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EDITED BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

NORTH AFRICA

BY

WILFRID HAMBLY

AND

MARTIN SPRENGLING

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NEW ORIENT SOCIETY MONOGRAPH: SECOND SERIES NUMBER SIX

EAST AND WEST

A FOREWORD BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

AN avalanche of platitude and blah has fallen on the subject of differences between the East and the West. Discussing the spiritualism of the East versus the materialism of the West is a favorite sport of grandiloquent orators. As if there had never been any materialistic philosophies in the East and any spiritual tendencies in the West! We must not take East and West in the sense of abstract ideas, which will inevitably lead to vague idealizations, but must sense them as living realities in their proper setting and perspectives. In the first place, all orientals taken individually are not radically different from ourselves, they are just as human as you and I, subject to the same human emotions and passions; all shades and grades of character are found among them. Armenians, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese are as shrewd, keen, and enterprising industrialists and merchants as any in the western world. India has been a dreamland of mysticism, speculative philosophies, and good fairy tales, but this has not prevented her from cornering the world market in precious stones for two thousand years. China has been a land of thinkers and great poets and artists, but this has not prevented her mercantile class from dominating the world market in silk, porcelain, and tea.

The fundamental divergencies are not between individuals or classes of people, but are deeply sunk in the thoughts of the folk mind fostered by a different background of civilization. There are only two such fundamental differences between the East and the West, which may be tersely formulated as the difference between the ego and the non-ego and the difference between the definite and the indefinite article.

China has an impersonal or non-ego culture, while ours in consonance with our heritage received from classical antiquity is an ego-

centric or ego culture, largely obsessed by the glorification and overvaluation of the individual, which has resulted in a standard codification of the individual's rights, while the East keenly emphasizes the individual's duties toward the family and the state. The Chinese mental complex has always been detached from the ego, without much regard for the individual, focused on the cosmos, the joy and deification of nature, striving for the beyond and reveling in dreams of eternity and immortality. The same observation holds good, more or less, for India and Japan.

A few practical examples will clarify this distinction between the ego and the non-ego aspect of culture. The Chinese, and other Asiatics likewise, have never hit upon the idea of erecting personal statues or monuments to their emperors, statesmen, generals, and war heroes, such as decorate or disgrace the squares and parks of our cities. No portrait of an emperor appears on any Chinese coin—quite in opposition to Greek, Roman, and late European coins. The Chinese erected marble arches or gateways to commemorate moral and abstract ideas, for instance, an extraordinary act of filial piety on the part of a dutiful son, or to honor a virtuous widow who did not remarry after her husband's death. This contrast of the ego with the non-ego philosophy finds its most noteworthy expression in the field of art. With the majority of our artists (there are exceptions, of course) vanity, ambition, self-love, and an inordinate craving for fame and notoriety are the principal incentives to work. Ostentatiously they paint or carve their names in huge letters on their pictures or sculptures and are prone to ascribe their work to their own merit and genius, usually forgetful of what they owe to their milieu, to their predecessors and teachers, and to the inspiration of a long and time-honored tradition. Thoughts drift along different lines in the East. China has produced the most skilful bronze founders, potters, and lapidaries the world has ever seen. We know their works, but are ignorant of their names. These men were too modest and too sensible to mar their productions by affixing to them their signatures. Among more than a thousand carvings assembled in the Jade Room of Field Museum there is not one inscribed with an artist's name. Why is it? The Chinese master just because he was a superlatively great artist was not fool enough to believe, nor did he flatter himself into the belief, that he personally was the creator of his creations, but humbly attributed them to the action of a higher power, to the merits and benign influence of his ancestors, or to the

will and decree of Heaven. The artist was a sort of high priest; practising an art was a sacerdotal and sacred function. He produced, not to make a living or to please his contemporaries, but to honor his ancestors and to attain his own salvation.

As to the difference between the definite and the indefinite article, it amounts to this that East and West have an entirely different attitude toward religion. All Asiatic nations, excepting those that profess Islam, look upon religion as *a* means of salvation, as *a* road possibly leading to salvation—in opposition to the religions of Semitic ancestry, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, each of which claims to possess *the* road, *the* only possible, truthful, infallible, permanent, and unchangeable road to salvation. It is at the surface merely the difference between the definite and the indefinite article, but this difference is profound, vast, and far-reaching, and has shaped the trends of history in the East and the West in almost opposite directions. The exclusive Semitic attitude toward religion naturally made for intolerance and persecution; the inclusive, broad-minded Far-Eastern attitude resulted in liberality, moderation, and tolerance. The Chinese in particular have been the most tolerant people in matters of religion, and have willingly listened to and extended hospitality to all religions that knocked at their door. No Chinaman has ever launched a campaign for religious persecution or would ever go to war for the triumph of a religious dogma, nor does he long to die for the glory of his country. He desires to live for it to the greater glory of his ancestors.

The ancient Semitic idea of blood-sacrifice, and redemption of sin by blood has always been alien to the humanized and refined spirit of India and the Far East. These happier nations were spared the ordeals and terrors of religious struggles and persecutions, as staged in Europe, all emanating from the merciless and violent Semitic idea of a jealous, ever irate, and vindictive deity thirsty for a sacrifice. Hence we face the sorry spectacle of what is called the history of Europe—an eternal rivalry and strife between the Church and the State, the temporal and the ecclesiastic powers, an endless chain of religious wars and persecutions, massacres of heretics and dissenters, burning of witches, the tortures of the inquisition—all for the triumph of theological dogmas. The one word, Canossa, denotes the martyrdom of our medieval society; then the clash of the Cross with the Crescent in the Crusades, the clatter of creeds, Spain combating the Arabs, the only cultured nation during the

middle ages, to which Europe, then owed everything in the line of philosophy, medicine, and sciences. At the same time arts and letters flourished in China and Japan, and the great Chinese masters developed their sublime landscape painting which is now a source of joy and inspiration to the entire civilized world.

China has always had plenty of religion and religions, but religions only; never, however, an organized Church or a hierarchy or priesthood that would have meddled with state affairs or interfered with social customs or the freedom of the individual. One of the wisest institutions of China is that marriage has always been strictly a matter of civil law, the exclusive business of the family without interference on the part of a priesthood. This is the more remarkable when we consider that in all European countries civil marriage is an achievement of recent date and that our ancestors were compelled to struggle for centuries until the separation of the State from the Church was brought about and the Church was assigned to its proper place.

