Islam, shows that they are very old. I longed to visit the spot, but was told that by order of the king no Christians are allowed at the tomb.

The most beautiful and best-preserved of Petra's monuments we did not see till the morning we left, when we filed up through the 20 feet wide, 500 feet deep chasm, known as the Siq, which gives access to the great stronghold. At a point where the Siq bifurcates and the morning sun strikes down into it for a couple of hours rises the Khazneh or "Treasury." Its towering façade in several tints of red, with tall Corinthian columns and classic pediments surmounted by the huge urn which figures above so many of Petra's tombs, glows in the slanting sunbeams like an immense jewel. The Khazneh may be merely a late Roman tomb as the archaeologists say, but I like to think that the Arabs may be right, and that it was here that the Nabataeans' raiding parties deposited their booty when they came back to their rocky homes—gold and spices from India, silks and jade from China, ivory from Africa. . . .

So long did we linger before the photogenic Khazneh that it was nearly half-past ten before we said goodbye to the pony boys and the police at Wadi Musa and embarked once more on the trusty Ford. Over our return journey to Amman I draw a veil. Against our better judgment we were persuaded by an out-of-date guide-book to make a circular tour of it by using the desert route via Ma'an, 40 km. to the south-east, and thence 250 km. northwards alongside of the Hejaz railway.* Suffice it to say that the journey is definitely one to do in someone else's car. After hours of dusty boredom and several wanderings off the track we arrived at Amman at half-past eight p.m., eight hours' running time from Wadi Musa. The Jordan Government is evidently concentrating on the mountain route via

* See sketch map p. 134.

Madaba and Kerak, for on our way southwards we saw road construction, including asphaltting, in progress at several points. Future visitors will certainly use this route both ways, unless they prefer to take advantage of the aircraft which can be chartered at reasonable rates from an enterprising Arab, who flies you from Kalandia airport at Jerusalem, or from Amman, to Ma'an in an hour or so. For myself, I shall never regret that we spurned the "magic carpet" route. One's mind and soul need to be conditioned for the impact of Petra, and the dawn-to-dusk drive up and down the hills and wadis of Moab and Edom is just what is required for the purpose.

A JOURNEY IN NORTHERN HISMA

By H. T. NORRIS

STANDING on the edge of the "brow of Syria" at Naqb Ashtar one has the feeling of being on the moon or a planet torn and erupted by some catastrophic upheaval. It is the edge of Arabia. Behind lies Ma'an, the pasture uplands of South Jordan and the Mediterranean world. To the south the Hejaz sprawls towards Aqaba and the glittering waters of the Red Sea sending up funnels of extinct volcanoes and lava—"harrat," as they are called—into the haze and cloudless sky. This north-west region of Hejaz is called Al Hisma. Politically the northernmost fringe is divided by the frontier between Saudi Arabia and the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, but geographically the region is a unity containing within its meandering wadis ruins and traces of ancient cultures and some of the most magnificent scenery in the whole Middle East. Today it is more often visited by administrators, Arab Legion officers and sundry personnel of the British army than by the tourists who have the north of Jordan and Petra to attract them. In the deep silence of Wadi Ram it is easy to detach the personality from the trappings of the twentieth century. It takes little stretching of the imagination to believe there here was once the terrestrial paradise of Iram about which the Qur'an says: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land? And Thamud when they hewed the stones in the valley?*"

The purpose of my visit was twofold, to study some of the antiquities and to travel in the splendour of these sandstone mountains upon what transport was available. The summer is hardly the time to journey in such a region, but in this matter I had no choice and had to adjust myself to the climatic difficulties and transport facilities during the months of June and July. I was extremely fortunate in being able to get the assistance of the Arab Legion in this respect through the kind help and co-operation of Mr. Lankester Harding of the Jordan Department of Antiquities and H.Q. Arab Legion 'Amman and Ma'an. The literature on the archæology of the region is very scanty. The fullest survey so far carried out is that by Sir A. S. Kirkbride and Mr. Lankester Harding.† Other works cover special topics,‡ and parts of the region are described in works of Nelson Glueck, Alois Musil and Hans Rhotert.§ But it is one of those regions where there is still much to find and where the field has been only recently explored. The track to Wadi Ram begins approximately at Al Kuweira. Here one can say Hisma really begins. I stopped two days here in order to examine remains at a place called Jebel Kharazeh and Jebel Ratama. This is about two and a half hours'

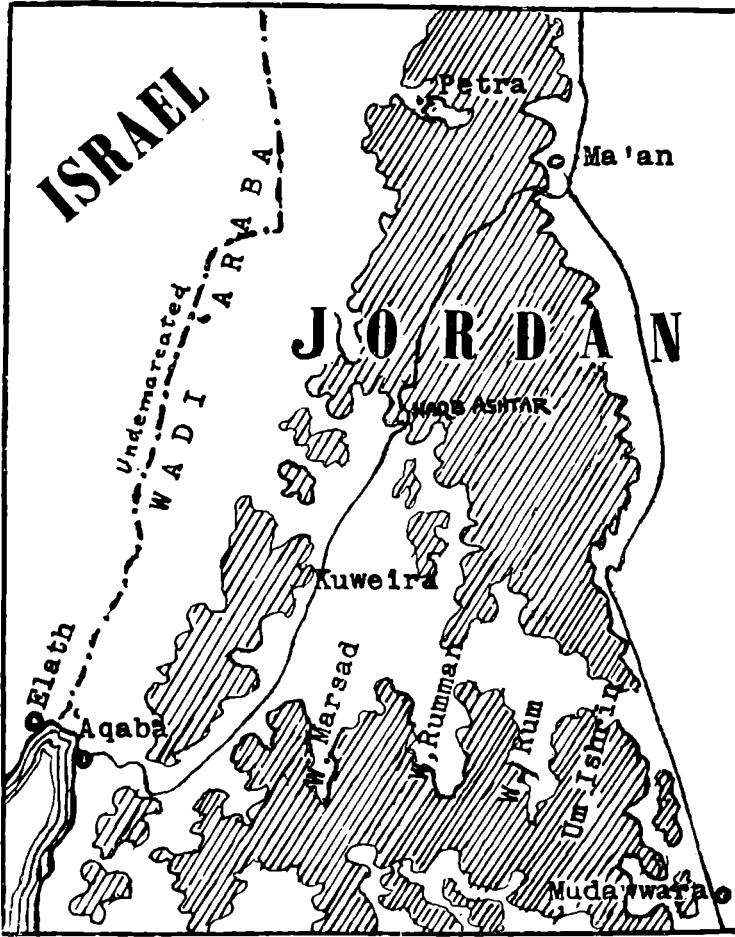
* The chapter of the Dawn, LXXXIX, 6.

† *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, Pt. 1/2, 1947.

‡ *Revue Biblique*, October, 1932; July, 1933; October, 1934; April, 1935.

§ H. Rhotert, *Transjordanien*, 1938.

ride by camel from the Arab Legion post at Kuweira, and I was fortunate to have as guide one of the sons of Sheikh Ibn Jad, who is the most important leader in the district. Jebel Kharazeh is a veritable museum of antiquities tucked away in the fantastically eroded ledges which cluster at its base. These vary from roughly chipped Nabataean inscriptions to well-constructed dams made of slabs, blocking five clefts in the western face of the mountain. One of these is dated A.D. 32. The north-west face of the mountain has a small guardroom rock-cut and partly built into the mountain-side, while beyond in a side cleft near a magnificent if



SKETCH MAP OF NORTHERN HISMA.

Shading indicates approximate distribution of heights above 900 m. to the west of the line Ma'an-Mudawwara.

solitary fig tree is a very large Nabataean cistern cut out of the rock and with the usual forty-five degree dressing on its sides. A mountain such as this with its numerous structures for holding water must have been a halting-place for caravans going north from the interior of Arabia.

South and east of Kuweira the winding sand-bottomed wadis and flat stretches of Sebkhah open out into the grandeur of Wadi Ram and the flanking splendour of Jebel Ram and Jebel Um 'Ishrin. This famous valley, one of the favourite haunts of Lawrence and praised by the soldier-explorer Captain Shakespeare, is certainly one of the most impressive places in the Middle East. While the height of the surroundings

is barely more than two thousand feet, it is the starkness, carved, rounded and multi-coloured effect of the local stone which gives the valley its spell and splendour. The square Arab Legion block-house halfway down the valley is dwarfed into insignificance. Jebel Ram is dotted with miniature waterfalls near which are inscriptions and representations of the water goddess Allat depicted as a crude head and shoulders rising from a crescent moon and altar. Wadi Ram is essentially a valley of temples and shrines, it has little to do with caravans or Nabataean secular civilization and its spaces must have echoed to religious chant in ancient times, perhaps not so dissimilar from the Beduin songs which re-echo down its sides today. The Nabataean temple beside the fort has long fallen into ruin, but the plan of the construction with its well-carved pillars pinky-red in colour, and the scatter of thin and naturalistically painted Nabataean pottery, blends perfectly with the setting and natural surroundings. But, crossing the Wadi below the waterfalls on the slopes of Jebel Um 'Ishrīn are a whole series of paved enclosures with upright stones, possibly Dūshara monoliths, difficult structures to explain but presumably connected with a religious rite practised in the vicinity. Amongst these constructions, and also in clefts of the mountain of Khaz Ali in the south of the valley, are innumerable rock engravings and inscriptions carved on boulders or some similar natural feature suitable for the purpose. The vast bulk of these appear to be Thamoudic, the work of the pre-Islamic people of the region, the Beni Thamud. While inscriptions and drawings of these people and also of the Safaitic and Lihyanitic peoples to whom they are related are widespread over the north of Arabia in widely separated areas, very little is known of the rest of their national culture or how it ties up with the much more developed Nabataean culture of Petra in Jordan and Al 'Ala and Madā'in Salih (once a Thamoudic town) in the Hejaz. Ruins at Al 'Ala contain tombs with elaborate relief-sculpture indicating a high standard of culture, but so little is as yet known about the subject that it is impossible to say whether such advanced culture was widespread or restricted, or how much it owed to the Nabataeans or the cultures of South Arabia. In the Qur'an the Thamud are mentioned as having castles in the plains and mountain houses hewed out of rock. These latter may not only refer to such monuments as are to be found at Al 'Ala and elsewhere, but may also refer to troglodyte habitations for which the whole region of al Hisma is admirably suited. It is often difficult to sort out relative ages of rock engravings, and it is extremely rash to date them by weakness of patination. Undoubtedly some of the rock drawings of Wadi Ram are more recent than others, and in certain cases there are instances of superposition, but these invariably are of ibex or some similar creature which by themselves are useless for dating. At Kilwa in Tubeiq, to the east of Hisma, Nelson Glueck and Horsfeld discovered some most interesting rock engravings. These, however, are prehistoric, Mesolithic or Neolithic, with Thamoudic inscriptions and engravings superimposed. These prehistoric engravings appear to be completely absent in Wadi Ram, or at any rate have so far not been found. The Thamoudic engravings (which can be attributed as such by inscriptions) are of three kinds. Firstly, there are animals

(mostly those in connection with hunting) such as ibex, camels, dogs, ostriches, lions. Secondly, there are human beings on foot, women giving birth, huntsmen armed with bows and arrows (cupid-shaped bows), staves, swords and round shields, and lastly men mounted on camels or riding donkeys. The prevailing scene is therefore one of the hunt with childbirth as a secondary subject, and such scenes are quite familiar in not dissimilar engravings from North Africa and the Sahara. The technique between those of Africa and Wadi Ram is often strikingly similar, not only in the way the artist has hammered out the picture on the stone (petroglyph), but also the weapons used and pattern of society, with its emphasis on the hunt and suggestion of a warmer fauna than is prevalent today. While the drawings of camel-men and camel-men engaged on a lion-hunt might well be the work of a nomadic population, the abundance of hunters on foot armed with more sedentary weapons (the hunters with diabolo waists) also suggests a more settled population of hunters, perhaps semi-troglodytes established in Wadi Ram and surrounding wadis. For undoubtedly there has been a settled hunting population here since earliest times, as can be seen from the abundance of finely worked arrow heads and blades (Mesolithic, Neolithic or Bronze Age) scattered in various parts of the valley. It has been a veritable corridor of cultures!

I spent several days in Wadi Ram and then travelled east with an Arab Legion truck to the frontier post of Qala'at al Mudawwara. I cannot describe the fascination of this place. Some may call it the spell of Arabia (a doubtful term), for Mudawwara is about as different from Wadi Ram as it could be. The fort stands stark beneath a "hump-backed" conglomeration of rock, facing south and flanking a valley which leads north to the Negeb escarpment near Dallul as-Shahm. To the south, the limit of Jordan is marked by a modern but deserted quarantine post for Mecca pilgrims. Beyond, a stretch of dunes and sandy plain separate Jordan from the mountainous edge of Saudi Arabia with its black, eroded, beckoning mountains. You are in a frontier region and, like all remote frontiers, it has a spell of its own and gathers to itself all types and conditions of men. Mudawwara Legion fort made an excellent base, and I was most hospitably entertained by Abu Hussain, whose home was in far-away Hail, and by other members of the garrison. These included Jordanians, Saudi Arabians, a Palestinian wireless operator, two Palestine prisoners serving their sentences in the back of beyond, and a shopkeeper who looked after a shop supplying pilgrims' necessities. An Arab of the 'Ajman tribe, Abdullah, acted as guide. He had lived in the region for some time, but was in origin a member of a tribe found over the other side of Saudi Arabia. Tribally Hisma is very mixed. The northern scarp marks the approximate southern limits of the Jordan Howeitat. The west is the territory of the tribe of Ibn Jad, bordering on the territory of the Saaidiyin, who live in the southern Negeb and who have connections with the Howeitat. The district near Aqaba is also the territory of a small tribe called the Al 'Aheiwat, but as their tribal movements are restricted to South Palestine and Sinai they are hardly concerned with the Hisma region. To the east, the region of Et-Tubeiq

is usually regarded as the home of a little-known tribe, the Sherarat, but it is also frequented by sections of the Howeitat. The tribe *par excellence* of the Hisma region, particularly those parts of the district in Saudi Arabia, is the tribe of Beni 'Atiyah. The latter have at various times in their history migrated much farther north. In 1872 Kerak district was raided by the Beni 'Atiyah.* The population of Mudawwara itself is extremely scanty and is almost confined to a group of Beduin tents, mostly the habitations of the fort legionnaires, pitched outside the wire fence surrounding the fort. Mudawwara has a charm of its own—a haven of peace and silence with distant views of sand and mountain, a pitiless waste by day and at sunset a blaze of red and yellow in the direction of Aqaba.

The only means of transport in the vicinity is the camel. Mudawwara fort is based on the post at Jafr and trucks are infrequent, depending on the number available, and the nature of the terrain means that the workshop at Ma'an has its full share of repairs. The camels kept at the fort are powerful "dalluls," or riding camels, capable of longish stretches without stopping if time and purpose demands. In the circumstances it seemed far more suitable to use Mudawwara as a base and to make longish day excursions into the surrounding territory, which archaeologically was almost completely unknown. As it later turned out, the region was to be most disappointing in this respect, in spite of local stories and rumours of rock-cut rooms and jars and pots containing treasure. Mudawwara throughout the course of its existence has been a transit station on the Hejaz railway, and, as far as can be seen, ever since pilgrims have passed it on the way south. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the sand littered with pottery, some of it medieval, but none of it apparently earlier than this. Here and there, however, are small blades, side and end scrapers, discoidal scrapers and small flakes. These are not entirely dissimilar from types to be found in Wadi Ram. Towards the quarantine station is an extensive region of ruins, tombs and alignments of stones. Some of these have been rifled, and according to local tradition they are said to be Turkish. Of more interest, however, are some much larger tombs or alignments. They are quadrilateral in shape and consist merely of blocks of stone demarcating a place for a tomb or something similar. In view of the presence of other tombs nearby that purpose seems a likely suggestion, but one would have to carry out an excavation in order to be absolutely certain. The size, however, is a drawback, for some are 10 feet long, orientated south in the direction of the Hejaz! Tombs of giants and traditions of giant stature are not unknown in Arabia. In the Qur'an the tribe of 'Ad are reminded, "Remember when He made you vice-regents after Noah's people and increased you in length of stature; remember, then, the benefits of God—haply ye may prosper."*

* The Beni 'Atiyah claim descent from Ma'ad, through whom they are related to the Anaizah. At the present time they are divided into three great divisions, said to be descended from Ma'ad—'Atiya, 'Aqail and Khamais. (*A History of Trans-Jordan and its Tribes*, F. G. Peake Pasha, C.B.E.)

† The chapter of Al Aarāf, VII, 65.

The fortress of Mudawwara lies a little to the east of the Arab Legion post and is built on a mountain overlooking the railway station. It is oval in shape, about a hundred yards from north to south. The whole structure is made of large blocks of stone quarried from near by, and is flanked by walls and small outhouses on the scarp below. A very crude mosque, an alignment of stones, fills the centre of the fort. Most of it dates from Turkish times, although there must have been a fortress on the site since medieval times. In the distance, below, the disused track of the Hejaz railway and a line of broken telegraph lines disappear in the far south. It is most desolate country and an eerie experience to wander through the war-shattered railway station, the sand strewn with bullets and shell cases and the platform leading to a pile of littered rolling-stock. Lawrence and the Imperial Camel Corps might have passed through it only a day or so before.

There are very few rock engravings near Mudawwara itself. The nearest are to be found on a boulder immediately above the 'ain or spring. This has deep engravings of ibex and ostriches. There are a few inscriptions, mostly faded Cufic and one Nabataean. Of greater interest is one of a man carved match-stick fashion, and a long-horned ox which is very deeply cut on the boulder and would suggest a settlement of some kind in the vicinity. It would be an unheard-of thing to find a long-horned ox in the region today.

Branching out into the open country by camel has always an element of adventure. During the summer, marching time is severely restricted, travel being almost unbearable about midday. My usual procedure was to leave the fort at about eight o'clock in company with Abdullah, who knew the region well, with another mounted legionary as escort. We would travel very light, taking one "qirba" or water skin between the three of us, some meat, flour, and a tin of fruit, tea and sugar to last the bulk of the day. In this manner over a period of several days it was possible to cover a good deal of territory in the region surrounding the fort and the track between Mudawwara and Ram. Midday halting can often be an excellent opportunity to wander to some nearby "col" and look for antiquities. In one wadi to the north-west of Mudawwara we halted beneath a small cave. At first glance the locality looked most uninteresting, just a sand-filled and rather featureless wadi. However, inside the cave two feet, or rather sandals, were beautifully cut in the stone. These footmarks are still rather a mystery. At Khaz Ali in Wadi Ram there is a carving of the pad of a leopard, and the latter is undoubtedly associated with other Thamoudic engravings. Here the two footmarks were solitary. About three minutes later I wandered across the wadi to another niche and came across a whole group of engravings of ibex, and in so doing noticed a large and long oblong construction on the spur above the cave. Such an experience is typical of the region. A locality may look completely featureless and uninhabited and certainly there is nothing spectacular. A brief examination, however, soon dispels such an assumption, and the whole area may be littered with prehistoric or early historic remains. The structure on the scarp was about 35 feet long. Like so many buildings in the area, it was constructed of loose

blocks heaped haphazardly one upon the other. Within the structure there were three separate chambers, and much of the outer fabric had fallen into ruin. No pottery, inscription or drawing of any kind gave a clue to its purpose, possibly a tomb. Small caves are quite common, and at Bahiyyat al Hasan (marked on Musil's map in the "Northern Hejaz," but too far south) are much larger caves filled with rocks forming "chairs" and "seats," according to local Beduin.

The frontier region to the south of Mudawwara is a deserted dune belt, the dunes attaining a height of 15 feet or more. Beduin collect brushwood in the scrub immediately to the north of this, and it is here that several large conglomerations of boulders can be found. Scattered about are prehistoric flint "workshops" with fragments of waste flakes, blades of quartz or a similar material, and numbers of scrapers. The vast spread of these industries would suggest considerable crossing in prehistoric times. It is on two of these rock formations that there are several interesting engravings. On the most easterly are a number of camel-men with spears held aloft, very similar to the camel-men depicted in Wadi Ram. On the other conglomeration are a whole series of lines engraved at random over the vast bulk of the surface, seemingly devoid of purpose or any artistic intention. Nearby is a carving of a camel with an exceptionally long neck, very similar in style to examples found near Mādāin Sāleh in the Hejaz. Adjoining it there is a headless animal, possibly some species of cattle or lion, with a carving of the sun instead of a head and a snake carved upon its body. Perhaps there is a story in all this or some kind of protective magic?

Two of the more interesting sites in the vicinity are behind the fort at Mudawwara. One appears to be prehistoric and suggests a fair-sized settlement. It lies in an open wadi and encloses an area of tombs and rough walling, a single course of laid stones, extending for an area of a quarter of a mile in each direction. The whole site is broken up into oblong enclosures by cross walls, and the surface is dotted with rough flints and, more rarely, coarsely fired potsherds. A track leads from this site on to the mountain spur overlooking the track from Ram. Abdullah picked his way over the slaty surface of the summit until we reached the very edge of the scarp. It was almost sunset, and although we were barely 300 feet above the desert we could see for miles in every direction. Here as in all the district were signs of habitation—roughly shaped sheep pens and stone circles about 6 feet in diameter with an upright stone a short way away orientating the construction south-east. Not far away were engravings of seventeen footmarks facing the direction of Mecca.

A complete day's journey with Abdullah and companions took us to a very lonely mountain range bordering on black wind-eroded lava country to a site called Um Murawaq. Abdullah had been informed of the existence of remains in the vicinity and with true Beduin tenacity was determined to locate them after having come such a long way. The spot was hardly favourable for habitation. There was no water, and had been no water in the vicinity since the Middle Ages. We couched the camels beneath the shelter of a large rock and rested. About half an hour later

Abdullah returned, sweating and extremely hot, but wild with joy that the structures had been found. They were remarkable habitations or tombs, very finely constructed without mortar, and clustered in a group where the mountain had been eroded to form a ledge. There was no trace of pottery or flints of any kind. The purpose of such structures remains a complete mystery. Their size, tiny doorways and height would suggest tombs, but of whom? And when were they rifled?

Mudawwara district shows marked differences when compared with Ram on the one hand and Jebel Tubeiq on the other. Wadi Ram and the western Hisma has traces not only of extensive Nabatæan settlement and caravan track, but also large numbers of Thamoudic inscriptions and rock engravings. Mudawwara has a few rock drawings and no inscriptions. Jebel Tubeiq to the east has rock engravings (although the vast bulk are prehistoric), early Christian remains and an abundant flint site. Mudawwara lies somewhere between the two, a pilgrim route from the south, but one prior to Islam, much exposed to nomad attack and so compelling the vast bulk of traffic, particularly Nabatæan traffic, to follow the more sheltered routes and valleys in the western Hisma—namely, Wadi Ram and the Wadi Ithm. This explains the structures, forts and tombs on mountain-tops, where greater security could be found.

About a fortnight later, on my return from Hisma, I stood in the Sik at Petra gazing at the incomparable Khazneh Faraun. The pinks and reds seemed to incorporate all those natural hues which were characteristic of the Nabatæan country to the south. In a sense I was putting myself in the position of some Nabatæan traveller, having come from the wild grandeur of the south to gaze at the splendour and fantasy of the rock-cut city. After Ram there seemed no reason to wonder why the Nabatæans should choose the wild mountains near Wadi Musa for their northern capital. Was it not a terrain akin to their own homeland of this northern Hejaz and the gloomy volcanic country near Tabuk and Al 'Ala? Yet Petra in all its magnificence lacked that grandeur of Ram and the lonely and mournful desert and sand-covered earth of Mudawwara at the back of beyond.

I often wonder how the Beduin friends at Mudawwara are faring: Abdullah the guide, who was always so helpful and reliable, cheerful, yet suffering all the time from the eye trouble he had had from childhood. I can remember as clearly as ever the burning fire in the courtyard of the fort filled with the curved coffee pots; and the clinking china cups for the bitter Beduin coffee. Then, after the drinking was over and people curled up in blankets or went on night duty, Corporal Abu Hussein would bring out the "rababeh," or Beduin fiddle, and sing a plaintive love-song, perhaps thinking of his wife in Hail when he sang. I was sent a letter not so very long ago from an Arab Legion friend at Mudawwara. It said very little but expressed much. "Nothing to tell you about, except the weather is warm and the rain is little, also the rababeh voice, and the camel's milk." It is a simple world where nothing ever seems to happen, and yet in its gorges, valleys and desert spaces it holds the secrets of ancient cultures and civilizations.

GLIMPSES OF THE INTERIOR OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

BY GROUP-CAPTAIN L. T. KEENS, O.B.E.

Notes on a lantern lecture delivered on February 13, 1952, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Group-Captain Keens was stationed in Aden from 1933 to 1937, and in the course of that period I flew many times with him round the Hadhramaut and the Aden Protectorate and, as you will observe, very safely. Group-Captain Keens was fortunate in that he had another spell in Aden from 1948 to 1950. He thought it sounded rather eccentric of him to wish to go back to that area, but it was, as you can imagine, a desire with which I very much sympathized. The prosperity of the Protectorate has been due in large measure to the way in which the Royal Air Force has always taken the greatest possible interest in it, and the R.A.F. officers have always maintained the closest and friendliest relations with the Arabs of those parts, even though now and then they have had to punish them when they have been somewhat delinquent.

SIR BERNARD REILLY in his introduction to Mr. Ingrams' book *Arabia and the Isles* used these words in reference to parts of the Eastern Aden Protectorate: "Their seclusion remained undisturbed by Europeans, except for the visits of a few adventurous travellers, until exploratory airmen of the Royal Air Force at Aden, taking swift bird's-eye views of obstacles that have proved so formidable to those on the ground, flew over this little-known country and were surprised both by its unique aspect and by the warmth of the welcome with which their appearance was received."

Sir Bernard had in mind not just barriers of high mountains, deep wadis and ragged plateaux, devoid of any charted highway, but also the more formidable obstacles of unsettled tribal sections, through whose territory no safe passage could be assured.

Since the decline of the ancient kingdoms of Southern Arabia, the inhabitants have struggled for a poor living from soil limited in area for cultivation by an uncertain water supply. Disputes for possession of the land and water developed into lasting tribal feuds, made more bitter and widespread by the introduction of firearms. Hence soil went untilled and stormwater ran to waste.

Settlement of such disputes was a prerequisite to helping this backward people. In this, only in the past twenty years has there been real progress, progress in which the Royal Air Force in Aden has been able to play some small—I would say humble—part: as swift to bring help when tribes were afflicted by disease or famine as to bring a political officer to inquire into a crime, the aeroplane has the profound respect of the tribesmen.

Throughout the territory there is a sprinkling of landing grounds. They are merely patches of roughly levelled sand or gravel near at hand to the village of the tribal chief in whose territory they are situated. These landing grounds have been raked out roughly during the last twenty or

twenty-five years. During my first period of service in Aden in the years 1933 to 1936 my many flights to these landing grounds aroused my intense interest in the country and in the people who turned out from nearby villages to meet us so swiftly after we landed. I loved their humour and their child-like curiosity and the genuine hospitality of their poor but fortress-like houses. I admired their proud independence. I could land at their very doorstep and be received with demonstrations of welcome by people who would regard any such visits by ground travellers as a threat to their integrity or independence and a justifiable opportunity for a bit of shooting with a chance of some loot.

In the Eastern Protectorate I marvelled at the spectacle of the great canyon within which lies the Wadi Hadhramaut. From my first sight of that great wadi, suddenly coming into view after an hour's flight over a barren 6,000-ft. plateau climbing up steeply from the seaboard at Mukalla, I could not doubt that here were preserved not only the names of Noah's children but their descendants, and a great monument to the Deluge itself left by the flood as it streamed away south-eastwards while the earth reeled into space in the days following its catastrophe some 10,000 years ago.

During my first tour in Aden, from 1933 to 1936, I recorded some of the sights with my ciné camera, and when from 1948 to 1950 I served again in Aden I had the opportunity to extend my records. In renewing my acquaintance with the Protectorate I was impressed by the progress that had been made in settling some of the long-standing feuds. There was on my second visit a little body of Government experts in health, irrigation and agriculture, and they were able to get to places which fifteen years previously were very uncertain ground even to a political officer. Wartime development of cross-country vehicles, such as the Rover and four-wheel-drive trucks, had helped also. But our landing grounds still provided the only means of regular access to much of the remote parts of the Protectorate.

The films give glimpses of the obstacles, of the people whom we are trying to help, and of some places of unique aspect.

The masters of Southern Arabia during the most brilliant period of its history from about 600 to 200 B.C. were the Sabæans. They were a peaceful community, advanced in commerce and feats of construction. They sailed the ocean to the south, but, avoiding the hazards of the Red Sea, they carried the products of Arabia along an overland route from the Hadhramaut westwards to Marib on the fringe of the Yemen highlands, then north for a thousand miles to Petra and the Mediterranean seaboard.

The decline of Sabæan commerce and of the kingdom came with the mastery of navigation of the Red Sea by Egypt under the Ptolemies and by Rome in the first century B.C. With their decline can be associated the decay of irrigation works as the wealth of the kingdom receded and its commercial population dispersed. But the trade routes and the cities were left untouched and were little known to tribes living on high plateaux and in remote wadis. Even today those people have advanced but a step from primitive man.

One hundred miles from the coast at Mukalla, beyond a 6,000-ft. cre-

vassed plateau, is the Wadi Hadhramaut. It lies in the bed of a canyon within whose cathedral-like walls there are towns, wonderful in appearance, inhabited by people of great wealth and also of poverty.

To the east the wadi curves to the sea; to the west it is joined by the Wadi Amd and the Wadi Duan as the latter opens into the desert, part of the Land of Sheba. In time, it reaches back to the Beginning.

South Arabian ancient history is sketchy and the chronology controversial, but for the Hadhramaut we have the testimony of the Book of Genesis, which is upheld by the traditions of the people, that from Noah came Shem, and his great-great-grandson was Joktan, after whose name is the town of Qatn in the western wadi. From Joktan came Hazar-maveth and his name, meaning "Village of death," became Hadhramaut, meaning "Here death is." Truly a land christened to trouble.

When famine came to the Hadhramaut and the tribesmen were starving, the British Government supplied food and the planes to carry it. During the first, serious famine; H.M. Government expended some £300,000 in relief measures and on bringing grain for the starving people, with no thought of repayment. On later occasions some repayment for the food was ultimately made.

The grain was obtained mostly from East Africa. The difficulty was that although a possible route exists from Mukalla over the plateau to the Hadhramaut valley, at that unfortunate time camels were also starving because the sardine harvest had failed. It may sound strange that camels should live on sardines, but that is a fact. Thus camel transport was out of the question. Whilst lorries were being brought into Mukalla in order to get grain into the Hadhramaut the R.A.F. carried on with the dropping of food from the air. There were no deaths from famine on that occasion. In later years of drought, grain was sold to the Hadhramaut and was paid for in the course of, perhaps, one or two years.

There has been a great improvement in recent years in methods of irrigation owing to the introduction of oil-engined water pumps. These modern oil pumps are being sold on the hire-purchase system. Most of the landowners have been able to pay for those pumps in two years instead of the five in which they were given to pay. The modern methods of irrigation and water supply within the Hadhramaut are paying dividends. So long as the stormwater comes down and the subsoil water is sufficiently high beneath the surface for the inhabitants to lift it, all is well; also the flood water helps. But when the floods subside and the rainfall is inadequate, then there is very little water available for irrigation and so on, and difficulties arise. Probably we shall see no further famine in the Hadhramaut as a result of the efforts now being made.

When thanking the lecturer, Mr. Ingrams added: We have seen this afternoon what a tremendous part the Royal Air Force has played in all the affairs of the Aden Protectorate. Perhaps at one time more was heard of its very infrequent bombing operations. We all understand how necessary those were, and that we should never have seen all the progress there has since been if there had not been those punitive expeditions. At the same time, in every work of mercy and of political help the R.A.F. has been foremost, not only because it was its job, but because all the officers

took a tremendous personal interest in the people themselves. The first film shown by Group-Captain Keens illustrated not only two different areas, but the development that had taken place in the last fifteen years; since the photographs of the country between Mukalla and Aden were taken fifteen years ago. It looked extremely primitive and backward then, but the most amazing progress has been made. The lecturer referred to al Anad and the possibility of growing cotton there. When I went on one of the early expeditions to endeavour to get the people to agree to divide the water fairly, that area was as absolutely barren and desert as the middle of the Rub' al Khali. I understand that last year that very area produced 4,000 bales of cotton. That shows what has been done by the political officers and the R.A.F. to make peace and to help in the progress of the people.

SYRIA AND THE BRITISH CONSULATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

By N. N. LEWIS

I HAVE spent a good deal of time in the last year amongst the nineteenth-century archives stored in the British Consulate, Beirut, where there are papers from Beirut, itself formerly a Consulate-General, from Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem, and from a number of smaller places, notably the coastal towns, where vice-consulates or consular agencies were maintained. The collection is a fascinating one, rich in material of value to the historian. There are papers on a great variety of subjects, grave and trivial. All the great affairs are, of course, documented—the wars and rumours of wars, the high politics and crises of the day; and the internal conditions of the country (here referred to as Syria, comprising what are now the States of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel) are illuminated vividly and in detail. In the course of a short paper I can touch on only a few features of interest, and, deliberately neglecting the grand and the grave, I shall hope to present some topics and passages from the papers which I have found particularly fascinating.

If one reads at random through almost any portion of these records one major impression is received—of the appalling state of the country and the miserable condition of misgovernment under which it suffered during most of the nineteenth century. Lebanon, always autonomous or partly so, was better off than the rest of the country. It is in reports from the desert-edge cities of Damascus and Aleppo that the most striking reports come, and perhaps things were at their worst in the 'forties and 'fifties. Then, year after year, the beduin ravaged the countryside, the Turks being powerless to hold them. Forty-eight out of the ninety-three villages in the Houran were deserted and ruined.¹ The treasury was always empty, but under the iniquitous tax-farming system taxes mounted to such heights that the population could barely pay them and live, and peasants fled from their villages to escape the tax-gatherer. Each year the great pilgrim caravan set out from Damascus, sometimes to be pillaged by the tribes. Then there would be a punitive expedition, the Turks using one group of tribes to fight another, and the country would be ravaged anew. In Aleppo faction warfare was waged briskly about the streets, sometimes the Pasha would be imprisoned in his Serail by the contumacious notables or by the mob, and there would be occasional outbreaks, like that of 1850, when the mob sacked the Christian quarter. In 1843 two hundred cavalry were needed to escort the post from Damascus to Aleppo,² whilst in the same year the troops were eight months in arrear of pay,³ and the Governor of Jerusalem “. . . cannot command a single cartridge to be fired by the regulars without applying to the Seraskier in Damascus; and after due interval of leisure being

* Adapted from a lecture given at the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shefflan, Lebanon.

taken for consideration, permission is sometimes grudgingly given with limitations."⁴ No wonder that the consuls were sometimes driven to despair, and after long descriptions of such conditions we find cries like this: "so affairs go on and so they seem doomed to go, anarchy and disorder going hand in hand with fanaticism."⁵

Naturally enough in such conditions epidemics were tolerably frequent, and one may wonder how efficacious was the medicine of the time. Here is a specimen—a proclamation concerning cholera posted by the Governor of Jerusalem in 1848:

"It appears that this is a year of pestilence which has existed in some countries and even in Damascus (Namely the Cholera) and the most necessary thing is Confidence in God the Supreme and to take care against this pestilence.

1st. It is necessary for every man to be always clean. . . .

2nd. It is necessary to abstain from heavy foods such as Yellow Melons, Apples, Plums, Quinces, the two sorts of Cucumbers, Pears, Betinjan bad meat salads . . . from drinks that bring on blood, as spirits, Wines and etc. and to forbear from Women.

But what is most praiseworthy for human health are good meat, Rice, Pumpkin Koosa, Barmy, and green Beans. Of sorts of fruit, Apples and Quinces cooked with sugar alone and even that very moderately.

3rd. If God permits one to fall into such a complaint; at its commencement he will surely feel either cramp or diarrhœa, but at that moment without hesitation and without the least delay he must drink . . . calomel. . . . [There follows advice re drugs.] Then if after all these remedies he is no better, before the cold enters his sides, it is necessary to take blood about two hundred Drams and upward until the blood changes, and also by the side of the patient ought to be men to rub his body with coarse woollen stuff with very great force; after that, if the complaint is not stopped, to place upon the stomach leeches according to the state of the patient; and if the complaint is not cured by that remedy then to place upon his feet and sides mustard with flour.

And the supreme God is the healer who works as he will."⁶

It is the wonderful language of some of the papers, of course, that makes them so delightful. I think this is the cream of the collection. It is a translation of a petition written in 1844 by the Patriarch of the Old Syrian Church to Queen Victoria:

"After compliments.

This is the cause of the writing of the lines, and prayer of this faulty Epistle, that we have heard that God has given thee the fruit of gladness and rejoicing, that is to say, a male child." [There follow wishes for the future of the child.] "May God grant to him that he may reign upon thy throne, as Solomon [did], who reigned upon the throne of David his Father; and may the Lord place your enemies under your footstool Yea, Amen—After this, know O faithful Ruler, that since what happened in the year one thousand eight hundred and two and Forty of the Messiah, three letters have been sent by us to the Political [Officers] of the gate of

thy great kingdom: one by means of our Brother, great among the chosen, William, head of the Bishops of England, who resides in London: and the second by the hand of a guardian of thy kingdom, who is in power in Byzantia: and the third by means of a Captain of a thousand, Colonel Rose who is in power in Beyrout, in the region of the Syrians, and of Damascus. And in these same Epistles we gave information respecting our distress, and trouble, and oppression, which was and is [lying] upon us from the adherents of the Pope of Rome, who have taken possession of our Churches and Monasteries in the region of Assyria, and they have confused the order and canons of our true Apostolic Faith." [There follows a renewal of the appeals previously sent for help.] "Send [then] to thy Guardians, and Captains of thousands, and Captains of hundreds of thy kingdom, who are in power in Byzantia, and in Damascus of Syria, and Assyria, that they may assist us, and the Bishops of our People, who are near them; and let them aid us, and those near the king of Byzantia and the Governors of the sons of Hagar; and let them take up and take back our Churches and Monasteries from the hands of the adherents of the Pope of Rome; and let them restore these to us; and more especially let them keep back from us the oppression and intrigues and troubles of the Captains of thousands, and Captains of hundreds of the kingdom of France. . . ."

That was written one hundred years ago, and is not part of the Old Testament!

One constant topic of interest is the process of change that is apparent as the century progresses; the process of modernization in the country and in the consulates. In the consulates we start with a system established in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the consuls being appointed not by H.M.G. but by the Honourable Levant Company; then we see the Foreign Office take over, notice the great expansion in the 1840s when Syria became a factor in world politics; gradually see standardization and centralization increase, with more and more printed circulars and forms to fill in—and we end up with typewritten dispatches and telegrams. The first telegram I have found, dated June 8th, 1860, was sent by the Ambassador in Constantinople to the Consulate at Smyrna—evidently the line only went so far—ordering him to "write instantly to Mr. Moore at Beyrout that I send him instructions to co-operate with the Consuls of France, Austria, Prussia and Russia in putting an end to this struggle in Syria." The struggle referred to was the Druze-Maronite civil war then raging in Lebanon.

Another aspect of change is curious—at the beginning of the century Italian was the commercial lingua franca of the Levant coastlines, so that we find British consular agents in the ports, many of them Maltese, corresponding with the Consul-General, for example, in Italian, and even British passports were printed in Italian. As the century progressed, so the local use of Italian diminished.

The gradual opening up of the Middle East by modern communications is one striking aspect of change. Already in the 'thirties we were trying to improve our communications with India. The Suez Canal idea

taken for consideration, permission is sometimes grudgingly given with limitations."⁴ No wonder that the consuls were sometimes driven to despair, and after long descriptions of such conditions we find cries like this: "so affairs go on and so they seem doomed to go, anarchy and disorder going hand in hand with fanaticism."⁵

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The gradual opening up of the Middle East by modern communications is one striking aspect of change. Already in the 'thirties we were trying to improve our communications with India. The Suez Canal idea

was being examined, but was not as yet popular. Beside the formidable real difficulties involved, others were imagined. Napoleon's engineers had surveyed the isthmus during his governorship of Egypt in 1798, and had wrongly reported a difference of level of twenty-three and a half feet between the Red and Mediterranean seas, which, it was believed, would make the cut dangerous. As late as 1857 we find extraordinary arguments like the following considered worthy of transmission to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It is headed "Brief reflection on the grave inconveniences to which the countries situated on the shore of the Mediterranean might be exposed by the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez," and it begins, "It is well known that through the operations of most wise laws, without which our planet would soon cease to be habitable, a large quantity of water is being continually absorbed by the action of the sun, and perhaps by that of the moon, the smaller portion of which is restored to us in rain, whilst the larger is carried by the winds, both on to the mountains, from whence it subsequently supplies the rivers, and to the Pole, where, by accumulating itself in ice and snow, it contributes to the rotation of the earth. . . ." The main argument is that the seas, including the Red Sea, are fed with water from the polar ice-caps, but that the Mediterranean receives very little from that source and loses a lot by evaporation. Therefore if the canal were cut "the result . . . would be that the level of its water would rise, especially on the nearest coast, to the destruction of the numerous cities on its shores, already nearly on a level with the sea."⁸

The thirties were the great era of river steam transport, and a route across Northern Syria and down the Euphrates to the Gulf, and thence to India, seemed more promising than the Suez scheme. William IV sent a very gallant and enthusiastic officer, Colonel F. R. Chesney, with an expedition to try the route. Two steam-ships were carried, in pieces, from the United Kingdom to the Syrian coast. They had to be got overland as far as the Euphrates, and a herculean task it was. Despite mountains, marshes, rivers in flood, political opposition, Kurdish and Arab hostility and theft, disease and accidents, the task was accomplished. The most tremendous job of all was getting the boilers as far as the Euphrates: they were pulled by long trains of oxen, on rollers—and in the end they, and every other part of the boats, reached the river, were assembled, and started on their pioneer voyage. The Arabs are said to have recognized such a portent, saying

When iron floats on water
There is naught for the Arabs but
dispersion and slaughter.

But not all went well. A hurricane hit one of the ships, and she sank with heavy loss of life. In the other, however, Chesney reached the mouth of the river, and triumphantly steamed up the Tigris to Baghdad.⁹ The expedition was, in a general sense, a failure: the upper courses of the two rivers proved unsuitable for navigation, and the Suez Canal proved the best steamship route to the East. But the lower courses of the rivers

were fruitfully opened up to traffic, and our trading and political interest in lower Mesopotamia given a fillip.

Another much smaller expedition ten years later was even less successful. I know of no reference to it except in these archives. A certain Lieutenant Molyneux, R.N., took three men and a ship's dinghy to explore the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The three sailors were captured and stripped by beduin and poor Molyneux eventually died of fever, and the expedition left little behind it except for some wonderfully bad writing of this sort:

“The drums beat their signal and we mounted—How romantically beautiful was the effect of our filing in single file, at first thro' shrubs and trees, then over open ground with our shadows all moving black and steadily at our left hands.

I see them on their winding way
And o'er their ranks the moonbeams play,
And nearer yet and yet more near
The martial chorus struck the ear!”¹⁰

In 1860 a really solid achievement was accomplished: a French company built a road, the first carriage road in the country, from Beirut to Damascus, pushing on the work even while Druse and Maronite war bands scoured the country. The road was operated as we are used to railways being run: the company had a concession, built and maintained the road and had a monopoly of transport on it, running a “diligence” or coach service from Beirut to Damascus. Gradually other roads came to be built, but the network was slow in growing. How could it be otherwise when conditions generally were much like those described from Aleppo in 1871, when a road was being built to Alexandretta? In four years not one-third of the eighty miles had been completed. Costs did not bear inspection; for example, “Forty overseers have always been employed at a cost of 20,000 piastres [per] month, while not more than five labourers have occasionally been at work on the road”; and “the Engineer in chief has to refer every detail to the decision of a commission composed of natives, not one of whom ever saw a carriage road in his life.”¹¹

It was long before wheeled vehicles became common. A landau for the British Consul in Damascus had to be taken there in 1832 on camel back, and caused a tremendous sensation, standing on exhibition for three days for all the city to gape at;¹² while thirty-seven years later Lady Burton had to sell her pony carriage, which was useless to her, as “a curio.”¹³

What sort of men were the Levant consuls? They were members of a very fine service, recruited and trained for more exacting and complex work than that of consuls in many other parts of the world. Then as now, political problems burgeoned freely in the area, and the consul of a great power was closely concerned in understanding, reporting on and frequently intervening in political affairs. They were “big men” who

“kept up a little state” and who were locally regarded as great personages.¹⁴ The majority were linguists, fascinated by the country and by their work, and they put in tremendous hours—it was nothing for a consul and his wife to be up until the small hours, after a hard day’s work, copying out dispatches in longhand to be sent off next day by “tartar” or courier.

The most outstanding was Colonel Rose, Consul-General at Beirut from 1841 to 1851. He was the perfect example of his type, an English gentleman, an Empire builder and a Victorian. The son of a diplomat, he joined the army and in 1840 was sent to Syria on the staff of the British expedition to expel the Egyptians. He was twice wounded and rose to command the expedition. When the fighting was over he was gazetted Consul-General, a post which he filled with the greatest distinction for the next ten years. Several times he actively intervened in the Druse-Christian and other struggles. In 1845 he went with only two kavasses (orderlies) to a mountain village to try to save the Christians from extinction. He found one of the old castles in flames and the Druses waiting outside with drawn swords to dispatch the Christians as they were driven out by fire. He persuaded the Druses to deliver the Christians to him and to let him escort them to Beirut. This he did, but *en route* found that the Druses had fired the church in another village. It was a place of great sanctity and the people were trying to save the picture of the patron saint. Rose had himself let down into the church from a window, secured the picture and scrambled out just as the roof fell in. He was most energetic in his efforts to maintain peace, to see justice done and to counter the intrigues of any—French or Russian consuls, or Turkish Pashas—whose influence was opposed to the principles of British policy. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that in that age, as his stature increased, he became what would seem to us a trifle domineering, pontifical, and too conscious of his own high principles.

It is not surprising that Lord Aberdeen saw fit several times to restrain his ardour and to prick the bubble. In his No. 4 of April 24, 1846, to Rose he said that Rose had formed an “erroneous conception of your own position.” “Your duty is merely to act in subordination to H.M.’s Ambassador.” “It is not desired that you should put yourself too prominently forward, or exhibit too ostentatious a degree of activity.” He should avoid “an overzealous and meddling interference where no interference is required.” And he had something to say, too, about Rose’s style of despatch writing: “You should study the art of classifying and condensing. Over-minute and ill-digested detail more frequently confuses than it elucidates.”