Among us, an individual is definitely labeled like a wine-bottle, in his peregrination from the cradle to the coffin. We consist of a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, a vaccination certificate, possibly a marriage certificate, and infallibly a death certificate; or, as a cynic once expressed it, when we are born, they pour water on us, when we marry, they throw rice on us, and when we are buried, they throw dirt on us. Moreover, we are definitely labeled in matters of religion: we profess a religion officially and publicly, we may be associated with a certain denomination and be registered by a church to which we belong for a lifetime. Nothing like that exists in the East. The question so frequently addressed to a Chinaman as to whether he is a Confucianist, Buddhist, or Taoist is irrelevant; for, as a matter of fact, he is nothing of the kind or may be everything of the kind. No one in the East makes a showing of religion or professes it *urbi et orbi* as we do, and no one is attached to a church, for the simple reason that there is no such institution as a church in our sense of the word. The temples of China, Japan, Tibet, and Mongolia are essentially for the benefit of the monkhood which resides in them. The layman may visit a temple for the purpose of seeking the advice of a priest or consulting the deity by resorting to some means of divination, and he may visit a Buddhist or a Taoist temple on the same day, but there is no community service. Contributions to the maintenance of religious buildings and the clergy are frequent-

ly made, but there is no obligation or coercion, and any service is voluntary. The main concern of a Chinese is to obtain long life in this life and salvation in the other life. To him religion is a vehicle carrying him into a better land of bliss, and he welcomes any religion that holds out any promises of salvation and offers the best guaranties. He has never been willing to believe exclusively in one infallible religion that alone might be capable of bringing this result about. Whatever we may think about this attitude toward religion, we are compelled to admit that it has made for tolerance toward all religions and for a large measure of personal religious liberty. One of the most curious features of this development then is that the East with its non-ego, anti-individualistic tendency has ended with granting greater personal liberty to the individual, while the West with or despite its theory of the pursuance of individual happiness has finally succeeded in fettering the individual and restricting his movements to a minimum.

In studying other nations outside our own culture sphere and especially oriental nations we awaken to know ourselves and to see our own limitations. We have a great deal to learn from India and the nations of the Far East. We have frequently reproached the Chinese for their lack of patriotism and national spirit and have thereby merely displayed poor judgment and sheer ignorance of the historical factors involved. The ancient Greeks were not nationalists, but merely aimed at being civilized. True they were swallowed by the Romans politically, but their superior civilization conquered the Romans and the entire Roman Empire. Like the ancient Greeks, the Chinese people were never united by the principle of nationalism, but solely by the consciousness of a common bond of a great civilization. In a similar manner the Germans of the eighteenth century were not nationalists; Goethe and Schiller, Lessing, Herder, and Kant were cosmopolitans whose home was the world. German nationalism dates from 1871 with the foundation of the German empire. Nationalism will always run to extremes, and that extreme supernationalism such as prevails at present is no blessing we have seen from the days of the World War and see more and more from day to day. The present Chinese government, in accordance with the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, inculcates and fosters the spirit of nationalism, which is alien to their people and never formed part of their traditional background. Unfortunately they are compelled to adopt it from our "civilization," together with militarism, bomb-

ing planes, and other instruments of warfare. In some quarters this may be hailed as "progress." We are confident that this will merely be a transitory stage evolving into a finer and bigger era of true culture in the near future.

The New Orient Society of America, as evidenced by this series of monographs, endeavors to promote public interest in the Orient and to diffuse accurate knowledge of the oriental nations of the present time. Its objects are both scientific and educational, for only by serious study and research can we hope to be a safe guide and to fulfill our mission. We have no ax to grind, we carry on no propaganda, we are not pro this or anti that, but we preach a gospel of good-will and understanding, of honest cooperation and friendly reconciliation. We are not interested in politics nor in the promotion of trade; we do not tell you that if you will study the Orient and the customs and manners of its peoples you will be able to extend your business connections. But we promise you something more than mere material gain, we promise you that if you will study the Orient you will enrich your intellectual and spiritual life, that you will gain a new soul and that you will make the greatest discovery of your life—discovering yourself by discovering others.

FLYING GEESE BY T'ENG KWEI

ART IN MODERN CHINA

BY T'ENG KWEI
Yenching University, Peiping

CHINA at present is in a state of great turmoil—poverty stricken —military exploitation and war everywhere—war with Japan, war between war-lords. War in China, it seems, is everlasting. Unfortunate people flee from their homes to escape misery and to preserve the minimum breath of life. In such a state of bankruptcy in every phase of life, how can China produce art? Yet Chinese art productions are at present incredibly abundant.

It is a mystery which cannot be explained in a few words. However, to be brief, I venture to say that the practise of art in present-day China is possible because of the victory of idealism in the life and death struggle on the part of Chinese artists. The ability to struggle seems to be a national characteristic without which they might have been extinguished long ago. Chinese artists tolerate a discouraging environment, deny themselves much pleasure and comfort, have but little wealth, or live in poverty, spend much time earning a living, and develop their spiritual life by working out their own salvation and expressing their artistic ideals. Although China is passing through a national crisis, art exhibitions are still held in the large cities despite mass meetings, protest, and roaring of guns.

China is still producing art and in remarkable quantity. We are anxious to know what kind of art, classic or modern. If it is classic, how far ancient ideals and forces are perpetuated by present-day artists; if it is modern, what modern thought or what nation's

SNOW LANDSCAPE BY WANG WEI
Copied by Kung-pa King

modern art has influenced the hands and minds of Chinese artists. If neither modern nor classic (in the western sense of the terms), we would like to know in what manner the present art has been modified, or evolved from that of ancient times.

Let us first review the traditional philosophy of art and life of our artists. To them the reality of life lies within the mind. Nothing exists before the thought of it exists. The thought is the only reality. Through thought art is born, and through art the thought is elevated from low to high levels and from crudity to refinement. No art can be called "fine" unless there is this high thought of the artist back of the production, and hence it is capable of elevating or draw-

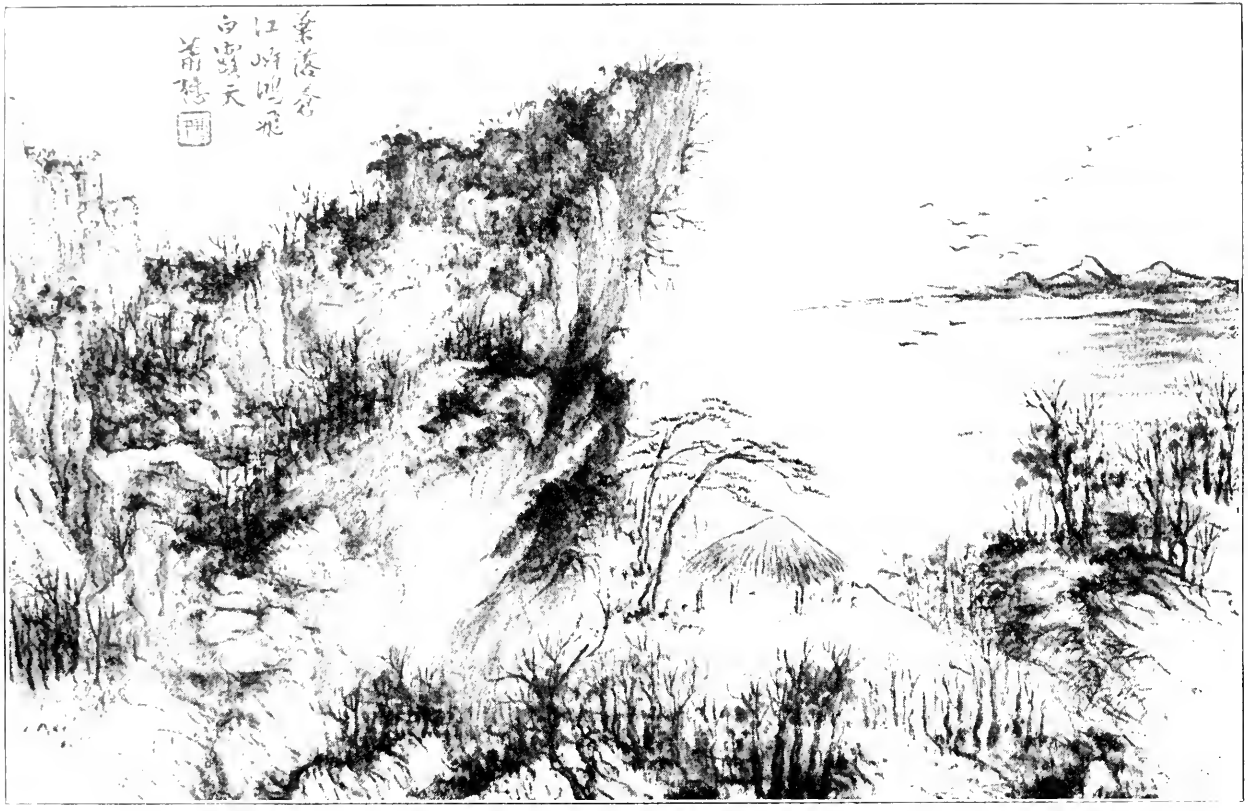
ing forth thought of refinement from the spectators. Thus, life and art to our artists are both idealistic. Physical life is perishable, but art is immortal. To the Chinese artist, physical life is merely the abode of the spirit, and to enjoy an ideal life is to cultivate the spiritual one.

This art is something uncommon, something unearthly, something different from what we always see and have contact with in daily life. Genre painting has never been popular in China. The classical idea of art there has always been something which we long to see but search for in vain. Human beings are enslaved by their desires. Only those desires which can never be obtained, Chinese artists love to paint. Kuo Hi, who lived in the eleventh century, wrote as follows about his conception of art:

> Wherein lies the reason that good men love landscape so much? It is because amid orchards and hills man has ever room to cultivate his natural trend; because streams and rocks never fail to charm the rambler who goes whistling on his way. It is because fishing and wood-gathering are natural vocations of the hermit and the recluse, nearby where flying birds and chattering apes have their homes. Noise and dust, bridles and chains—of these man's nature ever wearies. Hazes and mists, saints and fairies—for these man's nature pines eternally and pines in vain. Now comes the painter, and by his skill all these things are suddenly brought before us. In our home, stretched on the walls, we still hear the cries of the gibbons along the streams, the songs of birds in many valleys, while our eyes are flooded with the gleams of hills and the hues of falling streams. Does not this illustrate the saying, "Charmed by another's purpose, I attain my own desire"?

Like the essence of the teachings of Buddhism and Taoism, art in China is a means of escape. The harder the struggle in the Chinese nation, the more unattained desires are there to be expressed through art; and the less peace in the country, the more escape Chinese artists would seek. No matter how fast modern China may change, as long as such ancient ideals are rooted in the minds of artists, there will be no danger of Chinese art being disrupted.

In order to make a survey of this traditional or classical school of Chinese art, one must wend his way to Peking which still remains Chinese, abundant in architecture, active in art craft, rich in historic relics. The people there are less affected by foreign economic exploitation. Peking, so to speak, the museum of Chinese art, has always inspired her inhabitants to cling to her own civilization. Art-



LANDSCAPE BY SIAO CHIEN-CHUNG

ists there are not only able to study and copy old paintings, which are preserved in the palaces, but there are also favorable working conditions in the way of getting special art materials and an appreciative group in society. Exhibitions of contemporary art are held there all the year round. The Central Park Galleries arrange exhibitions from March to November, and the Peking Institute of Fine Arts has one every month. The art gallery of Yenching University is also enthusiastic about patronizing present-day art.

Peking is the seat of the Traditional Conservative School. This school is interested solely in preserving old Chinese art. Most technical and scholarly work has been done by its members. They have copied painstakingly the paintings of the T'ang and Sung dynasties. They copy the strokes and the colors of the paintings; they have even gone so far as to imitate the writing and seals of the master, and their aim has been perfection, so as to make copy and original indistinguishable even to the trained eye. The leader of this school was Kung-pa King, whose influence is still felt strongly among his followers. I have seen Kung-pa King's copy of a snow landscape by Wang Wei, famous T'ang dynasty painter. He not only used a piece of silk the exact size of the original and imitated the aged tone of the painting, but also succeeded in putting the Emperor Hui Tsung's writing there as it appears in the original.

Followers of this school are many, not only because China has such a glorious past that most conservative artists like to have this old sweet dream revealed to them, but also, because academically it is a popular way of learning art by copying the old masters.

Peking artists, however, belonging to this Traditional Conservative School, do not always copy old masters. Many have great creative ability like Hu Pei-heng and Siao Chien-chung and are able to combine the traditional method of the past with an individual method of their own. An example of great individuality is the picture (page 482) by Siao. He is so sophisticated that he puts his strong statement under a veil of moderate expression. The meeker his execution, the stronger is the statement felt between the lines. The form is solid, but the appeal is harmonious, and the brush is politely exact.

There are still a great many artists who are classical enough in spirit, fine enough in ability to produce art individual enough to be called their own creation. T'ang Ting-chi is another of those artists who lay their art on a thoroughly firm and sound foundation in clas-

LANDSCAPE BY T'ANG TING-CHI

sical tradition. T'ang is an independent painter, adhering to no school. On account of his independence and self-respect, his fame is established through his artistic merit alone. His work speaks louder than the voices of lesser artists who collectively call for their own social prestige. The facile manner in his brush touches, his simplicity in presenting trees and rocks show the definite skill and experience of the artist's hand on this page. He does not waste a single stroke or a dot of ink; every bit of his energy is a necessity. A good artist is a miser in spending ink as he would be in spending gold, because extravagance with material is a sign of deficiency in art.

Other artists who work independently and quietly let their art speak for them. Peking should be very proud of having artists like Siao Ching-hien, Ch'en Pan-ting, and Wang Mong-pei—all with high ideals in their work.