I am sure Rose must have felt himself much more in harmony with Palmerston, a man more of his own type, who succeeded Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary. This was the kind of instruction he had from Palmerston: “. . . It would appear that the Austrian Consul-General is prepared to allow Civil War to break out in the Lebanon without interposing to prevent it. . . . I have to state to you that H.M.’s government would not choose H.M.’s Servants in Syria to act upon this Principle. On the contrary it is their wish and intention that you should continue

to act in such a case as you have hitherto done, and to use your good offices for the prevention of Civil War and disturbances in the Lebanon whenever occasion may require you to do so."

One is able to gain a very good idea of Rose's character and personality because of his own habits. Every letter he received, however brief and personal, was docketed and preserved, and even a two-line invitation to a colleague to dine with him was copied into a letter book. The letter books show every phase of his interests and activities. Here he rebukes a colleague; here he reports on French intrigues or Russian designs; here he describes the ceremonial entrance into Jerusalem of the first Bishop of that most extraordinary of all Bishopricks, the Anglo-Prussian Bishoprisk in Jerusalem—*The Times* correspondent incidentally also describes the splendid procession in which "not the least interesting object in the throng was Mrs. Alexander, the fair partner of the right reverend prelate. Being 'in that state in which ladies wish to be' it had been considered . . . inadvisable for her to . . . journey on horseback." She therefore travelled in a litter. Amongst the spectators, adds the correspondent, were "filthy old Polish Jew(s) in the last stage of wilful hydrophobia."¹⁶ Here Colonel Rose despatches items to the Great Exhibition of 1851, including specimens of the trees, plants, stones and handicrafts of the Holy Land; while here he is in oracular mood—"Civilization and Christianity, propelled by steam and commerce, must advance, and in proportion as they do, so must Mahometanism recede, and crumble to a nothingness before them. Civilized Mahometanism is an impossibility. The Koran cannot compromise with liberalization of its laws. . . ."¹⁷ Filed, too, are all the incoming letters, some political, some consular, from travellers in trouble or from creditors of the late Lady Hester Stanhope, from prosperous business men and from distressed sheikhs, from drunken British sailors and from the multitudinous ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Lebanon; and finally there are personal letters, some of them, like this one sent from England in 1844, couched in a familiar vein: "I really wish that before a year elapses I may be again in the East, the climate of England is truly abominable. Nothing is talked of but O'Connell and the Corn Laws, Repeal and the sliding scale. When I add to all those horrors the fact that *Timback* the most indispensable necessary of existence is *a guinea and a half a pound!* you will admit that London is unfit for a Christian to live in."¹⁸

Colonel Rose, of course, had much to do with the British merchant community in Beirut—the great old pioneers like Henry Heald and Black. For half a century an oath "by Blackie" was considered more serious in Beirut than an oath by God or the Prophet, such was his standing and probity; and that the merchants appreciated Rose is evident from the letter which they addressed to him when he went on leave after eight years in the country:

"Sir,

We cannot allow the occasion of your departure for England . . . to pass without availing ourselves of the appropriate opportunity it affords us of expressing to you the high sense which we entertain of the dis-

tinguished manner in which you have fulfilled the important duties of H.M.'s Consul-General in Syria since you have held that commission.

We have the greatest satisfaction in recording our admiration of . . . your successful efforts at great personal risk to arrest bloodshed, to rescue the fallen from certain destruction, to restore concord among the contending parties, and to promote the welfare of all classes of the community."¹⁹

His reply is purest Victoriana: ". . . You thank me for the protection of your rights. But the merit is not all mine; the larger share is due to yourselves. For you have never asked me to advocate an unjust right, never to cover with my authority a claim which you were not prepared to support in a Tribunal of Justice." He continues praising the general conduct of the British merchant community, which has made "the name of a British Merchant in Syria what it is in all the quarters of the globe, a symbol of intelligence, enterprise and honour." "Your good feeling towards myself induces you to paint, in too bright colours, the aid which I have given at times to misfortune and suffering humanity. But I have only endeavoured to do my duty by one of the first precepts in the catechism of a British soldier: humanity. How could I have done otherwise? What is my little iota of merit when I was taught by the Chronicles of the World's history that our Sailors, in the moment of victory, declared that they conquered but to save, and that our soldiers on the field of a hard fought fight shared their last crust with their fallen enemies. . . ."

We cannot do better than take leave of him and of these archives on this exalted note. He went from Beirut to the Embassy in Constantinople and there played an important part in the preliminaries of the Crimean war. The war saw him back in the army. He was again wounded. At Inkerman he carried out a reconnaissance, "riding with the greatest sang-froid under a withering fire . . . the Russians were so struck with his courage that an order was sent along the line to cease firing at him." He volunteered for service in India on the outbreak of the Mutiny and proved an intrepid and successful commander. He ended his days as Baron Strathnairn of Strathnairn and Jansi, loaded with honours, devoting himself to religious affairs and to the social life of the London of the seventies—a great English gentleman.²⁰

One may read elsewhere about some of the other consuls of the period; and I am glad to say that their own papers will soon be accessible, for this Beirut collection is to be brought to London, where it will be added to the national archives.

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- ³ Werry's (Aleppo) private to Rose, May 1, 1843.
- ⁴ Finn's (Jerusalem) No. 56 of October 9, 1858, to F.O.
- ⁵ Werry's private to Rose, October 10, 1843.
- ⁶ Enclosure in Finn's No. 36 of August 23, 1848, to Rose.
- ⁷ Enclosure in Rose's No. 32 of July 12, 1844, to F.O.
- ⁸ Enclosure in Moore's (Beirut) No. 3 Political of January 29, 1857, to F.O.

- ⁹ *The Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, by Colonel F. R. Chesney, London, 1866, gives a general account. The verse quoted is on p. 203.
- ¹⁰ The manuscript account of this expedition is entitled "Reminiscences of the English Exploring Expedition on the Jordan and Dead Sea in 1847." It is unsigned, but in the first person, and it is clear from other papers that the author must have been Consul James Finn, who was seventeen years Consul at Jerusalem. He and his wife both published memoirs.
- ¹¹ Skene's (Aleppo) No. 4 of February 27, to Embassy.
- ¹² Personal communication from Prof. Z. Zeine.
- ¹³ *The Romance of Isabel Lady Burton*, by W. H. Wilkins, London, 1897, p. 355.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387-8.
- ¹⁵ No. 5 of November 27, 1846.
- ¹⁶ *The Times*, February 28, 1842.
- ¹⁷ No. 60 of December 13, 1851, to F.O., on "State of Feeling at Aleppo. Reflections resulting from late events in that city, on Mahometanism."
- ¹⁸ Personal letter to Rose from Mr. A. Paton, received April 27, 1844.
- ¹⁹ November 27, 1848.
- ²⁰ In this account of Colonel Rose I have used, as well as the archives, the excellent article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, from which the quotation in the above paragraph is drawn.

EARLY ARMENIA AS AN EMPIRE: THE CAREER OF TIGRANES III, 96-55 B.C.

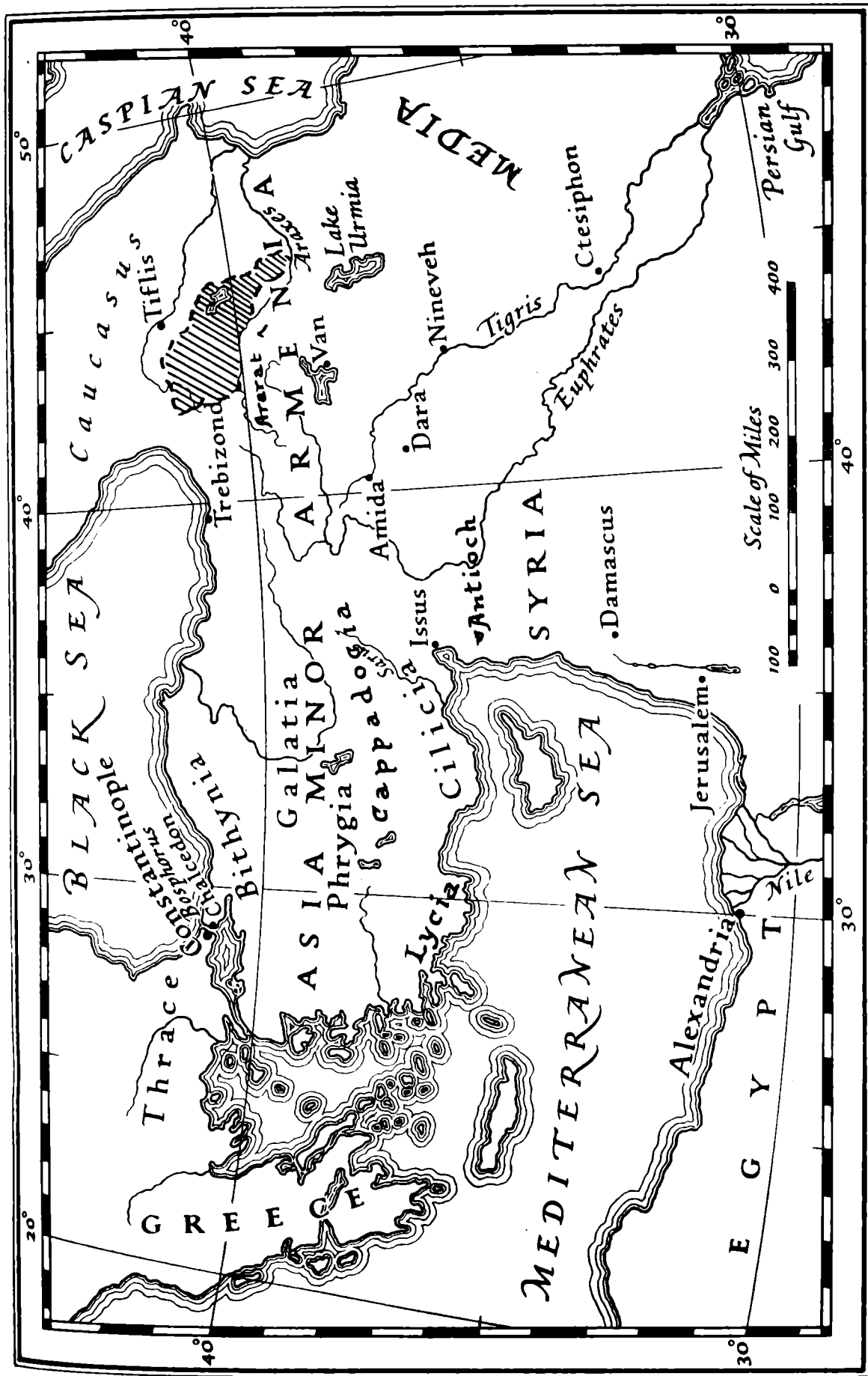
AN HISTORICAL NOTE BY NOUBAR MAXOUDIAN, LL.B.

THE regions between the Black Sea and the Caspian have so generally been dominated by powers beyond their limits—Persia, ancient and modern, Rome, Turkey or Russia—that it may be worth while to recall that circumstances once combined to the opposite effect, and for a generation the kingdom around Mount Ararat achieved empire over most of what used to be called the Near East.

The Armenian race is believed to spring from an Indo-European people who invaded Thessaly at about the same time as the Hellenes, but who then crossed over into Asia Minor, settled in Cappadocia, and thence conquered the aboriginal inhabitants of Ararat, with whom they intermarried. Down to the time of the Turkish and Mongol invasions the Armenians were thus a majority population of a large area in eastern Anatolia; Armenia was an independent kingdom down to about 645 B.C. and then an important vassal State with its own rulers, among the many vassal kingdoms and satrapies of the Persian Empire.

A new page in the history of ancient Asia was opened in 334 B.C. when Alexander the Great crossed the Bosphorus with 30,000 infantry and 4,000 horsemen to overthrow the Persian empire. In its turn, the Macedonian empire was vast, but it fell apart after Alexander's death. The Seleucid dynasty claimed Syria, Persia and Armenia; but, after a series of rebellions, Armenia gradually achieved independence again, which was formally proclaimed in 190 B.C. under Artaxias, Prince of Major Armenia (the area about 200 miles in every direction from Mount Ararat), and Zariadres, Prince of Minor Armenia (the part of Anatolia later known as eastern Cappadocia). Artaxias established a strong kingdom and controlled all the neighbouring tribes. The Hellenic influence that followed the Macedonian conquest had penetrated Armenia and had a beneficial effect. Many noble houses adopted Greek culture, and their children were educated in Greek philosophy and literature. Strabo records, on what seems good authority, that Hannibal of Carthage fled to the palace of Artaxias, was welcomed like a brother, and suggested the building of a new city as the military and political capital for Great Armenia. Hannibal himself was the architect and the new city was called Artaxata, and remained a capital city until finally destroyed by the Persians in about A.D. 370, at which time its population was estimated at some 200,000.

In this connection it may be well to bear in mind that the Armenian nation was then some ten times more numerous than it is today and was a race of hardy hillmen living in one area in the centre of the ancient world: not, as now, scattered all over the globe. The ancient king of Armenia had therefore substantial resources for war behind him.



The shading indicates the area of the modern Armenian Republic.

Even in modern times Armenian Christian communities were in many cities of Anatolia, although the centuries of Mongol and Turkish massacres and persecution reduced their numbers from over twenty million—believed to have been the Armenian population in the early centuries of this era—to 1,800,000 by the twentieth century A.D.* besides the 1,282,000 Armenians who live in the fragment of their ancient kingdom that survives as a republic of the U.S.S.R.

Similarly, after 138 B.C., the Parthian kingdom rose to independence in Media—northern Persia—under a great king with remarkable military exploits to his credit. He made a deep impression on the Scythian hordes and enlarged his kingdom towards Bactria and India. He defeated the fourth king of the Arcasid dynasty of independent Armenia and even sent an embassy to distant Rome with the offer of an alliance.

But in 96 B.C. Tigranes III “The Great” ascended the throne of Major Armenia as fifth in succession to the illustrious King Artaxias. Not only had he enjoyed a good Hellenic education, but he had spent some years as a hostage among the Parthians and learnt from them the arts of war. Though highly cultured, he was of an autocratic and arrogant disposition, with a firm belief in his own divine right to rule both Armenia and any other country that he could conquer. When he came to the throne, Armenia was divided by internal feuds, and her neighbours had filched outlying parts of the country for themselves. Tigranes, at the outset, obtained recognition from Parthia with the cession of seventy fertile valleys, to give himself time to organize his army. As soon as he felt himself strong enough, he attacked the sister kingdom, Minor Armenia. Ardanes, the last successor of Zariadres, was dethroned, and Tigranes III thus extended his control to the west bank of the Euphrates.

He then entered into the closest possible alliance with Mithridates VI, the king of Pontus (who ruled the northern, southern and eastern shores of the Black Sea); Tigranes III married his daughter, and determined with his help to build up an empire in Asia. The first test of the alliance came when the king of Pontus asked his son-in-law to invade neighbouring Cappadocia, whose king was a client of Rome. The Armenian army did its work with great success, King Ariabazanus fled and Tigranes occupied the country. Roman forces under Sulla then restored Ariabazanus, but so soon as Sulla had departed Tigranes returned. This time Ariabazanus fled to Rome and Tigranes overran not only Cappadocia but also the rich countries of Osroene and Adiabene on the left bank of the Tigris, and he further subdued Corduene (the kingdom of the Kurds) and Atropatene (the ancient name of Azerbaijan, including that part of Azerbaijan that was taken from Persia by Russia in A.D. 1813). Tigranes now turned against Parthia, and in 84 B.C. he invaded Mesopotamia and Media, annexing that part of Media that had Ecbatana as its capital—Media Magna, which he kept until 66 B.C. The former rulers of Persia were styled “King of Kings” by right of their overlordship of Atropatene, Corduene.

* Of this latter number it is reliably estimated that 1,110,000 Armenians were massacred or died of privation between 1914 and 1918, so the survivors have become for the most part citizens of other parts of the world. H.B.M. Stationery Office. F.O. Handbook No. 62, 1920.

Adiabene and Osroene. Tigranes III of Armenia now officially assumed it as ruler of the four sub-kingdoms, and "King of Kings" appears on his coins.*

During the previous sixty years the Seleucid empire had gradually fallen into decline, all its outlying portions had long become independent and the Royal House was decadent and corrupt. At length the people of Syria, wearying of internal feuds, thought it best to invite a foreign ruler to compose their differences, and in 83 B.C., by request of its own citizens, Tigranes III entered Antioch in triumph (according to Appianus, at the head of 500,000 men), and was proclaimed King of Syria, Phœnicia, Commagene and Cilicia.†

There is no doubt that, in alliance with Pontus, all the nations of western Asia would have come under the iron rule of Tigranes had he not come into conflict with the legions of Rome.

After the death of Sulla, in 77 B.C., Tigranes again occupied the whole of Cappadocia; returning, it is recorded, with 300,000 prisoners in a Triumph to his capital. According to Strabo, Plutarch and other historians, Tigranes enriched Armenia with Hellenic works of art, and encouraged thousands of Greeks to settle in Armenia, Media and Mesopotamia. He is also said to have welcomed Jewish immigrants. Aretas, the Arabian King of Damascus and Petra, was among the allies of Tigranes, and according to Plutarch another Arab prince called Alchauldonius was crowned king of central Mesopotamia at Atra by order of Tigranes, whose enthusiastic supporter he thus became. In 72 B.C. Tigranes again attacked Queen Selene of Phœnicia, whom he captured at Ptolemais (Acre), and the rich maritime cities of the Mediterranean coast, Tyre, Sidon and Berytus, thus came also under his sway.‡

A word of explanation is necessary here on the political situation in Asia Minor at the time when Tigranes III was at the height of his career

* The coins of Tigranes the Great fall into three categories:

(i) Undated coins of Antioch. These bear the head of Tigranes wearing the lofty Armenian Imperial Crown decorated with a star (representing the sun) supported by two facing eagles. On the reverse the Nike of Antioch appears seated on a rock, crowned and holding a palm in her hands; at her feet the image of Fortune stands on the representation of the River-God (Orontes) swimming. Round the edge appears the Greek inscription VASILEOS TIGHRANOU.

(ii) Dated coins of unknown mint, issued between 77 and 73 B.C. These bear the same figures and ornaments as those minted at Antioch, except that on some the figure of Hercules, standing, is substituted for that of the Nike of Antioch. There is usually a circular ornamentation similar to those on Roman coins of the period, and the Greek inscription reads VASILEOS VASILEON TIGHRANOU.

(iii) The coins of Damascus, minted between 71 and 69 B.C. On these the image of the Fortune of Damascus is substituted for that of Antioch and there is no representation of a river god, while on the right there is a cornucopia to signify an abundance of everything, especially fruits and flowers. Round the circular ornamentation is the inscription VASILEOS THEOU TIGHRANOU.

† Reinach in *Mithridates Eupator*, states: "La Syrie respira: pendant quatorze ans elle connut, avec l'humiliation d'une domination étrangère, la paix, la sécurité et la prospérité."

‡ Josephus says (*Antiq.*, bk. xiii, Whiston's trans.): "About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with 300,000 soldiers and was coming against Judæa. This news, as may well be supposed,

of conquest. In 78 B.C. the western regions of Asia Minor already under Roman rule were Mysia (the ancient kingdom of Pergamos), Phrygia, Lydia and Caria. Pisidia, Rhodes, Lycia, Cilicia and Bithynia were independent States. Eastern Cilicia, Commagene, Cappadocia and Syria were dependencies of Armenia. Appianus in his *Assyria* (48, 49) considers that Tigranes dominated all the Fertile Crescent as far as the boundaries of Egypt.

This marked the zenith of his power. Tigranes was "King of Kings" and his Court became the sumptuous hub of the Armenian empire where oriental splendour and Greek culture met. He built a new capital city on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia which he named Tigranocerta (City of Tigranes), Artaxata remaining the metropolis of Armenia proper. Tigranes intended to make his new capital the finest in the world, and the cultural centre of western Asia. The entire populations of Greek cities in Cilicia and Cappadocia were transported to Tigranocerta and the Armenian nobility were ordered to build themselves mansions and palaces to add to its splendour. The city walls were over 100 feet high. In the centre lay the imperial palace of the "King of Kings," and near were a huge imperial theatre and other magnificent buildings which made it look like a dream-city. The residences of the nobility, some of which were imposing palaces, were in the suburbs and were surrounded by terraced gardens. Tigranes here played the part of a great conqueror; according to contemporary historians, dethroned kings waited on him at table, and when he received foreign envoys his vassal kings stood beside his throne with their hands crossed on their breasts. Four kings ran before his chariot and he even claimed divine honours, calling himself a god on some of his coins. Yet with all his pride he also deserved his title of "the Magnanimous."

The Roman Republic, young, energetic and ambitious, could not long remain an indifferent observer of the efforts of Tigranes to create a powerful Asiatic State. As soon as his ambition and dynamic energy brought him to the shores of the Mediterranean, Rome intervened, for already she considered that sea an Italian lake.

Tigranes had scarcely occupied Ptolemais and captured Queen Selene of Phœnicia when news was brought to him that Appius Claudius Pulcher, the envoy of Lucullus, wished an interview with him. While Tigranes had advanced his empire to the south, east and west, his father-in-law, Mithridates of Pontus, had attacked the Roman colonies and provinces of Asia Minor, had invaded Greece and had been defeated by Sulla in the first Mithridatic war. The second was inconclusive, but, after the death of Sulla, Mithridates suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Lucullus, and in 73 B.C. he fled to Armenia.

terrified the (Jewish) queen and the nation. Accordingly they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais (Acre). . . . So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen (Alexandra) or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais (Acre) was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus in his pursuit of Mithridates (of Pontus) . . . was laying waste Armenia. Now when Tigranes knew this he returned home."

As soon as Tigranes returned to Antioch he received the Roman ambassador at his Court. When Appius Claudius entered the great palace, Tigranes was sitting under an imperial canopy on a lofty and splendid throne, while the Court was filled with satraps and generals, and four crowned kings stood facing the throne with their hands crossed.

The Roman ambassador gave Tigranes the royal salute and handed him a letter from Lucullus in which the Roman Emperor asked him to surrender Mithridates as a prisoner to Rome. The contents of the letter, in which Lucullus purposely omitted the title "King of Kings," were repeated by Appius Claudius, who informed Tigranes that unless Mithridates were surrendered he would find himself at war with Rome.

For a moment Tigranes sat silent in amazement at such a haughty message. Then he replied "No. I will never surrender my guest and father-in-law to grace the victories of Lucullus: such an act would be a breach of sacred laws. But if you want war, I am ready for it."

His reply was worthy of the descendant of Artaxias, who had similarly refused to surrender Hannibal. Tigranes handed Appius Claudius a letter in which he in return omitted the title of "Imperator" for Lucullus.

Tigranes and Mithridates then met at Tigranocerta and started preparations for war. Mithridates asked for 10,000 Armenian soldiers to help him recover his kingdom of Pontus, while Tigranes despatched messages asking all his allies to bring their forces. The kings of Atropatene and Adiabene arrived in person, and other contingents came from all the provinces of the Armenian empire. While Tigranes was preparing to invade Cilicia and Lycaonia and confront Lucullus in Asia Minor, he suddenly learnt that the Romans had crossed the Euphrates. By this swift march Lucullus defeated Tigranes and occupied Tigranocerta on October 6, 69 B.C. Tigranes, however, fell back on the mountains and, joining Mithridates, fell upon the Roman army as it approached Artaxata; the result was an overwhelming defeat for Lucullus in 68 B.C., who retreated to Nisibin in Mesopotamia, while Tigranes reoccupied Cilicia and Cappadocia.

Unfortunately for Tigranes, however, his son, the young Tigranes, revolted against his father and made a secret alliance with the king of Parthia.

Pompey now took over command of the Roman legions in the east, attacked Mithridates and defeated him completely. The Romans annexed Pontus, and Mithridates this time not being given sanctuary in Armenia, fled to the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Crimea), the only part of his possessions that remained loyal to him. Pompey proposed that Parthia should assist him to invade Armenia in return for the provinces of Corduene and Adiabene (Kurdistan and northern Mesopotamia).

The old "King of Kings," seeing that his rebellious son and the Parthians were strong enemies at his rear, thought it better and more honourable to accept reconciliation with Rome. He was now seventy-five years old, and his ally Mithridates of Pontus had been utterly defeated and was far away from him.

When the preliminary arrangements had been made, Tigranes the Great, wearing his imperial robes and crown, mounted his horse and,

accompanied by his best generals, rode to the Roman camp to meet Pompey the Great. Pompey sent forward military tribunes and high officers to escort the great Armenian. Tigranes III approached Pompey and they saluted each other in a friendly way, kissed, and sat down to discuss the political affairs of Asia and to prepare the treaty that became known as the Treaty of Artaxata of 66 B.C.

By this treaty Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, eastern Galatia and part of Mesopotamia passed under Roman rule. All greater Armenia, part of the ancient Assyria and upper Mesopotamia were left to Tigranes the Great. The district of Sophene was offered to young Tigranes, the treacherous son. Armenia was pronounced a State friendly to Rome, and Tigranes III was recognized as sovereign of all the Armenians.

Tigranes was overjoyed at such easy terms and gave rich presents to the Roman army: each Roman soldier received 50 silver coins, each inspector 1,000 silver coins, and each tribune a whole talent. Tigranes also presented 6,000 talents to the Roman Government, and the treacherous crown prince, who had refused the governorship of Sophene, was put in chains and sent to grace Pompey's triumph on his return to Rome.

Pompey then proceeded on an expedition to overawe Caucasia, and the Parthian king took the opportunity to try to annex Corduene (Kurdistan). But Tigranes with the Armenian cavalry soon put him to flight.*

This was the last war of Tigranes the Great, and at its close he was still ruler of all the Armenians, of Armenia Major and Minor and of adjoining countries, so that he was still "King of Kings."

Before his death Tigranes the Great summoned his son Ardavasdes, a highly educated man and (according to Plutarch) the author of many plays and historical and literary works composed in Greek, and declared him king. Coins have been found on which the heads of the father and son appear together, but the inscription reads only VASILEOS TIGHRANOU. According to Lucianus Tigranes died in 55 B.C. in the eighty-fifth year of his age. Historians comment with admiration that he kept his good looks and his energy unimpaired—he was a very handsome man; tall, with fine eyes, thick curly hair and an open and pleasant expression—and even at the age of eighty could ride on horseback at the head of his army. He was abstemious and self-controlled in his habits, impartial, courteous and dignified in his attitude towards high and weak alike. He was a patron of learning, as is instanced by his protection of the great Athenian Amphilochus; Greek artists regularly visited Tigranocerta and performed at the theatre there. During his long reign of over forty years Armenia reached the pinnacle of her military and political influence, and although his empire did not survive him, his kingdom remained a leading State of western Asia until the Turkish conquests, and has never lost her independent heritage of Greek culture: king Tiridates II of Armenia was converted to Christianity in A.D. 284, some forty years before it became the religion of the Roman Empire under Constantine I.

Tigranes III, the Great, was the foremost member of the Arsacid dynasty that lasted from 190 B.C. to A.D. 52 (it was, according to tradition,

* Strabo adds that Pompey left Tigranes in control of further areas of Mesopotamia. See his *History*, 16, 1, 24.

in the reign of one of the last of that dynasty that Christianity first reached Armenian Edessa). As the creator of the Armenian empire, as the ruler who did most to establish her political and cultural traditions, and on account of his personal gifts, the memory of Tigranes the Great is highly respected and honoured by the entire Armenian nation even today.

NEWS OF THE CHINGIS KHAN RELICS

By OWEN LATTIMORE

THROUGH the kindness of a learned Japanese colleague, Professor K. Sakamoto of the Tokyo University of Languages, I have received a copy of a newspaper published in Mongol in Inner Mongolia, from which I have translated an article that constitutes an addition to the slender bibliography on the cult of Chingis Khan in the Ordos.

The "relics" of Chingis Khan at Ejen Horo in the Ordos are undoubtedly spurious (see Lattimore, *Mongol Journeys*, New York, 1941); but just as undoubtedly the cult has been continuous from the time of Chingis to the present day. The relics were removed by the Chinese Government during the war to prevent them from being captured and exploited by the Japanese. It is this justifiable removal that is described in the article here translated as removal "by the Kuomintang bandits." The relics were kept for the duration of the war at a temple near Lanchow, in Kansu, where I saw them in 1944. An inscription placed over them was written by the Chinese "elder statesman" Yü Yu-jen, whose ancestral home is in Northern Shensi, near the Ordos, and who claims Mongol descent. The inscription contained the phrase, appealing to both Mongol and Chinese patriots—*Ta wang wen wo ho shih shou-fu shan ho?* "The great prince demands of me, When shall we recover our hills and streams?"

From the account here given, it appears that the Chinese Communist régime has adopted a compromise policy. As a concession to Mongol nationalism it has left the relics in the custody of their traditional guardians, and it even subsidizes the cult; but it has not brought the relics back to their traditional home in the Ordos—perhaps because they might, if returned, become a focus for the combination of "cultural nationalism" and political nationalism; perhaps simply because there has not yet been a final determination of the regional subdivisions of Inner and Eastern Mongolia and their relations to each other.

In the account here given mention is made of the commemoration of the victory of Chingis over Wang Khan of the Keriyed. As far as I can recall, none of the written accounts mention this; nor do I remember hearing of it from Mongols.

The translation of the Mongol newspaper article follows:

Kalgan.

Ubur Mongolin Udriin Sonin.

South (Inner) Mongolian Daily News.

1951, May 21.

Female White Hare Year, 4th Moon, 16th day.

THE RITES OF THE SACRIFICE TO CHINGIS KAGAN

The Great Sacrifice of the 21st of the third moon of the old calendar is the spring sacrifice of the four seasonal sacrifices of the year, and is the

greatest of all the sacrifices. The summer sacrifice comes on the 15th of the fifth moon, the autumn sacrifice on the 12th of the ninth moon, and the winter sacrifice on the 3rd of the tenth moon. The spring sacrifice, according to the regular procedure, is conducted with a bigger sacrifice, and every year at the place formerly called Ejen Horiya* in the Ikhe Joo [Great Temple; Ordos] League a council and assembly is held with much enthusiasm. The day of this sacrifice is the anniversary of the victory over the tribe of Wang Khan of the Keriyed by Chingis Kagan. The day of this anniversary is invested with the significance of the celebration of that victory.

In times past, it is said that the sacrifice every year was conducted by a "Jinong,"† and that the office of "Jinong" was inherited generation by generation by the Jasak [prince] of Chün Wang Banner. Later there was a change regarding such questions as the expenses of the sacrifice, which were presided over by the Daroga [President] of the Ordos League, and last year, after a meeting of the members of the Administration of the People's Government of the Autonomous Region of the Ikhe Joo League, the Chairman of the Committee of Members, Ochirhoyagdo, was placed in charge. Both the new and the old aspects of the sacrificial ceremonies are included.

In this sacrifice there are at present the silver-ornamented bow and arrows that Chingis Kagan used, and there are also two horses, saddled and bridled; these represent the chargers that he rode in those times. Formerly there were also the Great Standard and a spear and sword. These the Kuomintang bandits removed in 1939, and although at present these have not yet been recovered, our Mongol brethren still honour and celebrate their hero of seven hundred years ago exactly as they always did.

The Body of Chingis Kagan at Ombo-in Sume

The body‡ of Chingis Kagan belongs at Ejen Horiya in Ikhe Joo League. On the 11th of the sixth month of 1939 the Kuomintang bandits moved the body of Chingis Kagan to the Bing Lung mountains in Kansu province.§ At the time that Kansu was liberated in 1949, the Kuomintang bandit Ma Pu-fang|| moved the body of Chingis Kagan again, to Ombo-in Sume (T'a-erh-ssu) in Kuku Nor.¶ At this Ombo-in Sume he was

* The form *horiya* is used in the newspaper text, though the form *horo* is more usual and traditional.

† "Jinong" is from the Chinese *chün wang*, "regional prince." See Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden, 1951, Vol. I, p. 363.

‡ The term used, *chindar*, is more honorific and solemn than "body," and might be rendered "mortal remains."

§ The Mongol transliteration here given is "Bing Lung." I believe that this range, near Lanchow, was formerly called P'ing Lung, the name describing a level crest as, so to speak, a "recumbent dragon." After the relics of Chingis were deposited at a famous temple here, the name was changed honorifically to Hsing Lung, which can be rendered as "Dragon Rampant."

|| One of the celebrated Moslem leaders of North-west China.

¶ This is the great monastery usually referred to in Western books of travel as Labrang. The name "Ombo" is Tibetan. The Chinese name "T'a-erh-ssu," is inserted in the Mongol newspaper article in Chinese characters.

venerated in the Baijagaroa, which had been the residence of the Baija Hutukhtu. After the liberation General P'eng Te-huai and the Vice-Chairman of the People's Government of Kuku Nor province, Liu Han-sheng, went to inspect, and the People's Government of Kuku Nor province takes part in supervising the men who are the guardians of the body, and moreover it gives People's \$1,090,000 and six sheep every month for the requirements of sacrifice, and provides 60 catties (80 lb.) of lamp oil (? butter), and the sacrifices are carried out at their proper times. Because the People's Government considers the matter important, it protects the oft-moved bodies of Chingis and Kulun Khatun* and the standard, the spear,† and all the appurtenances of sacrifice and guards them from the slightest damage or destruction.

* Kulun, or Kulan, was the secondary wife whom Chingis took while on an expedition against what is now Western Manchuria.

† Note the contradiction between this statement and the assertion, above, that the standard and spear had been taken by the Kuomintang and not yet recovered.

OBITUARY

FARIS NIMR PASHA

FARIS NIMR PASHA died at his home at Maadi, Cairo, on December 16, 1951. He was 96 years old. He had outlived all his contemporaries and, in consequence, his death passed almost unnoticed in the outside world; there was, for example, only a brief mention of it, and no obituary notice, in *The Times*. Yet to those who have studied the history of the Near East, or have known Cairo at any time in the last half-century, or have enjoyed the universal hospitality of his family, the passing of Dr. Nimr will mean, in the most literal sense, the end of an age. He was a man of rare qualities, and had played a unique part in history.

Faris Nimr was born at Hasbeya in Southern Lebanon in 1855, of an Orthodox Christian family. The civil war of Maronites and Druzes broke out when he was five years old, and his father was among those killed by the Druzes in the citadel of Hasbeya. In his last years, when extreme old age had sharpened the memories of childhood, it was to this event that his talk would always return. He would describe every detail of those days, and of how, fleeing with his mother and younger brother and sister, they knew the agonies of complete privation and at last found refuge in Beirut.

After receiving his first education in mission schools in Beirut and Jerusalem, he entered the Syrian Protestant College which the American missionaries had recently opened in Beirut, and which was later to become the American University. There he became a Protestant, and there too he taught for a time after completing his studies. One of his colleagues was Yaqoub Sarruf, and between the two there began a friendship and collaboration which was to last all their lives. Together they founded in 1879 *al-Muqtataf*, a scientific and literary periodical, and together they took part in founding one of the first of the secret nationalist societies which aimed at freeing the Arab peoples from dependence upon the Turks. The two were marked out by the authorities of the college to be the first Arab professors, but their connection with the college ended suddenly in 1885, for reasons perhaps connected with their political activities. Any bitter feelings which this event may have left were assuaged when a few years later they were given the honorary degree of Ph.D. In 1937 a bust of Dr. Sarruf, who had died in 1927, was installed in the University Library, and I was present when Dr. Nimr came back to unveil it, and in that eloquent and simple language of which he was always a master evoked the memories of their fifty years of friendship.

From Beirut they went to Egypt, whither they transferred the *Muqtataf* in 1885. In 1889 they founded an evening newspaper, *al-Muqattam*, with another Lebanese, Shahin Makarius, as their business partner, and now began their days of influence and prosperity. Of the partners, Dr. Sarruf devoted himself mainly to the *Muqtataf*; under his direction, and later under that of his nephew Fuad Sarruf, it became one of the main channels through which the thought and science of the Western world passed into

the Arab mind. Dr. Nimr for his part was mainly responsible for the *Muqattam*. Aided and finally succeeded by Khalil Tabit Bey, he made it for a whole generation the leading newspaper not only of Egypt but of the whole Arab world. Those were the days when the Egyptian middle class was still small and largely inarticulate, and the Syrian Christians, educated in American and French mission-schools and coming to Egypt in increasing numbers, had an important part to play in the professions, and particularly in creating and interpreting public opinion. Of the two great Syrian papers, *al-Ahram* was always the spokesman of those in Egypt who opposed the British predominance, while *al-Muqattam* was wholeheartedly on the side of the British occupying power. It was indeed for a time the unofficial mouthpiece of the British Residency. Cromer and his successors trusted and consulted Dr. Nimr and used his paper to keep in touch with the opinion of the rising educated class. At the same time, he had close links with that group of Egyptian politicians who were prepared, in the circumstances of the time, to collaborate with the British authorities in creating the framework of a modern State. His attitude to Egyptian nationalism was always reserved and cautious, although with Sa'ad Zaghlul and others of its leaders his relations were friendly. It was he indeed who was largely responsible for Zaghlul's first ministerial appointment.

The influence of *al-Muqattam* spread far beyond Egypt. Its founders never forgot their native country or the Arab patriotism of their youth. From the freedom of Cairo they waged unending war against the régime of Abdul-Hamid, and maintained close contact with the liberal opposition in the Ottoman Empire. The *Muqattam* was indeed prohibited in Ottoman territories and its editor sentenced to death in absence. He was not able to return to his native land until the Young Turk Revolution ended the Hamidian régime and seemed to open a new period of liberalism and reform. But within a few years the liberal empire, in which all races and religions were equal in principle, had given way to the new tyranny of those who tried to impose the ascendancy of the Turkish element over all the rest. This gave a new force and energy to the nationalism of the subject-peoples, and in particular to that of the Arabs. In this new movement too Dr. Nimr played a part. He was in touch with all those groups which were working for the independence of the Arab provinces and particularly of "Syria," for in the fashion of the time he thought of the lands now divided between the Syrian and Lebanese Republics, Israel and Jordan, as an indivisible whole, a single country. He had a great faith in the capacity of the "Syrians," once liberated from Turkish rule and taught to govern themselves; and here, as in Egypt, he would have preferred that their teacher should be England.

When the first World War broke out, he played a large part in establishing that agreement between the Arab nationalist groups and the British authorities which led to the Arab Revolt of 1916-18. He gave great assistance to the British military and political authorities; and when the war ended, with the Allies victorious and Feisal in Damascus, it might have seemed as if his dream of an undivided Syria, independent but under British tutelage, had come true. But things turned out otherwise. The Arab

provinces of the Turkish Empire were divided between Britain and France. French rule was imposed on Lebanon and Syria, and the Zionist experiment was begun in Palestine, and both were distasteful to him. From that time he watched with melancholy the growing split between Britain and the Arabs and also the decline of British influence in Egypt. He was always ready to discuss these new trends shrewdly and with force, and he never made any secret of his opinion that most of the blame should be laid upon the British Government and its representatives in the Middle East; he looked back with regret to the England of Gladstone and Cromer. At the same time the new middle class was growing stronger and more articulate, and the Syrian middlemen and journalists no longer had a part to play in Cairo. Thus from the 1920s there began a decline in the influence and circulation of the *Muqattam*.

Yet there was no decline in the activities of Dr. Nimr himself. Until almost the end of his life he preserved the amazing force and curiosity of his mind, the strength and courage of his convictions, and the simplicity of his heart. Until his last illness he continued to play an active part in public affairs. King Farouk made him a Pasha; he was for a time a member of the Egyptian Senate; he was a member too of the Academy of the Arabic Language and on occasion presided at its sessions long after he had reached the age of 90. He continued to direct *al-Muqattam* personally, to maintain his contacts with the worlds of politics and diplomacy, and to frequent a wide circle of friends. Yet it is among his family that those who knew him in his last years will best remember him. Shortly after coming to Egypt he married Helen Eynaud, a member of a family of mixed British, French and Austrian ancestry settled in Alexandria since the 1860s. A lady who will be remembered by all who knew her for her dignity, kindness and intelligence, she died several years before him. His last years were surrounded by the care and devotion of his children. He leaves a son and four daughters, all of them gifted in a high degree, not only with artistic and social talents but with the rarer gifts of the heart. To them in their bereavement go the sympathy and best wishes of their unnumbered friends.

MAJOR HERBERT RUSHTON SYKES

MAJOR HERBERT SYKES, whose death was announced in March this year, had been a member of this Society for forty-seven years. He travelled as a young man in Persia. Originally he paid a visit to his cousin Percy Sykes at Kerman, and later, as a result of the interest the country aroused in him, he made several journeys to the more remote areas of Persia.

In 1905 he addressed the Society, with Sir Thomas Holdich in the chair, and the talk then as now was of Russian influence and how it might be countered. There is too a modern ring about his remarks: "The Persian is poor but inordinately proud and withal very sensitive. Until the discovery of a sea-passage to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Persia lay on the highway of the nations. Since that time, however, the great caravan routes have fallen more and more into disuse, and the land has yielded her sway to the ocean. But we seem to have arrived at an epoch when the question of recovering for the land a portion at least of her ancient heritage is coming to the front."

Latterly, Major Sykes devoted himself to public work in Shropshire, but when last I saw him I noticed that the Society's journal was by his chair.

A. F. S.

REVIEWS

British and Soviet Colonial Systems. By Kathleen Stahl. Faber and Faber. Pp. 114. 1951. 12s. 6d.

It has been said that the most frustrating and irritating duty that can fall to the lot of a British representative on the staff of UNO is to have to meet ill-informed and irresponsible criticism (of the "Have you stopped beating your wife?" type) of British administration of "underdeveloped countries." To such persons I can strongly recommend this book as a storehouse of information and argument. But it is also of great interest to the general reader, a very full review of the British system, based on an obviously intimate acquaintance with the subject and a surprisingly full and clear picture of the Soviet régime, considering that it must be derived from a study of documents which are not open to cross-checks, but have to be taken at their face value.

It will be news to some that the Soviet bloc includes a number of territories acquired within the last two or three decades which are colonies in fact, however much they may be disguised as republics, and are beset by much the same problems as those of the "Imperialist" powers. Both have to meet the centrifugal force of Nationalism, but while the British meet this with persuasion (certainly in the case of their more advanced units, but to a great extent also in those of the underdeveloped), the Soviets use force or the threat of force, however disguised. It is interesting to read that the original motive force was the same—the urge to find a defensible frontier—and that the end to which they are both, consciously or unconsciously, working is the same—their idea of the ultimate World State. In some ways the Soviets have much the easier task: they are dealing with Asiatics who are racially not far removed from themselves; the colonies are contiguous to the metropolitan country and so can be closely controlled; they are sparsely populated and so their whole character can be changed in a short time by mass movements of populations or the dumping of "new towns" in the middle of rural and semi-nomad races.

But even more striking are the contrasts. Each inevitably exports its own guiding principle: both are necessarily empirical in method, but while the British admit and, in fact, glory in the fact that they proceed by trial and error, the Soviets cannot admit anything of the sort (it would be high treason to do so) and try to make the facts fit their theories. The British principle of liberty carried to its logical conclusion admits of secession—and Eire and Burma stand as witnesses that this can happen; in theory secession is possible in the Soviet scheme, but any suggestion of secession would be anathema and the whole weight of party machinery would be set in motion to prevent its happening, if attempted. A further similarity, and contrast, in the working of the two systems is to be seen in what is termed "decolonizing": both are trying to bring the colony to a point where any suggestion of inferiority of status disappears, but while the British method is to encourage the development of local nationalism, and facts are often ahead of theory in the extension of self-government into Dominion status and so complete equality and independence, the Soviets' idea is to iron out all differences of race or religion and bring all to one dead level of uniformity.

The contrast is even stronger when we come to a detailed examination of the status of individuals under the two systems. In theory Parliament has the ultimate say in the control of British colonies: in practice this is exercised only at rare intervals and when a turning-point has been reached: the day-to-day administration is carried on by a specialized Colonial Office and Colonial

services which are to an ever-increasing extent staffed by local personnel: no group of persons, in or out of Parliament, has any direct share in the administration, but, on the other hand, criticism of the Government's policy and actions is constantly being made—in the House, in the Press, at public meetings and so on—by persons of all shades of political opinion, and the result is that in the end a line of policy is generally thrashed out that is fair to all parties. Under Soviet rule there is a greater appearance of equality in the fact that every citizen has a vote in the election of his local Soviet and for local representatives of higher organs, including the Supreme Soviet: it does not, however, bear any examination. He soon learns that he may vote for anyone he wishes—provided that this is someone on the official list: but, in any case, this is immaterial, since the control of the bureaucracy is so strong—there are thirty-six Ministries that work longitudinally right through to the furthest bounds of Soviet territories, not to mention the organs of the Communist Party and the Secret Police, or special commissions, all working in secret and responsible to no one but their own heads—that even the Supreme Soviet sits for but a few days twice a year and then only to rubber-stamp the decrees of the self-appointed and self-perpetuating Presidium.

It should be added that this book is by no means an attack on the Soviet system; it is a dispassionate and thought-provoking study of a most important subject and deserves the widest publicity.

There is a map which suffices to illustrate the two spheres of control: the index, however, is curiously inadequate, though in a book of this length such a defect is not important.

A. G. N. O.

Mountains of Tartary. By Eric Shipton. Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 222, 29 photographs. 20s.

Until comparatively recent times there were few obstacles to exploration and travel other than those offered by climate and geography. These were a challenge to human ingenuity, enterprise and courage. Today, however, more and more of the world is being closed to travellers and explorers by political barriers, which not even these qualities can surmount. Amongst these territories is Sinkiang, which has always appealed to the adventurous as a hidden land, cut off by magnificent mountain ranges and containing peoples and places of absorbing interest to the ethnologist, the archæologist and the mountaineer. During the past thirty years, however, the Iron Curtain has been gradually lowered across the entrances to this territory and now it has finally descended with a clang, closing them for what may be the life-time of most of us.

Mr. Shipton was fortunate to be posted to Kashgar for two tours in 1940 and 1946. He finally left in 1948 when the Consulate-General was handed over to India and Pakistan. He is probably, therefore, the last Englishman to see this country for many years and his book thus has a special appeal to all of us in this Society.

This book is an account of his journeys to and from Kashgar and his travels in Sinkiang during the course of his duty there. To explain his position and the difficulties which he experienced in his relationships with the authorities he gives in Chapter IV a brief and very clear account of the political history from 1911 to 1948. This serves as a background to the rest of the book and assists the reader to appreciate his position and the uncertainty of life in a country which has for so long been the bone of contention between two rival civilizations.