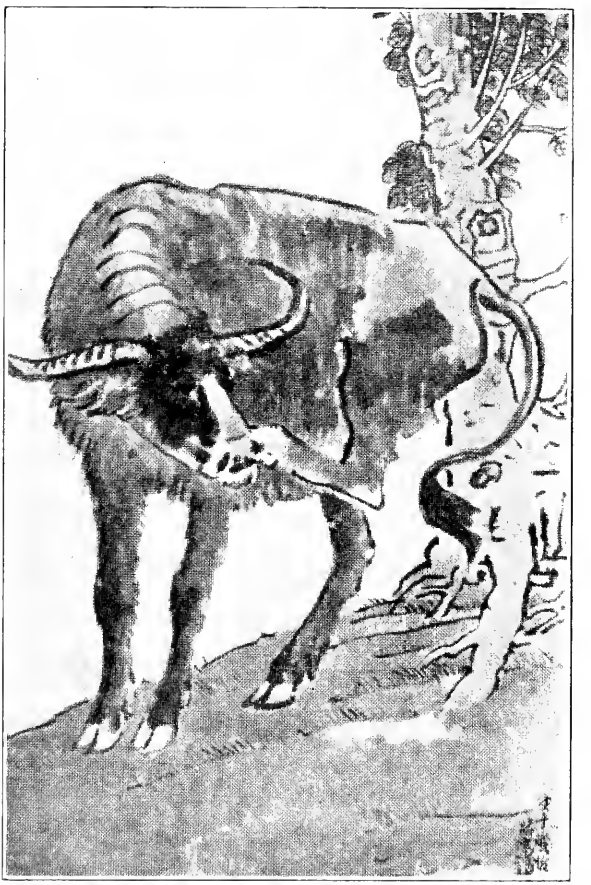
I now wish to introduce two prominent artists from Suchow, Ku Lin-shi and Yu Tai-ts'iu. Ku Lin-shi is a great scholar, connoisseur, and artist. His collection of ancient paintings is well known in the Yangtse Valley, and his painting is often mistaken by Chinese critics as

the work of the Four Wang masters of the Ts'ing dynasty. In fact, he may have produced paintings even better than some of those actually done by the Four Wang. Nature is very content under his brush, and it is quite a blessing when one has the good fortune to look at the picture here reproduced (frontispiece): comfortable trees, indifferent rocks, inviting path, and rippling grass—all look most natural and most placid. His brush is at ease everywhere, and his hand is full of experience in every stroke.

Another school is the Traditional Calligraphic School. By calligraphic I mean the free-hand and expression work of art. Painting and calligraphy are interrelated. A good knowledge of and experience in writing are advantageous to painting and *vice versa*. A painter is often a calligrapher, and a good calligrapher often learns to paint easily. Many strokes are common to calligraphy and painting. There were, however, painters not known as calligraphers. They established their technique generally through the practise of painting. Their aim was to paint and to emphasize the object they painted. The medium, such as brush strokes, ink, serves only as stepping-stones through which they accomplish their objective representation; consequently the meaning, expression, and often the beauty of strokes and ink values are lost to them, while the realistic object remains. However, the painter of the calligraphic school is different from his fellow-artists. He thinks that the beauty of the ink values and the expression of brush strokes should not be sacrificed in the least for the sake of sheer realism of the subject matter. Painting is not photography, nor should it be a complete record of the facts. Those who can-

BLOSSOMING PLUM BRANCHES
By Wu T'sang-shu

not appreciate the beauty of language want only the contents of a story, and those who do not know art, look only for the contents of a painting. The Traditional Calligraphic School strives, not only for



WATER BUFFALO BY SÜ PEI-HUNG

the art of representation, but also for a manner of presentation so that not only the end is important to them, but also the means; the expression of the medium as it is controlled, not by the hand alone, but also by the artist's interest.

The picture, "Plum Blossoms," reproduced on page 485, represents this school. The artist, Wu Ts'ang-shu, who lived in Shanghai, is a good calligrapher, drawing instead of painting the picture. His

brush-strokes are strong, wiry, and brisk. The picture makes one feel great freedom of action. The brush is like the monarch, every touch is law.

To the same school I should like to add two more artists, the one being a student who returned from France, the other educated in China. The first, Sü Pei-hung, is now head of the art department at the Central University, Nanking. Sü has a good background in oil. His work can compete with the painters of the French Academy. However, he has preferred to paint in the Chinese style ever since his return. He has tried to subordinate western striving for likeness to the Chinese calligraphic expression. Toward this goal he has advanced successfully. It seems to me that Sü has an ideal which most of us modern Chinese artists should have; that is, to unite all Chinese art tradition with modern realistic observation and scientific approach. Sü is good at animals. He is not only correct as to anatomy, but also has powerful brush expression, and often the action and life of his animals are very expressive (page 486).

The second artist is Yü

LOTUS BY YÜ FEI-AN

LANDSCAPE AFTER THE RAIN BY T'ENG KWEI

Fei-an. Living simply and intensely, he creates a world of his own. He paints for pleasure, edits a paper, and teaches for a living. The lotus picture (page 487) is, so to speak, a symbol of his life. The lotus is a plant which has a clean stalk growing in the mud with a pure white flower, with independent and self-respecting spirit. His technique is bold and simple; he gets a maximum result with a minimum effort. His strokes are calligraphic, yet, at the same time, the anatomy is carefully observed.

Chinese artists do not consider that physical realism is the important thing to look for in art; therefore, photographic representation of nature has long been looked down upon by artists. Instead, Chinese artists go beyond the physical to metaphysics, beyond physical likeness to spiritual likeness. When Hie Ho (A.D. 475) advanced his "six canons" on painting, he placed as first and most important the rule concerning rhythmic vitality. Our artists are not satisfied in translating nature as she is, but want to explain nature as she appears to them or as they wish her to be. In China there is no such thing as "still life," and dead fish certainly do not interest our artists as they do our western colleagues, for a dead fish must be

made alive in painting. Not very unlike the futurists in the west, Chinese artists paint the flight instead of the birds only; like the

A CHICKEN FAMILY BY T'ENG KWEI

impressionists, Chinese artists paint the atmospheric effects of rain, mist, storm, and sunset in the landscape, instead of the landscape as it usually appears to most eyes. I, with many others, aim at

this romantic ideal of masters of the past. In the portrayal of the flight of wild geese (page 479), their speed is clearly felt and their calls can still be heard. In the picture, "After the Rain," the trees are still moist. The picture, represented on page 489, portrays a family of chickens. The father's dignity, the mother's love, the children's innocence are sought instead of showing each feather or any other anatomical detail which means labor rather than art to those who really understand painting. However, not all Chinese artists of this day strive for the same goal as I. There is a group of artists who have gained a substantial social recognition by working on something more naturalistic and even sentimental than action, vitality, or rhythm. Their paintings are true to the facts of nature. I am taking the liberty of giving this group of artists the name "Realistic." This Realistic School has two branches, the northern and the southern; both branches were somewhat inspired by semi-foreign influence during their early stages.

Castiglione, an Italian missionary, came to China at the end of the seventeenth century and took up Chinese painting. He brought to China the scientific method of copying nature. Brilliant coloring, heavy loading of oil technique, and true-to-nature realism, which, acknowledged by all, are the chief characteristics of his painting. Many Chinese artists with high ideals as to existence and reality do not care for his work, but others appreciate it as of artistic merit, ignorant as they are of what art is. Here in Peking there has developed a school of the followers of Castiglione which I call the northern branch of the Realistic School.

Among the dozens of artists mechanically working in this realistic manner, Ch'en Se is the jade among pebbles. He is a young man in his early thirties, now teaching art at the well-known Catholic University in Peking. An example of his work, a copy of Castiglione but with lighter touches, is reproduced on page 491. The dog is very alive and ready to jump up at any moment. It is perfectly real, and this painting is a triumph over the battle with photography.

The southern branch of the Realistic School offers a more interesting phase of our art development. Its seat is Canton, where people are comparatively more alert and active in making foreign contacts. Many artists there searched for a new expression after feeling the necessity of a change in the mode of living. Many of these went to Japan to study and then transplanted to China this

RECUMBENT DOG BY CH'EN SE

new style. In general, art in Japan is like anything else—a syncretism. Besides the pure, old Chinese school, Japanese art is something collected from foreign countries and made anew to suit their convenience. As a result, Japanese art in general is not calligraphic enough to appear Chinese, nor solid enough to be called western. However, like a Japanese girl, it has its own charm and beauty which can be internationally appreciated.

The popular Realistic School of Japanese art, which is natural, literary, and human, often pleasantly charming, is paradoxically of Chinese origin. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Shen Nan-pin, a Chinese artist, visited Japan, and his art influenced the Japanese greatly. He was an animal painter and excelled in flowers and birds of the Sung academy style, realistic, honest to every feather of the bird and every petal of the flower, painstaking in execution and literary in appeal. He established the Nanking school in Japan, and hence the Cantonese artists have brought back a bride who proved to be their forty-second cousin. However, the modern Japanese popular Realistic School is far removed from the original Nanking school. The Japanese artists, in addition to these characteristics of Shen's art, adopted much from the western method of modeling the subject in light and shadow, and thus the picture is made even closer to nature.

Kao Weng and Kao Lun, two brothers, are fine examples of the southern realistic school. This school of painting will have a strong grip on Chinese art development on account of its oriental origin and scientific rendering of the subject, which makes the art intelligible to all eyes and entertaining to most minds. Kao Weng, although a man in his seventies, is still active in creative work, and his paintings are full of youth and vitality. Kao Lun is the younger brother of Kao Weng. Like his brother he learns truth from nature. "Autumn Rain Comes to the Willow Bank" (page 493) shows the artist's accurate observation of the effects of rain on the landscape. The painting has a high pictorial effect; the details, as well as the composition as a whole, are properly executed.

Thus far I have set forth three different tendencies in the present state of arts in China, namely the Traditional Conservative School whose aim is to preserve China's classical art tradition; the Calligraphic School which follows the romantic school of thought, that aims at free-hand drawing and keeps the unique calligraphic ex-

WILLOWS IN THE AUTUMN RAIN BY KAO LUN

pression in strokes; and the Realistic School whose interest is to adopt western ideas of light effect and scientific rendering of the anatomical correctness of the subject into Chinese art.

Productions of these schools are more or less Chinese in taste and origin, and they continue to develop. However, profuse western influence is not wanting in China today. Very little good work is seen. Chinese artists who are working in this western style incidentally learn the worst from the west. In Shanghai one can find all sorts of foreign arts ranging from the primitive to the ultramodern. When I visited Walter Pach, American critic residing in Paris, he commented on the work of a certain popular Japanese artist as "monkey production." By "monkey" he understood "one who tries to imitate man, but the harder the trial, the worse is the result."

Present-day China is in danger of falling into this "monkey" business. Girls from good families dance to jazz music; boys wear tailor-made suits, and Walk-over shoes, smoke Luckies, read the Saturday Evening Post, and play a good game of golf. Hu Shih advocates China's adoption of western civilization since he has much confidence in both the automobile and the Chinese people. I fear the coming of a "monkey" civilization since I have not enough confidence in either. No doubt China must pass through an industrial revolution to enable every one to live more comfortably. Art is the product of leisure, and leisure can only be accumulated through wealth. After all, no matter how idealistic the Chinese may be, one cannot expect any nation to produce art with the majority of her population almost starving. A great period of art production must be sponsored by patronage and a great demand. Art produced without sufficient wealth and leisure at its back is a forced product. Neither an artificial creation nor a forced production can last forever, for they are both detached from life. To replant Chinese art on fertile soil is the duty of all our artists at present, but the question as to how the soil should be prepared is beyond the scope of this essay.

SINO-AMERICAN POINTS OF CONTACT*

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

ABOUT a hundred and fifty years ago Americans first came in direct contact with Chinese when the American ship *Empress of China*, sailing from Boston and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, cast anchor in the harbor of Canton. This occurred in the year 1784, under the reign of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who was a contemporary of George Washington. Thus Americans were late arrivals—in fact, the last of foreign peoples to enter into commercial and political relations with China. Europeans, first the Portuguese, then the Spaniards, Hollanders, British, and French, had preceded them by several centuries. It is no empty saying that from the first days of Sino-American intercourse the two great countries have been linked by bonds of sympathy which have not existed and do not exist between China and any European power. These bonds of sympathy and friendship have been strengthened from year to year, as witnessed particularly by the ever increasing number of Chinese students and scholars annually flocking to our universities athirst for knowledge.

What, then, have Americans and Chinese in common? I think, a goodly number of very fine traits. First, the spirit of democracy, which has pervaded China for more than two thousand years, ever since the First Emperor Ch'in Shi smashed the old feudal system. The principle of government for the benefit of the people certainly is American, but it is equally Chinese and goes back to the fourth century B.C., when Meng-tse (Mencius), the most gifted of Confucius' disciples proclaimed the doctrine, "The people are the most important in a nation, and the sovereign is the least important of all." Second, the spirit of religious tolerance. I know of no more tolerant nation than the Chinese. Third, the lack of a caste system and lack of a hereditary nobility. China was always guided and governed by an aristocracy of intellect, not of birth; the old system of free competition by civil service examinations recruited the best talent from all ranks of society. Fourth, Americans and Chinese do not suffer from the obsession of that great evil, the race superiority complex; they are averse to armed force; they are friends of

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peace, and are animated by a deep sense of justice and fair play toward all, regardless of race, color, or creed. Fifth, and this is the greatest asset that the two nations have in common, they have an unbounded, almost religiously fanatic, faith in the power of education and knowledge as the best guarantors of progress, as the best possible safeguards of the permanence of their social structure and institutions. With this capital of a common historical tradition and mentality—democracy, tolerance, equality, justice, and education—we are well prepared to stand the test and storms of the time.