The first chapter tells of his journey to Kashgar through Hunza and across the Mintaka Pass and of his return to India in 1942 through Russia and Persia. His descriptions are vivid, and one can see clearly the road he travelled and the country which he finally reached. In comparatively few words he brings before us the glories of the mountains, the strange beauties of the desert and the fascination of the

oases with their drop scenes of snow mountains glimpsed through the clearing of the dust haze.

During the first two years of his stay he was boycotted and isolated, but at last, by a change of régime, he was able to move outside Kashgar and visit places whose beauty had tantalized him from afar. In an account of mountain expeditions to Bostan Terek he tells of his lone efforts to scale a peak in this group which were crowned with success, and were followed by what must have been a terrifying glissade down the steepest part of the summit and a contrast in speed with the difficulties of the climb. He does not confine himself solely to a description of his climbing, but gives us also a picture of the people, their country and their way of life. He has a fine eye for beauty and great skill in description.

The greater part of the book is taken up with his journeys during his second tour of duty, when he was in a happier position and at greater liberty to move about. He gives a fine account of his journey across the Karakoram, which started amidst a cloud of doubt and uncertainty whether he would ever reach his destination or whether he would have to turn back or end in the hands of the bandits from Sarikal. His persistence and determination got him through and proved his forecasts more accurate than the depressing reports received from Delhi. A touching aspect of this journey was the delight of the caravan leaders at his arrival in Leh and their hope that Britain was once more going to exert herself and reopen this route which meant so much to them.

His discovery of the Arch in the Tushuk Tagh some twenty-five miles to the north-west of Kashgar is another illustration of his determination and his skill in mountain country. Baffled by a maze of ravines and canyons, he refused to be beaten and at last reached his aim, a natural arch in the mountains not short of a thousand feet in height and with a span of about one-sixth of its height. He describes the sudden discovery of the arch, when they had almost given up hope, as almost an anticlimax, but it was surely the reward of his persistence and the result of his sound mountaineering instinct. This feature must be unique in mountain scenery and its exact location a most satisfying climax to an interesting and enthralling search, even if they did not also find the magic garden, which the inhabitants allege exists in this group of mountains.

Muztagh Ata and Uch Tash are the scenes of other interesting climbs and expeditions with sidelights on the attitude of the local authorities and inhabitants. His explanation of how Muztagh Ata came to be so named is amusing and enlightening. It would be pleasant to think that it is correct. He also contests Sven Hedin's claim that this mountain is pre-eminent in the Pamirs, and certainly produces sound arguments in favour of his support of Kungur's claim for this distinction.

Urumchi's only good feature in his eyes is its use as a base for visits to Bogdo Ola, and his contrast of its smells with the beauties of T'ien Shih makes one feel that he is right. The chapter ends with a delightful account of a farewell banquet given on the departure of Shipton and Gillett from Kashgar in 1942. His speech of four words repeated three times speaks highly for the hospitality of his hosts, and I feel sure that the applause with which it was received was as much for his ability to stand up at all as for the subject matter.

The chapters on the climbs with Tilman in Bogdo Ola are enthralling and, though unsuccessful, must have been a wonderful experience. Time and further opportunity would certainly have given them the success which they deserved. Again, the failure to reach the summit of Chakrağil was a bitter blow, but provides us with some fine descriptive writing. The book ends with a brief account of the return to India through Hunza in the autumn of 1948.

Besides the magnificent description of the mountains of Central Asia the most striking feature of this book is the tolerance with which it is written and the lack of grumbling about conditions of life, which at times must have seemed insupportable. To be so near to so many magnificent peaks and yet so hedged round by hostility and penned in the confines of his consulate must have been a bitter experience, and yet, except for mentioning it in passing, the author accepts it as part of the normal routine of life. Indeed, one feels that the years of isolation were entirely forgotten in the joys of exploration, when political changes allowed him to wander freely in

country which so comparatively few of his countrymen have ever had the fortune to visit.

The book contains twenty-nine beautiful photographs, illustrating the scenes of his climbs and the sights which he saw on his travels. The only lack, which is particularly irksome to one whose knowledge of the country is entirely second-hand, is an adequate map. The end papers consist of a sketch map, but it omits many of the places mentioned in the book, which could easily have been included without overcrowding. This is a pity, since it entails reference to other works better supplied in this respect and detracts, though only indeed slightly, from the great pleasure derived from the author's writing.

J. E. F. G.

Soviets in Central Asia. By W. P. and Zelda Coates. Lawrence and Wishart. 1951. 288 pp., illustrated. 25s.

It is unfortunate that nearly all the books published in the West on Soviet Central Asia during the past thirty years have been by authors who are Communists or ardent fellow-travellers, for these people are invariably willing to propagate the Utopian tales of Soviet propagandists. Hidden somewhere in this great outpouring of praise for what the Bolsheviks have allegedly wrought in ancient Turkestan there are some grains of truth. But most of these writers have only obscured the real situation in a hopeless tangle of cheap laudatory phrases, and the objective enquirer finds his task more difficult than if none of these books had been written.

The Coates have outdone most Soviet writers on Central Asia. They have thrown together a book which they label "objective," but which consists largely of long passages uncritically quoted from such sources as "The Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," various Soviet newspapers and magazines, the writings of Stalin and of the Soviet geographer Mikhailov, and some of the present authors' previous publications.

The first part of the book consists of a sketchy historical survey. It is generally Marxist, and sounds as if it might have been paraphrased from a Soviet elementary school textbook. Evils that existed before the October Revolution are attributed exclusively to the Tsarist Government and the capitalistic system. Russian expansionism and the conquest of Turkestan is never denounced, since the Party now defends it. The Soviets, on coming to power, "rapidly swept away all forms of enslavement and exploitation." In discussing post-revolutionary Central Asian development, the authors never deviate from the official Stalinist line.

The second part of the book purports to describe Soviet Central Asia at the present time. Each republic in turn is described in terms which are ever more glowing. The last and longest chapter is devoted to the Uzbek S.S.R., which is pictured as a paradise where the population is ecstatically happy and loves Stalin fervently. When the authors recount a few meagre details of their own travels a few breaths of fresh air relieve this highly perfumed prose. At the Krasny Bogatyr Collective Farm village "housing still left much to be desired, but they were getting ready to start the building of new houses at an early date." "Sanitation was of course very primitive, but spotlessly clean," in the home of one of the leading Uzbek Collective-farm chairmen they visited. They found the Kazak State University in Alma Ata "straggling and very cramped for space." Tashkent still has crooked streets and old buildings, and they counted "not more than thirty-five" veiled women in its streets. "Some of the roads have already been asphalted" (*sic*) in the modern section of Tashkent. The Registan of Samarkand suffering from "the ravages of time" sounds as if it may also be suffering from neglect; and the photograph of the Shir Dar Madrasa at Samarkand gives a rather similar impression.⁶ In Samarkand there were "also a number of fallen down, uninhabited houses which the authorities had so far had no time to replace." In the house the authors occupied in Samarkand, again, "sanitary arrangements were of course primitive, but very clean." "Children were for the most part clean, but many were bare-footed." At the Uzbek State University at Samarkand "work has been conducted more and more in the Uzbek language." At Charju "numerous camels were being employed

as water-carriers." As far as can be judged from the photographs, the Uzbeks now appear to have got back to the pre-Revolutionary standard of feeding, which is a pleasant thought.

But the Coates seem to lack understanding or feeling for the peoples of Central Asia in their descriptions of some of them. Actually the authors do not appear to have travelled very extensively in the Central Asian republics nor to have been allowed any unplanned or unsupervised contacts with the native population, whose language they obviously do not speak. They show but little appreciation of the history and national character of the Central Asian peoples. In fact, this book is worth reading only as an alarming example of how Westerners can be led to "parrot" Soviet propaganda.

P. B. HENZE.

Reminiscences of a Japanese Diplomat. Vol. I.—Plots, Assassinations, the Sword. Vol. 2.—Pearl Harbour, Lisbon, Tokyo. By M. Morishima. (Japanese text.)

It is greatly to be desired that an English translation of this work should be issued, for it forms a valuable contribution to the study of the events and causes that led up to the tragedy of the Pacific war.

Morishima formed one of the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference. Later he was stationed at Mukden and Harbin in Manchuria, and at Peking and Shanghai in North China. In 1939 he was attached to the Japanese Embassy in Washington and presently was appointed Consul-General in New York, where he was at the time of Pearl Harbour. After repatriation he was appointed Minister to Portugal, a post which he held until the end of the war.

Morishima expressly disclaims any attempt to write a complete history of Japanese diplomacy in these stirring times. A great many records were destroyed at the end of the war and he is writing from memory. Moreover, he is careful to make it clear when he is relating events in which he played a part himself and when he is writing merely from the side-lines. At the same time he took part in the diplomatic discussions that followed the murder of Marshal Chang Isolin, the "Manchuria incident," and the disastrous war that ensued from the Marco Polo Bridge incident. He was again in a position to observe the progressive stages by which the relations between Japan and the U.S.A. steadily went from bad to worse, until the final rupture. His views, therefore, throw a strong side-light on Japan's international relations from 1923 to 1941.

Morishima has clearly made a great effort to write objectively, and there is little in what he has to say to which the foreigner can take exception. It is possible that the Japanese military may do so! It is the Japanese army that emerges as the villain of the peace. The picture conveyed is of irresponsible elements intentionally creating incidents, of devoted diplomats striving to localize them, and of the army deliberately thwarting the diplomats by moving one step ahead each time. The milestones on the downward path are clearly marked as the assassination of Chang Isolin, the South Manchuria Railway incident, the Marco Polo Bridge incident, its extension to the whole of China, the move into French Indo-China, Pearl Harbour. Right up to the eleventh hour the situation could have been saved if only the Japanese Army could have been prevailed on to see reason. Such at least is the impression conveyed by this book, and the case made out is one that needs some answering!

It would be unfair to the author to pick out passages for translation from their context, but Morishima's own conclusions are worth quoting. Japan's diplomacy suffered from four defects (the following is a free, summarized translation):

1. Japan lacked a guiding directive. The various slogans that were proclaimed merely rationalized incidents. Thus, *after* the Manchuria incident had occurred it was announced that "Manchuria is Japan's life-line." *After* the fighting had broken out in North China it was announced that "Japan is the stabilizing influence in East Asia" and no one at this time so much as mentioned "The New Order in Asia" or "Co-prosperity in Greater East Asia." Presently Japan was saying, "We will have no dealings with Chiang Kai Shek." Then "solution" of the China

Incident became its "liquidation." The New Order and Co-prosperity followed. In no case did these catch-phrases represent a policy that was being followed. They were invented to explain what had already happened.

2. Japan lacked a governing policy. In the Meiji Era Japan's aims were clearly defined and formed the basis of all her actions; moreover, the Supreme Command was the servant of the State. After the Manchuria Incident the position was reversed, and the Foreign Office was reduced to covering up the excesses of the military and had neither the opportunity nor the power to formulate a settled policy.

3. Japan lacked an understanding of international conditions. Japan misunderstood the failure of Great Britain, U.S.A. and Soviet Russia to intervene at the time of the Manchuria Incident, which was read as an indication of Japanese might. A provocative attitude was lightly adopted and the withdrawal from the League of Nations, the abrogation of the naval pact, the denouncement of the nine-power pact and the tripartite alliance paved the way for an attack by the whole civilized world and final defeat.

4. Japan lacked an impartial public opinion. The Japanese are wanting in international culture and training owing to their insularity. They tend to support any strong line of argument that appeals to their emotions. Finally, the Diet had no authority to conclude treaties or to make war or peace. There were no public organs to supervise the Government's diplomacy nor yet to reflect public opinion. The lack arose from defects in the old Constitution.

What of the future? Morishima would like to see his country concentrate on peace and trade. He draws a moral from two countries. Sweden at one time was the strongest country in the north of Europe and made a business of war and aggression; to her the Baltic was a Swedish lake. But, when her King Charles XII fell by a chance bullet, she renounced military glory and devoted herself to peaceful pursuits, with results that rouse Morishima's admiration and envy. The second moral is drawn from the U.S.A. policy of the good neighbour, and he quotes with approval Sumner Wells as saying that if Japan had devoted her energies to the peaceful development of trade in the Far East she would have conferred greater prosperity and contentment on her people.

O. W.

India and the Indian Ocean. An essay on the influence of sea-power on Indian History. By K. M. Panikkar. George Allen and Unwin. 1951 (first published 1945). 8s. 6d.

Sardar Panikkar is best known in this country as Indian Ambassador^o in Peking. He has another claim to distinction in being the "Mahan" of modern India. Indian (and Pakistani) defence expenditure occupies half the Budgets of the Republic and the Dominion. Before the war the moderate amount spent on the armed forces in the Indian Empire was regularly condemned by Indian nationalism as extravagance and shameful tribute to imperialism, and Indian politicians spared little thought to the strategic problems of the sub-continent. Sardar Panikkar, like Pundit Kunzru, the Liberal leader, was among the few who seriously considered the future defence of an India soon to be completely independent.

Mr. Panikkar is a student of geopolitics. So were Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, as well as Lord Curzon and his associates Durand, Holdich—this, by a slip, is misspelt as Holditch—and Younghusband. But those who practised geopolitics in "Anglo-India," from the days of Warren Hastings, were landmen to whom the sea was merely a frontier, as the Himalayas were a frontier, and not "a vital territorial area." (It is possible that such men took it for granted that the Indian Ocean was a British lake and had been so ever since the death of Pierre André de Suffren St. Tropez.) It was the English Company based upon Fort St. George and the Ocean who frustrated the efforts of the "Nawab" Dupleix, whose land-bound efforts were adequate to deal with the country powers, but insufficient to master India for France. Mr. Panikkar contends that "whoever controls the Indian Ocean has India at his mercy." If British theory neglected the sea, so, in his opinion, does the prac-

tice of the present Government of India. He might have added that it recently replaced the Navy by the Army as the Senior Service of the Union.

Mr. Panikkar does well to remind India of her great maritime, colonizing and shipbuilding traditions. Like Great Britain and like Ireland, India is a Mother Country of the Empire. He enables the Westerner to view a noble seascape from an Eastern point of vantage, through the eyes of a Kunjali rather than a de Souza, of an Angria rather than an Admiral Watson. The Royal Indian Navy, expanded in Admiral Fitzherbert's day by 1,800 per cent., renewed a tradition which perished in the defeat of the Maratha sea-power in 1751. The year of Independence saw the launching from an Indian dockyard of the first steel merchant ship.

Japan and latterly China have written a clear lesson of the importance to India and her neighbours of sea-power in its present form of sea-air power. It is well that the Kashmir and other disputes do not prevent Indian and Pakistani men-of-war taking part in joint manœuvres with H.M. Ships of other Commonwealth nations. India, Pakistan and Ceylon can no longer rely entirely for their protection upon the senior members of the Commonwealth, and sovereignty has conferred upon India a major responsibility in a region which still bears the traces of Hindu Empires built across the seas.

JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON.

The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey—1950. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Pp. xvi+496. Index. 3 maps. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 35s.

This compilation is prepared with all the efficiency associated with Chatham House, and is a really effective handbook of the areas dealt with. Although readable its value must be mainly as a work of reference, sold mainly to firms and institutions. When another edition is published, the reviewer suggests certain additions, and recasting to appeal also to individuals as a travel companion. The section on Cyprus is already somewhat on these lines. It is realized that any increase of the 512 pages will raise problems of space and cost, and may call for some reductions in the existing text. The 80-page introduction is masterly, as far as it goes, but does not cover pre-history, languages, or personal and racial characteristics (nor do the sections, except that on Cyprus). Then we have Arabia (38 pp.), Cyprus (18), Egypt (60), Iran (20), Iraq (37), Palestine (64), Sudan (30), Syria (44), Jordan (15), Turkey (38). Possibly some space occupied by Egypt and Israel could be reduced by recording certain of the admittedly important controversial data in the form of telegraphic notes rather than in the letterpress.

As regards pre-history, in this world centre the student would like to find an authoritative summary from Dr. Toynbee, following from his *Study of History* (1948), giving the latest scientific findings on probabilities. Was the neolithic mixed farming in the primeval forest clearings of Arabia and Africa, 10,000 to 15,000 years ago, the dawn of agriculture? Where did the slow evolution of domestic cattle and edible grasses mature? What would be the chronology of deforestation and subsequent concentration on the Nile and Euphrates as evidenced by early Egyptian and Sumerian culture and Abraham's journey from Ur of the Chaldees? In a more recent period there might be some reference to the Arab culture, which, though it is alleged to have burnt the library at Alexandria, did keep alive classical learning for a thousand years until a more civilized Europe was able to take over. Probably the malarial mosquito had more to do with the rapid rise and fall of races and dynasties in this area than in most, as successive waves of virile invaders lost their vitality. A few historical remarks on such lines might add interest to this volume and so increase demand.

There is little in this book to draw the interest of the philologist to this home of early thought and verbal and written expression, yet they were an important key to development and early inscriptions have alone enabled posterity to study the past. What are the facts about early calligraphy? Since 1940 the spoken word has achieved a dominating importance through broadcasting; not only the B.B.C. and the Voice of America but continuous Arabic programmes reach the smallest villages

and arouse a sense of nationalism, too often xenophobic, among impressionable illiterates hitherto largely immune from such propaganda.

The strategy of the Middle East is always vital in world affairs. Pages 3 and 4 do not go very far to help the student. Why is the Canal area so important? Where else could the West secure their interests? Jordan, Cyprus, Libya and Kenya have been considered, but what are the factors? Even Socotra had an airfield in 1942. Page 442 covers only the "Straits."

By the way, Socotra, except for passing reference on pages 107 and 110, is not mentioned at all, even in the index. Yet it is a fairly large and interesting island some 100 miles by 30, part of the Aden Protectorate. It has a viable mixed agriculture, with European (*i.e.*, unhumped) cattle, a population of 5,000 and a fair climate. Drawbacks are malaria, now controllable, and a lack of harbours. Whether some form of mulberry would justify its expense is a matter for the economic, or strategic, future. With greater fuel loads, intermediate ports of call by air or water tend to become less important. Six pages is a short ration for the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut as now developing. Mr. Harold Ingrams could no doubt assist.

Though published in 1950, most of the facts refer to 1947, with some references to 1949. This time-lag becomes a serious matter for many types of reader. Much has happened in the Middle East since 1947, or even 1949. One may hope that a new edition will be supplemented by some form of yearly revision. This is one of the commitments of such comprehensive publications. The latest information is important. More items of information might be "dated" than in the present edition.

The various Nile projects, electric and irrigation plants, come into most problems of North-east Africa. The same applies to the Euphrates and the Jordan, which supported much larger populations even in Roman times and could do so again. The Mongols did their best to prevent recovery in Iraq for all time, which adds to its reconstruction problems, but Western engineering financed by oil royalties may in time restore this part of the world as the granary of Western Asia.

More attention might be given to road and rail projects, with perhaps reference on one of the maps—such as the climatic chart. Here also could be shown harbour schemes—Latakia, Aqaba (the Israeli port Elath opposite) and Suez. The diameters of the various pipelines and dates of completion, or proposed completion, would be useful on the oil chart, with possibly their capacity and the output of the various fields and refineries at given dates.

Two misprints should be mentioned. Mehemet Ali surrendered to European and Turkish pressure in 1840, not 1940 (p. 153). The Sunni representative is the Naqib of Baghdad, not Naqid (p. 241).

This is a most important handbook—the only one of its kind covering the Middle East as a whole. There is a lot to be said for increasing its demand by a wider circle. Perhaps it would be possible to rewrite some of the facts in a more readable form, even though the result may still be a bit heavy "to read in bed." It has been thought best (p. 1) not to include Libya and Eritrea in the "Middle East," as arbitrarily defined. There might, however, be some references to sources of information on these areas. Similarly, it might be useful if there were more footnote references to authorities for further study—*e.g.*, p. 5. One can hope for a greater demand for the new well-planned reprint.

G. M. R.

Beyond Euphrates. By Freya Stark. London: John Murray. 1951. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 341. Illustrations and sketch-map. 25s.

This is the second volume of Miss Freya Stark's autobiography and is a worthy sequel to *Traveller's Prelude*. It covers the years 1928-33, the period of *Letters from Syria, Baghdad Sketches* and *The Valleys of the Assassins*, and will therefore have a particular interest for members of the Royal Central Asian Society.

The author's first journey to the Middle East was made in 1928, when she lived for a time at Brumana in the Lebanon pursuing the study of Arabic, which she had begun in Italy and at the School of Oriental Studies in London, and whence

she paid visits to Damascus, the Jebal Druze and Jerusalem. She was back again for a few weeks in the autumn of 1929 before crossing the Syrian desert to Iraq, where she lived first in a small house in the heart of Baghdad and later in lodgings with a Syrian-Catholic family, entering with zest into the varied life of the city, Muslim, Christian and Jewish alike, before feeling her way further and further afield.

Between 1930 and 1932, practising journalism as a member of the staff of the *Baghdad Times* in the intervals to raise the wind, she made the four expeditions, two into the mountains south of the Caspian and two into the little-known province of Luristan, described in *The Valleys of the Assassins*. This was the first of her books to be published in England; not only was it acclaimed as a first-rate book of travel, but the journeys placed her at once in the ranks of serious explorers and earned her one of the awards of the Royal Geographical Society.

Beyond Euphrates is by no means a mere re-hash of ingredients already familiar. It carries a step further the general plan of *Traveller's Prelude*; each chapter consists of a few pages of narrative or commentary to give the background followed by a selection of letters written at the time to her parents and various friends: "The word ecstasy," says Miss Stark, "is always related to some sort of discovery, a *novelty* to sense or spirit, and it is in search of this word that, in love, in religion, in art or in travel, the adventurous are ready to face the unknown." This is the spirit that has informed all her writing and is the secret of much of its charm. These intimate letters, penned immediately after the ecstatic experience, often at the end of a long and exhausting day and evidently in conditions of acute discomfort, but nevertheless in the same vigorous yet delicate prose of the books, have naturally a spontaneity and freshness all their own. In addition they take us behind the scenes and reveal more clearly than before the immense pains which Miss Stark took to prepare herself both for residence and exploration in Muslim lands and for authorship, the pluck with which she overcame or rather by-passed the obstacles of frail health and physical pain, and finally the courageous philosophy of life which sustained her through the many doubts and disappointments of those five years.

The author is an artist with the camera as well as with the pen, and the numerous photographs are worthy of the book.

C. J. E.

From Town and Tribe. By C. G. Campbell. Ernest Benn. Pp. 217. 10s. 6d.

The tales in this collection come mostly from Oman and southern Iraq and those dealing with the marvellous are the least interesting. It does not need a wide knowledge of the world of story to recognize old friends; the king's new clothes, the ugly duckling and the luck of the youngest son are here in fresh forms. The false accusation which leads to the death of the accuser was used by Schiller. Of interest to the anthropologist is the receptacle for the soul; a jinn kept his soul in a bird in a magic box, while the hero placed his in his sword. Other stories raise problems of origin. Are they true folk tales or literary reminiscences? The strife between rival magicians is a paraphrase from the *Arabian Nights*, and the proof by Abu Nuwas that the excuse may be worse than the offence has a place in Arabic literature. The dullest tale has an entertaining detail, the hero throws the jinn so high in the air that he takes an hour to come down and falls with such force that he buries himself in the earth up to his neck; the most familiar has a fresh twist, the man who sells the king his new clothes is paid in like manner. Several have an acid flavour, showing that it does not pay to be too clever, while the tales of judges are worthy successors to those in the *Mustatraf*.

A. S. T.

Arabian Adventurer. The story of Hajji Williamson. By Stanton Hope. London: Robert Hale. 1951. 333 pp., 23 illustrations. 16s.

The name of William Richard Williamson is no new one to students of modern Middle Eastern history. Those of us who have spent many years in and around the

Arabian peninsula have often heard of his exploits in Iraq and the Persian Gulf. Few have been able to meet him or to hear first-hand the story of his wanderings across the sands and seas of Arabia.

Stanton Hope has gained something of a journalistic achievement in publishing his life story and bringing at last before the general public some details about this famous but reticent English-born Moslem. It is only regrettable that the material collected by the author was turned to such bad account. His style and method of presentation can only be described as nauseating. It is incredible that a Fellow of one of London's learned societies (as the author is) could produce such passages as the following in what should have been a serious work: "After this interlude, the pards agreed definitely to eschew soft living . . . and stake all on making a big clean-up. . . ." Arabian students will have to read this book, but it is unfortunate that they will have to plough through three hundred cliché-ridden pages to learn of Williamson's place in the history of Arabian travel.

Brought up in circumstances which he despised, Williamson left home twice and was twice brought back and flogged by his father. Eventually his father allowed him to go to sea as a boy in a windjammer, and he never returned home. He sailed to Australia, America, the South Seas, China, India, and by 1890 after many adventures arrived in Aden. He joined the Aden police. After a year, however, he was in trouble with the authorities for becoming a Moslem and was sent to Bombay prior to being sent home. But he escaped up the Persian Gulf to Kuwait and reached Basra in 1892. From that town he has since travelled by camel all over Arabia even to the Yemen and to Dhofar. He made the pilgrimage in 1893 and 1938. During the Great War his services were used by the British military authorities in Mesopotamia, and he has also worked for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

He is now 80 years old and still lives in the native dwellings at Kut elc-Hajjaj with his Iraqi wife and three grown sons. Hajji Williamson is one of the greatest English travellers in Arabia. It is a great loss to his countrymen that he was never an explorer, or at least that he has never published any accounts of his detailed life and wanderings in the peninsula.

ERIC MACRO.

Éléments de Bio-bibliographie de la Littérature Arabe. By Joseph Assad Dagher. Imprimerie Saint-Sauveur, Saida. Pp. 354. No date. 22s.

Except for a title-page the whole book is in Arabic. At first sight it is a cram book, for against every author's name is a list of the examinations for which he will be useful; the paper is too much like blotting and the type rather blurred. The list of errata fills two pages and is not complete. In spite of appearances, the book contains the useful results of much hard work. It begins with two lists, one of the authorities on which the study of Arabic literary history must be based, and the other of modern works on the subject. After these each author has a section to himself, consisting of a short life, a list of his works, the early authorities, modern books dealing with him, and lastly a list of articles in Arabic periodicals about him. This last is of great value to all who have access to a collection of these journals. Further, there are special articles on such subjects as the translators and philosophy, the *Arabian Nights*, dictionaries and others. European books are mentioned only if they have been translated, the one exception being Dozy's dictionary.

A. S. T.

Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt. 56 pp., 83 photos. 1950. 6s.

New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt. 98 pp., 174 photos. 1951. 15s.

By Cyril Aldred. Alec Tiranti, Ltd.

The author and publisher have taken pains with the layout and composition of these two books. In both cases the first part of the book is an outline of the subject, related to the social and political background of the time. Then follows a brief

summary of Egyptian history, from the Predynastic Age to 1590 B.C. in the Middle Kingdom volume, and from 1590 to 1315 B.C. in the New Kingdom Book.

The last half of each book is in some ways the most important. It consists of a really fine series of photographs of works of art, some of which have never been published before. Permission to produce nine of them has been given by the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These plates are accompanied by detailed descriptive notes and cover a wide range of subjects. Besides the better-known statues of Ancient Egyptian Royalty and Divinity, there are some charming scenes from nature, painted in gouache on thin plaster over mud brick. Many of these are photographs of the beautiful facsimilies done by Mrs. N. de G. Davies. Of such is the scene showing a black-and-white kingfisher plunging into marshy water after its prey, just as kingfishers do in Egypt today, 3,000 years later.

These two books are companion volumes, but can equally be studied singly, for in his first chapters the author links his subject with preceding eras.

Today, when the world is becoming increasingly aware of the force of ideas in shaping nations' lives, it is interesting for the general reader to follow some of Mr. Aldred's theories about the influence on ancient Egyptian art of the ideas dominant at the time. Whether he reads into it more than some trained archeologists can accept is a matter of opinion.

We read on page 14 of the first book: "Royal statuary, in fact, expands its magico-religious significance to include the idea of the personality of the Man and the power of the State. Thus Sensuret III erected a statue of himself as a symbol of Egyptian national might upon such dangerous ground as a disputed frontier in Nubia." What effect would a massive statue of King Farouk have if run up overnight on the Egyptian-Sudanese frontier? one cannot help wondering.

Some of Mr. Aldred's points about kingship are interesting. The ancient Egyptian conception of sovereignty could hardly be more different than the modern British idea of it. But none the less there were eras in which the highest ideals were uppermost. Of the early XI Dynasty, Mr. Aldred writes: "The ideas of statecraft that monarchs left for their sons at this period show a keener appreciation of the duties of the ruler to his people than of the obligations of the people to their god-king." And one of the frontispiece quotations is poignant for today: "Even the sculptures of the time sought to bring out this emphasis on conscientious character and moved from a delineation of majesty and force to a portrayal of concern for obligations. Such careworn portraits of the pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom are well known" (John A. Wilson in *Before Philosophy*, 1949).

On the whole the style renders the information easily assimilable by the beginner or the layman, and they are helped by the clear references to the appropriate plates. In view of this general clarity it seems a pity that the author has thought fit to include such a sprinkling of peculiar words. "Musculature," volumetric," "zoo-morphic," "vernacularization" and "chthonic" are bad enough, but what about the adjectives "Osiride" and "Ramesside"? The professional Egyptologist doubtless takes them in his stride, but the mind of the ordinary reader, however keen on the subject, is invaded against his will by visions of patent solutions for destroying pests.

Each book has a good map showing the ancient sites and comprehensive list of suggestions for further reading.

The print is clear and printers' errors are agreeably few.

The volume on the Middle Kingdom is priced at 6s. and that on the New Kingdom is at 15s. The former is the fifteenth book in "Chapters in Art" series and the latter is the nineteenth, published a year later. The discrepancy in the price is a sad reminder of the rise in cost of paper, though it must be said in fairness that the second volume has more than twice the number of plates. Both books, however, are well worth their price.

M. E. R.

A Sword for Hire. By Peter Lington. 248 pp. W. H. Allen. 9s. 6d.

The author of this novel is a newcomer to the field of fiction who has clearly spent much of his life in the Middle East. His style is pleasant and he succeeds in holding the interest of the reader. His writing is obviously backed by knowledge

and study, and his book is an incentive to read more of the period of which he is writing and to refresh the memory about the events and places which form the background to his story.

The story concerns a displaced person of a thousand years ago, a Saxon from England, who has found refuge from the Normans at the Court of the Byzantine Emperor. It deals in detail with his career as a member of the First Crusade, his love for a Norman lady and his life as a Baron of Outremer. The march of the Crusaders and their final capture of Jerusalem are well described, and for added interest the author gives us a description of the hero's mission to Hassan-i-Sabah and his stronghold at Alamut.

The book gives full evidence of the study which the author has made of his subject, and his knowledge of the Near and Middle East. One might almost say too much evidence, since technical terms and foreign words sprinkle the page with almost irritating frequency. It would seem that the author is determined that we shall turn to our books of reference to check his history and his knowledge of the Byzantine world. For example, while it may be impressive to read of a "turma" of Turcoples, one feels that in a novel the present-day equivalent would have served the purpose equally well, since the reader is seeking pleasure and not instruction, which he could no doubt find better in a full-fledged history of the period. Again, there is a tendency to use the florid word instead of the modern and equally effective one; for example, "charger" would satisfy the normal reader better than the grander and more archaic "drestrier." The subject matter should surely convince the reader of the author's erudition better and less irritatingly than the constant use of anglicized technical terms in italics.

There is also the reverse of this, and, without wishing to appear inconsistent, it seems a pity that the author has introduced modern slang, which in the context grates on the ear. While it may be amusing to read "Take a shufti at this" or, again, the cries of the less savoury inhabitants of Port Said, it does not fit in with the background of the book and recalls memories of the Desert Rats or Paiforce rather than the First Crusade.

It seems from internal evidence that the author is an old inhabitant of Iraq, and his Arabic certainly provides an effective contrast to his quotations and the Norman-French atmosphere created by his study of original authorities. How far the Arabic is that of the period or even that of Syria I would not like to say, but certainly it recalls Baghdad rather than Damascus. On the same subject, did the term "Iraq" refer in those days to the area at present covered by that word or did it only cover as in Turkish days the country between Baghdad and Basra? Surely the words "the Syedna" are incorrect. It is such points as these that rouse the criticism of the reader and indicate the dangers of too great a use of foreign words in a work of this description.

In conclusion, again may I say that I enjoyed reading this book, perhaps partly because I am interested in that period of history and partly because I have very happy memories of my service in the Near and Middle East, and I hope that the author will offer us further romances of a similar style, which I am sure will benefit from the fact that they are not a first novel.

J. E. F. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR,
DEAR SIR,

I have been reading the review of *Out of this World* by Lowell Thomas, Jr., in the January, 1952, number of the Journal, and would like to say that I feel certain that the author's statement that "Kangchenjunga is visible from the train" was intentional and not "a slip." As a former Civil Surgeon in Darjeeling District, I know that between Jalpaiguri and Siliguri in the early morning a white top can be seen from the train, and I have no doubt that Lowell Thomas used the word "Kanchenjunga" to designate the Kanchenjunga Range rather than the peak itself, since that is common usage among many of the residents in Darjeeling, which has the finest view of the peak and range of most locations nearby except above Ghum.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN BREBNER, M.D.

ON the last page of our October issue, 1951, Volume XXXVIII, an extract was cited from the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. It described the circumstances under which H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark was able to procure for the Royal Library at Copenhagen a copy of the Kan-gyur.

His Royal Highness has written to point out that the account requires certain emendations which we are happy to publish.

His Royal Highness observes that the Kan-gyur is printed not only in Lhasa, but also at Derge in Eastern Tibet, and at Narthang in Central Tibet; beside these a popular edition was produced in Peking. Moreover, large-sized editions do exist, and there are many more than a "few hundred copies of the Kan-gyur." Several of these have found their way beyond Asia; recently both to Yale and the University of California in America and to Cambridge University. The copy sent to Copenhagen was bought in Lhasa for Prince Peter by a Tibetan friend, without difficulty at the normal price, and His Royal Highness personally despatched it by air from the Bagdogra airfield to Calcutta, whence the Danish East Asiatic Company carried it to Copenhagen free of charge. Lastly, there should be no need to "take a saw to cut the heavy gut with which the bales were bound," for the knots, as every Tibetan knows, are easy to undo.

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Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXXIX

JULY-OCTOBER, 1952

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
2, HINDE STREET, LONDON, W.1

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NOTICES

At the moment of going to press, the sad news came that our Chairman of Council, Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., died in the Middlesex Hospital on Sunday, September 14. A full "In Memoriam" note will be included in our next issue, but we desire to express our deep regret without delay.

Sir Howard rendered invaluable service to the Society throughout his sixteen years of membership, and was a wise counsellor. His quality as a Chairman was exceptional, and he was regarded with affectionate respect by all of us who worked with him and by all his friends in the Society.

THE Council acknowledge with gratitude the following accessions to the Library :

The Burushaski Language, by Col. E. Lorimer,

The Kacharis, by S. Endle,

The Lushai Kuki Clans, by Col. J. Shakespear; presented by Mr. H. A. N. Barlow.

The Khasis, by P. R. Gurdon.

Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, edited by A. de Körös; presented by Professor R. N. Rahul.

Also booklets :

A Guide to the India Office Library, by S. C. Sutton, 1952.

Ibn Bajja (Avempace), by Dr. Omar Farrukh (Arabic text), 1952.

Sonderabdruck aus die Welt des Islams, No. 1, 1952—Der Türkisch-Armenische Friedensvertrag von Gümrü (Alexandropol) vom Dezember 1920.

Persian as an Academic Discipline, by Professor R. Levy, Cambridge.

Hittites in the Black Sea Region, by M. Maksimova.

Contribution to the Anthropology of Timor and Roti, by Dr. A. J. van Bork (in English).

Sprekende Weeffels, Study of Indonesian Textiles, by Dr. J. Gerlings (in Dutch), 1952.

Offprints of four articles on anthropological subjects by Dr. Henry Field—Harvard.

The Influence of Muslim Philosophy on European Thought, by Dr. Omar Farrukh (Arabic text), Beirut, 1952.

Speech by Dr. M. Mossadeq, Tehran, 1952. English text.

A Bibliography of Books in Western Languages dealing with the Middle East, edited by R. Ettinghausen, Washington, 1952.

History Today. Edited by P. Quennell and A. Hodge. A new magazine. 72, Coleman Street, E.C.2. 2s. 6d. a month.

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

THE COLOMBO PLAN

By A. C. B. SYMON, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Being a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society on June 18, 1952, Dr. V. Purcell, C.M.G., Litt.D., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Those of us who take an interest in Asia cannot claim that the outlook in that area is altogether promising. My feeling is that, perhaps, the most hopeful sign on the horizon is the existence of the Colombo Plan as a means of co-operation between nations, on the right lines.

We are fortunate in having with us Mr. Symon, the Assistant Under-Secretary at the Commonwealth Relations Office. For many years Mr. Symon was a member of the old India Office; he was secretary to the Indian Supply Mission to the United States during the second World War and the Deputy High Commissioner of the United Kingdom in India from 1946 to 1949.

Mr. Symon has held his present position since 1949 and therefore has been intimately connected with the Colombo Plan. He led the team of United Kingdom officials who attended the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting in March, 1952, and went to Delhi and to the policy meetings of the Council for Technical Co-operation held in Colombo in April, 1952. You will realize from what I have said that there is no one who can speak on the subject with greater profit to his audience.

THE short title of my lecture is "The Colombo Plan," but I feel it necessary to give you the full title, "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-east Asia." I do so because the important word is not "Plan" but "Co-operative" or "co-operation," which is the word you, Mr. Chairman, used. We are about to consider one of the greatest experiments in international co-operative work that has ever been known. It had its origin at the meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held at Colombo in January, 1950. Hence "Colombo Plan." That meeting in Colombo was designed to enable the Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth to take a view of conditions obtaining throughout South and South-east Asia and to see how those conditions related to conditions elsewhere in the world. There was developed the idea that something must be done to raise the standards of living of the people in that vast area which extends from Pakistan in the west to the Philippines in the east and includes India, Burma, Siam, Indonesia, Ceylon, Malaya, British Borneo and Indo-China; and the decision was taken to set up a Consultative Committee with the objective of surveying the needs of the area; of assessing the resources of capital and technical manpower available and required; of focusing world attention on the problem; and of providing an international co-operative framework to assist all the countries of the area to raise the standards of living of their peoples.

Two of the founder members of the Colombo Plan, apart from the United Kingdom, are Ceylon and Australia, and I mention those two first because the inspiration for the Plan originated with Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the present Finance Minister of Ceylon, and with Sir Percy Spender,

who at that time was the Minister for External Affairs in Australia. In speaking of Ceylon I should like to add how glad I am to see with us this afternoon Mr. Raju Coomaraswamy, of the Finance Department of the Government of Ceylon, who probably knows more about the Colombo Plan than anybody. He also has the distinction of being President of the Council of the Technical Co-operation Scheme set up under the Colombo Plan. The other founder members, apart from Ceylon and Australia, are Canada, New Zealand, India, and Pakistan.

In May, 1950, a meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan was held at Sydney, Australia. That meeting came to two important decisions. It first decided that there should be a fuller meeting to be held in London in September of the same year to draw up a programme or plan embodying the objectives of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers—a plan which should not only include members of the Commonwealth in the area but all countries in the area. The method of procedure would be to invite the countries concerned to prepare development programmes relating to their territories and covering a period of six years ahead. That was the first decision, and the meeting at Sydney drew up questionnaires and formulæ on which programmes could be prepared which would be in a common form and thus enable the Consultative Committee, when it met later, to take a comprehensive view of the position and make an assessment of what was available in the way of resources, and what else would be required.

The second important decision arose from the recognition that something could be done at once. One of the greatest needs of all the countries in the area is technical skill, men to do and to advise on jobs. It was therefore decided that there should be set up a Technical Assistance Scheme with a Bureau to co-ordinate requirements, etc., which would start work without waiting for the formulation of the Plan which the Ministers had in mind. So a Bureau was set up with headquarters at Colombo. It is directed by Mr. Geoffrey Wilson, who has been seconded from the United Kingdom Civil Service, and he is doing a brilliant piece of work in co-ordinating requirements and in passing demands from the area to the countries outside it who can supply the needs. He is now touring the area, getting ideas and stimulating countries to take advantage of the offers which have been made to them.

After the meeting at Sydney there came the meeting in London in September and October, 1950, which produced the first report of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee. The meeting was attended by the members of the Commonwealth who were the founder members of the Plan and by observers who had been nominated by the governments of Burma, of Thailand, and of the Associate States of Indo-China. The Committee endorsed and reinforced the objectives which had been set for them by the Foreign Ministers at Colombo in January, 1950—namely, to raise the standards of living of the peoples by accelerating the pace and widening the scope of development and to establish a co-operative basis for doing this, with special emphasis on the need to produce more food.

Think of the immensity of the problem which the countries set themselves. I have already indicated the extent of the area. Think of the

population of the area, a population of over 600 million people, a quarter of the population of the world and a population which is growing at an alarming rate every year. The pressure of this vast population on the available resources, particularly of foodstuffs, is more than the countries can bear. Millions of people are struggling for a bare existence; they live at the barest subsistence level, often obtaining their daily bread and the absolute necessities of life only with the greatest struggle. Then think of what has happened in the area—taking a very short period—during the last twelve to fifteen years. There was the second World War with its devastating results in almost every country of the area. Burma, over whose territory two terrible struggles were fought. Think of the strain on the resources of the sub-continent of India, where such great efforts were made to produce the sinews of war. Railways, factories, power stations, etc., were worked to the utmost without adequate replacement. India was left at the end of the war with many new industries but with many of her existing facilities drastically worn out and in great need of maintenance and replacement. Think, too, of the internal troubles which many of these countries have experienced since the war ended: trouble in Burma; trouble in Indonesia; trouble in Indo-China today; and in our own dependent territories, the struggle against terrorists.

Food which had been grown in abundance in the rice bowl of South-east Asia before the war was no longer available in anything like the same quantities and could not be produced fast enough not only to meet the demands of the existing population but to meet the demands of the enlarged population.

And then there came the partition of the sub-continent of India with the terrible refugee and rehabilitation problem that confronted both the new Pakistan and the new India.

For all these reasons the progress of the development which was necessary to improve the standards of living of all these millions of people in South-east Asia has been retarded. Obviously something had to be done. That is why there is a Colombo Plan, a Plan devised on a co-operative basis, supported by countries inside and outside the area which have pledged themselves to participate in a common endeavour to tackle the job of removing poverty and raising standards of living. If we can all between us succeed in doing that we shall benefit all: it is not only the countries in the area which will get the benefit; we in the United Kingdom, people in the United States and in Europe will also benefit from a raising of the standards of living. It was recognized at Colombo in 1950 and at subsequent meetings of the Consultative Committee that the only way to break the vicious circle of low production and the low standard of life would be to carry through a process of intensive economic and social development. This is what the Colombo Plan adventure is trying to achieve.

I have explained that at the meeting in Sydney in May, 1950, a decision was taken to invite the countries of the area to prepare development programmes covering a period of six years. That period started on July 1, 1951, so that we are now nearing the end of the first year of the operation of the Plan. These programmes are very large, but not as large as the

countries would have wished. They represent on the most realistic basis possible what the countries felt could be done with the resources which they themselves could provide and which they hoped would be made available from other countries. The programmes relate mainly to public investment for basic economic development on a large scale—irrigation, power, communications, roads, railways, etc., plus social development in such fields as health, education and housing. You will see from the nature of this so-called basic development that it is not something which the private investor can possibly undertake to finance. The return is not speedy; very often there is no direct financial return. Obviously governments, either central or provincial, had to undertake to find the money as well as the goods and the technical expertise to do what was necessary. Finance was the biggest problem, because even on the conservative basis on which the programmes had been drawn up it was estimated that over the period of six years covered by the Plan, a total of some £2,000 million would be required; and these are only the programmes of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and our own colonial territories in the area. Much more, it was realized, would be required when we knew what was needed for the other countries, and, rather sadly, we have still not obtained that information.

Of the sum of, approximately, £2,000 million, the countries themselves estimated that they could provide, roughly, one-half. That leaves a gap over the six years which commenced on July 1, 1951, of about £1,000 million. That may not sound much when compared with United States billions and United Kingdom expenditure of £4,000 million to £5,000 million a year, but in view of what the countries in South and South-east Asia can provide, £1,000 million is a really large sum.

How was this deficiency to be met? So far as the United Kingdom was concerned, arrangements were made at the meeting of the Consultative Committee in London in September, 1950, under which the United Kingdom Government agreed to release part of the sterling balances held in London by the Commonwealth countries in the area. The total releases amount to £250 million for the six-year period of the Plan to India, Pakistan and Ceylon. This is in addition to the provision of finance for the development of the United Kingdom territories in the area. Australia promised £25 million sterling for the six-year period; Canada offered 25 million dollars for the first year and has indicated her willingness to provide a similar sum during the second year of the Plan. New Zealand offered £1 million for each of the first three years. The United States has also provided substantial help to the area. All aid is on a bilateral basis and the American Government has its own machinery and its methods for affording aid. The United States provided 150 million dollars in grants to the various countries of the area during 1951-52 and 280 million dollars in loans since July 1, 1950. So much for the original finance of the Plan.

The next need to be considered is the provision of capital goods of all kinds to enable the development which can be financed to proceed. The United Kingdom has a reputation and record second to none in providing capital equipment for under-developed countries. The flow has increased

rapidly since the end of the war and other countries have been able to help. Japan is now a ready supplier of goods; also Germany and other countries in Europe.

As to the third important factor—namely, the need for technical assistance, I have already explained the scheme set up with headquarters at Colombo under which men, and sometimes women, from the area have been brought to the United Kingdom and other participating countries for training. Experts are being sent into the area to help to do particular jobs, and there is an urgent need to provide more and more technical training facilities in the countries concerned. All that is now proceeding.

The next step in this co-operative effort was a meeting of officials of the Colombo Plan countries in Colombo in February, 1951. It was a procedural meeting to see what had happened since the publication of the report in 1950 and to consider the shape of things to come. That meeting decided that there should be a meeting of the Consultative Committee each year, and that such meetings should produce an Annual Report. The Colombo meeting of February, 1951, was important for two reasons: firstly, because for the first time the United States, which had shown a sympathetic interest in the Plan from the outset, was represented at the meeting as a full participant; secondly, because there was a representative of the International Bank, which had already been active in the area and felt it could further the aims of its own charter as well as the aims of the countries concerned if it was on the spot, sitting with the representatives of the countries who required help so badly.

From February, 1951, we come to the meeting of the Consultative Committee held in Karachi in March, 1952. Its main object was to prepare the first annual report—that is in respect of the year which ends on June 30, 1952. At the Karachi meeting the founder members were present, together with representatives of Viet Nam and Cambodia. The United States was represented, and also the International Bank. For the first time Nepal and Burma attended as full participants in the Colombo Plan. There was also a representative, again for the first time, of E.C.A.F.E., the regional organization of the United Nations Organization. There were also present observers from other countries in the area who had not yet become full members, observers from Thailand, from Indonesia, and from the Philippines. Laos, unfortunately, could not send representatives on this occasion.

At this Karachi meeting one of the principal objectives laid down by the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers at their original meeting in 1950 was achieved—namely, full liaison between and representatives of all the countries in the area sitting side by side with the representatives of the countries outside the area. That was a remarkable achievement and can, I think, be regarded as the basis of this new co-operative adventure. I should explain why it is so important. Although we speak of the Colombo Plan there is, in fact, no Plan. What we have—and they are embodied in the report of the Consultative Committee of 1950 and again in the annual report produced at the Karachi meeting—is a collection of development programmes which have been prepared by the countries of the area

and which they themselves will carry out with or without outside help. The amount of such help does, of course, condition the pace of development. There is no central organization to run the Plan. All that happens is that there are these meetings of participating members once a year to take stock of what has happened up to the time they meet and to take a peep into the future. That is what is done in the first annual report which was produced at the Karachi meeting in March, 1952.

A good deal has happened since the original report was produced in September, 1950. The biggest single factor which has affected the whole of the area has been the economic consequences of the prolongation of the war in Korea. The short-term economic effects have been by no means unfavourable. Until the middle of 1951 there was substantial improvement in the terms of trade in all the countries. The reason for that was that, in the main, they are primary producers, and what they produced was in world demand and could fetch high prices. In consequence they were able to have substantially higher foreign exchange earnings owing to the higher prices which they received for their products. As a result the Governments were able to increase taxes. That was necessary in order to check inflation but, even more important, to make money available for development. In the main, the countries during the first year of the operation of the Plan have been able to finance their programmes themselves. It is doubtful, looking back, whether in point of fact development could have gone on during the last year or eighteen months at a faster rate even if more goods had been available, because the programmes covered very large developmental schemes which take years to work out or to complete; certainly they take a long time to prepare. It is one thing to say that a large irrigation project is to be undertaken and another to prepare the way for that developmental work. So that, on the whole, the period under review has been a favourable one; but because it is the first year of the six-year period, although much of the work which was included in the six-year programmes had already started, it would be wrong and perhaps unfair to expect to see spectacular results at the end of the first year. Some of the bigger projects in the programmes will not be completed until nearly the end of the six-year period and, in consequence, there is nothing to show now in the way of startling increases either in acreage or in food production. Nevertheless, more acreage is under cultivation, yields are bigger, more roads have been built, there is better transport, factories have been erected, and over the whole field of what might be called this broad economic development there are results to be seen if you go to look for them. But it would be difficult to say that this or that has been done; this has gone up by 20 per cent., and so on. That is something we must wait to see at the end of the second and the third years, and by the end of the six-year period there will be something really substantial to show for what has been done, and the foundation will have been laid for a really greater improvement and greater pace of development in years to come, if conditions remain reasonably good. The programmes have been adjusted to take into account changing conditions.

The rôle of the United Kingdom in relation to this new adventure is one which I am sure concerns you all. We are, as I said at the be-

gining of my talk, a founder member and we are a founder member on the basis of a long record of assistance to under-developed countries, a record second to none. We have put our money there; we have put our goods there; and we have used our brains there. I heard someone say "Hear, hear," and doubtless many present have been concerned with what has been done so far. We are continuing this good work. I have explained what the United Kingdom has been doing in the way of financial help. Not only have we made these arrangements for release of the sterling balances of the Commonwealth countries concerned, but we are continuing to pay very large sums for the development of our colonial territories in the area. In the field of capital goods, without which no development can take place, we have always poured goods of every kind into the whole of the area. Our exports to South and South-east Asia have risen at an almost fantastic rate during the last four or five years. Asia imports nearly half of our metal manufactures and engineering goods; our total exports in this field alone are now two and a half times greater than pre-war. In spite of the difficulties and preoccupations in this country, I do not believe that development in South and South-east Asia during the currency of the Colombo Plan has been retarded because of shortages. There have, of course, been bottlenecks and difficulties in particular instances, but, by and large, I am myself satisfied that large-scale development has not been retarded because of the lack of goods. I am a little less sure about the future, because even though the United Kingdom in particular, and other countries also, may have more goods available in the future, the pace at which they can be used in under-developed countries is increasing. Development programmes of the countries concerned, which were talked of as plans for a long time, are now being gradually translated into action. More money is available. More people with skill are available, and the pressure to do something is becoming more and more urgent; so that I give it as a personal view that while we may be doing more, we may still not be able to meet all the demands of the future. All I can hope is that we will.

In the important field of technical assistance, the United Kingdom has done, and is doing, a great deal. The United Kingdom Government has agreed that out of the sum of £8 million which the Consultative Committee suggested at its meeting in May, 1950, should be allotted for technical assistance, the United Kingdom should be responsible for 35 per cent., say up to about £3 million. We have not yet spent a great deal of that. It has taken a long time to develop the administrative machinery for handling this type of help, and I am sure Mr. Coomaraswamy will not object if I say that the countries in the area have been slow in coming forward.

The need for technical assistance covers a rather large field. Firstly, the need for bringing to the United Kingdom and to the other countries under the Plan men who can be trained and given our skills. We are bringing a large number of such people to this country, and expect to bring larger numbers in the future. I ought to add that, however many we bring, we shall be nowhere near the numbers which come under existing arrangements, governmental and private, and through contacts which the United Kingdom industries and organizations have with these

countries. I believe that for India and Pakistan alone there are over 4,000 students in universities, technical colleges and in every branch of industry in this country at the moment. Under the Colombo Plan we have so far brought 100 in. So that we are only adding to an existing effort to help the countries of South and South-east Asia.

Secondly, there is the need for sending experts to the area. Experts are not quite so easy to find nowadays. We live—and other countries also—under conditions of full employment. We have the machinery and the mechanism for dealing with requests for experts; we deal with those requests with the willing co-operation of United Kingdom industry, educational establishments and so on, and we are persuading experts to go out to South and South-east Asia.

Thirdly, there is need for creating technical training facilities in the countries themselves; these facilities are very limited at the moment and the accent of the Consultative Committee at its meeting in March, 1952, was on the need for establishing more training facilities on the spot. We have promised on behalf of the United Kingdom Government that we will do our best to assist in creating such facilities, by sending people to help in setting up the establishments and teaching in them, and by supplying equipment necessary for training purposes. Finally, we have made one special offer to the countries of South and South-east Asia—something which is the heart of United Kingdom development abroad. I refer to our offer to place at the disposal of those countries the services of our consultants in all fields, and particularly consultant engineers. We are at present considering one or two requests for such assistance, and we hope all the countries concerned will feel encouraged to apply for this form of technical assistance.

So you will realize that we are continuing to do what the United Kingdom has done over so many years for the countries of South and South-east Asia. We have every reason to be proud of what we have done in the past, of what we are trying to do now, and intend to do in the future in this Colombo Plan context. But it is now not only the United Kingdom who is doing it; it is all the participating countries—those of the Commonwealth, and the United States—all doing the same thing in trying to break down poverty and to raise the standards of living of the peoples in the countries of South and South-east Asia. As an example of the help given by other countries in the area, I found on my desk this morning a memorandum from Colombo which said that the Government of India had decided to offer a number of scholarships for the countries of South and South-east Asia, including the Philippines, as part of their contribution to the Technical Co-operation Scheme. Facilities will be made available in industry, research institutes, etc. That is an example of mutual assistance, and such examples come in almost daily. Not only countries outside the area but the countries within the area are trying to do something to help themselves and to help others. It is a co-operative attack on poverty. We all want to help and we all realize the need to help one another. We want to remove poverty—raise the standards of living—and achieve a fuller and better life for all. The Colombo Plan draws strength from this inspiration. We are all keenly interested in the

welfare and progress of the area, recognizing the fundamental truth that "poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity and peace everywhere."

The CHAIRMAN: I have been interested in Mr. Symon's lecture, which has cleared up a number of points in regard to which I am concerned. Perhaps I can lead the questioning by asking whether there are other Plans for development in those areas which do not come under the Colombo Plan? If so, what proportion of them are provided for by the Colombo Plan itself and what are the methods of financing those other Plans? Does Mr. Symon think the six-year Colombo Plan will in itself be adequate to go any way towards solving the difficulties of the countries of South and South-east Asia?

Mr. SYMON: As to other Plans, Burma is a newcomer and has not prepared a plan on the basis of those referred to in this report; but there is an agency, I think sponsored by the United States, which is about to conclude a development survey of the country. When we have that survey we shall know better what the position is. In the meantime, the United States is giving substantial aid to Burma. The same is true as to other countries. There is a Plan for Viet Nam and a skeleton Plan for Cambodia has just come to hand. Those countries have bigger pre-occupations at the moment which unfortunately retard their development.

In regard to the second question, the six-year Colombo development programmes will succeed, at any rate, in holding the present standards of living. They may bring about some increase. The difficulty is to assess whether increased food production will match increased population. That is the biggest obstacle. If the Plan can hold the position and bring some improvement it will at the end of the period have laid the foundation for a much more rapid expansion which will undoubtedly lead to betterment.

The CHAIRMAN: If Mr. Coomaraswamy would give his views on the general question it would be of particular interest to us.

Mr. COOMARASWAMY: I am glad of an opportunity to endorse fully what Mr. Symon has said. I do not think he has omitted any point which should be mentioned. His exposition has been very full and I have been glad to have an opportunity to be here today to listen to it.

On the point you raised, Mr. Chairman, as to the adequacy of the Colombo Plan, the countries in the area all regard the Colombo Plan as related to their entire programmes; they do not separate the programmes as such. As Mr. Symon said, the purposes of the Plan is to bridge the gap between a country's requirements and the resources available; in other words, the gap between the programme and the resources is to be bridged by the Colombo Plan.

I do not think there is anything more I can usefully add.

Group-Captain H. ST. C. SMALLWOOD: I did not hear Malaya mentioned during the lecture.

Mr. SYMON: It was covered by "colonial territories"; representatives from our colonial territories attend all meetings.

Sir HUGH DOW: I find myself puzzled to know what is the criterion for the inclusion of any particular project in the Colombo Plan. You

have explained, sir, that the Plan is naturally rather indefinite, and we can understand that it needs revision from time to time in the light of the experience of the preceding years. But since a large number of these items are financed from the countries' own resources (and I think you said that in the last year the greater part of them had been so financed), I am left in some doubt whether a large number of items are not included in the Colombo Plan which the countries would, and indeed must, carry out whether there were any Plan or not. For example, referring to a country about which I know a little, India, there are various irrigation and other development items which I understand are included in the Plan, such as the provision of a factory at Sindhri for producing fertilizers; the great irrigation schemes which are now being carried out in the south of Sind, and the flood control scheme in Bihar. All these were started before the British left India, and they are going on and in any case would have gone on. Also, is there any machinery to ensure that grants which are made towards these countries for development are actually spent on the schemes included in the Colombo Plan? Since the Plan may be subject to modification, are the grants made simply as lump sum grants for development or are they allocated to any particular item of development by the committee or body which decides on the grant to be made? Is there any control to ensure that the money granted is used for the particular project for which it is granted, and is not diverted to some other project a country may have on hand?

Mr. SYMON: The short answer is that the programmes originally included in the original report, and which have been modified to some extent in the first annual report, are programmes prepared by the countries and contain projects which they themselves feel must be carried out. They include, as you rightly say, the Sindri fertilizer project and so on, a lot of work which was already on the way when the Plan started; and the programmes have been adjusted to take into account the changing conditions of the country concerned and the changing resources available.

As I said in my lecture, the programmes have all been drawn up as realistically as possible on the basis of the resources that the countries themselves feel they will be able to provide plus what they think is a reasonable expectation from elsewhere.

So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, our arrangements provide for the release of sterling balances which the countries themselves spend—it is their money—in whatever way they determine. So far as other organizations are concerned, perhaps I can mention the International Bank, which has made loans to India and Pakistan for the carrying out of a specific project—it may be a railway programme, a programme of intensive agriculture, harbour work, and so on. In the case of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the money given does not go into a pool, but goes to specifically agreed projects. By mutual agreement or by arrangement, projects have been segregated and the money is transferred to the Government concerned to use on a particular project. In the case of the United States, by and large their grants and loans are related to projects. Under recent agreements the United States has agreed to provide 50 million dollars in the case of India and 10 million dollars in the

case of Pakistan, for general development under mutual arrangements agreed between the United States and the countries themselves.

Professor CRESSWELL said he thought the weak point of the scheme was that technical advisers were being supplied together with financial aid, without the former being given any executive power to enforce their advice. He pointed out that the system of advisers had worked very well in Egypt in the days when, under Lord Granville's letter of 1888, it was laid down that a Minister had to take the advice of his adviser if the latter pressed it, or resign. But once this power was abandoned the system ceased to work, and the first head of the British Military Mission resigned in 1938 for this very reason.

He then said that if these technical advisers have no executive power to enforce their advice they will probably find they are wasting their time.

On the other hand, supposing that they are successful in increasing the economic wealth of the country they are sent to, how are they going to ensure (without executive power) that this increase raises the standard of living of the proletariat, and does not result in making the rich richer and the poor poorer?

If this were the result, the whole object of the Colombo scheme—viz., “to raise the terribly low standard of living of the proletariat of South-eastern Asia”—would have been completely defeated, so he asked: “What provisions have been made to prevent such an outcome?”

Judge AMEER ALI: The lecturer is to be congratulated on putting his finger on the crux of the problem—that is, food production—because the whole problem is whether the production of food will keep pace with the increasing population of the countries concerned. There is no fear of Ceylon not keeping her feet on the ground, as the late Mr. Senanayaka, when Prime Minister, once said to me. In regard to some other countries it may be doubtful. Many of their problems arise from the fact that many of their peoples marry at the age of 12 and begin to produce families at the age of 14. When talking of raising the standards of living we must remember that poverty, as we regard it in this country, would not be regarded as poverty in countries in South and South-east Asia. Largely because of climatic and other reasons, they want only a moderate sufficiency of consumer goods and a moderate sufficiency of food.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: We have been very fortunate this afternoon in having, first of all, to take the chair, Dr. Purcell, who is the head of our South-east Asia Panel and is fully conversant with anything which concerns that area. Secondly, we have had the good fortune to have a lecture from Mr. Symon, who obviously knows, ought to know, and must know, more than anybody else in the world about the Colombo Plan. It is a very complicated arrangement because, as he told me before this meeting, there is no actual Plan. That makes it much more difficult to understand what is being done. I believe many of us were in a state of abysmal ignorance, but that is gradually being cleared up. It is one of those instances of getting together which can be so fruitful, and which our Society is anxious to see established between all the countries that have to do with the sphere with which we deal.

The lecturer brought out the important point that prosperity is not

individual; you cannot have half the world prosperous and the other half miserable or starving. If we want true prosperity everybody everywhere has to be prosperous. If we want to improve the standards of living here we have to improve them everywhere. It is not a question of one country getting all the goods it needs and leaving other countries to starve. That is not possible, today, if we want true prosperity anywhere.

The difficulty of this Plan, as I see it, is that there is nobody in charge. That seems to me to make for dreadful complication. Mr. Symon certainly has explained how in many cases grants are made, and I suppose it would always be rather a question of infringing the sovereignty of these States if you had a Governing Board, like that set up in Europe. I do not think it would be very feasible to set up such a Board to cover the countries which come under the heading of the Colombo Plan, but certainly, from the way in which Mr. Symon has explained the position, it seems an admirable start has already been made, and I am sure all here will wish the Plan the greatest success and that it will bring prosperity to the countries with which it is concerned.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of members of the Society was held at the hall of the Royal Society of Arts, 6, John Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2, on Thursday, June 5, 1952. The President, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., was in the chair, and the Anniversary Lecture was given by Sir Angus Gillan, K.B.E., C.M.G., his subject being "Australia's Mission in South-east Asia."

The PRESIDENT, on taking the chair, called on Mr. O. White, C.M.G., to read the Honorary Secretaries' Report.

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1951-52

All other events during the year were overcast by the sad death of His Majesty the King. Messages of loyal duty and sympathy were sent on behalf of the Society to Her Majesty the Queen and to Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, and their Majesties were graciously pleased to accept them.

One hundred and forty-five new members joined the Society this year, a marked increase on the figure for 1950-51. On the other hand, the number of resignations was slightly over last year, being 57, and there are still a substantial number of members in Asia who are in arrears with their subscriptions, including many of the Society's members in Persia. The total number of members is 1,847, but of these I am sorry to say that 71 are still out of touch with the Society.

We regret to report the death of twenty members of the Society, among whom were Mr. Ian Morrison, who was killed in Korea, Mr. Geary Gardner, who presented a valuable Tibetan Tanka and other Tibetan banners to the Society, and Miss Mildred Cable, who was a member of our Council from 1944 to 1950.

Twenty-three lectures were arranged during the year, but unfortunately no fewer than four had to be cancelled at short notice. The emphasis this year has been particularly on developments in South-east Asia and the Far East, among the lectures on which were those of General Sir Douglas Gracey and Mr. Ronald Farquharson. There were also six lectures on the Arab world, including some very fine coloured films shown by Sir Clarmont Skrine, a lecture on Soviet Siberia by Dr. T. Armstrong, and one on Kashmir by Lord Birdwood.

The Jubilee of the Society, which occurred in October, 1951, was celebrated at the Jubilee Dinner on October 11, of which an account appeared in the January number of the Journal. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Mountbatten, Lord Scarbrough, as principal guest of the evening, made a speech which was notable as pointing out the part which the Society can and ought to play at the present time. Some 200 members and their guests were present.

Thanks are due to the local Honorary Secretaries and to certain

other members of the Society who have helped to extend its usefulness by bringing in a number of recruits this year.

THE HON. TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT

Major E. AINGER read his report as follows :

You have the balance sheet and income and expenditure account before you. This year I am asking you to examine them carefully in the light of the proposed amendments to the Rules, of which the Council is recommending your approval.

To turn first to the balance sheet figures. You will see that our Capital Funds have not been invested by some £295. This is due to the fact that we did not invest £168 received from Entrance Fees in 1950, nor £202 received from the same source in 1951. The reasons for this will be clear to you when you examine the position of the income and expenditure account.

From this you will see that there was an excess of expenditure of nearly £200, even after taking credit for unexpected donations amounting to 100 guineas and for the grant made to the Society's General Fund by the Dinner Club, amounting to a further £100. This means that we are running at a real loss this year of about £400. Increases in staff salaries were made in the autumn, and the effect of these changes is not fully reflected in the accounts for this year.

I estimate that in a full year our total deficit on income and expenditure account to be between £700 and £1,000, a figure which our invested reserves are insufficient to carry for more than a year to eighteen months.

I shall not now deal with the implications of my financial report, as this will come up under a different heading later in the meeting.

The Honorary Treasurer then moved the adoption of the accounts for 1951.

There being no questions or comments, MAJOR AINGER moved the adoption of the accounts as circulated by post.

Sir KINAHAN CORNWALLIS seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1952-53

The PRESIDENT announced that the Council had elected as its Chairman Admiral Sir Howard Kelly; as Vice-Chairman, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis; and as Vice-Presidents, Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of Cork and Orrery, Mr. Alistair Gibb, Brigadier S. G. Longrigg and Lt.-General H. G. Martin.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY proposed the election of the following: As Honorary Secretaries: Group-Captain H. St. Clair Smallwood, Colonel H. W. Tobin. As Members of the Council: Sir Hugh Dow, Sir Clarmont Skrine, Mr. Geoffrey Stephenson. In making the proposition Sir Howard Kelly said: As you know, every year there is a change-round on the Council so as to bring in new blood. We have, unfortunately, lost

two very valuable members in General Sir Dashwood Strettell and Colonel W. G. Elphinston. Another great loss is that of Mr. Oswald White, who as one of the Honorary Secretaries put in a very great amount of hard work on behalf of the Society. As he has already a full-time occupation he finds it more than he can manage to give the amount of time to the proceedings of the Society that he would like to give. Therefore, he has asked to be relieved. I am glad to say that we have had extraordinary good fortune in finding Group-Captain Smallwood willing to replace Mr. White.

As to the new members of the Council, Sir Hugh Dow, as you know, was a distinguished Governor in Pakistan and India; he was successively Governor of Sind and Governor of Bihar. From 1948 to 1951 he was Consul-General at Jerusalem.

Sir Clarmont Skrine, the son of a Central Asian explorer, served in Chinese Turkestan as a young man as Consul-General at Kashgar. Subsequently he was in Baluchistan (incidentally, he was at Quetta during the great earthquake), and then he served at Meshed and at Teheran in Persia. He was lately in the Near East as representative for the Jerusalem Electric Corporation. His work is well known to members of this Society, and he has received awards of the Royal Geographical Society for Central Asian Exploration. Members of our Society have had an opportunity of seeing the admirable slides with which he has illustrated the lectures given to our Society.

Mr. Geoffrey Stephenson is one of our past Honorary Secretaries. As a young man he served in Iraq under Sir Arnold Wilson, since when he has maintained his connection with the Middle East. His many years' service as an Honorary Secretary of this Society were remarkable for the fact that he brought in more new members than anybody else has ever done since the inauguration of the Society. We therefore felt that Mr. Geoffrey Stephenson would be a welcome addition to the Council.

Colonel FRENCH seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously, whereupon

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY added: Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of Cork and Orrery has been elected by the Council as a Vice-President and we are delighted to welcome him back to a position he held just before the last war. We also welcome Sir Kinahan Cornwallis as Vice-Chairman of the Council. As you know, he is a great Arabist and authority on all matters concerning the Arab world, and we did not want to lose him. Fortunately, we are entitled, in addition to members of the Council, to have a Vice-Chairman, and Sir Kinahan Cornwallis very kindly consented to take that office, which prolongs, I hope indefinitely, his association with the Council.

ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBER

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been the custom in our Society from time to time to elect as an Honorary Member a distinguished individual or someone who has undertaken very good work on behalf of the Society. One of these has been for years Mrs. Devonshire,

who was closely connected with our members in the Near East, but now that Mrs. Devonshire is no more, there is a vacancy. It is with pleasure that I submit to you for election as an Honorary Member of the Society the name of Sir Henry Holland, C.I.E., M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S. Sir Henry served for over forty years in India as a most distinguished medical missionary. He worked in Quetta, and he was the only man I know besides Dr. Pennell who was able to go unscathed and unescorted across the frontier. He had such a high reputation for real goodness as a missionary, combined with surgical skill of a remarkable order, that the tribesmen not only flocked to his clinic in Quetta but welcomed Sir Henry to their homes. I remember so well the time when I happened to be in Quetta and a distinguished American oculist came to study for a year under Sir Henry Holland. At the end of that year the American oculist said: "Dr. Holland (as Sir Henry then was), you can name your own fee and I will double it if you will come and work as my partner in the United States." But Dr. Holland replied: "My £400 a year from the Church Missionary Society is quite ample for my needs, and I remain here."

Though now much increased in years, Sir Henry, with great gallantry, two months ago flew out to Quetta at the urgent request of the tribesmen inside and across the frontier, and I understand he was able to perform with his usual skill between 200 and 300 eye operations. I venture to suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that it would be a great honour to this Society if we could acquire as an Honorary Member so distinguished and so disinterested a man. (Carried with applause.)

SPECIAL BUSINESS

In accordance with the notice of a Special General Meeting circulated to members,

Mr. OSWALD WHITE, Honorary Secretary, moved:

"That the sentence in Rule 4 that is at present worded as follows: 'The Annual subscription of Members shall be £1 5s.' be altered to read: 'The rates of the Annual subscription of Members shall be £2 for Members resident in London and within 50 miles of Charing Cross; £1 10s. for Country and Overseas Members.'"

He said:

Your Honorary Treasurer has already told you that a financial budget for 1952 discloses a gap between income and expenditure in of between £700 and £1,000. The proposals which, with the approval of the Council, I shall put before you will, it is hoped, go far to balance our budget from next year; but since their full benefit will not be realized this year, it was necessary to find an immediate stop-gap.

That stop-gap, I am happy to say, has been provided by the generous donations of some interested in Asia. Their public-spirited action has given us a breathing-space. After careful consideration, your Council has decided to ask you to agree to the subscription being raised to £2 for London members and £1 10s. for all other members.

Supposing every existing member agreed to pay these increased rates,

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1951.

1950	LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1950	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
									I. Capital Fund Investments (at cost):							
£								£								
	I. Capital Funds:								Persia Fund							
267	Life Subscription Account ...	267	5	0					£531 6s. 7d. 3 per cent. Savings Bonds,							
980	Entrance Fee Account ...	1,115	18	0				537	1965/75 ...	537	1	6				
600	Legacy Account ...	600	0	0					General Fund							
97	Lawrence of Arabia Medal Fund ...	96	11	0				284	£280 12s. 3 per cent. Savings Bonds,							
578	Persia Fund ...	578	4	10					1965/75 ...	283	18	7				
									£1,405 3 per cent. Defence Bonds,							
									4th Issue	1,407	1	2				
	Sykes Medal Fund ...	150	0	0					£1,165 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds Post							
	Add: Accumulated Interest	10	11	1				1,165	Office Register (Sold) ...							
		160	11	1					£273 13s. 2½ per cent. Funding Loan							
	Less: Cost of Medal for 1951	3	0	0				274	1956/61 (Sold) ...							
157					157	11	1		Post Office Savings Bank,							
	Investment Reserve Fund	97	18	7					No. 2 Account:							
	Less: Loss on Realisation of							157	Sykes Medal Fund ...	157	11	1				
	Investments ...	28	0	8				45	Persia Fund ...	45	8	0				
98					69	17	11	73	General Funds ...	161	14	7				
													364	13	8	
2,777					2,885	7	10	2,535							2,592 14 11	
	II. Income and Expenditure Account:								Note:							
	Balance, 1st January, 1951 ...	20	17	10					The Market Value of the above Investments at							
	Less: Excess of Expenditure over								31st December, 1951, was approximately £2,454							
	Income for the year to date ...	197	11	1					II. Fixed Assets:							
21					176	13	3		Society Premises Account:							
	III. Liabilities:								Balance as at 1st January, 1948 ...	110	19	3				
250	Loans from Members, free of Interest ...	200	0	0					Additions since, at cost ...	31	6	0				
477	Sundry Creditors ...	421	9	5				142						142	5	3
					621	9	5		III. Current Assets:							
									Income Tax Repayment Claim ...	283	12	10				
									Cash: Post Office Savings Bank, £ s. d.							
									No. 1 Account ...	392	19	4				
									Cash at Bank and in Hand	87	8	4				
									(Being Bank Overdraft				311	11	0	
									less Cash in Hand)						595 3 10	
£3,525					£3,330	4	0	£3,525							£3,330 4 0	

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, LONDON, E.C. 2.
April 3, 1952.

WILLIAMS, DYSON, JONES & CO.
(Chartered Accountants).

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 2, HINDE STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1951.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.			
1950		£	s. d.	1950		£	s. d.
£	To <i>Office Expenses:</i>			£			
1,095	Salaries and National Insurance ...	1,108	0 0	1,895	By <i>Subscriptions received</i> ...	1,917	9 7
147	Rent, light and heat ...	126	11 4	294	„ <i>Journal Subscriptions and Sales</i> ...	249	5 6
17	Telephone ...	16	14 4		„ <i>Interest Received:</i>		
89	Stationery and printing ...	280	10 5	47	Government Securities (net) ...	50	12 3
116	Postages ...	59	2 2	16	Post Office Savings Bank ...	19	14 0
207	Cleaning and upkeep of premises ...	210	17 0			70	6 3
5	Audit fee ...	10	10 0	251	„ <i>Income Tax Repayment claim</i> ...	283	12 10
6	Insurances ...	6	0 8	—	„ <i>Donations Received</i> ...	110	10 0
8	Bank charges and Cheque Books ...	14	6 1	57	„ <i>Sundry Receipts</i> ...	26	12 9
—	Repairs and renewals ...	1	9 6	—	„ <i>Contributions received from Members of the Dinner Club</i> ...	100	0 0
25	Sundries ...	22	11 3				
		1,856	12 9				
1,715							
	Less: Contribution from Palestine						
200	Exploration Fund ...	200	0 0				
1,515			1,656 12 9				
	„ <i>Journal:</i>						
731	Printing ...	935	9 3				
63	Postages ...	63	0 6				
72	Reporting ...	52	15 9				
			1,051 5 6				
166	„ <i>Lectures and Study Group</i> ...		194 1 1				
1	„ <i>Library</i> ...		4 12 8	2,560		2,757	16 11
16	„ <i>Professional Expenses</i> ...		42 0 0		Excess of Expenditure over Income carried to Balance		
6	„ <i>Lawrence of Arabia Medal</i> ...		— — —	68	Sheet ...	197	11 1
7	„ <i>Persia Fund Lecture and Subscription to "Iraq"</i> ...		6 16 0				
1	„ <i>Loss on Realisation of Investments</i> ...		— — —				
2,628		£2,955	8 0	£2,628		£2,955	8 0

then there would be a gain of £1,400 a year. But we do not propose to make the new rates compulsory for existing members. That would not be in keeping with the terms under which they originally joined. It is proposed, therefore, that while the new rates should be compulsory for all members joining after this date, it should be voluntary for all existing members. Unless, however, a large majority of existing members do agree to pay the higher rates voluntarily, income will continue to fall short of expenditure and we shall be on the road to bankruptcy. Your Council appeals to the members of the Society, therefore, to pay the increased dues, supposing the motion to be passed, if they can see their way to doing so. But I do wish to emphasize that there is no need for one single member of the Society to resign if and because the motion is passed. In voting, therefore, on this motion, please be guided by the effect you think it will have on the future welfare of the Society. I am confident that when you view it in this light you will vote for the motion.

I now formally move the following motion: That the first sentence in Rule 4 that is at present worded "The Annual subscription of members shall be £1 5s." be altered to read "The rates of the Annual subscription of members shall be £2 for members resident in London and within 50 miles of Charing Cross and £1 10s. for Country and Overseas members."

The PRESIDENT: Before I call on Major Ainger to second Mr. White's proposal, does any member wish to make any comment or ask any question about the proposition? . . . As there are no comments I would, if I may, emphasize the fact that the increase is purely voluntary for existing members, though we hope that as many as find it possible to do so will consent to increase their subscription. I would also emphasize that if members would only give a seven-year covenant for their subscription the revenue of the Society would be greatly increased without any further expenditure or call on the members themselves. So, would existing members who have not up to date given a covenant please consider the feasibility of so doing?

Major E. AINGER, the Honorary Treasurer, then said:

I have much pleasure in seconding the proposal put forward by Mr. White.

There are two points about this matter which I would like to stress. The first is that where a subscription is voluntary it is extraordinarily easy for members to forget to alter their Banker's Order. I know this myself, as despite the fact that I am Treasurer until today I have gone on paying my original subscription of 21s. just because I forgot to take any steps to alter my Banker's Order, this merely because I had signed under a Deed of Covenant, and therefore did not notice.

I do therefore appeal to members to remember that if this resolution is passed there is need for them to take action with regard to old Bankers' Orders.

Now the other point concerns Deeds of Covenant. Our accountants have worked out that if all our country members who live in the United Kingdom were to sign Deeds of Covenant, the annual income of the Society would be increased by some £1,600. If allowance is made for those of our members who already subscribe under Deed, the result would

still show an additional income of well over £1,000, and I do feel, therefore, that this is the action which members should take if it is at all possible for them to do so, particularly as it can be done at no cost to themselves.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

A TRIBUTE TO MISS MILDRED CABLE

THE PRESIDENT, General Sir JOHN SHEA: I have, during the course of the past years, had occasion at times to endeavour to pay tribute to distinguished members of this society who have served their generation well and passed over—sailors, soldiers, diplomats and the like. This afternoon I propose to use this opportunity to pay tribute to somebody of a different character who had a most useful and distinguished career, and who was a most valued member of this Society—Miss Mildred Cable, who was for many years in the China Inland Mission, and later, on retirement, worked for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Miss Cable, in addition to being a member of this Society, was awarded the Society's highest award, the Lawrence Medal, for her travels and for her writings.

Whilst she was a schoolgirl, Miss Cable felt that she had a vocation, and after leaving school she for some time studied science. She then went out to China and was sent to work in a school in Shansi under Miss Eva French. A curious thing about this school was that it flourished very greatly, though the girls were not allowed to have their feet bound. After working in that school for seven years, Miss Cable came back to England with Miss Eva French and they collected a second Miss French. These two were related to Field-Marshal Lord French, who commanded the British Expeditionary Force in the first World War.

When the three returned to China they persuaded the China Inland Mission that there was work for them to do in the Gobi Desert. They went to the edge of the Gobi Desert and during their fifteen years' work there they crossed the desert five times. Wherever they heard of an oasis in the desert the three of them made their way there, a Bible in hand, wearing Chinese clothes and speaking also Turki, which they had studied. You can imagine the conditions under which these ladies lived: purely primitive. They carried their Bibles and their shawls; they ate what they could get; they slept where they could, but they carried the Gospel right through that desert, with courage and persistence.

Not only did they carry out their Gospel mission, but they also, under the leadership of Miss Cable, acquired a great deal of information that was useful to scientists. Miss Cable in her book, which is indeed a classic, *The Gobi Desert*, says: "The common people loved us and the Mohammedans respected us for our grey hairs, our celibate existence and our many pilgrimages." Having worked thus for fifteen years they returned to England, and Miss Cable was welcomed as a member of the Council of our Society.

Had you met Miss Cable you would have said : Here is the embodiment of stalwart common sense. But when you got to know her you would have found three things : a quiet sense of humour, an unmistakable aura of goodness, and a faith which had carried her through all her troubles, a bright and shining faith such as can move mountains. (Applause.)

AUSTRALIA'S MISSION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By SIR ANGUS GILLAN, K.B.E., C.M.G.

Anniversary Lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on June 5, 1952, the President, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The PRESIDENT said: We are very fortunate in having with us Sir Angus Gillan, who has had a most distinguished career first as an athlete and then as a civil servant and in working for the British Council. Sir Angus rowed twice for Oxford, in 1907 and in 1909, and if I remember aright he was a member of the winning Olympic Leander crew in 1912. He was later unanimously selected for the Sudan Civil Service, where he became in later years Governor of Kordofan and the Civil Secretary to the Sudan.

In 1941 Sir Angus was in charge of the Empire and Commonwealth Division of the British Council, and during that period he was a valued member of the Council of our Society. He resigned from the Council in 1949 to spend two eventful years in Australia in charge of the work of the British Council there. He has recently returned and will lecture now on the attitude of Australia towards Asia in general and particularly towards South-east Asia.

THE title which I have had the temerity to give to this lecture, "Australia's Mission in South-east Asia," might cover a large number of aspects—diplomacy, defence, commerce, economics, social welfare and so on, but I am going to devote most of my attention to what we call cultural relations.

I make no apology for that. It is the job on which I was engaged directly on the United Kingdom side—the projection, in some form, of Britain in Australia; but indirectly it also brought me into fairly close contact with what Australia is doing and what I hope Australia will more and more do on similar lines. Furthermore, I believe that cultural relations are, in a way, the most fundamental of all relations. Are you sceptical about that? "Cultural relations" is a horrid jargon term and as such is apt to be rather suspect; but, as I have preached for ten years in the British Council, I believe cultural relations are simply the mechanics of human relations, a way of trying to get to know each other better and, consequently, understanding each other better and, one hopes, by that process, getting to like each other better. Cultural relations are, in fact, an essential link in mutual human understanding. We can all do better business, or do better whatever we are engaged in, if we can understand the other man's point of view, his outlook on life, his way of life; and, conversely, if he can understand ours. As with the individual, so I believe it is with nations.

Perhaps I had better begin by saying something as to how I got mixed up in this business of Australia and South-east Asia. As the President has told you, a short time after I retired from service in the Sudan I was asked to join the British Council to build up its work in the Commonwealth and Empire. The Colonial side was intensely interesting and pretty straightforward, very largely thanks to the encouragement and help which we received from the Colonial Office. The Commonwealth side was,

perhaps, not quite so straightforward. I would not for a moment say it was sticky, but it was certainly a little tricky. It was a new idea to some extent both in Whitehall and on the periphery, so that one had to proceed rather slowly. There were many disappointments and a not inconsiderable number of headaches.

Then in the autumn of 1944 Lord Bruce, or Mr. Bruce as he then was, asked me to go to see him. That is nearly eight years ago and so I cannot perhaps quote exactly the words he used, but I have still a very vivid recollection of the conversation we then had. The gist of it was something like this. He said: "I have come to the conclusion that the sooner the British Council is represented in Australia, the better." I was naturally gratified, as other tentative approaches to Australia had not produced much in the way of result, and I asked him "Just why?" "Well," he replied, "Australia is just beginning to grasp that she has graduated into full nationhood. She is going to have a tremendous job after the war, which she does not yet fully realize, in the South-west Pacific and in South-east Asia. A great part of its effectiveness will depend on the cultural relations which she builds up. But she is a young country without [his words, not mine] much cultural background. It is for the British Council to show her how this part of the job is to be done."

That was something of a challenge. The upshot was that I did an exploratory tour in Australia, and, incidentally, in New Zealand, in the first half of 1945. It would be irrelevant now to speak of the keen interest in and appreciation of the more obvious elements of what I had to offer—the various projections of Britain which the British Council is (or ought to be if only it had the funds) in a position to supply. There was also a very keen interest (though it was a much newer idea) in what I used to describe to Australians as a two-way traffic: a reciprocal traffic in ideas between Britain and Australia. But when it came to talking about Australia's mission in South-east Asia, not only had one to walk delicately as an outsider, but one was up against another difficulty. Australians were at that time fighting in South-east Asia. At an earlier period in the war invasion from that quarter had seemed a very definite danger. There was, therefore, no lack of "war" interest in South-east Asia. Nevertheless, at the same time in most circles there seemed to me to be only the very dimmest, if any, perception that Australia would or should have a peace-time rôle to play there. When one developed this part of the thesis one felt that people, though too polite to say so, were thinking: "What is this chap driving at?"

As far as I am concerned, let me now jump four and a half years to the time when I decided that before retiring I must have a breath of fresh air, and I exchanged my job as Controller of the British Council's Commonwealth and Empire Division for that of its representative in Australia.

Now, as a cultural representative of Britain, I know well that I have many shortcomings and deficiencies. If I have any trade it is just that of the plain administrator. I have no pretensions to higher culture in any direction and I am all too frequently stumped when people expect me, as they often do, to have an intimate knowledge of their own particular interest, whether it be music, drama, art, science, education or what-not.

But it happened that in those four and a half years I had made two tours in South-east Asia, and although two tours do not make one an expert, I was able to talk with some knowledge about South-east Asia and Australia's opportunities and responsibilities in that area.

When I arrived in Australia in October, 1949, I found many encouraging changes in the position *vis-à-vis* South-east Asia, certainly in Government circles and to a limited extent in some others. Relevant, of course, both in cause and effect, had been the Anzac Pact, now expanded into the Pacific Pact. There had been Dr. Evatt's insistence on the reference of the Indonesian problem to the United Nations. There was the creation of the South Pacific Commission, largely on the initiative of Australia and New Zealand. Incidentally, Australia pays twice as much as any other Power towards the expense of that Commission. Post-war responsibilities for reconstruction in New Guinea and Papua, of which I had the good fortune to see something while I was there, had caused eyes to turn in that direction. A School of Pacific Administration was in process of being set up in Sydney. In fact, in current phrase, what, on the United Kingdom pattern, had, until the war, been called traditionally but inaccurately "the Far East" was becoming recognized in its proper position as the Near North. And then in 1950, largely at the instigation of Mr. (today Sir Percy) Spender, came the Colombo Conference and the initiation of the Colombo Plan.

I do not wish to weary you with a lot of statistical details, but I must give a few about the Colombo Plan, because it seems that the part Australia is playing is not fully appreciated in the United Kingdom. Let me read one or two short extracts from the Report of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and South-east Asia (pp. 54-6) which was presented to Parliament only last month. Under the heading "Australia" the Report says:

"6. In accordance with its active and enthusiastic support for the objectives of the Colombo Plan the Australian Government announced in December, 1950, that it would contribute £A.31.25 million to economic development over the six-year period of the Colombo Plan. The Australian Government had already agreed to contribute 35 per cent. of any total up to £8 million (Sterling) to the Technical Co-operation Programme over a period of three years.

Economic Development Programme

7. During the first year of the Plan £A.8.75 million was made available for economic development. India was allocated £A.4.2 million, Pakistan £A.2 million and Ceylon £A.0.3 million, leaving a balance of £A.2.25 million unallocated. The arrangements for the expenditure of the first year's allocation were set forth in notes exchanged on September 24, 1951, with each of the Governments concerned. The main provisions were that aid to the recipient countries should, so far as possible, be in the form of Australian commodities, materials, equipment and facilities which would be mutually agreed upon, and that these supplies and any local currency proceeds

resulting from the sale thereof would be used by the recipient Government in the manner contributing towards the achievement of the objectives of the Colombo Plan for Economic Development.”

Then as regards the

“ *Technical Co-operation Programme* ”

9. On the basis of present contributions to the Technical Co-operation Programme the Australian Government is committed to a contribution of approximately £A.3·1 million which will be expanded in four main fields—namely, fellowships and scholarships, special schools and seminars, provision of experts and technical equipment.

10. In December, 1950, the Australian Government offered 150 fellowships and scholarships to the countries of South and South-east Asia and in September, 1951, a further 150 were offered. Senior Fellows, Junior Fellows and Scholars have undertaken courses of training, the duration of which has varied between six months and six years, in a wide number of subjects, including economics, medicine, agricultural science, mechanical and electrical engineering, plant chemistry, road construction and maintenance, civil aviation, meteorology, statistics, telecommunications, nursing, sheep husbandry and textile production.”

I was told recently that the number of Colombo Plan scholars now in Australia is 500.

“ 11. In addition to the regular fellowships and scholarships programme, Australia has arranged special schools and seminars for selected groups. A course in public administration for twenty-four Pakistan civil servants and a seminar in social services for four students from Ceylon and four from India have been conducted. A number of short-term visits to Australia was made by officials of recipient countries to observe Australian methods and procedures. Up to February 1, 1952, Australia had provided sixteen experts to India, Pakistan and Ceylon in the fields of fisheries, technical education, brick and tile manufacture, educational psychology, monetary economics, agricultural development, food technology, geological survey, aerial pest control, and control of fruit tree diseases.”

Then in the paragraph dealing with “ *Administration* ” the Report says:

“ 15. To implement the Australian programmes under the Colombo Plan the Australian Government has established an Economic and Technical Assistance Section in the Department of External Affairs. In addition a Director of Colombo Plan Supplies has been appointed to expedite the procurement of supplies against contributions in the light of requests from recipient governments and Australian availabilities. It is anticipated that this appointment will mean a more speedy response to requests for supplies, a more thorough

assessment of Australian capacity to supply and a better organized Australian programme generally in the field of economic development, supplies and technical equipment."

I think you will agree that that is a pretty solid contribution to the material well-being of South-east Asia or of Asia generally. You will note that the Colombo Plan covers, so to speak, both export and import. Under it Australia is sending out aid, financial and technical, to various countries of South-east Asia. She is also giving increased opportunities *in* Australia for study by scholars from these countries.

Now, how does this latter square with what has been called (though it is not an official term) the White Australia policy? There is a good deal of misunderstanding about that policy into which it is not my business to go this evening—except perhaps to emphasize that even if Australia were to open her doors indiscriminately to Asiatic immigration the effect on Asia would be no more noticeable than would be an attempt to drain off a Mississippi flood with a 6-inch pipe. But there is one aspect I must mention which greatly interested me. On my way to Australia in 1949 I stopped off at Singapore and also saw a little of Malaya and Indonesia. Being bound for Australia and interested in South-east Asian affairs, I naturally tried to ascertain what the feeling was in regard to the so-called White Australian policy. I found practically no criticism of Australian policy as such. It may be ironical, but the wave of nationalism which has spread and is spreading over these countries at least seemed to me to have this logical application: that people were prepared to admit that even Australia had the right to say whom she wanted and whom she did not want as her nationals. As far as I could discover it was simply the method of application of the policy in some individual cases which called forth such very bitter criticism; but it was criticism which I heard very nearly as strongly expressed in Australia.

On the other hand, when I said I was going to Australia I was impressed by the interest shown in her and the wish for more knowledge of her. "Why," I was asked time after time, "does Australia not send us more films, lecturers, books, and so on? Can't you do something about it?" I certainly tried to do something.

But to return to the question of the admission of Asiatics; I believe, and I think an increasing number of Australians is coming to believe, that quite apart from any moral obligation, the way of safety also lies in the encouragement of Asiatic students to come to Australia to study. These young people will be going back to their own countries as potential leaders of their people. If they can go back with friendly feelings towards Australia, realizing that they have gained much from her and that their fellow-nationals will have, as students, a great deal to gain from her, I feel fairly certain that they will help to mould public opinion in such a way as to lessen the fear and the threat of mass invasion.

Of course the inculcation of this attitude of mind depends not only on the admission of Asiatic students to the schools and universities and technical colleges in Australia, but also on their treatment while there. It is a comparatively new problem in Australia. We have had it much

longer in this country and we still realize what a difficult problem it is and that we have not finally solved it. There is in Australia a great and natural fear of the Asiatic, if allowed in in quantity, undercutting the wage market and reducing the general standard of living. But I do not feel that there is much colour prejudice as such in Australia—certainly not more than still lingers in Britain, perhaps less. It is the newness of the problem, the ignorance in many quarters of its very existence, and the consequent lack of machinery to deal with it, to which more attention should be directed. But governments, the universities, various small but enthusiastic societies and some of the churches are beginning to tackle the problem in human terms. The Department of External Affairs has recently appointed a full-time experienced welfare officer to deal with the human problems of the Colombo Plan trainees. Melbourne University has appointed a warden of Asiatic students and is going to build an International House where students from outside countries and Australian students can live together, get to know each other and discuss their mutual problems. I doubt whether coloured students could find anywhere more congenial surroundings than in the lovely and friendly University of Western Australia at Perth. And I happened to find an obviously happy band of Malays in one of the Adelaide colleges. This process is all going in the right direction, but I venture to think it still needs more guidance, more co-ordination and drive. And of course—I hope it is “of course”—in view of the various advantages Australia has of climate, accessibility and so on, the number of Asiatic students is bound to increase just as fast as the schools and technical colleges, which are at present just as overcrowded as our own, can take them in, whether as assisted scholars or on their own resources.