Aside from these ideals, there are culture elements inherent in the two civilizations that establish a common basis for a harmonious social life and sympathetic fellowship among representatives of the two nations. In reflecting on cultural similarities between Americans and Chinese, it is advisable to proceed from realities and direct observations. A white man who is in a good state of health is able to live in China in a house of Chinese style, in a purely Chinese surrounding, on Chinese food, in every fashion exactly like a Chinaman, not only for years, but a lifetime, without suffering impairment or injury to his health. Chinese houses are very much like our own; their plan of arrangement comes very close to that of the ancient Roman house. Rooms are airy, spacious and well ventilated, and comfortably stocked with tables, chairs, armchairs, settles, and sofas. There is no other nation in the world whose house furniture offers so complete and striking a coincidence with our own. In fact, it is one of the amazing points of culture history that of all nations of Asia the Chinese is the only one that takes its meals seated on chairs around a table, in the same manner as we do. This custom was acquired by the Chinese only in comparatively late historical times. The ancient Chinese, down to the epoch of the two Han dynasties, used to squat at meal times on mats spread over the ground, in the same way as it is still customary with the Japanese and the peoples of India. The remarkable step leading to the use of raised chairs and high tables was taken in the period between the Han and T'ang dynasties, as a sequel of many foreign influences that came from Central Asia at that time, and speaks volumes in favor of Chinese adaptability and readiness to adopt foreign institutions. The Japanese, with all their temperamental changeability, still adhere to the old primitive custom of sitting cross-legged on the mats covering the floors of their rooms; and while an American, for the sake of curiosity or experience, may enjoy living in a Japanese home for a few

days or weeks, he will never acquire the Japanese mode of sitting, which is a source of physical discomfort to us.

The objection may be interposed that many travelers and adventurers in almost all parts of the world have conformed to the life of the natives whom they set out to explore. Such examples indeed are numerous. Any normal individual of good physique and temperate habits is able to live wherever other human beings of whatever race can exist, whether they be Eskimo, American Indians, South Sea Islanders, Pygmies or Negroes, Berbers or Beduins; but such adventures are usually transient, and the explorer will always be glad, once his task is accomplished, to return into the harbor of "civilization." Speaking of myself, it fell to my lot to live for many months among such primitive folks as the Gilyak and Ainu of Saghalin Island, the Golde and Tungusian tribes of the Amur region, sharing their huts or spending the night in the open, sleeping on a bearskin, living like them on salmon and game, even amid smallpox and trachoma epidemics, without any harm to my health, save a temporary discomfort from parasitic insects. I could not, however, have stood this sort of life for a number of years, and while I enjoyed studying these tribes and gathering data concerning their daily life, languages, folk-lore, and religion, I can not say that I felt at home with them, at least not so intimately as I do feel at home with the Chinese. It was also my good fortune to spend a year and a half among the Tibetans, both the nomads and the agriculturists, just living like one of them; and while the Tibetans have my unstinted sympathy, the time I should be willing to dwell in their midst will always be one of restricted duration. The lesson to be retained, therefore, is that a robust man with a definite object in mind may live anywhere without hazard of life and welfare within a limited period, whereas no such time limit is attached for us to China. Again, it can not be doubted that many white individuals have settled among Indians, Eskimo and other primitive peoples, taking native women as their wives, even adopting native speech, clothing and habits, and thus ending their days. Examples of this kind are not typical, however, and such individuals have usually been fugitives, castaways, tramps, derelicts or sailors cast adrift.

In order to settle among the Chinese, no foreigner need feel anxiety about his health, at least no more than if he stayed at home, nor does he require the explorer's physical fiber. China beckons to

the man of culture, and the more cultured he is, the more welcome and the happier he will be there, since the Chinese are highly cultured, well-bred and well-mannered people. Even most Chinese farmers and laborers are gentlemen, and from many of them many a so-called gentleman in our midst could learn a useful lesson in good manners or etiquette.

One of the most remarkable inventions ever made by the Chinese is the chopsticks, "the nimble ones," as they are called in Chinese, the invention of which goes back to the days of the Chou dynasty. Chopsticks are not only characteristically Chinese but also set the Chinese people clearly off from other nations of Asia that are still in the habit of taking food to their mouth with their fingers, which is even done by so highly civilized people as those of India. Annamese, Koreans, Japanese, and other peoples who came under the spell of Chinese civilization adopted from the latter the use of chopsticks. It is self-evident that these make for good table-manners, which are the first criterion of a civilized individual; and whatever opinions we may hold on the Confucian system of ethics, it is undeniable that it has at least brought about the one good effect to transform the majority of the people into a body of highly decent, respectable and well-bred men. The sanctity of the home and the purity of family life belong to the greatest achievements of Confucian social ethics. For all these reasons, official and personal intercourse of Americans with Chinese is easy and a source of pleasure. Their sense of humor, their delight in story-telling, their conversational gifts and oratorical power are other qualities that will not fail to make a strong appeal and endear them to us the closer we get acquainted. At Chinese parties there is less formality and conventionality than in our country.

Their eminent faculty of assimilating and absorbing foreign racial elements has struck many observers. In fact, the Chinese no more than any other nation represent a pure race. The northern Chinese have a strong admixture of Tungusian, Mongol and Turkish blood; the southerners have to a great extent intermarried with the aboriginal tribes which preceded the Chinese as owners of the country. The question of intermarriages of Chinese and whites is naturally a delicate one, and it would be futile to generalize on so vital and large a problem; but if limited personal experience and observation may count a little, I may say that many happy marriages of Euro-

peans and Americans with Chinese women have come within my notice. There is no gulf separating the two races, and there are no obstacles of a racial or cultural character in the way of such unions. The offspring of American fathers and Chinese mothers belong to the best citizenry of China, and commanding the two languages as they do, they make the best liaison officers to maintain and strengthen the bonds between East and West. Many of these Eurasians are splendid fellows, and I have found in them the most willing and enthusiastic helpmates in scientific investigations.

As an analyst of human nature I should be the last to deny that there are psychological differences between Chinese and ourselves. These, however, do not spring from a basically divergent mentality or psyche but are merely the upshot of a distinct set of traditions and education based upon the latter. As the grasp of ancient traditions upon their minds will gradually loosen and as the best in our institutions and inventions will be adopted (I advisedly shun the ambiguous and much misused word "progress"), these small divergences will gradually disappear or be reduced to a minimum. The abandonment of foot-binding and opium-smoking may be cited as relevant instances. The student of anthropology who has learned to fathom and to understand the customs and usages of every people knows only too well that the Chinese are not different from other peoples but are just human and humane. There is no custom in China that in one or another form would not appear among other peoples or even among ourselves. The Chinese worshiped their ancestors and to a large extent still do so; they are justly proud of their ancestors, and in their modesty attribute their own good luck and success to their ancestors' virtues and beneficent influence. We with our pride in ancestors and with our passion for genealogical quests, are no less ancestor worshipers; our "worship" has merely assumed a different form.