Concurrently (and this touches on what I called the export side) there is and is going to be a tremendous demand from all this area for the things of the mind and spirit as well as of material things—teachers, lecturers, missionaries, books, films, projections of the arts. I believe the great majority want them in the English tongue and in the British—I use the word in the widest sense—interpretation. But the demand will not last for ever unless met. There is an enormous field to cover and time is short. I doubt if Britain in these hard days can cover the whole of the field—and indeed, as I often said when in Australia, why should she? Australia is becoming more and more the bastion of democracy in the South-west Pacific. She surely has a very big stake in the peace, prosperity and social welfare of the peoples of South-east Asia. Some of the area consists of British colonies and dependencies. One might hear it said (and it is true enough in theory) that they are therefore Britain's responsibility; but is not that doctrine, in practice, a little out of date in the interdependent world of today? (As a matter of fact, I never heard the argument used as an escape clause in Australia.) And, anyhow, they are not all British colonies. There are other autonomous dominions wanting help. There are foreign countries like Burma and Indonesia. An unfriendly Indonesia—let alone a Communist one—with its 70 million people is not only going to be a menace to the 8 million in adjacent British colonies and dependencies, but will not be a very pleasant neigh-

bour for the 8 million in Australia. I am not suggesting a policy of appeasement in the face of the more stupid of Indonesia's adolescent exuberances. But there is a great difference between appeasement and holding out a friendly hand—and friendly relations based on mutual understanding may well obviate the painful necessity of making a choice between appeasement and force.

It is clear, then, that in many respects Australia is really beginning to appreciate the responsibilities and opportunities of her position *vis-à-vis* South-east Asia. Consider her prompt response in the shape of military aid in Malaya and Korea. In the economic and social welfare spheres her share in the Colombo Plan is, as I have shown, evidence of her practical interest. And on a smaller scale I came across rather a curious little helping hand which was held out. I happened to be reading the British North Borneo Report of, I think, 1949, which recorded a gift by Australia of £A.3,500 for the purchase of books and visual material for schools and libraries in the reconstruction of that much devastated and remote little colony. I do not suppose that one Australian in 10,000 knew that that had been done, but it is a pointer as well as being a light under a bushel. But there is so much more to be done. I would like to see more Australian professors in the universities of the East; more teachers in the schools and technical colleges. I was told often that Australia herself is short of teachers. I am afraid I retorted that we are just as short, or shorter. I would like to see Australia sending to the East repertory companies, musicians, a far more plentiful supply of books, films, art exhibitions and so on.

While I was in Australia the Robert Masters Quartette paid a visit there under the auspices of the British Council. I happened to know—I think it was a surprise to many—that there is a very keen interest in Western music among the people in Singapore and Malaya and, I believe, in other parts of the area. As soon as I heard that the visit of the quartette to Australia was definitely being arranged I wrote urgently to London asking that the opportunity should be taken to let the quartette stop off at Singapore and play wherever they could. They played in Singapore and flew to Kuala Lumpur and played there under military guard, which was all they could do in the circumstances. But I wish you could have heard their description of their reception. They said it was the most intensely interesting incident in their whole military career, playing to audiences, 90 per cent. Malaya and Chinese, taking a really keen and intelligent interest in what they were hearing. It was very fortunate that at no great additional expense the British Council was able to send the quartette round that way; but normally, of course, it would cost very much less to send an orchestra or repertory company to Singapore from Sydney than to send one from London; and all such things would be evidence of goodwill and would, I feel, help to promote mutual understanding. It wants organization. It wants a little money and, of course, that postulates a solid backing of public opinion, because, though I am convinced that it would pay good dividends, such an investment is one of which Treasuries and many politicians fight shy.

"It is strange," wrote Commander King-Hall recently, "that we

democrats who are supposed to be the champions of the idea that mind is more important than matter, who are supposed to understand that at bottom this world-struggle is a conflict between right and wrong and therefore a spiritual and ideological issue, are yet less aware of the importance of ideas than are our opponents, whose creed is based on a materialistic conception of man and his aspirations." It is, indeed, strange, and it is surely time that the facile theory that Communism breeds only on poverty and hunger was debunked. Of course it breeds on the exploitation of poverty and hunger; but we are not going to defeat Communism by supplying food and clothing alone any more than by military weapons alone. Perhaps it will be left for Australia to take a more realistic view than is evident in many circles in this country and to remember, in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, that "while moral force is, unhappily, no substitute for armed force, it is a very great reinforcement."

I had an interesting instance of the awakening of public opinion just before I left Australia. The Adult Education Department of the University of Western Australia kindly organized a tour for me in that lovely country, famous for its forests of Jarrah and Karri, in the south of Western Australia. It was well worth doing at the price of a series of lectures, and in point of fact I had to repeat only one lecture over and over again. I sent round a list of subjects on which I felt more or less competent to speak and all the organizations concerned chose one which I had entitled "South-east Asia and the Cultural Weapon in Democratic Defence." I do not think it unfair to say that none of these remote communities would have understood the meaning of that title two or three years earlier.

My job as British Council representative in Australia was, of course, primarily that of a sort of cultural broker for Britain; but, as I said, a one-way traffic, whether in commerce or ideas, is surely not enough, and I think I spent as much time in Australia in trying to persuade Australians themselves (with what success remains to be seen) to take more hand in the game to try to make Australia and her ideas better known overseas. I often used to tell the Australians that they are much too modest; that created considerable surprise on their part, because they are not often accused of modesty. And of course we know all about their cricketers, to our cost; also to our cost we know—and I think as some Australians are realizing in the long run to their own cost—about their recent wool prices. Droughts and floods we also hear about, and also jockeys and boxers. But Australia has so much to offer of which she tells us nothing—indeed, of which she hardly knows herself. I stressed on every possible opportunity that there are, in particular, two fields in which the need for self-expression is urgent. The first of these is Britain, but it would be irrelevant to speak of that now. As to the other field, perhaps I may quote from what I said in my farewell broadcast to Australia:

"And the other field—this is my King Charles's head, but I cannot help that; it is so vitally important—the other field, of course, is South-east Asia. I know you are beginning to do something—the Colombo Plan is evidence of that—but there is so much more to be done in spreading a knowledge of our British way of life and creating a better mutual

understanding in that part of the world which modern communications are every day bringing nearer to your doorstep—whether you like it or not. Britain has done a lot, but she can't do it all. Do you remember an entry in the log of *Sirius*, written in 1787, describing her departure from the Cape on the last leg of her long voyage to Australia? I have quoted it before, but it is worth quoting again because it is so apposite. 'We weighed anchor, and soon left far behind every scene of civilization and humanized manners, to explore a remote and barbarous land, and plant in it these happy arts which alone constitute the pre-eminence and dignity of other countries.' 'These happy arts'—it's a good phrase, and I think we can interpret it to include the whole art of living—our way of life. Britain planted these arts in Australia. For a hundred and sixty years Britons, now become good Australians, have cultivated these arts, adapting them to their own needs, painting them in their own shades, giving them their own interpretation, but never forgetting that they are part of a common heritage. Is it not for us, together, to work to give the fruits of this heritage to others who are today searching feverishly, uncertainly, for the good life? There is another competitor in the field, strong, ruthless, plausible, who seeks, whether by force or fraud, to enmesh them, body and soul, in the toils of slavery. If we who bear the flag of freedom do not march breast forward it may soon be too late."

A prominent Chinese citizen of Hong Kong at the inauguration of the new Municipal Council referred to it as "a virgin field pregnant with opportunities for exploitation." That picturesque, if somewhat mixed, metaphorical phrase might well be applied to South-east Asia today. The child of pre-war years has bloomed into adolescence and stands at the parting of the ways. Who is going to exploit her and to what end? Are we going to stand aside and let her fall victim, whether by rape or seduction, to fill a place in the harem of the Communist tyrant? Or are we going to help her stand on her own feet, to take her own place in the free world, giving her the chance of finding her own destiny, but putting at her disposal, to use as she may see fit, all the contributions which Western civilization and democracy have made to mankind?

I suggest that in this endeavour there are in particular three countries which have a common task, a task the successful fulfilment of which will mark a real and vital contribution to world peace. Look at this map of the world centred on South-east Asia. It is more expressive of realities today than the usual one centred on Britain. In the north sits the Communist tyrant leering lecherously at his would-be victim. On the periphery, in a triangle—or is it the omen of the V-sign?—lie the three powers best able to protect her integrity. May I with due reverence paraphrase an earlier message of fundamental truth? Now abideth Britain, the United States of America and Australia—these three—and the nearest of these is Australia.

The meeting closed with votes of thanks to the President and the Lecturer.

ANNUAL DINNER, 1952

The Annual Dinner of the Society took place this year on Wednesday, July 16, 1952, at Claridge's, London. The President of the Society, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., presided at the Dinner, at which some 160 members and guests were present. The guests of the Society on this occasion were Admiral of the Fleet Sir John and Lady Cunningham, Sir William and Lady Fraser, Mr. and Mrs. John Rogers and Mr. and Mrs. Chester Wilmot.

AFTER the loyal toast had been honoured, the President spoke of his recent visit to South-east Asia.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

General Sir John SHEA, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. : My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Many of you who were here a year ago will remember that I said we were afraid that in this Society we would have to raise the annual subscription. This actually has happened as regards new members of the Society only. We have, in fact, done pretty well, thanks to the efforts which members have made to gain new members and to the practical help and encouragement that we have received from various quarters, to which, I am sure, Sir Howard Kelly will later make reference. I would urge that members should still continue the good work, so that we may be helped financially by a steady flow of new members, and also I would remind you that the Society benefits greatly from those members who are good enough to give us a seven-years' covenant for their subscriptions.

Fifty-one years ago this Society was formed with, among others, the definite and express purpose of directing public attention to the advance and encroachment of Russia in Central Asia. Since those days the orbit of the Society has greatly increased, and its interests now stretch from Palestine to the Pacific. It is, and will be, our continued endeavour now to direct the attention of our members and, as far as we possibly can, the attention of the public to what is happening, not so much now in Central Asia, but in South-east Asia which is unquestionably for the moment the most dangerous part of the world. It is there that the threat of Communist encroachment is greater indeed than in any other part.

Let us for a moment look at the five countries in South-east Asia, three of whom have been granted independence, one which has not been promised independence, and the last and most important which has been promised that one day it will be independent.

If we take the first three countries—Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia—let us see for a moment what independence has meant to them. In Ceylon, which one is pleased to note is a very happy country, their independence has gone rather delightfully to their heads, in so far as when one is talking to anybody there most sentences are interlarded with the word

“independence” or the fact that it has been granted to them. They are progressing and they have a very good National Government, which certainly is entirely opposed to any encroachment of Communism. Their particular trouble for the moment is whether they can possibly keep the Indian out, because Indians are endeavouring in large numbers, legally and illegally, to get into that country.

Then we come to Burma. Burma has had its independence for four years, and during the last year for the first time it has had a so-called representative Government. It has a Prime Minister, Mr. Yu Chu Teh, who is highly respected and who has gained the friendship and the allegiance of the frontier tribes. But it is perhaps rather difficult when one considers that at times the work of the Government is apt to stop because he goes into reflective, contemplative retreat. But while the Government there exists: at the same time, for the four years that Burma has had its independence, there has been the Karen insurrection.

China is not troubled much about Burma, because Burma was the first country to recognize the present Chinese Government, and so China regards it in a sense as neutral. Generally speaking, however, while the Government holds possession of most of the towns, most of the countryside is in the hands of the Karens. It would seem that the inclination of the inhabitants towards Communism is not so strong that they are definitely opposed to the Government, and their admiration for the Government is not so strong that they are definitely opposed to Communism. Meanwhile, the Communist party in Burma—the White Flag party—is working very hard. The situation appears to be this: that if the Government is to make good, it should produce an administration which is free from corruption and has a definite objective to attain.

Next we come to Indonesia. It was indeed a tragedy when the Dutch were hounded out of Indonesia, because had they been there they would have been a definite and decided bar against the encroachment of Communism. As it is, the Indonesian Government, with its suspicious inferiority complex, has deteriorated very much in rule, and corruption is rife. It is not impossible that this is a country very apt to receive Communism.

Next we come to French Indo-China. It is perhaps necessary to go a little into retrospect and to say that the French conquered Viet-Nam, which was then Annam, in 1856 and that the other two countries in that part of the world—Cambodia and Laos—asked to come under French protection. When the Japanese invaded French Indo-China, the French collaborated with them. When it appeared to the Japanese that the Western Powers were going to succeed, they incarcerated the French administration and set up a puppet Government under the Emperor Bao-Dai; and when the Japanese left, this Government was overthrown by the Nationalist Viet-Minh. Then the French expeditionary force landed in Saigon, and we have the country divided against itself, with Viet-Nam, supported by the French, fighting against the Nationalists, Viet-Minh.

But China has always had a speculative eye on the rice bowl and living space of French Indo-China. The feelings of the Viet-Minh Nationalists

in French Indo-China are divided. They dread the possibility of an encroachment of the Chinese from the north perhaps as much, or nearly as much, as they hate the French administration. But the danger of this particular part of the world is that it has a common frontier with Communist China, and should there be an encroachment from the north into French Indo-China, it then becomes a question not for the French alone but for the United Nations to solve.

Lastly we come to Malaya, the keystone of South-east Asia. During the war the British Government decided that the recovery of Malaya would be a suitable time for a constitutional change, and so in 1946 they instituted a Malayan Union, which implied a common citizenship and representative government. But there was such an outcry against this, because it had not been properly discussed or explained or "sold," that the idea was cancelled and a Federation, which entirely obliterated the idea of the Malayan Union, was substituted in its place. That is the situation which General Templer has taken over.

I am sure that you all remember that the Colonial Secretary promised independence to Malaya. To whom is this independence to be given? Malaya is no longer Malay. It is a plural society consisting of Chinese, Malays, Indians and Eurasians. Whatever happens in the future, nothing possibly can prevent the more ambitious, the more industrious and the more forceful Chinaman coming to the top. If independence is to be given to Malaya it can only possibly be given to a common citizenship—a common citizenship which is prepared to forego certain national prejudices and unite in citizenship for the good of Malaya.

That is what General Templer is working for. He has started a Federal Regiment. Being a very old Scout himself, he is introducing Scout principles into the teaching of youth; and we already have the seed of a common citizenship in the Scout troops that there are in Malaya, where we find English, Malay, Chinaman, Eurasian and Indian living very happily together.

But there is a cloud which is over Malaya. You would find if you go there and have the good fortune to be able to talk—not necessarily to English businessmen, because the sentiments that they would express you would naturally expect—to responsible Chinamen, Malays, Eurasians or Indians, that in their hearts there is the dread that independence will be given to Malaya too soon, before a common citizenship has had the opportunity of growing and maturing and coming to full strength.

You will notice that I have said nothing about the guerilla menace in Malaya, because in my judgment that is not the danger. I am quite sure that General Templer and his very able assistant General Sir Rob Lockhart have got that situation well in hand and slowly but surely they are getting the better of this menace. They have at last got Chinese to enlist in the police, which is a great step forward, and the instances of petty political blackmail which were so frequent before, by which the politician said, "If you do not give us what we want, we will not help you against the Chinese," have entirely disappeared in the face of a stronger and a firmer administration.

There is great hope over South-east Asia, because over all there is the

Colombo Plan, which is a plan purely for the betterment of the inhabitants of South-east Asia. And the happier they are made the more will they be a bulwark against Communism.

England, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan and Ceylon have all combined in this altruistic work. If only they get the solid foundation of a sure Malaya, the Colombo Plan is bound to succeed. (Applause.)

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O. (Chairman of the Council), in proposing the toast of "The Guests," said :

First of all I should like to welcome our President back to this country. You may remember that he came back two days before the General Meeting, having done a tour in Malaya to prepare his speech for this evening; now he has returned three days before the Annual Dinner from holding a Boy Scouts' Jamboree under the spreading chestnut trees in Northern Rhodesia. On both these occasions I have been in an agony of suspense to know whether he would be abducted by bandits in Malaya or eaten by lions in Rhodesia. We are very happy and relieved to have him back with us again.

Sir John has already referred vaguely to the fact that, like a good many other people and institutions in this country, we have been passing through a period of what is called financial stringency, owing to the increase in cost of the principal items in our expenditure, mostly in the cost of paper and postage, and in the cost of printing and of salaries, which hit us very hard.

This Society is made up almost exclusively of members who are all experts in something. As I look around this room I know that there is no question concerning Asia that could not be replied to at once by some talented person, and so we cannot afford to lose any members.

There is no doubt that if subscriptions are raised otherwise than voluntarily we run a very grave risk of losing members who cannot be spared. Under these circumstances we were bold enough to make an appeal to some of the great enterprises working in the countries in which we are interested. I shall never adopt the writing of begging letters either as a profession or as a recreation; but there is something very heartening if one gets a satisfactory reply. When that happens, one gets not only material relief to our financial cares, but also the moral satisfaction of knowing that other people who are working in those areas also appreciate the work we are trying to do to bring home to people in this country what passes in the countries in our sphere of interest, and also to keep in touch with our members who are in those countries, and to help them in every way we can.

We obtained a very satisfactory response to our appeal and we thought it would be a nice idea tonight to turn this into a sort of thanksgiving dinner. On that account we have with us tonight Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Cunningham, not in his capacity as one of the great naval commanders of the late war, when, after being constantly at sea, he finished up as the Allied Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean and afterwards succeeded his distinguished namesake as First Lord at the

Admiralty, where he had that terrible problem of dealing with the Estimates, and of cutting down from the justifiable extravagance of war-time expenditure to the rigid and sometimes sordid economies to which the Navy is subjected in time of peace. He is here tonight as the chairman of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

It is a remarkable thing how one finds lots of Admirals as the heads of voluntary organizations, but he is the only person I know in England as an Admiral who is in a paid position. Looking round the boards of every bank and every big company in this country, one never sees an Admiral amongst them. There are clusters of Generals, bevvies of Air Marshals, and so on, but never Admirals! I can only point out to the business world that in the very short time Sir John Cunningham has been chairman of that company he has made a new agreement with the Iraq Government, and it may be purely coincidental, but at any rate the output of his wells has practically doubled since he has been there.

We also have here tonight Mr. John Rogers, chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries, which I had always associated with some buildings somewhere in Cheshire which were started by Sir John Brunner and Mr. Mond. I had a reminder only yesterday of how far-flung was his battle line when, in looking through an old diary of mine, I saw that when visiting Dairen, in Southern Manchuria, twenty years ago, one of the principal taipans whom I had the pleasure of entertaining there was the local representative of the I.C.I.

As you know, the interests of the scientific research departments of the Imperial Chemical Industries are very largely occupied with the prolongation of human life and with increasing the productivity of the soil. In case these two causes get a little out of step we may find ourselves in difficulties, and I suggest to Mr. Rogers he should put some of his scientific researchers on to the problem of finding some popular and agreeable form of euthanasia, either for individual use or for mass production. It might be a very happy solution to a great many of our difficulties!

Sir William Fraser, head of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, better known to many of us as the A.P.C., has been very much in our minds and our sympathies during more than the last year, but he must not think he is the only person who has ever been nationalized. I remember only too well the first £200 I ever got. It was not from saving from the 10s. a day that I was getting. It was, I suppose, the result of what somebody once called a "beneficent bereavement." At any rate, I put this into what was considered to be the safest thing in the world, which at that time was one of the great railway lines in one of our Dominions, with the assurance that I should receive 5 per cent. every year of my life on each £100. I had hardly got into them before the State took over the whole lot—rolling stock, tracks, workshops and all—and have never paid a penny in compensation. I, alas! lost my capital and my dividends, whereas Sir William Fraser goes on with his 30 per cent. dividend just as if nothing had happened!

I should like to congratulate Sir William Fraser very much indeed on behalf of our Society on the great dignity and restraint that have been shown, not only by the heads of the company, but by every one of their

representatives, during the terribly provocative time through which they have passed, and to hope that there may be still a possibility that they may re-enter into possession of some of that great wealth of material that they left behind there, and continue the good work that they were doing for the country during all the years they have been in Persia.

Lord Glenconner was to have been the next person. I should have wished to congratulate him very much on the success of his diplomatic negotiations on behalf of the Palestine Potash Company, who have just signed an agreement with the Israeli Government to reopen their works, this time at the southern end of the Dead Sea. That is of considerable interest, of course, to our Society. Lord Glenconner has been called away, and Colonel Galloway is very kindly taking his place.

Colonel Galloway you know as one of the "oldest inhabitants" of the Persian Gulf. He seems to have passed a large part of his life there. Having finished up as Political Resident, he has now returned as the British representative of the Bahrain Oil Company, who, although they are an American oil company, have most generously contributed to helping on this occasion.

I have a natural antipathy to books about the war. I hate reading about the state of unpreparedness we were in, the constant diversion of effort at the beginning, the searching after a policy and changing it every minute and then not having the means of implementing it. I think it is much better to leave other people to read them; but, like everybody else, I usually give in in the end.

I was going to hear Mr. Chester Wilmot speak at the Royal Empire Society not very long ago—and so I happened to be taking my post-prandial sleep at my club. I saw his book in the library and I picked it up. It completely spoilt my afternoon's sleep, because I could not put the book down. Ever since then I have put it on my "top priorities," and having heard him speak at the Royal Empire Society, I have been chasing him, and finally I have managed to get him here tonight to speak to us.

He does not seem to know the right way of writing these war books, which is to remain well clear of the scene of conflict. It is too late to give him advice that anybody who wants to write about the later phases of the war does not crash-land in a glider on top of the German defences at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning of the Allied invasion of Normandy. At any rate he got through, he has completed his wonderful book, and I congratulate him very much indeed on the result.

A good many of our diplomatic members are being entertained tonight by Her Majesty the Queen, but we can see that we have with us a very good representative gathering and we are glad to see so many of our members from overseas who manage to time their leaves so as to come to this dinner.

I am especially happy to congratulate Sir Charles Belgrave, who only two days ago received the accolade for the admirable work he has been doing in Bahrain for so many years and which is so well known to members of our Society.

I hope that all new members and those who are home from abroad

will take the opportunity if they can—but not during August, when the office is shut—to look into our establishment in Hinde Street, where they will find a most comprehensive library and a mine of information on any subject.

Ladies and gentlemen, I propose the toast of “The Guests,” coupled with the names of Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Cunningham and Colonel Galloway.

Admiral of the Fleet Sir JOHN CUNNINGHAM, G.C.B., M.V.O., M.I.E.E.(Hon.), replying to the toast, said :

The Chairman of your Council in his speech has referred to the difficulty of placing Admirals in paid employment. That, I think, springs chiefly from the simplicity engendered by life at sea. He is, however, not quite correct in saying that we never achieve this position of dignity in the City of London, because a very eminent predecessor of mine in the Admiralty, an ex-First Sea Lord in the shape of Lord Wester Wemyss, was, if you remember, chairman of the British Oil Development Company. His knowledge of oil was parallel with mine, and it was said of Rosy Wemyss that all he knew of petroleum was that it was a colourless liquid purchased at the chemist's and possessing considerable laxative properties. That really goes for me too!

In order to make my embarrassment the greater, the Chairman has referred to the fact that all the members of this learned Society are experts. I have been furtively perusing the list of guests, and find to my horror that this expertness is by no means confined to the members of the Society. Practically every guest here appears to me to be an expert in one or other of the activities in which I have the good fortune at the moment to be engaged.

However, it is quite clear that, when I was detailed for the pleasant task of replying for the guests, the Chairman knew that I was not going to be able to do it very well, because he appointed a long-stop in the shape of Lord Glenconner to back me up. You can imagine my dismay when he first said that Lord Glenconner was not here, but I should like to welcome Colonel Galloway from the bottom of my heart, because I am afraid he has a bit of a job on hand.

Also, when I was detailed the Chairman said, “The audience would like to hear something of your recent trip to the Middle East.” In the presence of experts, I do not like to say much about that, and certainly nothing very constructive, but I would say this: that the first object of my visit was to pay courtesy calls on the heads of the various countries in which the I.P.C. and its associated companies operate. I was able to do that, and I was received everywhere with the utmost courtesy and kindness and hospitality, not only by the heads of State, but by all the officials with whom I came in contact. I came to the conclusion that, despite what may be said at times, the attitude to our country in the Middle East countries is one of puzzled friendship. They do not quite understand what we are after. They remember our friendship in the past, and I am quite convinced that all of them would like to renew that friendship or to increase it.

For the rest, the other object of my visit was to get in touch with and

see the various people who are doing the work of these companies over the Middle East in the six countries in which we operate. I saw every single station except two shut-down pumping stations on the Haifa pipeline, which, as you know, has been out of operation for several years. I found, especially in the small stations, where life is a bit grim, especially for the women, that the attitude was very like what one has found in the past when inspecting or visiting a small ship.

However much the hardship which they are suffering, provided that they feel they are doing a useful job and that very occasionally they get a pat on the back for doing that job, they forget the hardships and they concentrate on the brighter moments. That "chins-up" attitude and the very good *esprit de corps* I found not only among the British and European employees of the company, but also among the Nationals that we employ—and we employ something like 26,000 or 27,000 Nationals in the various countries in which we operate.

For that reason we feel that we want, just as much as the countries themselves, to forward the prosperity of those countries. Their prosperity will undoubtedly contribute to our prosperity, and a contented personnel is definitely a good business proposition. We therefore run schools, hospitals and goodness knows what else, including the serving of some two and a half million subsidized meals at canteens to our employees.

I will not burden such an expert audience with any technical details, but there are one or two points which have impressed me as a complete layman. One of the places that we are developing is an oilfield at Zubair, just west of Basra, where we hope for a considerable output of oil in the future. When I inquired how deep the wells were there, I was told that the average depth of those wells was about 11,500 feet. That means that they drill a hole down into the ground as deep as the distance from Marble Arch to Holborn Viaduct. That is a very long way, and at the end of it they may find oil or they may not—sometimes they do, sometimes they do not.

I went and saw the laying of the big pipeline that we have now laid from Kirkuk to the Syrian coast, and from which I got some figures. The actual weight of steel of that pipe is 183,000 tons, which is a good deal of stuff. The machines that dig the ditch and wrap all sorts of clothing round the pipe, and weld it and generally cosset it before it goes into its bed, are of almost superhuman intelligence. I could not understand them, but I must confess that the muck that they pour on to it gave me bronchitis!

One of the things which struck me was the problem of how the Middle East countries are going to dispose of the vast amounts of money which are now flowing into the national coffers as royalty for the oil which is being produced in those countries. The figures are stupendous, the populations are trivial, and it passes almost the wit of man to guess how they are going to spend the money. We have a concession in a place called Qatar—which is the last place God made!—where there is a population of roughly 10,000 people. As far as I can make out, they are going to get about £150 a head royalty. What they are going to do with

it goodness only knows. The only place where I feel sure it will be well expended is in Iraq, where they have a Development Board. They are setting aside, and I think they will stick to it, some 70 per cent. of the oil revenues for development. They have in contemplation—and in fact in operation—some very big schemes of flood control and reclamation, and in a few years I believe that we may see Iraq (Mesopotamia) back to its position of one of the greatest grain-producing countries of the world. Whether the same wisdom will prevail in other Middle East countries remains to be seen, but in Iraq I have great hopes.

For the rest, I will not burden you. But I will say "Thank you" to your Chairman for the very kind remarks that he has made. I assure him that the valuable work performed by this Society is appreciated by people who have business interests in the Middle East. I thank you, also, ladies and gentlemen, for the very cordial manner in which you have received the Chairman's toast.

Lt.-Col. A. C. GALLOWAY, C.I.E., O.B.E. (Bahrein Petroleum Company), responding to the toast, said :

As you know, I am only here tonight in substitution for Lord Glenconner. Unfortunately, he did not hand his speech over to me, and so I have got to do something quickly. But I am not the only person who is sometimes in difficulties. Sir Howard Kelly himself, I think, last year was in the same predicament, and he chased someone out of his bath to take the place of a speaker for the guests. Shades of Archimedes—I hope he shouts "Eureka" every time he finds somebody.

The Chairman said that I was one of the "older" inhabitants of the Persian Gulf. Well, the Persian Gulf is a very old place. I certainly have served some number of years there, and I see around me people who have served a good many more. However, we have survived, and I think that quite a lot of us enjoyed it.

In those early days it was a much quieter, steadier, calmer life than is led there today. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company, as it was called in those days, was established certainly on the southern shores of Persia. Regrettably enough, they are under a ban, shall we say, at the moment. Their influence was the greatest in the Gulf so far as Western business was concerned. Their influence continued dominant until years later, when the Americans entered—and, as Sir Howard Kelly said, I represent an American oil company.

That entrance of the Americans into the Persian Gulf has had momentous repercussions. There have been difficulties and conflicts, but on the whole general co-operation, and co-operation today is noticeable amongst the people themselves. The Persians today are quarrelling, but it is not impossible to think that fairly soon—let us hope—they will turn round and ask their old friends to help them.

On the Arab side, fortunately, the people have not done that. That they want changes and new arrangements in established deals there is no doubt. There is no doubt also that their desires receive sympathetic consideration. The major oil-producing areas on the Arab shores are already working on an equal sharing basis. As you know, today the demand is "Fifty fifty—half for you and half for me."

The Gulf today is one hive of activity. In the olden days a few ships went up, but today I do not know how many thousands of tons of shipping take oil from the Gulf. This development reaches people in all walks of life, and we in this country also benefit from it.

The chief interest of the Royal Central Asian Society used to be in Central Asia, as the very name of the Society implies. Now there is the Iron Curtain, and though those chiefly interested in Central Asia no doubt have their interests there still, a very large membership is interested in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. It is the Society's interest in this area that has been the cause of their kindly inviting us here to the Dinner tonight, and, on behalf of the guests, I thank the Society very much.

Mr. CHESTER WILMOT, in proposing the toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society," said :

Mr. President, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Sir Howard Kelly has said some extremely kind things which were really more than generous. I assure you, however, that quite the safest way to go to France in June, 1944, was to go by glider and to go by night, because they could not tell that we were coming. Sir Howard's comments were quite undeserved, but I thank him nevertheless, and I thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Society for inviting me and my wife to be your guests on this occasion.

When Sir Howard Kelly conveyed his invitation to me, I heard it with mixed feelings, because I had already been invited to come with my wife in a private capacity by my brother-in-law, Mr. Graham Irwin, who is a member of the Society. Since in those circumstances I was assured of an excellent dinner, undisturbed by the qualms that in my case inevitably accompany the occasion of having to make a speech, it was with some reluctance that I found myself transplanted from the comparatively comfortable obscurity of one of the outer tables to this place not only of honour, but of responsibility.

I was the more reluctant because I could not see any particular reason why Sir Howard should have thought that I would be a suitable person to propose this toast.

In searching round for a reason, the only one I could alight upon was the assumption that since I am an Australian, and since Australians tend to look at Asia from a standpoint that is somewhat different from the point of view of people in this country, perhaps there was a reason for his extending this invitation to me.

And that, of course, is true; our standpoint is different. It is common in countries of the Northern Hemisphere to speak of Australians and others who come from South of the Line as being people from "Down Under." So far as Australians are concerned, they take a certain amount of umbrage at this suggestion. You may not think it, but Australians are very sensitive people, and they take umbrage at this phrase because it seems to carry with it an unwarranted insinuation of geographical inferiority, as if we were living in some outlandish place.

But it seems to us that the earth revolves upon an entirely neutral axis, turning the Northern and Southern Hemispheres quite impartially to

the sun, and that if we are "Down Under" to you, then you are "Down Under" to us.

But there is one sense in which this phrase "Down Under" applies with particular relevance to people in Australia. When we come to look at the map of the world, and in particular at the relationship between Australia and Asia, then we do tend to feel "Down Under." We feel overborne and in danger of being overwhelmed by the mass of Asia and the mass of Asians. We feel that the pressure is on us, from Asia, from the North; that in time the over-populated countries of Asia will spread out through the Indonesian Archipelago and into the open and comparatively empty spaces of Northern Australia. While to you it may be the "Far East," to us it is always the "Near North." That difference in perspective is, I think, of considerable significance.

We are very aware of the fact that as Asia's population problems become greater, so the pressure will be on for the Asian peoples to move south. We have already seen this in the case of the Japanese, where the pressure of an expanding population drove a virile people first of all into commercial and economic expansion, and then into military adventures, in search not only of markets, but of territories and sources of raw materials; and we are very conscious of the fact that we lie immediately south on the open road for other Asian peoples who feel under the compulsion of growing populations.

Already we see this southward movement in the most marked fashion on either flank of Australia. For instance, in Fiji, with a population of a quarter of a million people, 130,000—more than half—are Indians. In Mauritius, where there is a population of over half a million, more than 50 per cent. are Indians. I am not objecting to this, but if one is looking at this problem from the point of view of Australians, you must see it as we see it now: that the tendency is for the Asiatic people to seek an outlet in the Indian Ocean and in the South Pacific and, eventually perhaps, in Australia, because Australia offers the invitation of open spaces, even though some of those open spaces may not be as valuable as is commonly supposed. Nevertheless, the invitation of Australia's space is there, and to a certain extent the "White Australia" policy provides a provocation, because inevitably people are the more inclined to seek to go to those areas from which they are excluded. Naturally, then, Australia is particularly conscious of its relationship with Asia and with the problems with which your Society deals.

During the last seven years we have become acutely conscious of our relationship with Asia because of the war against Japan, and Australia has been doing what she can by way of migration to remove the opportunity, or to remove the provocation and the excuse provided by her empty territories. Yet even a programme of migration and development such as has been carried on since 1945—the population has increased by more than 100,000 a year—is not nearly enough to remove the danger that Asian peoples may be tempted to find an outlet for their surplus populations in the northern part of Australia.

Australians are convinced that the "White Australia" policy which they have adopted and have adhered to so rigidly for the last forty years is

the right one for Australia and for her neighbours. We have seen the tragic example of the racial conflict which has developed in South Africa through the mixture of races and peoples, and we are determined to avoid that. But it is a matter now of our developing not only the military strength to defend our territory, but also the moral authority to preserve a rigid "White Australia" policy.

Australians realize that the settlement of this problem does not lie entirely within their own sphere of policy-making. For this reason we have supported—and, in fact, initiated—movements such as the Colombo Plan. We have realized that if the pressure of population in Asia is not to erupt to Australia's disadvantage, the problem must be solved within Asia itself by increasing the standard of living of the Asiatic people, so that they can be sustained within their boundaries and from their own resources. It is for that reason that Australia looks with particular hope to the development of the Colombo Plan and other schemes for the development of backward peoples, such as President Truman's Point Four.

Even though we set our hopes in plans of that kind, we realize, as everybody realizes, that the issue in Asia is one that is going to be settled primarily by the relationship not so much between the Asiatic peoples and Australia or her maritime neighbours, but by the relationship between the Asian peoples and the Soviet Union.

It is fair to say that so far as the next fifty years are concerned the course of history in Asia must follow one of two patterns. Either the Asian peoples will continue the tradition of the last 300 years, in which they have seen expansion, development and fulfilment through association with the maritime powers—the European powers, which came to them bringing the ways and methods of Western civilization; either they will look outward and retain their associations and links with the West, or they will turn their back upon the West, cut themselves and their peoples off from their present contacts with Western civilization, and will turn in upon Russia and will look to the Continental mass of Asia for their leadership in the future, and will come under the control and spell of Communism.

Broadly speaking, I think those are the alternatives which face us and with which Australia is particularly concerned, because we in Australia feel that unless the Asian peoples can continue in association with the West and can be kept looking out on to the broader horizons which the West offers, then in fact Asia, under the domination not necessarily of Communism but of Russia and authoritarianism and of the essential backwardness that comes in the wake of Communism, will turn against us and will be actively and aggressively hostile not only to Australia but to the West at large.

If that is the case, then Australia has a very direct and close interest in the work and sphere interest of this Society. As Sir John Shea said earlier, it was one purpose of the founders of the Society that attention should be concentrated on the development of Russian power and on the impact of Russian power upon Asia. If I may, I should like to quote from certain

proceedings of this Society in another year. The speaker on that occasion said this :

“ The policy of Russia in Persia is only part of a great system of Asiatic policy—commercial, military and political—which is steadily being built up by Russian statesmen, whose breadth of grasp and continuity of purpose are liable to no disturbance from the fluctuations of public sentiment or the precariousness of Parliamentary majorities. To them Teheran is merely one link in a long chain which stretches to Peking.

That policy may be briefly stated to consist in maintaining the nominal independence of the States she desires to subjugate, in monopolizing their trade by the exclusion of all foreign competition, and in getting into her own hands the virtual control of their foreign, their political and their commercial relations.”

That definition of contemporary Russian policy and purpose—because it could well be that—was in fact addressed to members of this Society by General E. F. Chapman in December, 1903. The fact that the members of this Society foresaw the course which events were taking as early as that is a tremendous tribute to their foresight and wisdom and their knowledge of the countries and of the people with which they were dealing.

I remember that recently, when I had cause to look into certain aspects of Russian policy during the war, I found that the course of present Russian policy was not something which has developed out of, or because of, the Communist Revolution, but is the result of long-standing ambitions and designs on the part of Russia's statesmen, whether they were Tsarist or Communist. In fact, in the attempt to form a more concerted alliance between Germany and Russia in November, 1940, one of the conditions upon which Molotov insisted, or endeavoured to insist, was that the Persian Gulf should be recognized as the centre of the aspirations of the Soviet Union. Some thirty-nine years before that, this Society had been founded and from the beginning drew the attention of people in this country and elsewhere to this self-same menace, this self-same ambition. It is because of that, that any Australian who thinks about these things is naturally directly interested in the work of this Society.

On that particular point I think it is most appropriate that the Society should have held throughout these years to its original title of the “ Central Asian ” Society. I am told that as its interests became more concentrated on the Middle East, on the one hand, and on South-east Asia, on the other hand, there was some suggestion that the name of the Society should be changed. But there was an occasion when a similar problem was put to Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons. It was suggested to him during the war that the titles of “ Minister of Defence ” and “ Secretary of State for War ” were no longer fitting, logical or relevant, and that these titles should be changed to “ Minister of War and Secretary of State for the Army.” In reply to this question, Mr. Churchill said “ Beware of needless innovation, especially when dictated by logic.”

It may have seemed very logical to people some twenty years ago that

this Society should change its name, but surely it was right to keep the interest concentrated upon Central Asia, upon the area from which the impetus and the threat would eventually come, to concentrate attention on the source of the danger rather than on the objectives—the countries which lay around the periphery of Asia.

Surely it is within the Central Asian regions of Russia, and the Central Asian borders of Russia, that the real problems of the immediate future are going to develop. It is from there that we are going to get the drive outward from Soviet Russia into the Middle East, the Far East and China. We have seen it in China already, and it seems to me that the essence of the problem as far as the relations between the West and Asia are concerned may be put, in terms of individual countries, in this way: The question is whether the whole of Asia in the next generation or so is going to follow the present example of China and look to Russia, or the present example of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and continue their intimate association with the West.

It may have seemed to a good many people that over the last five or six years the influence of the European powers, and particularly of this country, in the Far East and, in particular, in the sub-continent has declined, but I believe that there is an even greater task for us to do in those areas today, because there is in this country, and concentrated to a very large extent in this Society, a reservoir of experience and of intimate, expert knowledge of those countries. If it seems at the moment that Asia is in danger of being swept under by Communism, that is all the more reason why societies such as this should concentrate expert attention on these countries in the way that you are endeavouring to do.

In the course of discovering something of the history of this Society, I turned, as anyone must in these circumstances, to Miss Wingate, and she extracted for me from the proceedings of the Society's Annual Dinner in 1920 a statement by Lord Curzon, which seems to me to be as relevant, if not more relevant, today as when he spoke thirty-two years ago. On that occasion Lord Curzon said this:

“Do not let anyone suppose that our work as Englishmen in these countries [of Central Asia] is over. The era of commotion and unrest in Central Asia . . . is only beginning. I want the members of this Society . . . to recognize that they have still a great part to play in the future of these countries. I hope the Society will regard itself as existing not only to read papers, examine problems and display knowledge, but also as a society which trains and inspires men with the ardour and ambition to support the interests of Britain and to help the countries of Asia to a peaceful solution of the very intricate problems with which they are confronted.”

Those words are even more true today than when they were originally spoken.

You may recall that Sir Ronald Storrs once said “The East is the university in which the scholar never graduates.” The range of enquiry, particularly in this rapidly changing world, is for ever expanding, but

through societies such as this, and particularly through this Society, it is possible for those who are prepared to turn their minds to the problems of Central Asia to gain not only the opportunity for enlightening themselves, but also the means for enlightening others.

It is with that in mind that I ask you to rise with me and drink the toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society."

THE MOSLEMS OF CENTRAL TIBET

By H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK,
LL.D., C.B., F.R.A.I.

IN the recently published book by Lowell Thomas, Jun. (*Out of this World*, American edition; The Greystone Press, New York, 1950), on p. 182 there appears an illustration showing Lowell Thomas, Sen., shopping for gifts in the Lhasa bazaar. The rest of the caption under the photograph says that "the Moslem merchant is a member of the only minority group in the country; his people have long lived in friendship with the Tibetans."

I believe this to be one of the rare references to Islam on the Roof of the World ever to appear in print, most people being completely unaware that there are Moslems in Central Tibet. Reputedly a land of lamas and of esoteric mysteries into which it would seem paradoxical and incongruous for Mohammedans to fit, the country over which rules the reincarnating Dalai Lama (and into which Chinese Communist troops have now lately marched) nevertheless does harbour quite a sizeable Musulman community, mainly centred in the capital. The late Sir Charles Bell already noted that some Chinese Moslems in the Wa-pa ling quarter of Lhasa act as butchers for the Buddhist population, which, for religious reasons—although meat is eaten freely by all—is reluctant to take animal life (*The People of Tibet*, by Sir Charles Bell; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, p 217), and Dr. G. Tucci, in a recent article of his ("The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings," *Royal Central Asian Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, January, 1952, p. 43), fleetingly alludes to a meeting with Lhasa Moslems in the Yarlung valley of South-east Tibet.*

The Moslem community constitutes the only group in the country which is of another religion than the local people, who, otherwise, are known for their devotion to their faith and for the suspicion and even hostility with which they look upon everyone who is not a *nang-pa* (an "insider," as opposed to outsiders—*i.e.*, unbelievers). Yet, as Lowell Thomas, Jun., has remarked, they are on an excellent footing with the Moslems, who actually seem to have been established among them for a very long time.

Ever since I have been studying Tibetan society (I began with a trip to Western Tibet in 1938), I have taken an interest in these people. During my present stay in Kalimpong, West Bengal, as a participant in the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, I have been fortunate in obtaining some further information concerning them. Of course, had

* Since these lines were written, Dr. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Research Associate of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria, has drawn my attention to the fact that the account of a meeting with Ladaki Moslems at Tsetang, in the Yarlung valley, is given by Capt. F. M. Bailey and Capt. H. T. Morshead in their *Reports on an Exploration on the North-East Frontier*, 1913, pp. 21 and 64. This is a publication of the Survey of India, printed in Dchra Dun at the Office of the Trigonometrical Survey, in 1914.

the expedition been allowed into Tibet in 1950 as had been requested, more certainly would have been gathered. The Government of India, however, prevented it from crossing the frontier, even as far as Gyantse, the Indian trade mart to which, in accordance with Treaty rights, they normally are entitled to issue passes on their own authority, and I have had to content myself of necessity with the little which I have been able to collect outside.

Although my notes are very incomplete, I am publishing them here in the form of a short article, because it appears to me that the existence of this little-known, remote Islamic community is one of the picturesque features of a land, which, in the present circumstances of its change of fortunes, is destined to lose many of its former peculiarities, and that it is worth recording this one also before it is too late.

From members of the community whom I have recently met here, I have heard that the Chinese Communists, on their arrival in Lhasa, have already declared to them that there are very many Moslems in China and that they should therefore no longer look upon themselves as a minority but rather as one of the major ethnic groups of the motherland. Although naturally flattered by this declaration, the Moslems are reported to have felt all the same, not without anxiety, that it perhaps heralds the end of a state of affairs to which they have become accustomed and which they at heart cherish—namely, a position of trust and affection within the Tibetan nation, that they really would be very loath indeed to give up.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Moslems of Central Tibet are called *Ka-che* in Tibetan. The name is no doubt derived from *Kha-chul* (*Kha-che-yul*), Kashmir, from where most of them originally came.

They are to be found in the following towns: Lhasa, Shigatse, Tse-tang (in the Yarlung valley), Lha-tse dzong and Dri-kung (north of Lhasa); by far the greater number live in the capital, Lhasa, where there are reported to be three hundred and fifty *Ka-che tem-ba* ("steps"—i.e., houses, families). In Shigatse, the next largest centre, there are approximately one hundred and fifty families, and in Tse-tang, twenty. There are only a few handfuls of *Ka-che* in the other two cities.

While everywhere else than in Lhasa the Moslems are called simply by their generic appellation, in the capital they are divided into two main groups: the *Ho-pa ling Ka-che* and the *Lhasa Ka-che*; the latter are again subdivided into *Ladak-pa* (Ladakis), *Sirig-pa* (corruption of Sikh? These are reputedly people who trace their ancestry back to the Dogra country of Jammu) and Kashmiris. The difference between the two groups is that the first one is made up of Chinese Moslems, originally called Hao-pa ling, who came to Tibet, some say, as butchers; the Chinese know them by the name of *Hui-Hui*, and the appellation is gaining among the Tibetans. The other group consists exclusively of Indian Moslems, the majority of them (three-fourths) being genuine Kashmiris.

Each of the main divisions of Moslems has a chief responsible for his community to the Tibetan Government. These are appointed by the

latter, but paradoxically by two different departments. Thus, the chief of the Ho-pa ling, known as the *Ho-pa ling Pöm-po*, has the title conferred on him by the Department of Agriculture (*So-nam Lă-ḡung*), while the *Ka-che Pöm-po*, head of the Lhasa Ka-che, is designated by the Ministry of Finance (*Tsi-ḡang Lă-ḡung*). I was told that the reason for this curious arrangement was that the Ho-pa ling first came to Tibet from China during wars with the latter country, and that they were prisoners who were handed over to the Department of Agriculture to be used as labourers in the fields, while the Lhasa Ka-che were traders who ever since the very beginning transacted business with the Ministry of Finance. My informants (whose identity I shall refrain from giving, in case it should cause them trouble with the present Chinese Communist authorities in Lhasa) were not able to tell me the name of the current Ho-pa ling Pöm-po; but I heard that that of the Ka-che Pöm-po of today is Hajji Abdul Kadir (in its Tibetan version: *Hadji Kadi-la*).

There are no Shiah Moslems among them, they being all Sunnis, followers of the Hanafi tradition. In Lhasa there are three mosques, one on the road to Dre-pung monastery at Kendang-gang linka (?), where the Moslem cemetery is also situated (marked on P. Landon's plan of the city in his book *Lhasa* (Hurst and Blackett Ltd., London, 1905), as *Ka-je linga*), one in a town called *Troma Keba*, near the mansions of Kungö Künsang Tse (until lately Commander in Chief of the Tibetan army and a signatory of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of last year), and a third one serving the Ho-pa ling community, the *Ho-pa ling masjid*, east of the town, outside the *Ling Kor* (surrounding city). In Shigatse there are two mosques, and in Tse-tang, one; in Lha-tse dzong and Dri-kung there are none. The architectural style of these buildings is, I understand, Chinese in the case of the Ho-pa ling masjid, and Tibetan in the other case. Both types have no minarets, and the *muezzin* calls out inside at the appointed hours.

Each community in Lhasa has an *imam* attached to its mosques; in Shigatse there is only one, as also in Tse-tang. The imam of the Lhasa Ka-che is called Habib Ullah, and is eighty years old. All imams fill the rôle of *mufti*, as there is no one else to do so. The position of *ḡadi* and *mukhtar* are taken by the Pöm-po, each of them being seconded by four *lä-cha* (assistants). I was warned, however, not to draw too many parallels with Moslem civil organization elsewhere, as in Central Tibet things are very different and no comparisons can really be made. I was also told that the British authorities had often claimed responsibility for the Ladakis as citizens of India in the past, thus attempting to withdraw them from being administered as above, which had occasionally led to trouble with the Tibetan Government.

To each of the Lhasa mosques, as well as to the Shigatse and Tse-tang ones, Koranic schools are attached, which my informants variably described as *madrassahs* or as *makhtabs*. The imams are entrusted there with the teaching of the Koran to the children, and there are indications, although it is not sure, that Chinese is used as the medium of instruction in the maktab of the Ho-pa ling masjid. The Holy Korans, which are all from India, probably from Bihar, are of course in the original Arabic.

but the commentaries are in Urdu. These are interpreted to the children in Tibetan, as they are too to the people in the mosques, after prayers, for Tibetan is the language of the Moslems of Tibet, and very few of them can speak crude Urdu or Persian. Only the imams know some Arabic, just sufficiently to read the Koran.

Religious endowments (*wakf*), so marked a feature of Moslem society all over the world, exist also in Tibet. Those of Lhasa are reputedly worth some Ind. Rs. 25,000 and are administered by a Commission of five members, three of which are elected and presided over by the Pöm-po, assisted by the imam in his capacity of head of the maktab. The calendar followed normally is the Tibetan one, but for all religious observances, the Moslem one is naturally adhered to. Because of their life in the midst of an alien people and religion, the Tibetan Ka-che are very strict followers of Islam. Every rule of the faith is scrupulously followed, and those suspected of laxity are severely dealt with.

Means of livelihood are varied. Most indulge in trade, like the Buddhist Tibetans, and many a Lhasa Moslem acts as the agent abroad of large commercial concerns, both lay and clerical. Thus Hajji Ghulam Mohammed (known in Tibetan as Gula-ma) until recently Ka-che Pöm-po, was for a long time representative of the notorious Radeng (Reting) Gompa in China, where he travelled extensively and managed commercial offices for the monastery in Harbin, Mukden, Tien-tsin, Peking and Shanghai. He has had a difficult time since the assassination of the former Regent of Tibet, Radeng Rimpoche, in 1947.

Other professions include that, of course, of butchers, of garment-making (hats, brocade corners for Tibetan women's aprons called *Troḳ-den*), of shopkeeping for general imported stores mainly from India, of wool-trading as other Tibetans, of musical entertaining, of the running of a cinema hall (bioscope), the only one in Lhasa, and of the importing of tea from China and of cosmetics for ladies of the Tibetan aristocracy from Europe and the U.S.A.

Trades that used to be practised, but which are no longer so now, included the making of brocade (*parching*) on a much larger scale, the manufacture of felt carpets (*namdas*), and the import of cotton piece goods and yarn (*re-cha*) from India. The first of these two industrial activities have since been taken over by the Nepalese of Tibet, while the third has been monopolized by Buddhist Tibetan traders ever since the introduction by the British Government of India during the last war of cotton rationing, regulated in Kalimpong by the then newly created office of the Tibetan liaison officer.

Clothes worn by the Tibetan Moslem men are usually identical with those of other Tibetans. On trek, indeed, when they are acting as caravan-men on the roads to and from India, they are indistinguishable from the picturesquely attired professional Kham-pa muleteers. But at home they usually sport either a Sinkiang Turki skull cap, should they be Ho-pa lings, or a Kashmir *sozeni* (white embroidered cap) if they belong to the Lhasa Ka-che community. On official occasions, when they attend functions of state in the Potala or elsewhere, they don turbans and Kashmir shawls, at least if they are not Hui-Huis. The women are dressed exactly

like Buddhist Tibetan women, but when better attired they sometimes wear a black or dark-coloured hood over the head, which hangs down behind on their back, but does not however cover their face. They are not purdah, and enjoy the same outward freedom as their ordinary Tibetan sisters. They have a strong say in commercial matters.

Food taken by Tibetan Moslems is the same as that eaten by the local people. They invariably nourish themselves on *tsam-pa* (parched barley flour), buttered tea, meat both dried (*sha-kampo*) and fresh (*sha-lömpa*). They do not drink alcoholic beverages however, such as chang and arak, but do smoke cigarettes and very long (*kansa*) pipes, although never *hookas*.

Marriage as far as possible always takes place within the Musulman community. For the women it is always the case, and should one of them marry outside it she will be cast out with ignominy. The man, however, may take wives from the Buddhists, provided these first convert themselves to Islam. Because of the shortage of women, this does take place quite frequently, Hajji Ghulam Mohammed's wife, for instance, having come from outside thus, some twenty years ago. Polygyny is very little practised; polyandry, a Tibetan custom, naturally never; and monogamy is easily the most usual form of marriage. Divorce, although regulated as in other parts of the Moslem world, is rare, and adultery of the wife is as severely dealt with as elsewhere should it occur, which is however exceptional, I am told.

My Moslem informants complained to me that they were unfairly taxed in Central Tibet; more so, they said, than other Tibetans. For each child born to the Lhasa Ka-che community they have, for instance, to pay ten Tibetan *Tankhas* (approx. 3 Indian annas) to the Tsi-kang Lä-kung, which they consider a discrimination against them. This was perhaps the only grievance I heard them express against the Lhasa Government, as otherwise they seemed very pleased with their life in Tibet. It is perhaps significant that when the Tibetan Moslems had to choose, in Kalimpong, if they would return to Tibet occupied by the Chinese Communists and register as Tibetans with the Indian authorities, or give up their Tibetan citizenship and remain in India, every one of them decided for the former alternative, insisting that Tibet was their home.

For the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca—on which many of them go—there is a Lhasa Ka-che delegation in Bombay which helps them embark for Jedda. It consists of six or seven men who are to be found in the Monnara Masjid, and their leader is one Habib Ullah Nizam ed Din. At Mecca they are treated as Indian Moslems, and make use of the little Urdu they know to get on. Recently, since the last war, it seems that two Arab Hajj agents from the Hedjaz, returning from a trip to Sinkiang and Kansu, the aim of which was to collect funds as is the custom with these people when they are in charge of a particular set of Mecca pilgrims, arrived in Lhasa from the *Chang-lam* (northern route) over Nag-chu ka. They remained in the capital for some weeks, and persuaded some of the Lhasa Ka-che to accompany them back to Mecca. Ghulam Mohammed and his wife were of the party, and that is how he earned the title of Hajji. The fact that Hedjazi Arabs were to be found

travelling in Tibet came as surprising news to me (as it will, presumably, to most readers too). But then, there is much more international movement of this sort in the Land of the Lamas than we are led normally to believe. It is Westerners who find it difficult to go there, mainly because of a policy of mutual exclusion dictated by the power-politics of contending nations.

A word should be said finally about the *Lop-chiak*, or tribute caravan from Kashmir, which every three years, in accordance with the ancient treaty of Tinmogang between the Tibeto-Mongols and the King of Ladakh (1647), makes its way to Lhasa from Leh in Ladakh over the watershed Indus-Tsangpo with goods, and gifts for the clergy of Tibet. This caravan, consisting of hundreds of mules and which takes over two months to reach its destination, is the monopoly of a Moslem family of Leh, of which the present head is Abdullah Shah, the former British *aksakal* ("white beard" in the Turki language of Sinkiang, a title designating in Leh, at least, the agent for traders from Kashgar, Yarkand and Khokand). The latter has many relatives living in Shigatse and Lhasa, so that the *Lop-chiak* is an occasion for members of his family to renew their acquaintance and arrange for profitable commercial deals with them. This caravan, which should have gone to the Tibetan capital last year, was cancelled at the last minute, circumstances being considered inopportune just now. It is to be wondered when it will be resumed again.

II. HISTORY

I found it a very difficult task to try and establish the history of the Moslems of Central Tibet, my informants having only very vague ideas about the past; moreover, the distinction between facts and myths appeared to be very slender in their minds. Research in Lhasa itself would no doubt yield better results, and it remains a subject of wonder to me that Westerners who had access to the Tibetan capital never took, as far as I know, any interest in this question.

From what I have been able to gather to date, it would seem that, with regard to the Lhasa Ka-che, the tradition of their origins is fivefold. The first theory is that the Great Fifth Dalai Lama applied to the Moghul emperor of Delhi for advisers, and in response received a certain number of Musulmans who set themselves up at his Court. A second theory is that the same Fifth Dalai Lama, desirous of showing that he was the ruler of the Universe and that people from the whole world attended his *tem-del* (levées), caused Moslems to come to Lhasa in a purely representative capacity; a Persian is supposed to have come first, others from India following afterwards. A fresco in the Potala palace is said to represent this attendance of turbanned outsiders on ceremonious occasions.

More credible versions of the early arrival of Moslems in Central Tibet are that they came from Bihar for trade purposes, or for the same reasons from Kashmir through Ladakh, and from small beginnings grew into the present-day community. But the tradition the most in vogue and, actually, also the one easiest to corroborate by facts,

because it occurred in a none too distant past, is that the Lhasa Ka-che are descendants of the prisoners taken by the Tibetans when they defeated the armies of Zorowar Singh in Western Tibet (1841-2).

In the Indian newspaper *The Statesman* of December 15, 1950, a letter to the editor signed Md. Mahmud, Dacca, East Bengal, Pakistan, gives yet another version. I am giving it *in extenso* here below :

“Sir,—As Tibet is very much in the news nowadays, it is historically interesting to recall that she was at one time part of the Moghul empire.

“The Khiljis were of Turkestani origin, and the Moghuls were Mongol-Iranians. It used to be the ambition of warriors of these groups to describe a circle round the Middle East; and they made repeated attempts to complete the remaining one-third of the circle from India to Chinese Turkestan *via* Assam and Tibet. The attempts of Bakhtyar Khilji and Mir Jumla failed because of the difficult jungle terrain, the heavy rainfall and the unhealthy climate of Assam.

“Aurangzeb visited Kashmir from June to August, 1663. On December 9, 1665, the Emperor learnt, from the despatches of Saif Khan, Subahdar of Kashmir, that Daldal Muhamal (apparently a misreading for Dalai Mahamuni), zamindar of greater Tibet, had accepted Islam, that the Khutba had been read in the Emperor's name in the country, imperial coins issued and a high mosque built there. The Khan's troops must have marched to Tibet *via* Ladakh. Yours, etc.”

I also heard from my informants that this was not the only conquering army to have entered Tibet from the Islamic world. During the final campaign of Timur (Tamerlane) in the fifteenth century, when he died on his way to attempt the subjugation of China, he is reputed to have sent a detachment of cavalry over the Chang Thang to occupy Lhasa. His men got as far as Dam, just north of the Tibetan capital, where they were overwhelmed by a disastrous snow-storm from which there were no survivors. Their panoplies, bearing well-fashioned verses of the Koran, were taken by the local inhabitants, and to this day the *Dzong-pön* (fortress commander) of Dam wears such a panoply at the yearly festivities associated with *Lo-sar* (the New Year), while in Lhasa the mediæval armour and helmets worn at the *Mön-lam* ceremony of the same feast are of similar origin. I was given to understand that one set of these ancient uniforms, taken by troops in Gyantse during the 1904 expedition, is to be seen in the British Museum.

The origins of the Ho-pa ling Moslems are even more veiled in mystery. Quite seriously, I was told that they had come to Tibet in the escort of the Chinese Princess whom King Srong Tsän Gam-po married in the seventh century A.D.! Another version was that they had arrived with the Chinese Amban (envoy) who resided in Lhasa at the time of the seventh Dalai Lama. The story of this reincarnation is that the gay and dissolute sixth Dalai Lama, before he left on his fateful journey to Peking from which he was never to return, sensing that he was about to

leave this earth in his present form and assume another body when he came back, left some rice in a house in which he wished to be reborn. Some men from Lhasa went later to this house and, finding there a boy who, in a handkerchief, held rice that boiled without being heated, proclaimed him Dalai Lama. The news of the return of the God King of Tibet was communicated to the Chinese, and an Amban was despatched to Lhasa, with whom came Moslems from Kansu, Yünan and Szechwan.

In the latter story there does seem to be this element of truth that the Chinese Moslems of Central Tibet did very probably come from territories in the Celestial Empire where Islam had already gained a foothold. That they are even today called Hui-Hui by the Chinese in Tibet appears to be a confirmation that they are very akin to those of their brethren living today in the northern parts of the country.

The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia,
Camp Kalimpong, W. Bengal, India.

May, 1952.

THE ASIAN FRONTIERS OF KASHMIR

By THE RT. HON. LORD BIRDWOOD, M.V.O.

I THINK it is fair to say that the world of informed opinion thinks of the Kashmir problem only as an issue between two new States of the British Commonwealth, India and Pakistan. Indeed, the Security Council's instructions to Dr. Graham in no way covered the ground outside the accepted pattern of a plan mainly concerned with the withdrawal of rival Indian and Pakistani forces and the staging of a plebiscite. The many stresses and strains within Kashmir which will become apparent when the plebiscite is held have been conveniently avoided. For readers concerned with the affairs of Central Asia certain aspects of Kashmir's internal tension are of particular interest; and it is with these that I am concerned in these brief observations.

The main area of interest and controversy is Ladakh. Until Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu conquered and annexed Ladakh for the Sikhs over a century ago, the Ladakhis had looked to Lhasa for their spiritual comfort and economic support. Politically too they were integrated with their Tibetan neighbours. Since A.D. 400 Buddhism has flourished in Ladakh and Leh has been ecclesiastically subject to Lhasa. Early in the seventeenth century a Moslem invasion of Ladakh by Baltistan, when Leh's temples were plundered and destroyed, successfully confirmed the complete division, geographical and ethnographical, between the Balts and the Buddhists. The legacy of those events is that today Ladakh has made it clear that if there is any question of conditions demanding the area to be handed to Pakistan, the people would abandon both Pakistan and India and return to the ancient association with Tibet. This is the declared intention as defined by the Ladakhis' chief spokesman, the Lama Bakula of the Spitok monastery. Whether or not the choice in that form would ever present itself remains to be seen. The fact is that the links with Tibet present sinister political problems. The hand of Communist China now stretches over the roof of the world to the Indian frontiers. To discover a welcome in Ladakh would be but a logical extension of Chinese hopes. Nor is it possible to dismiss the movement of Chinese armies over high mountain passes and across barren plateaus as beyond the possibilities of planned strategy. The Chinese have shown that we need to revise our concepts as to where armies can move or how long they take in movement.

The position of the Buddhists in Ladakh is therefore not enviable. In the face of Sheikh Abdullah's agrarian reforms the monasteries retain their lands precariously. The Shushok Lama, who attends the Kashmir Assembly on behalf of his flock of about 40,000, carefully watches their rights. He has successfully recruited Ladakhis for the Kashmir State Militia and in return the State representative at Leh sees to it that Ladakh receives a generous share of clothing, sugar and kerosine oil. But

theocratic societies are hardly compatible with the new winds that blow from Srinagar, and the choice between Abdullah and Tibet would seem to be but exchanging a frying pan in Srinagar for a fire in Peking.

At the end of May Sheikh Abdullah treated the Kashmir Assembly to a spirited appraisal of his policy in Ladakh, enumerating the advances already gained and the blessings still to come through a closer Buddhist co-operation. The managements of the "Gumpas" (monasteries) had, he said, been in the habit of receiving grain from their tenant cultivators and selling it back to them at exorbitant prices. This would be examined with a view to its abolition. The "pernicious" system of requiring transport ponies and porters to be ready for duty on the Srinagar-Leh treaty route for tourists, traders and officials would be indefinitely suspended. For the first time in history forestry and anti-erosion measures had been applied and would be extended.

His survey ranged over the whole field of progress from mineral research to education and the establishment of high schools at Leh and Kargil. It was a panegyric of his own hopes and achievements such as we have come to expect; and yet it is not lightly to be discounted.

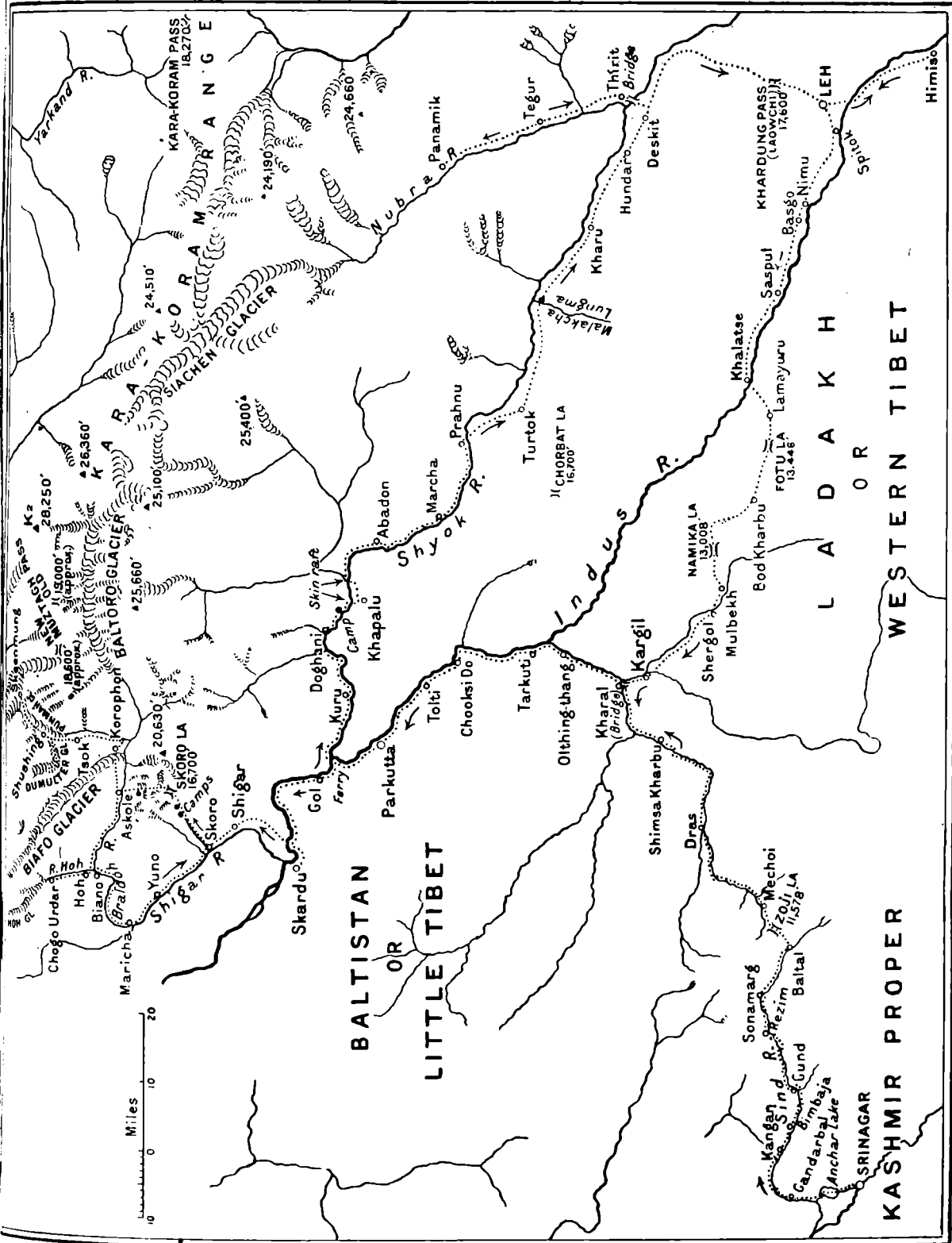
So much must depend on whether the educational advances keep abreast of technical progress. If Abdullah rushes reform the Ladakhis may yet draw comfort from Indian advice and patronage. Early in 1948 a small detachment of the Indian army pushed over the Rohtang pass from Kulu and consolidated the area for India, since when the constant movement of troops in Ladakh and the contacts they have made through contracts and the development of communications has resulted in a closer understanding between Leh and Delhi. As an example Ladakh has the Kashmir war and the Indian army to thank for the establishment of telephonic communication at Sonamarg, Baltal, Zoji-la, Dras, Leh itself and a number of other villages.

At the time of writing direct contact between Delhi and Leh is receiving every encouragement from the ambiguous turn which Abdullah's relations with the Government of India have suddenly taken. In the constant shift of loyalties a development more probable than possible may be for the Buddhists to by-pass Srinagar and deal more frequently direct with Nehru's Government.

Assuming that the distant day of a plebiscite in Kashmir ever becomes a reality, one wonders exactly how, in this wild country of long distances, few communications, illiteracy and an unknown dialect, the votes of the people can be recorded to represent a practical contribution to the solution of the Kashmir problem.

No less definite in its contradiction of the accepted United Nations pattern and plan is the northern area. By no stretch of the imagination could the Gilgit Agency, including the feudal States of Hunza and Nagar,* be considered as owing loyalty to a Government in Srinagar. In 1842 Raja Gulab Singh overpowered this distant rugged country with that astonishing success always associated with his dynamic ambition. Lord Hardinge confirmed the territory to him in 1846. Six years later the Dogra garrison was wiped out by a local leader, Gaur Rahman, the ruth-

* Author's spelling—also Nagir (Survey of India, 1944).



Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London.

BALTIKSTAN AND LADAKH

(Map from "An Unexplored Pass" by B. K. Featherstone. Hutchinson & Co.)

less chief of Yasin. After Gaur Rahman's death Maharaja Ranbir Singh regained a loose control. But it was left to the British to consolidate the vague understanding with the Dogra régime in Kashmir. In 1889, in face of the increasing threats of Russian expansion, the British occupied Chitral and at the same time established the neighbouring Gilgit Agency. Two years later an expedition to Hunza and Nagar brought these small States under Gilgit and thereafter they paid an annual tribute to Kashmir State. A British Political Agent at Gilgit was responsible to the British Resident in Srinagar and represented the loose titular allegiance of the Gilgit Agency to the Maharaja.

In August, 1947, the end of British supervision in Gilgit was the obvious opportunity for a very individual Shi'ah Moslem community to break away from Srinagar's association. A few days before partition the British handed Gilgit back to the Maharaja, whereupon the Gilgitis quietly took the law into their own hands and staged a peaceful revolution. Without assistance from Pakistan they then set up a republic. Pandit Nehru vehemently protested. The Agency should have remained with the British to be disposed of between Pakistan and India. Previously the Maharaja had in optimism appointed his own Sikh Governor. But it was too late. The alien Governor arrived and was seized and held hostage. As a prisoner he was safe from wilder tribal elements and it is claimed that he was locked up in order to save his life. The Gilgit republic under their leader, Shah Rais Khan, then invited the intervention of Pakistan, after having received the attention of the Indian Air Force. Pakistan complied and a single officer, Sardar Mohan Aman, was flown in from Peshawar to take control. It was typical of the sense and honesty of the people that he was able to take over the Gilgit treasury untouched since the first days of the revolt. Weeks later the Gilgitis undertook the occupation of Baltistan. Thus it was that Pakistan acquired the great mountain wastes of northern Kashmir with all the semblance of perpetuity.

Quite recently in March, 1952, followers of the Azad Kashmir leader, Ghulam Abbas, were agitating at Jhelum for Gilgit to come under the Azad administration at Muzaffarabad. But the Pakistan Government has hitherto insisted rightly on keeping these distant areas under its direct control. With the old route in from Srinagar denied to Pakistan, communication is a difficult problem. Twice a week planes of Pakistan Airways fly in and out on one of the most hazardous air routes in the world. A road capable of taking light motor traffic was hurriedly being constructed in the spring of 1952, making direct communication between Gilgit and Abbottabad a practical possibility. Perhaps the development of communications in both the north and east of Kashmir remains the one progressive and practical legacy of so much human folly.

Once again the unreality of a plebiscite is evident, not because of difficulties of distance or administration, but merely because the desires of 370,000 Shi'ah Moslems are a foregone conclusion. The more we study the internal ethnological structure of Kashmir, the more are we driven to conclude that the country is but a geographical expression; and it is a sad travesty of international wisdom which has hitherto insisted on treating the problem as one of politics rather than of races.

I have indicated the manner in which the Buddhists of Ladakh might be used as the Trojan Horse of Chinese Communism within Kashmir. The Communists have but to slip in a few trusted agents as well, and, both in Delhi and Srinagar, there are those who are ready to play with fire and receive them. By contrast in the Pakistan-held territories there have hitherto been few signs of Communist infiltration. Separated only by the thin finger of mountainous Wakhan from the Turkestan republics, the first signs of unrest in Chitral or Gilgit would prove an opportunity for those who direct Communist expansion from Tashkent. We know little enough of life on the far side of the Hindu Kush. But we do know that deposits of uranium ore are being turned to account and that where there is uranium there will certainly be direct control from Moscow. All the more reason then to see a happy and contented community on the Pakistan side of the mountain ranges.

In these few comments I have sought to show that the Kashmir problem can hardly be intelligently confined to consideration of rival Indian and Pakistani claims. It may have been with a rather belated appreciation of the limited scope of his endeavours that Dr. Graham in his latest report to the Security Council hinted at "other factors" which might now need to be drawn into the net of negotiation. At this moment the problem lies dormant. But if and when Dr. Graham has again to report his final failure on that vital matter of the numbers to remain on the cease-fire line at the time of the plebiscite and their final disposal, the whole matter will once again be thrown into prominent relief. It may then be appropriate to watch these particular aspects to which I have drawn attention.

CHINA AND BRITAIN : THEIR COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

By G. E. MITCHELL

(*Of the China Association*)

Report based on a lecture given on Wednesday, June 25, 1952. Mr. E. Nathan, O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mitchell, for many years before the outbreak of World War Two, occupied an important position in the commercial and industrial life of Shanghai, and on his retirement after a good many years in China he became the Secretary of the China Association and subsequently combined with that office the office of Vice-Chairman.

As perhaps some of you know, the objects for which the China Association exists are to endeavour to keep Her Majesty's Foreign Office straight in dealing with China affairs. I think, therefore, that there is no person better qualified to explain to you the history and the mysteries of our relations with China than Mr. Mitchell.

MR. NATHAN has given me a flattering introduction. I only hope that you have not formed the idea that you are going to hear something very exciting; because I have nothing like that to tell you. But I hope I shall be able to give you something of interest and some of the background of current events.

An extremely important and serious step in our relations with China has been taken in the past few weeks. That is the decision of the British firms to withdraw from China. I propose to make my theme the policies and events which have led up to that decision. I shall give you very quickly a sketch of the history of British commercial relations with China, and then a fairly full account of the conditions out there since the war, and the troubles with which the firms have been faced. That will lead straight up to the decision to withdraw. After that I think we can try to take a glimpse into the future to see whether we can forecast what kind of organization will replace the set-up of firms which existed in the past.

The earliest British commercial contacts with China were by the East India Company in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but from 1800 to 1840, after the Company's charter was ended, there was an important growth of private trading, all centred on Canton. The Chinese that these early traders found were the same kind of Chinese as we know today—the leopard does not change its spots. The ordinary Chinaman is, by nature and instinct, a strong nationalist and anti-foreign. He is self-centred and conceited, and when he gets the opportunity he is arrogant. He is completely satisfied that the Chinese way of life or culture is the best, and that all other races are (to use the old tag) barbarians. Nevertheless, he somehow remains a very likable fellow, largely, I think, because he is reasonably honest, a hard worker and has a strong sense of humour.

The sense of national superiority and official arrogance caused the Chinese to confine the early foreign traders in small compounds, where they were made to live and conduct their business. These became known as "factories": most of you have heard of the "Canton factories" and of the "Factory Days," etc. All business had to be done through a Government trading organization known as the Co-Hong and contacts with private Chinese merchants were not allowed. Thus we see what was, perhaps, the first instance in modern times of monopolistic State trading—the Chinese had the idea long before socialist thought had got round to it.

The aggravation arising from the confinement, restriction and interference imposed on our merchants inevitably led to trouble, and between 1840 and 1850 we sent three expeditions to China, whose activities are graced with the name of War. As a consequence of those wars we acquired Hong Kong and we also acquired concessions in most of the main ports, some of which were later merged in International Settlements. Most important of all, however, we imposed the extraterritorial system on China. I do not need to tell you that those who enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality live in another country, but under their own laws. Other Powers were quick to exploit the advantages presented by these British activities in China, and a position was soon established such that, from about 1850 onwards, all foreigners in China were subject to their own laws and not those of the Chinese, and in all the important commercial centres large areas (the concessions and settlements) were administered by foreigners. That meant that inside a country which was comparatively primitive and frequently disturbed there were established these enclaves of security, integrity and the rule of law. Now, a combination of British business enterprise and British rule of law, with Chinese labour, in a country producing important raw materials and possessing a great consuming market, is a set-up pregnant with immense possibilities, and these were quickly seized.

In the early stages our activities were confined to merchanting—principally the buying of Chinese produce such as tea and silk and, secondly, selling the products of our own industrial revolution, which was then in full stride. But about 1870 we began putting steamships on the Yangtze river and along the coast, and in 1895 a great era of railway construction and industrial development began.

It is, I think, fair to say that in the years between the beginning of the present century and the outbreak of the first World War Britain did far and away the major share of construction of the railways which now form the main trunk framework of land communications in China. We also developed their principal coal mines up in North China; we built cotton mills in Shanghai, Tientsin and elsewhere; and we built most of the wharves, warehouses and shipbuilding yards. Between the wars a further great advance in industrial construction took place, mainly under British leadership, and by the time the second war broke out there existed the nucleus of a powerful manufacturing industry. The pioneer firm in much of this industrial development—Jardine Matheson and Co.—had been joined by subsidiaries of the United Kingdom industrial giants, such as

the Calico Printers Corporation, Patons and Baldwins, Lever Bros., and the British-American Tobacco Co., all of whom established important subsidiaries or branches in China.

I would, therefore, like to get into your minds a picture, as at the outbreak of the second war, of a great British merchanting, banking and shipping organization, handling far more than half of the whole of China's overseas trade and directing a great British industrial investment, notably in Shanghai, where it was estimated that we had some £3 million worth of assets at that time.

There came the war, and by 1943 there was great danger of China pulling out and making a separate peace. Had she done so probably a million Japanese troops would have been released to help their attack on India. It was important for the Americans and ourselves to do something to encourage the Chinese to stay in the fight. This meant we had got to give them something they wanted, so as to give their Government "face."

The one thing they had always regarded as anathema was the system of extraterritoriality. They considered it an insult and an indignity and they agitated continuously against it. All the treaties imposing it were called by them "unequal" treaties. So when we came to talk to them in 1943 about new relations, the one thing they had to have was the abolition of extraterritoriality. So that was signed away. We relinquished our privileged position and we also gave back all the concessions and settlements, with all the assets which they contained and without any kind of compensation. The Chinese were supposed to take over the liabilities, but they never made any attempt to meet them.

The worst feature of the agreement, however, was that no provision was made as to when the concessions and settlements were to be relinquished. At the time the treaty was signed these areas were all in Japanese hands, and when the end of the war came control of these areas passed immediately to the Chinese. I think everyone is agreed that the 1943 treaty was a thoroughly bad treaty. Certainly we were in a difficult bargaining position, but nevertheless I cannot bring myself to think that it would have been impossible to arrange for the rendition of the concessions and settlements to take place by stages, so that the Chinese could gradually be worked into the administrations. Similarly, I cannot help feeling that it should have been possible for the extraterritorial status of foreigners to be relinquished after, say, five years from the conclusion of the war, to give a breathing space for them to re-form their arrangements. As things turned out we had to return to China under new laws, with all our special position, on which our investment had been built up, gone, and without any opportunity to take up the reins where we had dropped them. I repeat it was a bad treaty written in haste, if not in panic.

Still, when our people went back they went in the hope that they would be able to get their businesses going again, and would find a way to live and work under the new conditions. Hope springs eternal, and the foreigners who live and work in China have always been optimistic; so those who went back felt pretty sure they would struggle through somehow—they had always done so.

Our merchant business got going fairly well, but we very quickly

began to see the effects of inherent Chinese nationalism. The first sign was that they forbade British and all foreign shipping from trading on their coast and rivers, despite the fact that they had nothing like enough shipping to carry the trade themselves. Their attitude was that they would rather suffer the harm to trade than allow British ships to do it. Discrimination against foreigners and foreign business houses began to appear in many other ways, and to my mind there is no question that, quite irrespective of the Communist victory in China, British and other foreign industrialists would undoubtedly have been squeezed out as quickly as the Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek or any other leader could do it. For that reason I say that any business man who invested new money in China after the Second War was a poor business man. No one with any knowledge of the country could possibly have expected to be allowed to carry on as we had done in the past, with large British-owned industrial plants working under our management with Chinese labour and sending dividends back to this country. A great change had clearly got to take place, and that change would have had to be a far greater measure of control, and a greater share of the profits, for the Chinese.

But before developments of this nature had proceeded very far, the Communist victory took place. I need not go into the details of how that occurred. By the early summer of 1949 the Communists were in charge of the whole country. Once again the perennial optimism of the British in China came into play—"We have seen this kind of thing before; if we just sit around and are patient and quiet for a while, we will get to know these people and we will be able to carry on doing our business as we always have done." That was the view and, I think, a justifiable view, particularly as the Communist leaders went to a great deal of trouble, as their advance approached the coastal areas where the foreigners live and work, to make announcements that they meant no harm, that they hoped the foreigners would remain and carry on their businesses, and that, provided they abided by the laws and did nothing detrimental to China's interests, they would be well treated. So there was a virtually unanimous decision among British business people to stay where they were, to let the tide of the Communist revolution flow over, and then pop up again in due course and find a way to get back to business. Unhappily, it did not work out that way.

Whether by other treatment of the Communists we would have reached a different result to what we have reached today is a matter for debate. You will recall that Great Britain recognized the Chinese Communist Government early in 1950, and British business people interested in China brought a good deal of pressure to bear on the British Government in support of that step. We hoped that once it was taken the Americans would follow, that we would get the Chinese into the United Nations, and that through the contacts which would flow from these steps—the diplomatic contacts in Peking, in London, in Washington and at the United Nations—and the business contacts in China itself, we would get to know the newcomers and find ways and means for continuing our activities.

We shall probably never know whether, had the Americans followed us in granting recognition, the results which I have suggested would have ensued, but I am one of those who believe that, if the Americans had recognized the Chinese at the time we did, and if they had been admitted to the United Nations, there would probably have been no Chinese intervention in Korea, and, it follows from that, probably no Korean war at all. That is, though, a matter of opinion.

I have had it explained to me that there were very big reasons why America did not follow us—notably that the Communists appeared to go to great trouble to make it diplomatically impossible for them to do so. Some of you will remember that, just after we had recognized the new Government, and when we were hoping that the Americans would do likewise, the Chinese arrested the American Consul in Mukden, and, a little while later, took action against a part of the American Embassy property in Peking. These things made it politically impossible for the United States to take the step, which was, in any event, extremely controversial, of granting recognition.

Instead of the hoped-for gradual revival of normal business, the British commercial people have found themselves subjected to increasing pressure during the three years which have elapsed since that time. From time to time we have thought it was getting better, and that it would come right in the end, but always, soon afterwards, we received another series of blows. On many occasions it has seemed, from the manner in which China's propaganda was put out, that the British are, in fact, being used as the "whipping boys" for the policy of our American allies.

The pressure which has been exercised on our business men has mostly taken the form of a series of campaigns, one every eight or twelve months. In the first case there was a campaign to enforce taxation of the utmost severity, and at the same time to compel subscriptions to what was called a "Victory Loan," immediately after the end of the fight against Chiang Kai-shek. The main objective was to get in money and to check inflation, and they achieved both in no uncertain manner. Anyone who understands financial affairs and likes to study what the Chinese Communists did to stop inflation will find it well worth while. They stopped the most rabid inflation dead in its tracks by tearing money out of everyone's pockets in taxation and enforced subscriptions to the Loan. Thus, the money in circulation was drastically reduced almost overnight.

But what happens in a situation like that? The merchant who is forced to find so much money in taxes, etc., has none left with which to buy goods: if he cannot buy goods the factories get overstocked and no longer produce, so they close down—that means unemployment. The next campaign was one to make everyone toe the party line. The Chinese bureaucracy went into the individual political history of every important business man—principally, of course, Chinese business men—and where there were signs of reactionary tendencies steep fines were inflicted.

The most recent campaign, which ended only a few weeks ago, was called the "Five Anti's" campaign, because it was designed as anti-corruption, anti-tax-evasion, anti-fraud, anti-stealing State property and anti-theft of State economic secrets. Again, punishments normally took

the form of large fines, and each of these campaigns has led to a great shortage of money, and to the inevitable slowing down or stopping of industry, and therefore to potential unemployment. But, by regulation, labour cannot be dismissed, and no industrialist may retrench without the agreement of the appropriate union, nor may a business close down without the permission of the authorities, so the situation has been that the big British factories have been compelled to continue to maintain on their payrolls their full labour forces, and to pay them their full wages, despite the fact that they were at times doing practically no work and making practically no sales. In one instance, which Mr. Eden quoted in the House of Commons, one British factory had had 20,000 men on its pay-roll for more than two years with no work for them to do.

This state of things has involved the British industrialists in sending back into China enormous sums of money to maintain their establishments. At one time, about two years ago, some £375,000 each month was being sent from this country and from Hong Kong into Shanghai to finance the British organizations there.

Let us now turn to other and more personal difficulties with which British business has been faced. The Chinese Government imposes a very strict control over all movement of foreigners into and out of China and within China. No one can come in or go out of the country without a permit, nor can he leave the town in which he resides without a permit. To get a permit to leave China one has to make formal application, and, provided the authorities have no objection, one's name appears on a list which is published in the local press. Anyone who considers that he has any claim or complaint against the intending traveller, or can show cause why he should not be allowed to leave the country, may state his case, and the unhappy man concerned is not allowed to depart until all such claims have been investigated and disposed of. It is easy to realize what a magnificent opportunity for blackmail is presented by this procedure. The manager of a firm may have his name listed as being about to leave, but any coolie who thinks he has a grouse against him can go to the authorities, and, by contending that he has an outstanding claim which has not been settled, can cause the hold-up of the exit permit while the whole matter is sorted out. The ensuing arguments are interminable and it is not difficult to understand that, as a rule, the unhappy foreigner succumbs to the blackmail and pays up so as to get away from it all. One of the more distinguished and reputable of our British merchants in Shanghai was recently stopped, within two hours of the time he was due to leave, by a claim for £600 advanced by a coolie who had left his employment several years previously, and he only just managed to catch his train and thus snatch at the opportunity to leave, which might not present itself again for a very long time, by paying £300. Only one word can be applied to this kind of thing, and it is "blackmail."

If a business house wishes to relieve one of its managers in China, they must satisfy the Chinese authorities that the new man who is taking over is of "equal weight" to the one who is leaving: that is to say, they will not take a man with less authority. If, for instance, the outgoing

man has a power of attorney, which authorizes him to sign away all the assets of the firm, the man going in must have an exactly similar power of attorney. Moreover, the Chinese authorities take it upon themselves to decide whether the man going in has the necessary knowledge and ability to do the job, and they have on occasion refused entry permits for men who they did not think were up to the job for which their firms had named them.

Managers are held personally responsible for the policies and activities of their firms, even for things which happened before they became managers. It is the operation of this regulation which gives rise to most of the concern felt by directors and senior executives on this side regarding the welfare of their senior men in China. Situations arise, such as when funds are insufficient to pay the swollen labour force and a request for permission to retrench or close down is refused. The unhappy manager then points out to the authorities that he has no funds with which to pay the workers, and, as often as not, all he gets in reply is, "That is your affair—you must find the money." The threat behind this is that unless he finds the money he may find himself in prison, because he is personally responsible. On two occasions the managers of a British firm have been put into prison for this particular reason—fortunately they have stayed there for only a couple of days, because by one means or another they have been got out. It is principally because of this threat overhanging the men out there that the firms here have been prompted to send out the large sums of which I have spoken, rather than risk their loyal managers being "put on the spot." I think it is important for the reasons behind these large remittances to be clearly understood.

Another part of the problem facing our industrialists is the interference by labour in all matters affecting the business in which they are employed. Each factory or office must, by law, have its own union, and before the rate of output can be increased or reduced, and before any employee can be engaged or sacked, before prices can be raised or lowered, the union must be consulted. In fact, the union interferes in administration to such an extent that it is quite impossible for management to carry on efficiently. This system might not be so very bad if discussions on these matters were brief and knowledgable, but usually they follow the course of all discussions and negotiations, and take an interminable time. In fact, endless hours are spent by all senior men in China in discussing questions with the unions and the Chinese bureaucracy.

It is principally the industrialists, of course, who have experienced the problems and difficulties which I have outlined. The merchant houses have not suffered so badly, because they have no big labour forces, nor do they have big investments to look after. Most of the purely merchant houses withdrew long ago, as it was not too difficult for them to make the necessary settlements with their labour and with the authorities, and the British merchant interests which are still left are mainly the merchanting departments of the firms which also have industrial interests.

Trade between this country and China was going on fairly well until about a year ago, but the Chinese then virtually put a stop to it by introducing a barter system. This they did after their intervention in the

Korean war, when there came a moment when they appeared to expect that the war would spread into China. This barter system is such that importers are required to put their goods down in China before the exports to pay for them are allowed out, and that, you will realize, is quite an impossible way of doing business from the point of view of the private business man.

This brief sketch will, I hope, have given you enough evidence for you to understand the principal reasons which have prompted the decision of British business houses to withdraw from China. One way of looking at the present situation is that we have, in fact, gone back about 100 years to the days of the factories and the Co-Hong. Our people are again confined in comparatively small areas of Shanghai and Tientsin, just as they were in Canton; their merchant trade is conducted by Government trading agencies, just as it was 100 years ago; and in many ways we are subjected to the same restrictions and indignities. The clock has indeed been put back.

But it is no good looking backwards. We have got to try to find out what to do from here. It is quite obvious that the days when Europeans could operate industrial enterprises in the more primitive countries and take profits out of them are now past. That, I think, is true all through the world. What we must seek is some method of preserving our merchant interests—that is to say, the trade between this country and China, and the trade between China and other countries, of which our merchants have specialized knowledge. We must see if we can do these things without submitting ourselves to all the difficulties and indignities which we have suffered in the past few years.

You will have seen from the newspapers that we are trying to set up some kind of permanent mission or trade group which will stay in China and transact business there. It sounds easy, but it is, in fact, far from easy to think out a scheme by which a large group of private enterprise merchants and manufacturers can operate as a single entity in doing business with a series of Government agencies. If the China firms can solve this problem they will have done something which will not only benefit Britain's trade with China, but, I believe, which might be a pattern for other parts of the world. The China firms are working on it, but nothing spectacular has been evolved so far.

I have, I fear, covered the ground rather quickly, but I hope that if there is anything which I have not covered it will be brought out in questions. I have tried to give a quick sketch of our history in China and of the position which has finally forced us to pull out. It is all rather sad.

One of our leading novelists is, I believe, at present engaged in writing the story of the 100 years of British enterprise in China. If he does it, it will be a very good story because, in that 100 years, British business men have written a page in our history which will always be well worth reading.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before inviting any member of the audience who has any questions to put to Mr. Mitchell to do so, I should just like to say

how very interested I have been in all that he has had to tell us. I have seen several old China hands in the audience who were obviously flinching considerably in listening to the recital of conditions in China today and recalling them as they were in the good old days, when they and I lived in China and prospered exceedingly.

I think the moral of the story is this : That since the outbreak of World War Two, and perhaps a little prior to that, we have been false to our principles. I think the success that we achieved in China in the years with which Mr. Mitchell has dealt rather hurriedly, naturally—from 1840 almost to 1940—was based on the principle of fair play and fair deals on both sides, and always insisting that when we gave a square deal we received a square deal in return.

I think that our Government betrayed that principle in the dealings, which Mr. Mitchell described, that led up to the abandonment of extraterritoriality, because that question had been argued for many years before it was acted upon in the heat of war, and it had always been agreed that extraterritorial privileges would be abandoned only when the Chinese instituted a system of law, and an enforcement of a system of law, which was considered to give as much protection to the individuals as they enjoyed under the laws of their respective countries. It was in the circumstances which Mr. Mitchell has described that the British Government took the lead in throwing that safeguard overboard and handing over their extraterritorial privileges without getting any guarantee in return that British and other subjects would receive fair treatment.

The story that has come out of it has, of course, been complicated, as Mr. Mitchell explained, by the Communist eruption into China—or rather, the turn of events which caused the Nationalist revolution in China to become a Communist revolution. But we must not forget that that revolution is really and truly a national one; that whatever has happened since, it did not originate in Russia; and that it was always an anti-imperialist one, in the sense that we were called “imperialists” in China—no doubt about that. But had it not been for the abolition of extraterritoriality and, subsequently, the setting up of the Communist régime, I believe that British merchants and British industrialists are sufficiently broad-minded and adaptable to have been able to cope with present-day conditions in China. It is, therefore, with more than sorrow that I see the end of so very many fine businesses and of so very many fine opportunities for British investment and for British subjects to do worthwhile work in that country.