TURTLE ISLAND

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

Dedicated to Dr. Moritz Winternitz, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Prague, in honor of his seventieth birthday, December 23, 1933.

IN his monumental work *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* Professor Moritz Winternitz has devoted an admirable chapter to a discussion of Indic stories and their migration eastward and westward, and observes wisely (II, p. 105), "Although many tales may have found their way from India into the West, yet it can hardly be doubted that also many a foreign tale has migrated into India. This, for instance, might be the case with reference to the mariners' tales which relate shipwrecks and various strange adventures at sea." On the other hand, Erwin Rohde (*Der griechische Roman*, 3d ed., 1914, p. 193) is inclined to trace to India the more important motives of the Arabic marine novels and sees Indic influence likewise in the Greek literature of marine romances.

About a decade ago I read a paper before the American Oriental Society under the title "Tales of the Indian Ocean" of which I gave the following definition:

> There is a type of mariner's story or sailor's yarn which we meet in all countries bordering on the Indian Ocean—in Greek, in Syriac and Arabic, in Sanskrit or Pāli, as well as in Chinese. Where and how these stories originated is often difficult to decide, and it seems best to characterize them simply as tales of the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean, so to speak, functioned as the broadcasting station which sent these stories out to all ports. The Indian Ocean had a peculiar fascination upon the minds of Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Malayans, and Chinese; its many wonders stirred their power of imagination, and its marine animals even gave rise to new mythical conceptions.

Most of these tales appear to have originated in the circle of navigators and to have been spread by sailors from one port to another. This fact is clearly disclosed in the story of "The Capture of the Rhinoceros" which a Chinese physician of the T'ang period, as he states advisedly, recorded from the lips of a foreign sea-captain whom he had met in Kwang-tung (Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, 1913, pp. 361-364 and *Chinese Clay Figures*, pp. 145-147).

The story of Turtle Island or Whale Island belongs to this cycle. Zacher (*Pseudocallisthenes*, p. 147) characterizes it well as "one of

those very ancient migratory tales coming down from an unknown period, which float between Orient and Occident from early times." Its distribution has often been discussed, but the Chinese versions have not yet been utilized.

The *Kin-lou-tse* ("The Golden Tower", chap. 5, p. 19) written by Yi, prince of Siang-tung, afterwards the emperor Hiao Yüan of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 552-554), which contains several curious traditions pointing to a foreign origin, offers the following tale:

> Once upon a time there lived a huge turtle amidst sandy islets. The animal's back was covered with trees which made it appear like a regular island in the ocean. It happened that merchants came there, and believing that it was an island, gathered fuel with a view to prepare their food. The turtle was burned hot and dived back into the sea, whereupon several tens of men suffered death.

However terse and sober this account may be, it embodies all essential elements and represents the primeval version of the story which seven hundred years later appeared in the romance-like adventures of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights.

About a century later the Chinese were treated to an Indic version of the story. Hüan Tsang, the illustrious Chinese pilgrim to India (Julien, *Mémoires*, I, p. 474; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, p. 125) tells in his Memoirs about a merchant prince from Jāguda, who worshiped the heavenly spirits and despised the religion of Buddha. With some other merchants he embarked in a ship on the southern sea and lost his way in a tempest. After three years their provisions became exhausted, and they invoked the gods to whom they sacrificed. All their efforts were futile when unexpectedly a great mountain with steep crags and precipices and a double sun radiating from afar was sighted. The merchants were overjoyed at the prospect of finding rest and refreshment on this mountain. But the merchant-master exclaimed, "This is no mountain, it is the fish makara (whale); the high crags and precipices are but its fins and mane; the double sun is its eyes as they shine." The master then remembered Avalokiteçvara as the savior from the perils of the sea, and they all invoked his name. The high mountains disappeared, the two suns were swallowed up, and the mariners were rescued from shipwreck through the intervention of a Çramana walking over the sky.

It is obvious that the Buddhists made use of an old story and adapted it to their own purpose. Rescue at sea through the intervention of the Buddha or his saints is a frequent motive in Buddhist hagiography and iconography. Foucher (*Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique*, p. 82) points out a bas-relief of Bharhut where a makara devours a ship with its crew (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 34,2). Further, an allusion to this motive is made in the Tibetan cycle of legends associated with the name of Padmasambhava of the eighth century (Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien*, p. 106).

An echo of Hüan Tsang's story, as pointed out by me in *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 1926, p. 89, occurs in *Liao chai chi i*, No. 82 (translated by H. A. Giles under the title *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*). I have no intention of covering the whole ground occupied by this legend or giving a complete bibliography of previous studies; suffice it to refer to Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes*, p. 147; Rmeberg, "Le conte de l'Isle-poisson," (*Mémoires Soc. néo-philol. à Helsingfors*, II, pp. 343-395), and Cornelia C. Coulter, "The 'Great Fish' in Ancient and Medieval Story" (*Transactions Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LVII, 1926, pp. 32-50). I do not agree with previous investigators in regarding the heroic exploit of Keresāspa in the Avesta as the earliest version of this tale. This, in my estimation, is entirely distinct: Keresāspa slays a horned monster on land, which is the principal motive of the story, while the feature that he cooked meat on the monster's back is merely an incidental accessory. There is no sea, no monster island, no casualty or rescue from this alleged island in the Avestan episode. If anything is clear, it is the fact that the monster island motive must have originated in a maritime setting and have grown out of marvelous incidents of a sea voyage. Thus remain as the oldest versions the cycle of the Greek romances of Alexander and the Physiologus. In one of Alexander's alleged letters to Aristotle, the monster is specified as a "giant turtle" (otherwise "sea-monster"; see Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, p. 178).

A turtle appears in the *Wonders of India* (*Livre des Merveilles d'Inde*, ed. Van der Lith and Devic, p. 37). Qazwīnī, in his Wonders of Creatures, likewise connects the story with a marine turtle, and such we find in the Chinese version of the *Kin-lou-tse*. The transformation of the turtle into a whale seems to be due to the

Physiologus. The Chinese version, I am inclined to think, was transmitted to China by oral tradition. I can cite a specific instance of the occurrence of our tale, where literary diffusion is out of the question. It was recorded about eighty years ago among the Karen, an illiterate tribe of Upper Burma, by Francis Mason ("Religion and Mythology of the Karen," *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, XXXIV, 1858). As it has escaped the previous writers on the subject, it may be cited here in extenso.

> The Elders among the Karen say there are fish in the sea as large as mountains, with trees and bamboos growing on them as on land. Voyagers have to be careful where they land to cook. They carry axes, and cut into the ground to try it. If juice springs up where it is cut, they know that they are on a fish; but if the ground seems dry, they are on land, and go to cooking. It is related that a man landing on an island went to cooking without trying his ground, and it turned out to be a fish which sunk with him into the sea and then swallowed him. When the man was in the fish's belly, he said to the fish: 'When males acquire large game, they shout and cry out in exultation, but you are silent. Are you not a male?' On hearing this, the fish opened his mouth to scream, when the man leaped out and escaped. The elders say that when people kill one of these fish, it is impossible for them to eat it all up, and they burn its fat. With its bones they can make beams and rafters for houses.