Sir HOWARD KELLY: I should like, first, to ask Mr. Mitchell if he is prepared to say what are the prospects of these fellows getting out.

Mr. MITCHELL: That is a very tricky question. Recently, while the “Five Anti’s” purge has been on, all exit permits have been stopped. According to the law, no one could come out, though actually two men I know of have come out. The prospects of getting everyone out are still rather obscure. As far as our information goes, the Chinese are rather puzzled, and a little bit concerned, at the decision of all the British firms to withdraw *en masse*. They are not quite sure what it is all about. They cannot make up their minds whether it is a commercial decision.

or whether it has a political background and means a change of political climate between Britain and China.

Therefore, until they make up their minds on that point, we probably shall not know how quickly we are going to get our men out. If they think we are getting more tough politically, it may be that they will try to hold our men. On the other hand, if they become satisfied that it is a sincere gesture and only means we have had enough commercially, there is no reason why they should continue to hold on to our men. But the prospects of getting all the men out quickly are remote. If we can get the whole thing over in a couple of years, I imagine that is about the best we will do.

Group-Captain SMALLWOOD: There is one question which is rather political that I should like to ask Mr. Mitchell. When Great Britain recognized China, there was no great welcome from China because of that recognition. I should like to know whether Mr. Mitchell considers that the incidents which, apparently, were manufactured by China were deliberate, in order to prevent America from recognizing China. I know that we looked forward very much to our recognition being followed by America's recognition, and it appears that possibly these very incidents were manufactured in order to prevent America following our example.

Mr. MITCHELL: I think Group-Captain Smallwood has put his finger on an important point. There is every reason to suspect that the incidents which prevented America recognizing China were purposeful ones. Whether they were thought out by the Chinese or whether by Russian prompting we may never know. It has clearly been in Russian interest to prevent America recognizing China, because had America done so as well as ourselves our contacts with China would have helped materially in trying to keep China from falling into Russian arms. Similar incidents prevented France from recognizing China. Just at the time when they might have been seriously considering the matter, a monkey wrench was thrown into the works by the Chinese giving some very open assistance to the revolt in Indo-China.

Brigadier DAVISON MAY: About how many British subjects are there in China today, and about how many are in prison?

Mr. MITCHELL: It is estimated that there is a total of something like 500-600 British subjects in China; of these 400-500 were born in the country—some of them are of mixed blood and really know only China as their home. Less than 100 are those who have gone out from this country. The last report I heard was that five British subjects were in prison, two of whom were missionaries. None of them are business people. The majority of the foreigners in prison are Americans, mostly missionaries and principally Roman Catholics, for whom Communists have a special dislike.

ANOTHER SPEAKER: Are the foreigners widely distributed over the country, or are they in one or two limited places?

Mr. MITCHELL: They are almost entirely in Shanghai. There is a handful in Tientsin. I think they are all out of Hankow, but there may be one or two, and there are five or six in Canton.

Sir ALWYN OGDEN: I listened with great interest to what Mr. Mitchell

had to say, and I should like to add a few words, not by way of criticism, but as a footnote to what he said. The point I wish to make is this: There has been a complete change of character in the trade for which we went to China 200 years ago, and that which we have been carrying on during the last few years. We went to China to get exports from China, principally of tea and silk, and in those days the Chinese were, or certainly thought they were, self-sufficient: they did not require any trade, and they did not care whether they sold anything to us or not. I think the restrictions to which Mr. Mitchell referred were imposed by the officials for their own purposes rather than as the result of pressure by Chinese merchants. The officials wanted to keep the trade, whatever it was, to very narrow channels, so that they could get all the profits from taxation and prevent contaminating foreign influences from spreading into China.

We eventually forced the door open and about the same time the effects of the Industrial Revolution in England began to be felt, and the result was that we began to sell more and more to China. And now, in recent years, we have come round full circle; the emphasis is on selling rather than buying and exports from China have become of less and less interest to us. The original staples tea and silk have for years occupied a low place in the lists, and many other things which have taken their place in the list of exports have been replaced—because China was closed for some years during the war—by goods produced in other countries or by synthetic substitutes.

On the other hand, the Chinese have become, although they probably do not realize it, very much more dependent on foreign trade. If, therefore, as appears likely at present, we cannot do any real trade in China for the time being, it will not seriously affect our economy. It affects individuals who have vested interests there, and the cutting off of so large an area of the earth's surface as China affects us, though I dare say we can find other ways of employing our activities.

But I feel that it is the Chinese who will be most affected: they are more dependent on Western countries for such things as oil and rubber, etc., which they do not produce, and for help in the development of their industries, than they realize. They can only pay for what they do get by their exports, and they will find—if they have not done so already—that they will get little help from Russia or the satellites in any of these matters. If I am right, surely we should say to China, "Very well. You have driven us out and there is nothing we can do about it for the present. We will wait until you are in a more receptive frame of mind."

Mr. MITCHELL: Sir Alwyn Ogden has put some nice points. It is quite true that by the time of the outbreak of war the picture had changed a good deal and we looked to China as a useful market. But we also looked to them as a source of supply for some of our very important needs, such as vegetable oils, eggs and egg products, and pigs' bristles. The point that China needs us more than we need the Chinese—to summarize it in that way—is, I think, correct. It is being proved at this moment, by the way, that the deal made at the Moscow Conference is being worked out.

Major AINGER: Could Mr. Mitchell throw any light on the position

in Manchuria? Who is running the major plants there? Is it the Russians or the Chinese?

Mr. MITCHELL: I do not think I can answer that. I do not think the Russians are running any plant. There are large numbers of Russian advisers and henchmen all over China, but I do not think the Chinese are letting them run anything.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O. (Chairman of Council): A number of you must have had vivid memories recalled by what you have heard this afternoon from Mr. Mitchell. The question of extraterritoriality—extrality was the Americanism we adopted at the time—does not date from the other day. I remember going to the Foreign Office in 1931 to be briefed before I went out to China. I came out in floods of tears. It sounded like a simple policy of scuttle. When I got out there we found that it was not quite so bad. In Hankow, after the Chen-O'Malley agreement, things were not very different. The club went on, the Concession went on. The French, who refused to give up their Concession, kept no privilege that we gave up.

In We Hai Wei the High Commissioner, as he was then called, lived on the mainland, and on the island a nice little Chinese captain was in nominal charge. But in fact our police ran the whole thing, and everything went on as well as ever.

There were possibilities in all these developments, but then came the Mukden incident—followed by the second Shanghai incident—and that put a stop to everything. From that day almost to this there has been a sort of perpetual strife, or crisis verging on strife, between Japan and China, which put a stop to any question of dealing with a great subject like extraterritoriality. It all passed into the records while those on the spot were coping with urgent problems. Later on, during the war, pressure was applied, but it had all been thought out very carefully and I think there need not have been this tremendous upset during the takeover. The result of having no period of transition during which matters could be straightened out was very unhappy, as Mr. Mitchell said.

I agree, too, most warmly in what he says on the question of the recognition of the Communist régime. It was preposterous that the representative of the Kuomintang at the United Nations, who represented nothing at all, should stand there and have the right of veto. But I am not at all sure that we approached the Americans in a proper way. Did we say "Are you coming in on this?" or did we try to rush the matter? That is a question. I do not think that can have been intelligently handled; but I am certain that our action was the right one. I am perfectly convinced that had the Americans recognized the Communist régime as *de facto* the ruling régime in China, there would never have been the Korean incident—or never one on the same scale. There were possibilities if we had once got them into the community of nations—though we do not expect people who hold certain opinions to talk reason—yet at the same time there would have been a means of approach. I think it a million pities that they were not accepted in the United Nations.

Our prospects for the future do not look very bright, according to Mr. Mitchell. If all the stuff you land is confiscated before they let out

either money or reciprocal goods, the prospect is not very bright for even the most gallant merchant adventurer! We seem to be getting out while we can, in the hope of re-establishing something afterwards.

The meeting closed with votes of thanks to Mr. E. Nathan and to the lecturer.

BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL GERALD DE GAURY, M.C.

Luncheon lecture given on May 28, 1952, Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: Colonel de Gaury has chosen a very comprehensive title, but I find he certainly has experience and knowledge more than sufficient to cover the whole of the area from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. He has spent many years in the Middle East, especially in the Arab countries.

For three years just before the second World War, he was Political Agent at Kuwait. Following that he was appointed special Liaison Officer with King Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia. Then he was transferred to Iraq, where he was Chargé d'Affaires for a brief period during the Rashid Ali rebellion in the middle of the war. On handing over at the Baghdad Embassy he was sent to raise the Druse cavalry force which served with the British army entering Syria. Later, when the appointment was made of a Minister of State at Cairo, Colonel de Gaury was on the staff, as Liaison Officer for the Arab countries.

Since the war he has lived in the Middle East and continued to travel widely. He has written several books, the latest being a history of the Hashimite family as Sherifs of Mecca, published in 1951.

Although the title of the lecture covers a wide area, you will realize from what I have said that Colonel de Gaury is amply qualified to pass on to you knowledge of that subject. He certainly ought to feel flattered that so many have abandoned the Derby in order to come and hear his lecture.

IT is some six years since I had the honour of speaking to the members of this Society here. In that interval very much has happened of the first importance in the area between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. The leading events in one way read somewhat like the social events column of a newspaper. There has been, for example, a birth, a coming-of-age, and it looks as though there will be a good many engagements. I am glad to be able to report to you the continued survival of an old crony of the English literary world—the Arab of Romance.

I refer in the case of a birth to the birth of the new State of Israel; and in the case of a coming-of-age to the full flourishing of the oil industry in several Arab countries; by engagement I mean a mating of East and West over industrial and technical development, following upon improved world communications and the newly increased revenue from oil to Arab lands. (I do not by the way propose to touch upon the divorce proceedings now before the International Court at The Hague.)

I would like to speak about these events I have mentioned in general terms, but with some material details that may bring home to you the new local scene.

If I dwell at first upon the State of Israel it is because it is new and little known at first hand, I believe, by members of this Society. That State came into being on May 14, 1948, so that it is now four years old. It is thus sufficiently developed for us to be able to make some

guess at its future. I spent two months there last year. On first landing you immediately find an atmosphere of war—war not against the Arab but against Nature and against almost insuperable economic conditions. The country, you will know, is very small—some 8,000 square miles only—at one point the frontier is only a few kilometres from the sea. Half the land or more is desert or barren hillsides. Into that land in the last six years something like a million Jews have come. We in this country know, better than other foreigners, what that can mean in housing and feeding problems. There is an austerity régime, tightened up every now and then by irksome new rules, which makes our life seem like an abandoned epicureanism. Almost everything to eat save milk, eggs and vegetables has to be imported at an annual cost of about ten million sterling. My own recollection of meals there is mostly of yaghourt and carrots. It is not a question of a small meat ration, but of none at all for most people. The atmosphere of crisis is accentuated by the urgency with which every activity seems to be carried on—almost everywhere you see new works—new factories, new roads, new irrigation, and above all new huts and houses going up or being newly occupied. The noise of bulldozers and tractors is constant. You hardly ever look round a landscape without seeing the clouds of dust that rise from some new work in being. As you move about the countryside you notice great numbers of youth. You assume at first that there is in that area some particular reason for it—that some youth organization is responsible in that precise district—and then you find that youth is a characteristic of the whole of Israel. Thirty-eight per cent. of the total Jewish population is under 19 years of age. Of all the immigrants that came in recently, no less than 25 per cent. were under 14 years of age. Another world record held by Israel is that a bigger proportion of her inhabitants have been in detention camps than that of any other country. You notice on the forearms of some of the workers the blue tattooed numbers given to those in detention as identity marks, and when you have noticed a few you soon begin to observe that a high proportion of Israeli youth has them. The immediate problem for Israel has been to house the new immigrants. They have found a means of running up small houses in twenty-four hours by means of cement mixers, and they are using in great quantity small aluminium huts—huts that must be hot, and I know are unpopular, in the summer. About half the annual total investment has had to be spent on housing and transport and on public works. This, in a country where capital development in productive enterprise is the key to success, is a very high proportion. And the end is by no means in sight. For much of the housing put up is little more than shelter and is not enough to content people for long.

I saw something of the Israel army, the chief and unusual feature of which is the mobilization system which I believe must be the quickest and best worked out in the world. It includes the annual registration and the immediate use of every road vehicle in the country, and soldiers go on mobilization, not to depots or even to the headquarters of their formations, but straight to their post in the field, and the word soldier includes girls. It is surprising to see girls, dressed in precisely the same

uniform as the men, drilling and handling military equipment with the men. They work in the same ranks. They live in the same camps and eat in the same messes alongside the men. There is no difference, incidentally, between the officers' and sergeants' messes. There is only one for both grades. The officers are extremely young. The Chief of the General Staff was 32 when he was appointed. The Deputy Chief of Staff is 29. The Commander of the Navy is 27. The Commander of the Air Force is comparatively old—he is 35. Naturally, military secrets are not given away, but clearly there is not much heavy armament. Field artillery consists largely of 25-pounders captured from the Egyptian army. The uniform is British with American fatigue dress. As a former regular officer I pride myself on being able to assess the stamina of an army. My impression of the Israel army is that their morale is high and that they would fight hard in the defence of the coast of Israel. Apart from the regular army there is of course total conscription for everyone—male and female—except Muslim girls, and about half of the conscripts, by a rather ingenious and voluntary system, after a short preliminary recruit training, are drafted to farms on the frontier where they work as agriculturalists but continue military lessons.

The economic condition of Israel, as you know, is as bad as can be. Israel has three budgets: the ordinary budget including some military expenses; a special military budget which is secret, but rumoured to be about one and a half times the size of the ordinary budget; and a special development budget. In the last two years the ordinary budget has been approximately balanced. The special defence budget was largely financed by Treasury Bills and was almost entirely inflationary in its effect. The development budget, mainly concerned with the absorption of immigrants and public works, was partly financed by the loans which the Government was able to raise inside and outside the country and partly supported by the issue of Land Bonds, which work very much like Treasury Bills. To continue the present rate of immigration, to develop the country, and to balance its payments, it was calculated that Israel needed fifteen hundred million dollars between the years 1951 and 1953. Israel, it was said, could raise one-third of this herself, if the remaining two-thirds could be raised abroad—mostly in America. But the 3½ Bond Issue, though boosted in the States by a special tour of the Prime Minister, was not a great or immediate success. Israel's plans are all made out, down to the most detailed designs for the expansion of each industry, her irrigation of every acre of land. But the sources of finance are far from secure. While her annual imports are well over a hundred million pounds sterling, Israel's exports are worth only about fifteen million sterling. The effort to keep the Israel pound at par with sterling has failed. It is now the equivalent of, I think, 7s. 6d., and the black market rate is not more than 4s. 6d. at the most. On the brighter side of the picture it must be said that industrial exports are rising gradually and in a short time mass immigration should be coming to an end. Citrus exports are improving at least. The potash plant at the southern end of the Dead Sea should soon be regularly exporting. Even so it is difficult to see how Israel can survive. There seems to be only one hope for her, short of some

astonishing technical or mining discovery, and that is the aid that can be sent from American Jewry and from the United States Government. American Jewry shows a not unnatural tendency to reduce its subscriptions as time goes on. The chief hope, I presume, is the aid that the American Government may furnish. It gave Israel fifty million dollars in September, 1951, to last until June, 1952. It may continue to give such grants and thus support Israel. If the State did come to an end, where would the inhabitants go? One is forced to the conclusion that the necessary capital for its continuance will in fact be supplied from America.

It would not be becoming to appear flippant about a problem that is truly vital to many human beings, but it does seem as if the Israel child State is much under weight and will have to have adept financial nursing if it is to survive. The crisis is worsening daily, and in a very few weeks now we shall be able to tell whether Israel is to turn the corner or not.

In Iraq you have an utterly different and far happier picture. But it is not so long ago that her finances too were in low water. The money that had accrued during the war had mostly been spent. There was a moment when she was not sure where the money to pay her Civil Service was to come from. Iraq, however, had great assets and today, thanks to a more careful policy, and to a new arrangement with the oil company, Iraq has turned her corner and is well on the road to prosperity and healthy development. She had already been planning her irrigation development on a large scale, to rival the country-wide irrigation system of old—in the days before it was destroyed by the Mongols, seven hundred years ago. And now that she has the necessary capital these developments have begun. The Public Works Department alone, some little time ago, earmarked thirty millions to be spent on bridges, schools, hospitals, houses for officials, roads, etc. And in the field of irrigation itself there are proved projects amounting to approximately £45,000,000; projects of which those of you who know Iraq will have often heard are now under way, or have been planned up to the point of beginning. Such schemes are those known as the Wadi Thar-Thar, the Darbandi-Khan barrage, the Bakhma dam, the barrage on the Tigris (south of the Udhaim river). You may wonder how far it will be possible for Iraq to maintain in good order so many large works, but the Government has sponsored the training abroad of many students and young engineers. At the present time there are in this country alone over 250 young Iraqis, mostly learning engineering, sponsored by the Government. There are a very large number of others, training at their parents' expense, in many different countries. Young Iraq is agog for the future now. Three years ago she was depressed. Today you only have to be in Baghdad an hour to sense the new atmosphere. Even your taxi driver will tell you that all is well now, that the country is looking forward to a bright future. She indeed has very great natural advantages. Compare her, for example, with Egypt. She has two rivers in place of one. Her land is much more fertile and the alluvial soil is more widely spread. She has mountainous areas that can give a variety of crops, that are naturally suitable to the making of barrages, and may well be minerally rich. Her rainfall is

heavier and there is less incidence of such diseases as bilharzia and malaria. Her landlord and agriculturalists system is preferable to that of Egypt in that the Iraqi agriculturalist receives a larger share of the crop profit than does his Egyptian opposite number. Without going into politics we can, I think, very safely say that she is happier in her politics and rulers. Iraq prides herself on her stability. I believe that such are her natural advantages, her stability and means of developing the country, that within a couple of decades at most we shall see Iraq in her place as the leading country of the Arab Middle East without any question. One understands that there has from time to time been a suggestion that there should be some form of closer linking between Iraq and Arab neighbours on her western frontier. It looks as if this may come about, not through any political coup or as a result of propaganda, but by naturally advantageous circumstances imposing such a solution. It may be the merchants, engineers and farmers, and the people in general, rather than the elderly politicians *de carrière*, who in the end may feel strongly the need for a closer link with a country that will be by then in advance of their own and is stable. The welfare of the peoples certainly tends to promote such an idea.

The sudden large income from oil royalties that has come to Kuwait has received a great deal of publicity and I do not propose to bore you by adding to it, but only to tell you how Kuwait looks now that she is beginning to make use of her income. Even as you come down in an aircraft above the city a former habitué like myself sees great change. The old defensive wall round the city—which I once saw manned by British sailors during the siege of Kuwait by Wahhabi rebels from Arabia—still stands. But there are new suburbs beyond it; many new houses and new works of every kind have sprung up beyond the wall. Far away to the west on the shore you see a vast grey building in cement. This is the new Kuwait University, to take 650 young men. Alongside it is an imposing new mosque. Farther west again a second new hospital is being built. Between the university and the town there is a very new garden city, without any gardens, and in the same area there is the site of the new water condenser ordered by the Sheikh. There are an oil company landing place, pipelines, works and engineering shops, etc. There are too, of course, garages and filling stations and everything that goes with the import of a large number of cars, many of them American luxury cars. In Kuwait they have not quite reached the stage of progress when they have traffic jams, but I should think the time is not far off. When I was there before the war there were some 700 sailing ships of the pearling, water and cargo carrying fleet, but only, I think, three launches—the Sheikh's launch, the Political Agency launch, and one large barge belonging to the Landing Company. Today the sea is busy with launches large and small. There is great activity at the waterfront, and one of the first arrangements being made by the Sheikh's Government is to improve the landing arrangements. In general I feel sure that the best possible plans are being made.

There are at this moment some thirty-two boys from Kuwait, sponsored by the Kuwait Government, as students in this country. These

will be doubtless the future engineers, doctors and schoolmasters of Kuwait. Four immediate relatives of the Sheikh, including sons, are here studying such matters as police organization. The immediate reaction to wealth of the present Sheikh of Kuwait was to build a hospital and improve education, but the bigger and larger plans for the city and State have for some time now been under study and soon will be bearing fruit. The first sea-water condenser plant is nearing completion and will provide about 10 gallons per day per inhabitant. In the past, apart from brackish wells, Kuwait's fresh water was entirely supplied by a fleet of sailing boats from the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab—in other words, from Iraq. In recent years the oil company has supplied Kuwait with water from its own condenser and the water fleet has gone out of commission. Condensers can provide enough water supply for Kuwait's 100,000 odd inhabitants, but if there is to be agriculture and gardens some other means will have to be devised. It has been proposed that there should be a sweet-water canal or water-bearing pipelines from Iraq to Kuwait. This again is under study. There is only one thing to be said in this connection by observers, and that is that for some years nearly all the available labour in Kuwait, with indeed some from outside, will find full work in Kuwait on the various projects now in hand; where therefore will the agriculturalists come from? I imagine that the Planning Department may not be putting the canal or pipelines with water at the very head of the list of priorities.

I should perhaps remind you that there is an oil company—the American independent—known as Aminol, working in the Kuwait-Saudi neutral zone. It is possible that they too will find oil in rich quantity. There are no inhabitants in the neutral zone and even the oil engineers have their headquarters on a ship. If oil were found we should have the spectacle not of a small population acquiring very large oil royalties, as in Kuwait, but of no population at all receiving the benefit from very large oil royalties; of being able to start from the very beginning. The only living creatures are desert birds and animals, jerboa and gazelle, bustard, cranes, wildcats.

What, you may ask, is or will be the psychological effect of sudden prosperity upon the Kuwaitis themselves? It is too early to give a certain answer, but it must be said that Kuwaitis for a century have been merchant adventurers, sailors, divers and caravaneers. They have by no means been parochial or puritanical. The merchant adventurers nearly all had, and many still have, connected establishments, under brothers or cousins, in the Arab colonies in other ports—in India, Malaya, East Africa and the Red Sea. Kuwaiti cargo-carrying boats frequented the Indian Ocean. Their divers, who were sailors in the cargo-carrying season, came to know the outside world. Their caravaneers thought little of setting out for the other side of Arabia. Their ships' captains always astonished the British naval officers who examined them for navigation certificates by the precision of their navigational technique and their knowledge of far-off seas and harbours. Such a population largely used to the sea and knowing other lands will not be so readily upset as might be the case with stay-at-home agriculturalists or with townsmen unused

to travel. From all I have seen recently I feel sure that Kuwaitis will take the extraordinary upheaval and the turn in their fortunes as well as can be expected. The Ruler has gone to meet the situation, installed financial and technical advisers, and is alive to the dangers inherent in the situation. He himself has very little altered his ways since the advent of the oil royalties. He is of a democratic and philosophical turn of mind by nature, and I was interested to notice that every now and then he seeks relief from the pressure of public business by retreat to the happy and unmechanised island of Falaicha, some seventeen miles from the Kuwait shore and from the bulldozers, the telephones and the oil.

The island of Bahrein has no boom atmosphere. Bahrein has only a small income from oil—a million and a half or so. On the other hand, the atmosphere is one of steady and well-thought-out development, side by side with the preservation of the best in everything old. The finding some years ago of plentiful artesian water and the fact that the buildings are white and not sand colour, and that there are now plenty of trees, gives Bahrein an extremely pleasing appearance. There is an adequate hotel—Kuwait has as yet no hotel—and a lively bazaar reacting to the situation of Bahrein as an entrepôt for the mainland and for most of the Persian Gulf States. I was not surprised to find that an American millionaire has made himself a house and garden complete with swimming pool, of the kind one understands are usual in such places as Miami. Bahrein in the winter is like that, and to us coming from the controlled West it seems very nearly ideal. I spoke to you of the survival of the Arab of Romance—that hardy centenarian. He still exists in many places in the Middle East, but in particular I think is to be found in Bahrein, with all his well-known charm and hospitality.

While I was in Bahrein there was a great dinner for the Regent of Iraq given by the Sheikh. The Regent had come on a short official visit, sailing into the roadstead over the glittering blue sea in a splendid yacht, recently acquired from the Sheikh of Kuwait. The dinner in the traditional style included six young camels, apart from many sheep, all of them cooked whole. After dinner presents were distributed to the Regent and some of the other guests—robes of honour and golden swords. It was at that dinner that an old Arab said to me, what I had sometimes heard before from them, "The Arabs are the most Westerly of the Asiatics, but they are also the most Easterly of the Europeans."

At Qatar the scene is very different. In and about Doha, the capital, there are no gardens, if you except one tiny enclosure about two acres large, where donkeys draw leather buckets from a brackish well to water a few fig trees, some palms, a tomato crop, and so on. The village—it is scarcely more than that—is very little changed. While I was there, there was a local Red Letter day—the new fish market was opened. It was a very simple fish market, about the size of this room, in cement, but I think it was about the first municipal public work, apart from a new road along the waterfront, in Doha. The new school had been almost completed, was being painted preparatory to opening. For four months the hospital had had no doctor between the departure of the American missionary doctor and the arrival of a British doctor.

In the interval the patients had been looked after by the wife of the British Adviser, a French lady from Nice. During her tenure she told me with pride that only one patient had died—of old age.

The income of Qatar is going to be about as large as that of Kuwait; but instead of a go-ahead population of over 100,000 people you have a number of small settlements and a capital village holding some 8,000. It is rather difficult to see how the money from oil will be spent after the first few years, when such improvements as power and good roads have followed schools and hospitals. Incidentally, I returned from Baghdad to Beirut in a specially chartered machine bringing back four Lebanese doctors from Qatar. They had been visiting the former Ruler, who has abdicated in favour of his son, a grown man. The old Sheikh, I am glad to say, was not known to be suffering from any disease, but he had felt from time to time some lassitude to which he was not formerly accustomed, and the four doctors had therefore come from Beirut in a chartered machine. His age is verging on four-score years and ten.

I referred earlier to new engagements in the East, meaning that there would be many close contacts between the West and the East in the future. Firstly: you have the ever-increasing speed of communications. I need say no more than to remind you of the Comet. Last Friday I went to Northolt among those bidding farewell to the Regent of Iraq and his suite. His aircraft left the ground at 3 p.m. and he was intending to dine a little after 8 o'clock in Beirut. With such rate of travel becoming general and the possibility in view of going from London to lunch in Baghdad and come back the same night, how can we not assume that our relations must be much nearer? Apart from that, the new sources of revenue in the East mean that there will be new developments, not only of the kind I have spoken of, but others that will come in their turn—smaller industries always grow round bigger ones. All this development means that the technical knowledge which the West can provide will be in demand for some time and that more and more student Arabs will be coming to the Western countries. We know that, in spite of such close contacts between Western and some other lands, relations are not always extremely good. In spite of many efforts, at the last minute things seem to go wrong. Various reasons are given. In the past the West has sometimes been accused by the East of being grasping. There is, however, another aspect of our relations which I have seldom seen mentioned. It is a little difficult to explain. I mean the disturbance caused by the clash of civilizations. Take an imaginary example. Let us suppose, by some extraordinary set of circumstances, that Manchu China had somehow taken over this country during the last century and had perhaps left it, but had imposed its civilization. It would be for the third generation now that we were under Chinese influence, that we had worn pigtails, eaten with chopsticks, worn Chinese dress, concealed our hands in our sleeves most of the day, seen our daughters' feet pinched into little Chinese shoes, and so on. And most important of all—it would be the third generation since we had given up all idea of industrial progress and had devoted ourselves to the Chinese philosophy and way of life. Our sons would be fluent in Chinese in order to pass

their examinations. We might all have become Chinese almost to the manner born, and many of us would indeed see that there really was a great deal of good in Chinese philosophy. I do not wish to push this analogy too far, but it may have helped you to see what I mean in the matter of the clash of civilizations. The Arab peoples of the Middle East are, as my old friend said, the most Easterly of the Europeans. They are highly adaptable and understand what they want, and they do want technical knowledge and equipment that the West can provide. Nevertheless, it must be disturbing to change a long traditional way of life in so very short a time. We have been changing now for 150 years. Arabia is doing it in a couple of decades. Whether, as an oriental, you want the change or not is, I believe, beside the point. It cannot help but be, at times, nerve-racking. Even if you are not conscious of the reason for your querulousness, maybe that is the cause. If we bear that in mind, I think we shall be gentler in our dealings and better understand how to make things go smoothly, if upheavals can ever be called smooth. It is because of this extraordinary and sudden change that any stable, focal points that will endure throughout them are invaluable. The stability of Iraq at this juncture is a greater blessing than it has perhaps been considered. And in its make-up there must be included above all the soundness of the Rulership. You have there a family not yesterday declared to have an ancient pedigree, but known by everyone in the East to have been a ruling family for thirteen hundred years. It is the only family of such standing in the Middle East. There is too in Iraq the most respected, far outstanding and experienced statesman in the whole Middle East, the present Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha al Said. It is always unwise to prophesy about political weather, but in Iraq at least the barometer seems to be set at "Very Fair."

One way and another, therefore, the impressions of the present-day traveller in the Asiatic Arab lands lead him to believe that if the East-West engagement has at times been a little stormy in the past, nevertheless, with give and take on *both* sides, a long and most satisfactory match may follow.

The CHAIRMAN: From the fantastic riches that have come to these Arab countries—Kuwait, Iraq and the others—is there anything subscribed towards the refugee Arabs in Palestine?

Secondly, who closed the Kirkuk pipeline, and is the Tripoli pipeline still running? The Jews seized the refinery and apparently it is the Arabs who let the oil go through, though there does not seem much Arab country for the oil to pass through.

Colonel DE GAURY: The Arab refugees are not my subject; I believe the answer is that no subscription has been made.

Mr. S. PEROWNE: I think there is something on the way, though I cannot be certain about that.

Colonel DE GAURY: The Kirkuk pipeline is controlled by Iraq; they closed the line to Haifa. The Tripoli pipeline is running.

Group-Captain H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD: As to irrigation in Iraq, when I was there in World War I, there were enormous areas given over

almost entirely to the flamingoes. Have the irrigation schemes which have been initiated turned those areas into cultivable land?

Colonel DE GAURY: That is the whole function of the Control. The Iraq Government employed an irrigation expert from India, with an expert team, who went into all the plans which had been proposed in the past and prepared some new ones. There is now a very comprehensive overall scheme for the complete control of the waters of Iraq.

Colonel GASKELL: The lecturer did not mention Transjordan. Does that come into the picture?

Colonel DE GAURY: I have not been there for two years and I have purposely kept to the countries through which I went on recent travels.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you all agree that we are much indebted to Colonel de Gaury for his most interesting lecture. The change in the situation of those Arab countries is really fantastic; everything is so different to conditions that those of us who are a little older can remember in Israel and the other places in the "good old days." When I first went to Kuwait there were a few mud huts and a mud wall round the village; certainly nothing else. Even in those days there was an association with other countries; there was a large trade in polo ponies, for instance—a great many of the polo ponies used in India came from Kuwait. I remember in 1903 when the Viceroy and his staff got to Kuwait they thought they would be able to buy polo ponies at £5 apiece, but when they went ashore to purchase them they found the sum asked for each pony was £100. That was the price they always asked and they would not budge from that figure. Such was the principle on which they worked then and no doubt work today.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

SOIL EROSION AND ITS CONSERVATION

By PHILIP CLAXTON

EVER since the mountains were formed and the earth received her frame, running water has taken up the tale of soil erosion. Pushing out deltas from the base of the hills, torrents have gradually formed great plains, and, nothing daunted, have essayed even continents. Nature meanwhile clothed both mountain and plain with verdure, grass, scrub and forest, which in turn slowed down erosion and established a balance of economy, till man appeared on the scene. Not considering his place as a mere moment in the long vista of time over which nature had worked, he set about to upset the balance of soil erosion and conservation, till today soil erosion and conservation present us with problems that truly are formidable.

Writing for the United States of America, Paul Sears, a distinguished botanist, an economist and an agriculturist of no mean skill, gives us these interesting remarks in his book *Deserts on the March*. "Since 1900," he says, "the United States has moved to the forefront in the study of the relation of plant and animal to their environment between the individual living thing, to the soil and the atmosphere. Man has found that the landscape presents more than the mere plant and the physical texture of the soil, for both should be regarded in a totality, each as a factor in relation to other factors. When we enter a forest or a meadow we should see not merely what is there, but what is happening there. We should have a glimpse of continuity, analysis, integration and destiny, subject, as they may be, to management and control."

But while the U.S.A. and other countries of the West have been moving forward in the study of nature's economical balance in the relation between plant, animal and environment, and have been reaching methods of management and control to restore it, the East awaits solutions on a much wider scale. There we have very large areas of bare hills and mountains that may never have been covered with verdure, and of torrents which pour down their sides and need to be managed and controlled if soil erosion and the annual recurring waste is to be arrested.

The writer would therefore transfer the thoughts of Paul Sears to the East, where these problems, soil erosion and conservation in relation to the living thing and landscape, apply even more strongly: as he knows from many years' experience in a corner of the earth—Dera Ghazi Khan on the Punjab-Baluchistan frontier—remote it is true, but presenting the problems in their acutest form. On one side was the river Indus, a veritable sea, 8 miles broad between flood embankments and discharging anything between 20,000 and 700,000 cubic feet per second. On the other side were torrents descending from the bare and often rocky Suleiman range of mountains, bringing down anything from 20,000 to 100,000 cusecs. heavily laden with clay when in spate. The inundation canals in his charge were wedged between these enormous forces of nature, and

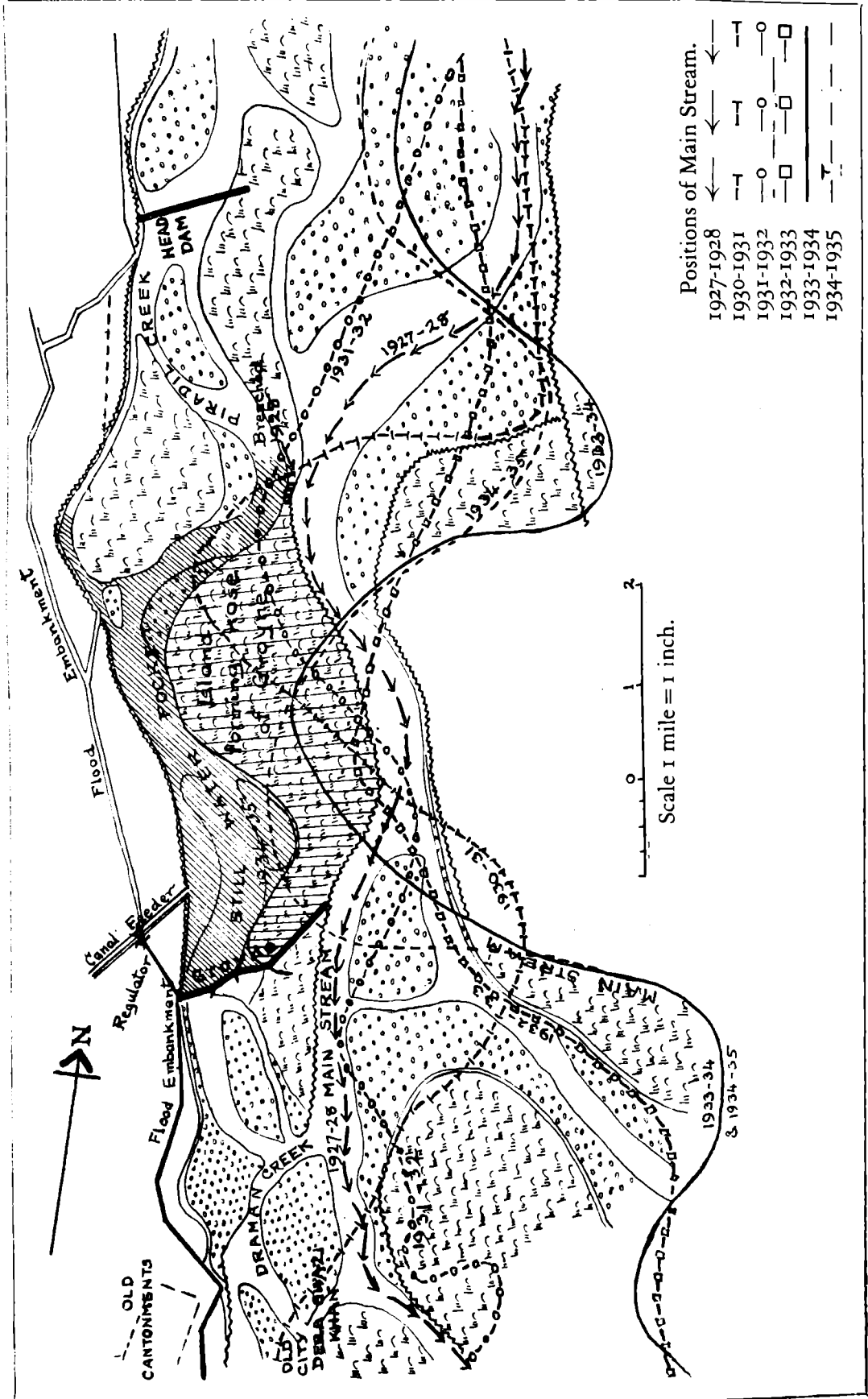


FIG. 1.—DIVERTING MAIN STREAM BY GROUYNE AND STILL-WATER POCKET.

while he had to extract supplies from the one he had to protect his work against attack from the other.

Naturally his first study had been the river, but having found a solution there he came to apply it to the torrents. He will therefore give the river solution first and then demonstrate how it was applied to the torrents later.

The Still Water Pocket.—For management and control he could deal only with the side-creeks, which are in themselves very large, but which hold the meanderings of the river in check. On the side-creek all active flow could be brought to a comparative standstill by what he termed the still-water pocket. Earth, sand and brushwood, all the materials ready to hand, could then control the situation. To illustrate this Fig. 1 is given to reproduce the conditions as they were actually presented in 1928-35 at a point 4 miles above the old city of Dera Ghazi Khan, washed away by similar conditions in 1910, eighteen years earlier. This time the city was not in question, but the fate of a canal and many miles of adjoining flood embankment. The attack was threatened through the Piradil creek into which the main stream would soon breach. The lower end of the Draman creek was already the main stream, but were it to enter the creek from a higher point through the Piradil creek, as it threatened to do, many miles of canal and flood embankment would be in extreme danger.

The figure (1) shows how the situation was handled. The Piradil creek was closed at the head and again lower down near the outfall by sand and earth dams protected with brushwood. The lower dam was then extended in an upstream direction over the highland of the island, a comparatively cheap work, so as to form a groyne enclosing a pocket. By this means the whole of the island was pressed into service and became a huge nose. So long as the island lasted the groyne was effective, and the pocket remained a still-water pool, shown blue.

The positions of the main stream in the attack which followed should be noted, for it would take too long to comment on each position separately, but it will be seen how the main stream was thrown into great loops which beat against the island, and did its best to tear a way through.* This was all to the good, so long as erosion remained on that side, the right side, because from our knowledge of river behaviour the eroded material would re-form as shoals lower down, *on the same side*—in this instance the lower Draman branch, which was the main stream. It took five years to fill this up, but filled it was, and the river was diverted into the Ghazi Ghat creek on the left side that had meanwhile been developing. What engineers had failed to do in the fight from 1900 to 1910 to save the city, at a cost of 22 lakhs (2,200,000 rupees), was accomplished in the fight from 1928 to 1933 at a cost of one lakh only. This is noteworthy in demonstrating the power of the Still-water Pocket Principle, which, as we shall see, was applied later to the control of the torrents.

These torrents had been harnessed to some extent by the peasant, after they had left the hills, in a system of "basin irrigation," close to the foot-hills, as bolstered up by the Record of Rights, applied under the

* *Vide*, Paper 5319, "Influence of Silt on River Behaviour," by Philip Claxton, published in *Journal of Institution of Civil Engineers*, London, for 1942-43.

supervision of Government officials. Both the basin system and the Record of Rights will need our attention, being in themselves outstanding attainments, though imperfect without engineering direction.

Taking basin irrigation first, a sketch (*vide* Fig. 2), will help us to picture it and follow its working.

The system is the same as that followed in Egypt, though applied under very different circumstances. Here the torrent spate must be caught at a moment's notice, for the fields are served under critical conditions. Each field is enclosed by the peasant with substantial embankments or "bunds" made with the scoop or drag, so that the oxen pass over the bund each time the earth is scooped up after being ploughed over, if necessary, from both sides. The result is a perfectly constructed and consolidated work. The clay, however, of which it is constructed, brought down by torrents, is treacherous because of unequal contraction and expansion. The peasants swarm out on seeing rain clouds over the hills and man the bunds, and have to be very much alive watching for the slightest leakage, which must be jumped on and closed immediately. When one field is filled to a depth of some 3 feet, the inlet is closed and the water cut into the next lower field. With the rich silt brought down in the water, one such filling is enough to plough and sow the field as soon as it has dried off sufficiently, and to mature the crop.

In the Fig. 2 the distribution of the water to the fields will be as follows: The right and left branches will flow separately or together: if separately, one branch will be closed till the other has received its share; if together, each will draw off proportions calculated very roughly by the bed width of the torrent, the groynes being extended into the torrent bed to one-third to two-thirds or whatever the proportions may be in the Record of Rights.

Consider now the right branch. All water will be stopped at dam *a* and passed into watercourse No. 1 till it reaches dam *b*. Here it will be stopped and passed into field 1 by the cut shown. When field 1 is filled dam *b* will be cut and the cut into field 1 will be closed. The same process of filling will be repeated at dam *c* and field 2, and finally the dam *c* will be cut and field 3 filled. When nearly full—allowing for the water that has yet to flow from the head of the watercourse—dam *a* will be cut, and the next lower fields will be watered in the same way in turn on the general principle first come, first served. The same procedure applies to the torrent's left branch.

The Record of Rights.—Now, the shares of water for the branches and watercourses, the order of the fields, and from which watercourses they are to be served, and how, are laid down in great detail in the Record of Rights. This is a record, prepared and attested by Government authority, of the rights of the people, either in land or water, and their obligations for the construction and maintenance of the works, jointly or independently, and constitutes a sort of title deed for a village. Individual proprietors rely on the entry in the Record of Rights as upon title deeds, and in the Collector's and other courts of law the entries are presumed to be correct, unless the person contesting them can prove to the satisfaction of the court that they are wrong.

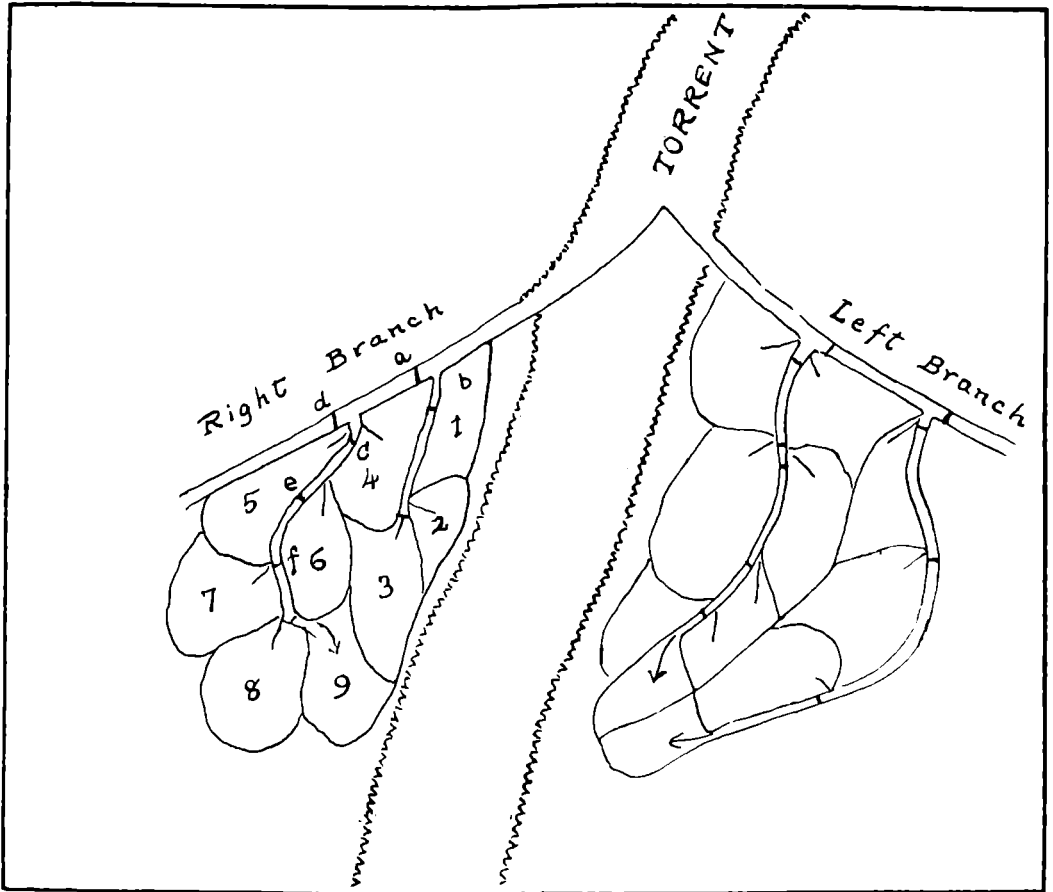


FIG. 2a.—AS CONSTRUCTED BY PEASANT (NOT TO SCALE).

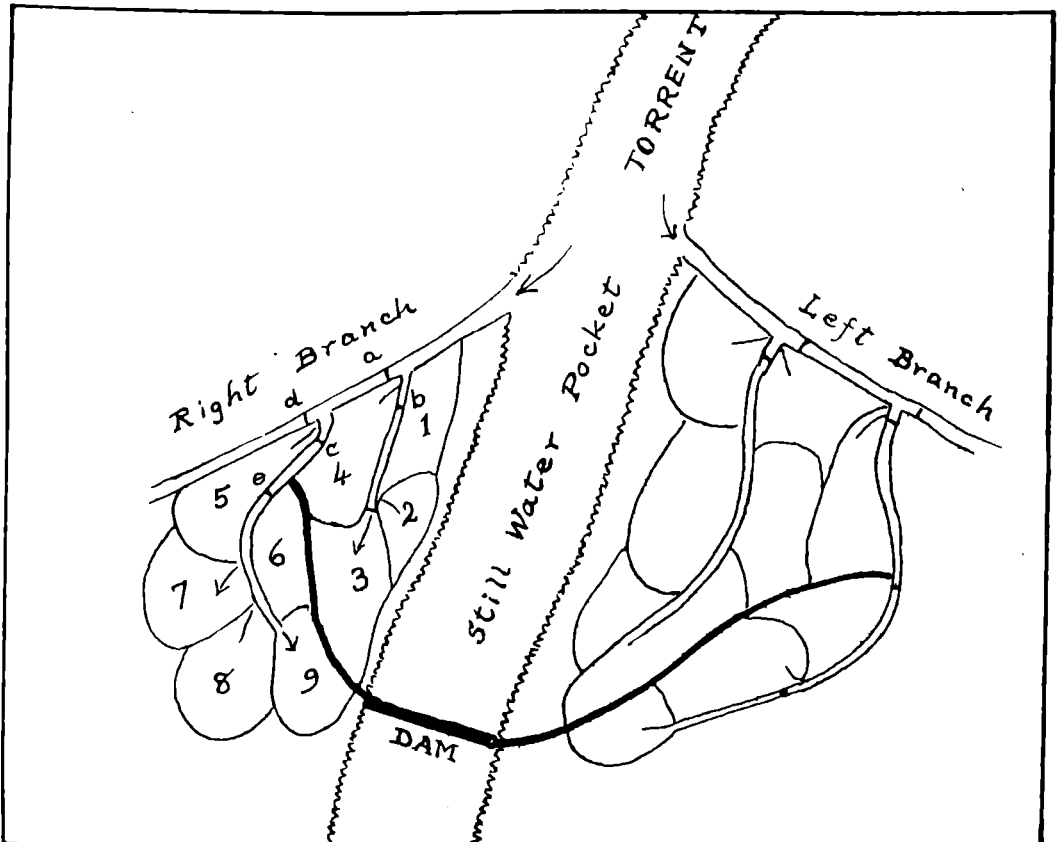


FIG. 2b.—AS CONSTRUCTED ON STILL-WATER POCKET PRINCIPLE.

The Collector has powers under the Minor Canals Act to enforce the observance of the Record of Rights. For instance, the order for filling the fields is first come, first served; but a field when once served must wait its turn till all the others have been served. The one rule was observed with half an eye on the other, and where powerful interests were involved it needed all the power of the Collector to enforce the second rule. Again, to induce the shareholders to construct a common work he had to issue notices for the attendance of each man. If after that a man failed to attend his share was completed for him by contract, and the amount was recovered later as an arrear of revenue. Again, on application made, or after personal inspection of the site, the Record of Rights might be corrected, subject to appeal on proceedings as in court.

All these duties fell on the writer when he was ultimately transferred to torrents, and he can speak from inside knowledge. But his object now is to present a system fostering the spirit of self-help and having the seeds of soil conservation, when without this system soil erosion would have been rampant. Where interests and conditions are so conflicting and varied that the wisest counsels are baffled, the fact that Dera Ghazi Khan had a system that actually worked is the remarkable thing. It can offer economists and agriculturists some points, and gives the engineer his chance. Armed with these two weapons, the Still-water Pocket of Control, acquired at the river, and the Record of Rights picked up from the peasant, the engineer might set out as David with stone and sling to slay Goliath, Silt Erosion. If a system in the shape of basin irrigation had gone so far in the hands of the peasant alone, he could surely go further with engineering skill, and what is more powerful than the Still-water Pocket of Control? The principles of the Still-water Pocket had only to be demonstrated to be better understood and applied.

Now, even the best that modern skill can do in the uplands, such as re-forestation, terracing and buttressing, still leaves some overflow that may be dealt with in the lowlands by the basin system we contemplate. Here, however, the lowlands only are to be considered where operations in the uplands are altogether out of the question. Vast areas in the East come under this category, and it is for these principally that the basin system is presented. When we enter into this world of re-creation we sense even more "the continuity-analysis, integration and destiny" that should exist, of which Paul Sears speaks; and our purpose is to bring the factors under management and control more completely than he envisaged.

But, lest the writer appear to be talking of vague generalities, he wishes to recall some of the prominent instances by which the Record of Rights and the Still-water Pocket worked together. These he hopes will cover most of the conditions under which torrents are encountered and suggest the many ways in which they may be managed and controlled with the help of the Record of Rights.

Confining himself to the principal torrents of Dera Ghazi Khan, he would present them in order:

Vihoa—discharging up to 17,000 cusecs. in spate.

The peasants dammed this frequently, but with no success. The

reason was that they feared water pressure more than velocity, and instead of a pocket presented a dam protruding out into the torrent in the form of an inverted V, with the idea of securing their share as prescribed by the Record of Rights as a fraction of bed-width. This of course was quickly underscoured by the high velocities set up. With tact and firmness we brought down the site of the dam half a mile (*vide* Fig. 2*b*) to form a pocket in which no off-takes of any watercourses were allowed. The flanks of the dam were carried up at an angle of about 45° , following the banks of the fields as they zigzagged till safe ground was reached. To the astonishment of the peasant this work stood, and as the pocket was heavily silted up, grew stronger each year till it was well-nigh impregnable.

Sanghar—up to 30,000 cusecs. in spate.

This torrent, the largest of them all, had a very narrow foreshore from gorge to river in which there was small scope for basin irrigation. We therefore confined ourselves to the gorge where groynes diverted the water into right and left channels by means of boulders brought down by the torrent, strengthened with brushwood. The peasant, as usual, built his groyne out so as to invite attack, until we induced him to adopt the loop, which was all the pocket we could obtain under the conditions. The result was that the peasant had not to construct his works so often. On the left of the torrent an unauthorized break-away was dealt with by a retired dam in the place of the one at the head built by the peasant.

Lower down the important town of Taunsa was heavily attacked and the authorities were helpless, but a groyne was suggested. An island strewn with boulders and overgrown with brushwood offered a fairly permanent objective in midstream, and by building a groyne across to it a more or less stable pocket would be formed with a nose naturally protected with boulders and brushwood. The pocket would soon silt up and grow stronger from year to year, diverting flow to the other side. This work was, however, outside our sphere and was left to the town and district authorities.

Sori—up to 15,000 cusecs.

Two break-away were brought under control by Still-water Pocket dams. In one the dam had actually been cut to give a share to lower fields allowed by the Record of Rights. These fields were transferred to other sources of supply, a harsh measure, but the only alternative was a masonry or pipe outlet in the dam which the peasant might have built at his own cost. This is a contingency Government might provide for, as many low fields can be served only by masonry or pipe outlets or masonry distributors.

Vidor—up to 15,000 cusecs.

This torrent was directly above the new City of Dera Ghazi Khan, and with the country falling rapidly towards it (1 in 100 at the gorge, flattening down to 1 in 1,000 at the city) the fear in the lay mind was that it might change direction and overwhelm the city. As it was, two side channels had developed, the Jabria to the north, and the Phular to the south-west. Torrents debouching from a gorge behave in this way because the heavy detritus pushed forward by the nose tends to silt up

the centre delta and to break away at the sides. In this instance the side channels drew off large supplies to lands not entitled to irrigation, and the centre delta did not get its share. The Phular was brought back to its legitimate area by a Still-water Pocket, and it was proposed to do the same for the Jabria, bringing back the discharge to the original point of distribution. Danger to the city through the central delta was remote, as this delta obliterated forward development, but the fears prevailed and the city authorities let the matter drop. All we could do was to build a Still-water Pocket dam across the Jabria at a lower point and disperse the supply over lands not entitled to receive it.

Kaha—up to 17,000 cusecs.

We did little in the upper reaches except enforce Still-water Pocket principles, but lower down the overflow was considerable and swept over the country, breaching our canals and disorganizing irrigation. We therefore impounded this overflow in a lake known as the Hamuwala lake, which is somewhat different to the Still-water Pocket, as all floods could be contained within its greater capacity. The lake was formed merely by strengthening the right banks of the canals in the vicinity, and blocking the water at the south end by a spur running up into the steeply sloping ground. A masonry inlet into the canal was provided at the root of the spur and minor inlets higher up. The canal then drew off supplies as required for its own irrigation.

Compare this with a proposal for feeding Iraq in the Middle East by impounding the flood waters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in a much larger lake formed by joining the two rivers where they come close together above Baghdad.* As this has already been discussed in that journal it needs no further comment here.

Lower down other minor torrents brought down water with injurious salts in solution which could not be freely utilized for basin irrigation, and much of it reached the canal (Kadra). Here a good deal of it was intaken into the canal by a device and the rest escaped across the canal. Mixed with the sweet supply of the canal the water was useful for irrigation.

The above measures give but the salient features of torrent management and control, but they represent the many ways in which torrents may be fitted into basin and canal irrigation. Our attention, however, is now directed to its inter-relation with plant, living thing and environment. Such an inter-relation cannot often be realized in the highlands, but in the lowlands it may, as here, by the Record of Rights and Still-water Pocket.

Such a scheme applies in a particular way to the Middle East, but there political difficulties, it is said, bar the way; and soil conservation has been left severely alone. Engineers moreover are handicapped, for they must treat the separate countries as water-tight units, instead of having the whole field of resources at their command. No project can be developed to its full capacity under these conditions.

The writer now has in mind the wider range which Government

* *Vide* Paper 5480 published in the Journal for 1945-46 of the Institute of Civil Engineers, London.

projects in India/Pakistan were working up to in order to solve problems hitherto thought to be impossible. For instance, the irrigation of the Montgomery Bar was one such, till exchanges of supply right across three rivers were considered. Starting with the Jhelam a supply was passed into the Chenab, and as much taken off higher up from the Chenab, and passed by a Level Crossing across the Ravi. Again, formerly irrigation from the Sutlej was confined only to the Sirhind canal taking off at Rupar, but later Bikanir as well as the rest of the Sutlej valley was brought into the picture, and three new barrages built lower down, having regard to the distribution of supply as demands arose in Sindh at the Sukkur barrage. Or again, to extend irrigation in the Delhi-Hirsar areas it was suggested to carry water from the Sarada river in Oudh to the Ganges tract, and take off as much from the Ganges across the Jumna. The Talukdars of Oudh at the last moment objected to the project and it was dropped, but whether the Talukdars have benefited is doubtful, for serious waterlogging on the canal of their adoption has taken place.

If the Middle East took this development of project-building to heart they would be well advised. The political difficulties are admittedly great, but is not the danger of working in water-tight units greater, since it perpetuates these difficulties? If a project in which all could share were devised, the political difficulties might be eased and possibly eliminated.

The benefits of a common interest would undoubtedly go a long way to solve the political difficulties, but we would propose the further step of giving the people themselves a hand in their own affairs by electing their own Record of Rights. As we have studied the system of basin irrigation governed by the Record of Rights and directed by the Still-water Pocket, the perspective completely changes. From "Deserts on the March" we pass to "Deserts as Pools of Water." In the one the landscape was quite unprepared for the extremes of drought by soil erosion, and flood by torrents uncontrolled, but in the other the basin system of irrigation, brought about by the Record of Rights and Still-water Pocket gives us soil conservation, and the extremes of drought and flood brought about by soil erosion disappear.

Lest this change seems to be an empty dream the writer has drawn attention to the basin system of irrigation based on the Record of Rights alone, to which he had actually been introduced in Dera Ghazi Khan. If this system had gone so far there without engineering direction, he has shown how much further it may go with this direction armed with the Still-water Pocket principle.*

Advancing from here he would suggest what might be possible at this moment in the Middle East. Starting with the Still-water Pocket in its larger capacity as a storage lake or reservoir as applied at Hamuwala, he has suggested a reservoir for Iraq by joining the rivers. Such a reservoir would not only completely absorb all floods, and distribute water through barrages under control, but would secure a surplus with

* *Vide*, Paper 5480, "The Still-water Pocket Principle," by Philip Claxton, published in 1945-46 by The Institution of Civil Engineers, London.

which Iraq could bargain with other countries. Thus, Syria could take off all the water she needs for irrigation from the Euphrates from a higher point near Aleppo. The canal from here, keeping to the higher land, must pass close to Homs, from where Palestine could pump a supply over the Baalbeck ridge for the development of hydro-electric power in the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea. Some of the ridge would be dug through, but there would be plenty of power generated at the fall into the Jordan valley to pump its own supply, once the pumps had been primed up by an independent plant; or power could be obtained for this purpose at the Euphrates off-take itself. The power available would be enormous, supplying not only the needs of Palestine but also of Arabia. Thus all the countries would come into the picture. As in America there is a Tennessee Valley Authority, so in the Middle East there might be a Euphrates-Tigris Authority. The one demonstrates that collaboration is possible between the local community and the Government with the best prospect of success, as the other will doubtless demonstrate the same result for the Middle East, and should also overcome many of its political difficulties. As in America the individual keeps his self-respect and initiative, so also in the Middle East the individual will keep his. Such collaboration has the most likely chance of success.

Note how Iraq presents the thin end of the wedge, for the first step concerns only her as a unit, and the major political difficulties are thereby by-passed. But having taken this step, the other steps may be left to the better judgment of the people, politicians and engineers standing aside, content to offer suggestions leading the people in the right direction. All that they need to be careful about is to make sure that the first step is in the right direction.

For instance, it would not be in the right direction if to check floods an escape, as shown on the bird's-eye view, were dug to the Thar Thar Depression.* There the supply, one of Iraq's most valuable assets, would be lost, whereas we want it conserved. Nor can it guarantee total immunity against floods, but only a mitigation of them. Apart from the Tigris floods, those from the Dyala river have been left out of consideration.

In the alternative scheme the bund for the Tigris-Euphrates reservoir has been re-aligned to include the Dyala. The cost will be no greater, except for the regulator for the lower reaches of the river itself.

Meanwhile, basin irrigation on the Record of Rights and Still-water Pocket principles should go forward independently over all the Middle East along the higher lands of the foothills, leaving the lower lands to canal irrigation. It would be excellent training for the larger irrigation schemes, for thereby the peasant, hitherto indifferent to irrigation, would acquire the sense for it, and would do far better than if he had no preliminary training.

Here we must leave basin irrigation in the hope that it will bring about the economical inter-relation of plant, animal and environment

* The Colonial Development Department states it is now being dug. The Inspector General of Irrigation in Iraq informs me that conservation of all the sources of supply is the ultimate object of his schemes.—P. C.

that is so desirable. If man has not been altogether responsible for disturbing nature's balance in the East, he will have the greater honour for creating it where the march of deserts has never been disputed.

To those interested in the methods of water control suggested here, the author will be glad to supply full engineering details with illustrations. *Vide* also Papers 5319 and 5480 cited above, of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, London, S.W.1.

IN MEMORIAM

AHMAD SAMIH IBN SHAIKH RAGHIB AL KHALIDI, M.B.E., who had been a member of this Society since 1924, died in Lebanon about ten months ago.

Ahmad Samih Bey Al Khalidi had a distinguished career in the Mandatory Government of Palestine from the establishment of the civil administration on July 1, 1920, until the Mandate was abandoned in 1948. His family claimed descent from Khalid Bin Walid, the conqueror of Palestine in the early days of Islam, and Ahmad was fortunate in being the son of a Judge who, in advance of many of his Moslem contemporaries in Palestine, appreciated the benefits of a foreign education and sent his sons first to St. George's School attached to the Anglican Cathedral in Jerusalem, and later to the Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirut.

Two of these sons, after serving in the Ottoman forces during the first World War, became Government Medical Officers under the Mandate. One of them resigned to become Mayor of Jerusalem and later as member of the Arab Supreme Committee was interned in the Seychelles. Ahmad Bey, who also served in the war, entered the Education Department and was appointed District Inspector of the Jaffa area, a post carrying important administrative duties. He showed great activity in organizing the schools of the coastal plain and was soon transferred to headquarters in Jerusalem, where he took a prominent part in the formation of education policy. In 1925 the visit of Lord Balfour to Jerusalem caused disturbances in the Men's Elementary Training College and Ahmad Bey was induced very reluctantly to accept temporary charge of the institution. He remained there for the remainder of his career in Palestine, combining the office of Principal with wider duties at headquarters, and from 1937 with the post of Assistant Director of Arab Education (school curricula).

Under Ahmad Bey the Training College was reorganized as a higher secondary school with post-matriculation classes for pupils selected to become teachers. The staff was almost entirely Arab from the start and was gradually formed from alumni of the Government Arab College, as it was renamed, who as State scholars proceeded *via* the American University of Beirut, which gives a B.A. degree, and thence to first degrees in honours at English Universities. Ultimately the alumni were able to proceed direct to such honours courses in the United Kingdom. The College was very restricted in numbers owing to the financial distresses of the Government, but was enabled thereby to exercise a very severe control over the quality of the entrants. It became in fact the only Arab-speaking school in the Middle East which possessed a true and effective sixth form in the sense understood at English public schools.

The development of the Government Arab College and its influence on the formation of a patriotic but sane intelligentsia form the main achievement of Ahmad Bey's public career.

In the disorders of 1948 the College building was handed by the Mandatory to the Red Cross. Nevertheless the library and laboratories were looted and dispersed.

John Connell in *The House by Herod's Gate*, referring to the period of the late war, wrote (p. 104):

“ Ahmad Sami [*sic*] Bey al Khalidi . . . is independent, incorruptible, strong and level-headed. His is one of the few creative key posts held by Arabs in Palestine, and he is in mental and moral stature fully equipped for it. . . . Sami Bey is a maker of men and a moulder of his people's future.”

W. J. FARRELL.

REVIEWS

The Northern Sea Route: Soviet Exploitation of the North-east Passage. By Terence Armstrong. Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv + 162. Illustrations.

This book has the distinction of being the first Special Publication of the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge. It sets out to give a fuller and more up-to-date account of the development of navigation along the north coast of Russia than is available elsewhere.

Information of Russian activities in the far north since the war being extremely sparse, it is timely that a review should now be made to gather facts from the past, deduce trends of development, and assess the probable present and future usefulness of the northabout sea passage between Europe and Asia.

The route serves the growing industries of Northern Siberia, supplements the tenuous land communications of the area, and provides a sea route between European Russia and the Pacific economically direct and strategically inaccessible to foreign observation and interference.

The book is admirably arranged, starting with a historical survey up to 1933 covering early penetration of the Kara Sea, private commercial voyages of the nineteenth century to the Ob and Yenisey rivers, the progress of scientific exploration, the gradual awakening of official Russian interest early in this century, and intensified efforts under the early Soviet régime.

The second and major part of the book deals with the constitution in 1933 of the government department Glavsevmorput with its wide powers for development of the northern route in relation to the industries it serves. Its activities are covered in a summary of voyages undertaken year by year, port facilities established, development of the ice-breaker fleet, types of freighter employed, availability of fuel and organization for scientific research.

The book concludes with an assessment of the usefulness of the route as a means of tapping raw materials otherwise inaccessible, as a passenger and freight route in competition with other land, river and sea routes, and as a strategic asset.

It is an analytical rather than a descriptive book giving much information of the organizations which have contributed to the development of the route and of the results achieved, but little to give the reader an impression of the actual conditions of life, work and navigation in the area.

There are several tabular appendices relating to shipping, fuel resources and scientific stations, a number of clear maps illustrating various aspects of the route, and a copious list of references mostly to Russian language publications.

N. K. T.

Japan in World History. By Sir George B. Sansom. Institute of Pacific Relations. Pp. 94. \$2.

This little book is based on a series of lectures delivered by Sir George before the University of Tokyo under the joint auspices of that university and the Japan Institute of Pacific Relations. It is primarily addressed, therefore, to Japanese scholars. At the same time, though the emphasis might conceivably have been altered if it had been addressed to Western scholars, the principles that the author outlines as affording a suitable method of approach to the subject are equally applicable to the Western student, and coming, as they do, from one who is justly regarded as an authority on Japan, they merit the closest study.

The author points out (p. 14) that in America and Europe there has been a tendency to treat of Japanese history as something apart from the main current of world history, and he pleads (p. 16) for its study not as an end in itself, but as an integral and important part of world history. In comparative studies Western

students can make a useful contribution to the work of their Japanese colleagues (p. 13).

Sir George mistrusts an excessive faith in political doctrines, and he attacks the misuse of such terms as "independence," "self-determination," "natural rights" and even "liberty" and "equality" (pp. 80-86). He remarks elsewhere that it is not for the historian to distribute praise or blame, but to find reasons for the difference between Japan and Western states in their political development (p. 73).

In other words, the student must begin by putting aside for the moment his prejudices and preconceived ideas of right and wrong, good and bad, and concentrate on marshalling the facts, not placing undue emphasis on theories of government, but noting how they work out in practice. Next he may compare his material with the theory and practice of other countries. Then, and only then, should he proceed to draw his conclusions and, if he so wishes, to form his theories on the evidence before him.

This being, if I mistake not, Sir George's view of the most promising method of historical study, he proceeds to give examples, drawn from actual history, of parallels and contrasts between periods of Japanese and European history as viewed from the point of view of economics, art and politics, and finally touches on the outlook facing Japan at the moment. He is careful to point out that he is not so much presenting any final conclusion on the subjects he discusses as suggesting useful lines of enquiry. None the less, I fancy that most readers will agree that the views he expresses, however modestly, are such as to demand credence.

The book is timely. Japan has closed one chapter of her history and has now to open a new one. If the philosopher is a product of his environment and in turn has a profound influence on it, the Japanese "liberal thinker" has a great part to play. For many years liberty of thought has been denied in Japan. Now the thinker is allowed, one hopes, to follow his thought wherever it leads him. One result may be that the Japanese will learn that if they are to live at peace with other nations they must lay aside the idea that they are a special race set apart from the rest of the world.

It is not for the Western student to be dogmatic as to the type of government best suited to the Japanese. As Sir George well observes, "the Western States have no monopoly of either wisdom or virtue, and their modern history has some very disagreeable chapters" (p. 27). While, therefore, we trust that the Japanese will assimilate the fundamental ideas of democracy as we understand it, it would be futile to expect them to adopt the forms we have found by trial and error to be best suited to ourselves.

OSWALD WHITE.

The Hall of Light. By Professor Soothill. Edited by his daughter Lady Hosie and G. F. Hudson. Lutterworth Press, London. Pp. xxii + 289. Illustrated. 1951.

This book, a posthumous work of the late Professor Soothill, was the result of many years' research and thought during the last years of the Chinese Empire; it was revised during the next two decades, but, being still unfinished at his death in 1935, was taken over by his daughter and G. F. Hudson for further revision and was to have been published when the outbreak of the war caused still further delay, so that it is only recently that it has seen the light. It is described in a subtitle as "A study of early Chinese kingship," but it might be more strictly correct to say that it is a study of the religious side of the Chinese Emperors from earliest times down to modern days.

It is often said, of course, that China is unique among nations in having no religion; and this is perhaps true in the sense that, in historic times at least, China had no general or national religion, or even a number of religions, that formed its national character. The religious history of any people that we have been able to trace back to primitive times usually goes through two phases: (1) that of "do, ut abeas," in which man is regarded as being at the mercy of a savage, ruthless Force which can only be kept at bay by constant sacrifice and propitiation; and (2) of "do, ut des," when the Force is not necessarily evil and may even be good so long as man

keeps on the right side of him and remembers that if the proper rites are not duly performed a visitation—in the shape of a flood, drought or plague—will follow. From this point it may take different courses: sometimes to polytheism and anthropomorphism, which usually fades out into scepticism and rationalism; or it may take a monotheistic form, often based on a "revelation" and the words of a prophet or prophets.

But in China it did not follow the usual course. No prophets appeared, and the philosophers who took their place admitted that they had no divine inspiration and no knowledge of a future life and so concerned themselves solely with this. The result was a state of affairs similar to what Greece might have become if, soon after the Classical era, it had not been submerged in wave after wave of foreign ideas. The only place in which religion, in the narrower sense, remained and was developed was in that part of the Emperor's duties which is one of the relics of early kingship (the primitive king being Judge and Law-giver, Soldier and Leader in war, and Priest), the privilege and duty of communing with nature, studying the stars, arranging the calendar and performing all the rites and ceremonies connected therewith. In an agricultural community living in the valley of the Yellow River and, later, of the Yangtse, and so very conscious of the powers, for good or evil, of a river (though not, perhaps, to the same extent as the Egyptians of the Nile), the importance of everything connected with the agricultural year cannot be exaggerated. The Emperor no doubt found it convenient to devolve some of his powers on a College of Astrologers—who could always be blamed in case of accidents—but they were never allowed to get out of hand or form a priestly class.

The Emperor's powers and functions as Astronomer-Priest were based on the Ming Tang—the Hall of Light of this book; it is emphasized that the character Ming (bright) is composed of the ideograms for "sun" and "moon"—and the book is a study of the history and nature of the Ming Tang from the mass of writings that exist on the subject. Some of them had been translated a century before by Dr. Legge, who frankly admitted that much of it was meaningless to him, and later research has given it a meaning; some of it, it may be thought, may have been superseded by the more exact knowledge of early institutions derived from the discovery and study of the oracle bones and Shang bronzes since the work was first taken in hand half a century ago: the editors believe, however, that the light it throws on the culture and institutions of a very early period in Chinese history are confirmed, not upset, by this later evidence, and there is much to be said for this view. Moreover, the Hall was not a historic building fixed in one place, but an idea—the idea of a temple-observatory which could be moved from place to place as the capital moved; sometimes it disappeared for a long period—for 250 years, for instance, during the "usurpation" of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty—and reappeared with its traditional form and functions at a renaissance. Eventually it was merged in the Temple of Heaven; and we who have lived in China from the time of the Revolution of 1911 onwards may remember how in the early years of the Republic any natural calamities were ascribed to the non-observance of these rites after the abdication of Hsuan T'ung; or how Yuan Shih-kai during his short-lived reign under the style of Hung Hsien sought to influence public opinion by reviving them. It is also recorded in one of the editors' interesting footnotes that Hsuan T'ung (or P'u Yi) built an Altar of Heaven of the prescribed pattern in his new capital in Manchuria and carried out the old rites.

The book is undoubtedly of great interest to sinologues, anthropologists and students of comparative astronomy and religion, as the editors modestly suggest; but not, in the opinion of one reader who is none of these, only to them. In spite of its somewhat specialized subject and all the research and reading that has gone into it, it is by no means a "heavy" book, and is frequently relieved by references to modern events that have a bearing on it or to ancient institutions in other countries—the "Regia" at Rome, for instance, or Stonehenge—to which it is comparable.

It is said that the introduction of Buddhism into Mongolia changed the whole character of that people which had been, until then, the scourge of the nations for centuries; and it had a similar though more restricted effect on Japan. In China, though many individuals may be devout Buddhists, it never became a national religion in the sense that it moulded its character and history; nor, for that matter,

have Islam or any of the forms of Christianity ever had a wide or lasting effect. But if, as this book suggests, the national religion was concentrated in the Emperor and disappeared with him, and personal religion based on Confucianism was already breaking down with the abandonment of the old learning, does this explain the readiness with which Communism was accepted by so many intellectuals? And, even if it does, it is unlikely to satisfy for long a people who have the background and history of the Chinese, memorials of which are all around them; but the great problem for the future is to what, then, can they turn?

A. G. N. O.

Trade through the Himalayas: Early British attempts to open Tibet. By Professor S. Cammann. Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. x+186. \$3.50.

Professor Cammann's study is chiefly concerned with the period from 1773 to 1793, and his object is to clear the ground for an understanding of the later relations between the British in India and Tibet, China, Bhutan and Nepal by showing the attitude of the parties at the time when they first came into contact. He brings together from all the most important sources, English and Chinese, the evidence for those twenty years; and although none of the individual findings may be new, there is a new clarity and detailed care in the exposition of the sequence and relative importance of the various elements in a many-sided situation. Professor Cammann makes full use of the reports of George Bogle and Samuel Turner on their missions to Tibet. Firmly rejecting the merely picturesque incidents of travel, he underlines the practical aims of those missions. His conclusions, briefly, are that British interest in Tibet was mainly commercial and was given an impetus by the economic troubles in Bengal and by Warren Hastings's intellectual curiosity about trans-Himalayan Asia. He shows also that the failure of those early British efforts was not surprising in view of the Manchu Empire's policy towards Tibet, and how the Gurkha invasion of Tibet and Cornwallis's ineffectual attempt to mediate in the matter gave the Chinese an opportunity to tighten their grip on the Tibetan administration and to shut out the British, who were too much occupied with the internal affairs of India at the time to have any thought of forcing the issue by such a step as the occupation of Nepal or Bhutan.

Proper recognition is given to the ability and influence of Purangir Gosain, the Indian holy man who acted for many years as a semi-official envoy between the British and Tibetan authorities and who helped Bogle on his visit to Tashilhunpo.

On a few details, mainly in the short historical introduction, one may differ from Professor Cammann. I do not think there would be general agreement with his acceptance of Dr. Francke's theory that Song Tsan Gampo came from Ladakh (p. 5, note 6).

With regard to Tibetan Buddhism, the celibate monasticism imposed by the Gelugpa sect is probably a far more unhealthy influence on the minds of ignorant monks than are the images and teachings of the Śakti (Yab Yum) cult. Although the Professor knows that the title Lama is properly used only of the higher orders in the Tibetan church, he chooses to give it "courtesy" application to all Tibetan and Mongolian monks. Vagueness of this sort in a work of scholarship is injudicious, especially when it leads to such statements as "the lamas in general are notorious for their licentiousness" (p. 9).

Bogle's friend, Lama Blo Bzañ Dpal Ldan Ye Śes, is so generally known as the Third Panchen Rinpoche that something more than a categorical statement in a footnote is needed before designating him the Sixth (p. 27, n. 2). Professor Cammann probably relies on the Tashilhunpo lists, which include among the spiritual forebears of the Panchen Rinpoches a number of lamas who, lived long before the foundation of Tashilhunpo (1445), as well as some who may have been early abbots of the monastery; but the best Tibetan evidence is that the line of Panchen Lamas of Tashilhunpo began round about 1640, when the Fifth Dalai Lama established his tutor, Chhos Kyi Rgyal Mtshan, there as an incarnation of Hod-pa Med (Amitabha). Dpal Ldan Ye Śes was third in succession from that time.

Maps of Tibet usually cause some disagreement, and those in this book, especially

that on p. 25—which is not claimed to be an approximation of the situation in the eighteenth century—certainly would not be acceptable in India as a statement of the present position of the frontier between Assam and Tibet. That line should run eastwards from the N.E. corner of Bhutan, not from the S.E. corner.

In the concluding chapter, mention of the "looting" of Lhasa, apparently by the Younghusband Expedition in 1904, seems to be dictated rather by the desire to turn a dramatic phrase than by a fair examination of the evidence. The charge is, I believe, quite untrue.

But these small blemishes do not affect the general value of Professor Cammann's careful and comprehensive study of his chosen period. It will be useful to students of Asian history and may send the general reader to Bogle and Turner with a sharper eye for the circumstances and object of their journeys.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

Unknown Nepal. By R. N. R. Bishop, T. Wilkinson and others. Luzac. 1952. Pp. viii + 124. 16s.

Mr. R. N. R. Bishop, who was in a Gurkha regiment himself, learned the Gurkhali language, went into Nepal and interested himself generally in their music, personal lives and customs, and has written a really delightful book, called *Unknown Nepal*, which is well illustrated with some twenty-odd photographs and a sketch-map.

It is a most refreshing book to read. Mr. Bishop was obviously compelled to write it first because, while serving with Gurkhas, he acquired a great affection for them. Then, with his orderly, he went up to the Gurkha depot Ghum, near Darjeeling, and thence, with him and a Gurkha ex-lorry driver, he walked in to Ilham, in Eastern Nepal, and out again, a thing that possibly no other Britisher had ever done. The procedure was unorthodox and, therefore, probably all the more intriguing.

Later he visited Kathmandu, in Central Nepal, by the orthodox method and usual route from Raxaul, railhead of the small Nepalese railway, on the Bihar border of India.

Having done these two journeys he felt he just had to refresh the memories of the few who had had the joyous privilege of spending some happy years in Nepal and to describe the country and the people who live in it to the many who, though they have heard, of course, of the Gurkhas, know practically nothing about Nepal.

Our connection with Nepal goes back to the end of the eighteenth century. Since then our two countries have been, always, connected by the closest bonds of friendship. From the Gurkhas we have received such friendship, in return for our obvious admiration for them, as probably we have received from no other people. Brave, happy, loyal, stalwart little people living in a picturesque country which has been called the Switzerland of the East.

Anyone who reads Mr. Bishop's book will not only enjoy it but will learn much of absorbing interest through having read it.

GEOFFREY BETHAM.

Twilight of the Mughuls. By Percival Spear. Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. 270 + map. 18s.

Not every serious and specialized work makes easy fireside or deck-chair reading, but *Twilight of the Mughuls* is an exceptional book and its author has a felicitous pen. These "Studies in late Mughul Delhi" treat of a very different city from the New Delhi known to the latest generation of Imperial soldiers and administrators—that quasi-oriental Canberra surrounded by older Delhis of mouldering tombs and picturesque squalor. But the later chapters which deal with the city and territory under British authority from 1803 to the Mutiny will stir some memories of the last-generation-but-one of Anglo-Indians (in the older sense of that term), who knew not the trim symmetry of what Clemenceau observed would make another good ruin, but

a small station of historic and many other attractions, torrid and dusty in the hot weather, irritating in the rains, but "cool, sunny and bracing" for nearly six months of the year.

"For variety and fascination of work, for human and professional interest, for intellectual stimulus, as well as for prospects of promotion, Delhi was unrivalled in modern India." The decline of empires has always a melancholy fascination, and Percival Spear covers the collapse of the Mughul imperium under the Maratha weight, the assertion of supremacy by John Company and the Company's relations with the "Kings of Delhi," impotent survivals and titular heirs of a most glorious past. A special study has been made of the "Metcalf system" and of the British régime. There follow chapters on the common round of the ruling community, the Colebrook case, the murder of William Fraser, and finally the Mutiny which led to the transfer of Mughul dignities to a far-away Queen.

A sequel to this enjoyable and informative book could be compiled describing the later sunshine and the twilight of the successors of the Mughuls and that smooth, strange transition without a precedent, the conquest of an Empire of Delhi without a sack, of Britons by Indians and of Indians by Britons.

JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON.

My India. By Col. J. Corbett. Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. 191. 10s. 6d.

For those who enjoyed *The Maneaters of Kumaon* and *The Man-eating Leopard of Rudraprayag* the publication of a new book by Jim Corbett is a great event; for, like myself, they must have longed for more.

There can have been few Englishmen with a deeper knowledge and understanding of the everyday life and problems of the ordinary man in India than the author, and in his new book he gives us eleven enchanting stories of village life in the India that he knows and loves so well.

To too many Englishmen, India would seem to be peopled solely by Viceroys and Rajas and officialdom, for too little has been written about the millions of humble folk who are the real India.

My India will go far to remedy this, for it deals exclusively with the "simple, honest, brave, loyal, hard-working souls" to whom it is dedicated.

Each tale is complete in itself, and each brings out the wonderful humanity of the writer himself.

No wonder that he was greatly beloved.

I have no doubt that *My India* is a book that will be read and read again by many, both those who have had the privilege of meeting the humble people of whom the author tells and those who have not been so fortunate.

D. L.

Planning of Post-War Economic Development in India. By N. V. Sovani. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. 1951. Pp. xvi+108. \$1.75 in U.S.A.

This small book is based on a paper originally written for a Conference on nationalism in South-east Asia. It examines the plans for post-war reconstruction from 1941 onwards, and then deals with those parts of the programme that were under the control of the Central and Provincial Governments respectively. There is an examination of post-war economic trends, and supplementary appendices of statistics.

The book is astonishingly frank and informative. One closes it with the impression that the dominant power in India since 1948 is that of the "archaic" forces on which the nationalist movement is largely dependent for its support, and that while lip-service is paid to a planned economy and grand schemes are drawn up, these are sometimes completely abortive for lack of proper correlation and any real support for such reforms as run counter to any vested interest with a religious or a monetary backing.

China's Discovery of Africa. Lectures by J. J. Duyvendak. Pp. 35. Probsthain, London, 6s. Illustrated.

A fascinating subject discussed with a wealth of quotation and full sources throughout. There is some charming anecdote or description on every page. This is a thirteenth-century Chinese account of the Pharos at Alexandria: "According to tradition an extraordinary man, Tsu-ko-ni (Dhu'l Qarnain) built on the shore of the sea a great tower. . . . On the summit there was an extremely large mirror; if warships of other countries came to invade, the mirror detected them beforehand; this was namely a device to prepare in advance for defence." On another page is an account of how in 1417-19 a giraffe, a zebra and "a celestial stag" were sent to China from Melinda in East Africa.

The Origin of the Hun Chronicle and Hungarian Historical Sources.

By C. A. Macartney. Blackwell. Pp. 184. 10s. 6d.

This is undoubtedly a very scholarly work, written by an author who has spent hours—probably years—comparing and sifting the various sources of Hungarian history. It will be of immense value to those intending to write a history of Hungary. But it is not likely to appeal to the ordinary reader—in fact, it does not appear to be meant for such readers.

So many of these Codices are quoted—to name only a few—B. Ra, D L, A V, V, M, Mi, A P, P, *P, El, etc., that the reader becomes slightly confused. Your reviewer confesses to have been always hoping for more real history. Occasionally the author draws the curtain aside to give us a fleeting glimpse of Attila, Arpad, etc., but it is only a fleeting glimpse and the curtain is drawn again.

Most of the Codices referred to are Latin Codices and it would have been pleasant to have heard of more local sources. However, your reviewer has reason to know that most of these have been destroyed or lost, therefore those sources may not be available.

To venture a criticism, this book is reminiscent of the prophet Ezekiel's *Valley of Dry Bones*: one could not help wishing that the author would clothe them with flesh and blood!

Your reviewer cannot aspire to Mr. Macartney's depths of scholarship, but does know those countries and believes that he ignores the original races who belonged there, lived and worked and played a far more important rôle in its history and the makings of it than a cursory knowledge of these regions would suppose. For neither Attila, the Avars, nor Arpad conquered empty spaces. These races have survived, just as the ancient Britons in the Welsh nation, as well as the Saxons, survived the Norman conquest.

The Magyar sway over these peoples—especially in the outlying provinces and mountains—was never complete. And it is in those remote villages and mountains that much history can be learnt.

The author left me with the impression—which may be wrong—that I should not read his history of Hungary, although I admit he has a far deeper scholarly knowledge than I can claim to. But it is knowledge derived from the *Valley of Dry Bones* of the various Codices, compared and sifted, without a true insight and comprehension of the living beings who made history in those glorious lands.

U. H. B.

Jerusalem. By T. Weiss-Rosmarin. Philosophical Library, New York. Pp. x + 51. \$2.75.

This disappointing little book falls between two stools. Written in 1950, its object appears to be to explain to American Jewry why Jerusalem must be the capital of Israel. It attempts to give the ancient history of the city, the modern history of the city and its spiritual significance to the Diaspora; and would have been far more successful had it confined its 61 pages to the third subject only, which appears to be

the one that interests its author. The early history is covered in a dull and scrappy way with no reference to the large amount of information on the topography of ancient Jerusalem now available from archæological discoveries.

The later chapters on modern Jerusalem are so inadequate as to be misleading. The map is a reproduction from the British Mandatory town-planning recommendations of 1944; it therefore includes some roads that have never existed and omits others that are in use. The quoted statement on p. 46, that nearly all the Holy Places remain in Arab hands, is the only indication that a national frontier runs clean through the middle of the city. The whole of the view on the dust-cover of the Old City and Scopus is of course in Jordan, but that is ignored in the text. There is no allusion anywhere to the fact that some Arab residential districts of modern Jerusalem are now in Israel, occupied by Jews; or that the buildings of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus are now in Jordan and occupied by Arabs.

In so small a book it would have been better to keep to the subject of Jerusalem in Jewish literature—a subject sufficiently vast—rather than to attempt also to describe a geographically existing city and one, since 1947, divided in half between two States at war with each other, especially when the author appears to be ignorant of that fact, and of its consequences for the inhabitants of Jerusalem today.

Land-forms of Arabia. Prepared for the Environmental Protection Section of the office of the Quartermaster-General by E. Raisz. Harvard University, U.S.A.

This map is on a scale of 1·8 in. to 100 miles and is drawn to indicate the various types of land surface found in the Arabian peninsula. The general effect is that of a photographed bas-relief map with geological and geographical information superimposed. Authoritative sources were consulted, but the detail is not precise. The map would have gained enormously in clarity if the data could have been defined in colour instead of conveyed by at least twelve different types of shading in black and white.

The following recently published booklets and papers will be of value and interest to students of Middle East affairs:

The Geographical History of the Mesopotamian Plains, by Dr. G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, Royal Geographical Society, London, 1952.

A Vowelled Arabic Reader. Short passages in simple Arabic published for the Middle East Centre, Shemlan, by the American Press, Beirut, at £1 Lebanese.

Conferences of the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.:

Islam in the Modern World: Addresses at the Fifth Annual Conference, 1951.

Nationalism in the Middle East: Addresses at the Sixth Annual Conference, 1952, \$1 each.

These symposia include addresses by such authorities in their respective fields as Drs. J. K. Birge, Bayard Dodge, P. Hitti, J. C. Hurewitz, P. W. Ireland, G. C. Keiser, M. H. al Zayyat and others.

A Map of Israel, prepared for the *Jewish Chronicle*, 32, Furnival Street, London, E.C., 2s. 6d., 1951.

Although the layout and typography have no æsthetic merits, this is an extremely useful, up-to-date map. It includes small inset street plans of Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jaffa and Israeli Jerusalem.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR,

ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL.

DEAR SIR,

I am normally shy of replying to a reviewer. An author, I feel, has had his innings in a whole book; he should have no more to add. If, therefore, I write to you about A. S. T.'s kind review of my *From Town and Tribe*, it is not to cross swords with him, but to comment on, if I cannot answer, his question, when he asks, "Are [some of the stories] true folk tales or literary reminiscences?" By the last words I take it he means a story which has passed from an author-produced book to the oral tradition.

I will say straight out that I cannot answer his question. I don't know the answer! I hold that no disgrace, for the amount of research and scholarship which has gone to produce notes on some of these widely distributed folk tales, as shown, for instance, in Professor R. M. Dawkin's notes in his *Forty-five Stories from the Dodecanese* (to one of which I was fortunately able to refer readers of *The son who was not from his father*), are both beyond my scholarship and beyond the limits of my travelling library. In *From Town and Tribe* I took the view that if I could not refer the reader to a good and complete note it was better to remain silent, and I am sure that that is the correct course for a field folklorist. In the following comments I can only ask to be excused for the lack of authorities and references I can quote.

Firstly, the precautions I take against recording a "book" story I give in an article in the June *Blackwood's Magazine*. These are not of course a complete assurance, I realize that. The more so as I once caught an assistant of mine with a book of Abu Nawas' stories printed in Beirut! I have had considerable practice now, however, in hearing oral tales, and fortunately the printed books do not usually include any really good tales.

With regard to the strife between two magicians being in the "Nights," I think it should be stated that the whole of the story *The Boy Issa* is a widely known folk story in many languages, sometimes, I think, under the name *The Master and his Pupil*. I only wish I could quote the references for this extensive story. An inclusion in the *Arabian Nights* should not, I think, be taken as evidence of literary origin.

I should be most grateful to A. S. T. for the literary reference to the Abu Nawas story *The Excuse which was worse than the Offence*. All the same, I think we should wait for recognition from other countries and the recording of variants before definitely ascribing a literary origin. Cases of authors making use of folk tales are legion in all countries.

As Professor Dawkins shows, *The son who was not from his father* is a variant of a story known variously in the Dodecanese, the Caucasus, Turkish Siberia, also in fragmentary form in Tamil, Armenian and Hebrew. The story of the false accusation leading to death must, I think, be widespread. Last year I recorded a variant from Palestine.

The stories of souls kept in safe places are widespread. I have recorded a beautiful Palestinian version in which the soul was kept "In a locket tied to the leg of a lamb in the mountains" (the hero got it, all the same!). A friend has also written to me about a fine Gaelic version in which the soul is kept in a sheep.

Stories about girls and boys caught in nets are widespread. They seem to be quite a common catch for fishermen in many Arab coastal areas. The Spanish story of the fish-boy of Vega may have some connection. I think the stories further inland of gazelle boys caught in hunters' snares may be variants. The actual boy who was photographed in the Syrian press may be an example of folklore coming to life: a notable tendency. Compare, also, cases of actual children "living with wolves" in India. Mowgli and Romulus and Remus may have an origin in the distant folk memory. When actual children are produced, as does happen, as careful a scrutiny of the evidence is required as in cases of people accused of being "were-wolves" or

"were-tigers." These days people see flying saucers where before they saw witches on broomsticks. Surely also the case of the yokel buying the tram, which actually happened in Cairo, was a case of an old folk story, *The man who bought the Sultan's Palace*, coming to life. I suppose the story was somewhere in the back of the trickster's unconscious mind. Or of the yokel's, perhaps. For if I remember rightly the yokel subsequently made quite a nice sum exhibiting himself as Egypt's biggest fool. He may well have been brighter than he seemed!

One can well imagine the possibility of an author-produced story passing into the oral tradition in days when books were short and people illiterate, for somebody might read a story to illiterate people, who would repeat it by word of mouth. But the author-written story is a thing depending on one man's imagination. The folk story amongst cultivated and civilized people short of books, as the whole world was prior to Caxton, and the Arab world was to a much later date, grows to a fine and polished thing. It is unlimited in its imaginative scope, and has all its rough corners knocked off by constant retelling. It can also decay and die when it ceases to be told in the coffee house by the best brains of the community and gets relegated to the home and the nursery, as we know to our cost in Western Europe. Possibly only in the Gaelic are to be found stories of any quality in the United Kingdom, and that because Gaelic printing lagged far behind Caxton. It is fortunate that so much folklore has been recorded for us in the classics (in which I would include the "Nights"), in early writers and historians who have made use of folk material, and in oral material from Greece and other areas. I think that enough has been saved to us to show that an author-produced story would have had difficulty in competing with folk stories on grounds of quality alone.

Yours faithfully,

C. G. CAMPBELL.

In response to Major Campbell's request above, Professor A. S. Tritton has kindly furnished the following references:

- Meissner, *Neu-arabische Geschichten*, No. 32, p. 72.
 W. H. Ingrams, *Abu Nawās*, pp. 43 *et seq.*
 Basset, *1,001 Contes*, p. 1, 331.
Khati Cheglou, p. 189 *et seq.*

THE JAPAN SOCIETY OF LONDON

Founded in 1892, this Society existed to promote good relations between Great Britain and Japan until the disaster of the Pacific War in 1941. It was revived in 1949, and its programme of lectures has been of the most varied nature: most have been held in the Lecture Theatre of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Council hopes shortly to acquire new headquarters, where the extensive Library can be used.

The first post-war Japanese Ambassador has resumed his traditional presidency. The membership now numbers nearly 500.

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