In this version the "island" motive is connected with the "swallow" motive, both of which, according to Miss Coulter in the article quoted above, were developed in India and spread westward, leaving their mark in turn on Greek, Arabic, medieval Latin, and the vernacular literatures. While I concede the possibility of an Indic origin of the "island" motive, I am not so sure of the "swallow" motive being specifically Indic (compare my article "The Jonah Legend in India," *The Monist*, 1908, p. 576). Allusions to the "swallow" motive occur in Chinese authors of the pre-Christian era when Indic influence is out of the question. Several ancient philosophers (Chuang-tse among them) use the phrase "the boat-swallowing fish" (*t'un chou chi yü*) as a well-known affair or a firmly established expression; thus, Shi-tse (*Chu tse wen sui sü pien*, ed. by Li Pao-ts'üan, chap. 9, p. 7) says, "Where water gathers, the boat-swallowing fish will arise" (cf. also Pétillon, *Allusions littéraires*, pp. 313, 497, and Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1920, pp. 294, 351).

The *Kin-Lou tse* contains the expression in three passages (chap. 4, pp. 18, 19b, 25b). The only explanation of this phrase I have found thus far occurs in the *Chi lin sin shu* (*op. cit.*, chap. 5, p. 15): "In the southern region there is the alligator fish [thus literally: *ngo yü*] whose snout is eight feet long and which reaches its largest size in the autumn. The fish stretches its head out of the water and swallows the men near the border of the ship. Other men in the boat seize spears and try to keep the fish off." Granting that it might have happened in ancient times that a frail boat struck an alligator, a huge fish, or some species of whale and capsized, drowning some of the sailors, the report could easily gain ground that these men were swallowed by a marine monster. As long as we do not know more about the boat-swallowing fish of the ancient Chinese, I am rather disposed to credit it to an actual experience or several experiences than to an outside influence.

Ulrich Schmidt, in his *Voyage to the Rivers La Plata and Paraguai* (1567, Hakluyt Soc. ed., 1891, p. 86), relates, "Between S. Vicenda and Spiritu Sancto there are plenty of whales which do great harm; for instance, when small ships sail from one port to another, these whales come forward in troups and fight one another, then they drown the ship, taking it down along with the men." This is not a reminiscence of the tale of Whale Island, but the simple record of incidents or experiences within a well-defined locality of South America. Qazwīnī (*Kosmographie*, translated by K. Ethé, p. 268) remarks in his description of the whale that sea-going vessels have much to suffer from it and that it devours whatever it finds. Another kind of whale (p. 289) is defined by him as a very large fish which can smash a ship. See also *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 14-15.

Courtesy of Pollin Ross

VIEW OF TETUAN

MOSLEM NORTH AFRICA

BY MARTIN SPRENGLING

AFRICA is the last, in other words now the only remaining one of the great continents, which offers to modern Europe a real opportunity to carry on "the white man's burden," in more modern speech opportunity for colonization or some form of colonial management or exploitation. In its northern section, from the Sahara desert northward, it dropped into this category much later than most Americans imagine or remember. The first effective occupation which led to an extensive and lasting colonial empire celebrated its centenary just three years ago. France had lost an American empire and the Americas were not open to further European colonization. She had further lost, if not actual possession, at least footholds that might have meant the establishment of a large and profitable Asiatic empire, and there were no convenient openings there. It was at that moment that the opportune rudeness of a pirate chief gave her clever Prime Minister Polignac occasion for the occupation of Algiers and so created the beginnings of her third, now in size and wealth the second colonial world-empire. That was in 1830.

It was no sinecure into which France had stumbled. It cost much time, money, effort, blood; it took much learning by experience, for the most part bitter, to hold what she had seized, to expand, occupy, organize and develop. Modern means of locomotion and communication, of destruction and exploitation, such as we have seen in the Century of Progress Exposition, were for the most part nearly a century in the future. It is not surprising, therefore, especially in view of France's stabilized population, that her progress in establishing and consolidating her hold upon Algeria was for a half century and more both slow and painful.

The next occupation of adjacent territory belongs in an entirely different era. It is only eight years before the Paris Exposition and its Eiffel tower and twelve years before the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. The easy money of piracy had vanished from the Barbary Coast. In countries further impoverished by internal mismanagement the limits of taxation, however exorbitant, and of graft, however easy, were soon reached. Under these circumstances, in North Africa as elsewhere, Oriental princes, loving luxury and splendor, learned with ease and speed the gentle art of borrowing money, which wise old Europe was not loath to teach. When neither capital nor interest on these loans was forthcoming, this led first to a not unusual interim of international financial controls and squabbles. Presently convenient native disturbances occurred on the frontier between Tunis and Algiers. And so, despite Italy's protest, England and Germany conniving and Turkey being ignored, France with the aid of some 30,000 soldiers established a benevolent protectorate over Tunisia in 1881. The fiftieth anniversary of French rule in Tunis was celebrated just two years ago.

Meanwhile in a book, the largest part of which was written while the World's Columbian Exposition was in progress on the Chicago lake-front, Budgett Meakin was telling the world about *The Moorish Empire*. In this book, published 1899, Mr. Meakin gives the following picture of French activities on the western frontier of Algeria.

> France especially would dearly love to see accomplished that dream of an African empire in which some of her politicians indulge, in spite of the financial burden which the glory of Algeria has been to her. This is a dream which, though not shared by everyone, has to be reckoned with in all negotiations which concern French influence in northern Africa...

> Englishmen, knowing and caring little about Morocco, are quite incapable of understanding the grip on this land that France has secured. Separated from it merely by an unprotected frontier, well defined only on paper—so that a "much needed rectification" can be demanded at any moment—her Algerian province affords a base already furnished at two points with rail from the ports of O'ran and Algiers...At any convenient time the forays in which tribes on both sides constantly indulge can be fomented or exaggerated, as in the case of Tunis, to afford excuse for a similar occupation... All this could be accomplished with a minimum of loss, as only lowlands lie between these points, and the mountaineers have no army. But the "pacification of the Berbers" would be a lingering task, involving sacrifice of life and money out of all proportion to possible advantageous results....The "military mission" which the French maintain at the Sultan's expense, which follows and supports him where no other Europeans can go, spies out the land and trains the leaders for a future invasion. Their Algerian Mohammedan agents pass and re-pass where foreigners find it impossible to venture, and besides collecting topographical and other information, they let slip no opportunity of recommending the advantages and privileges of French rule. The immunity which they—as subjects of a friendly Power—enjoy from the tyrannical exactions of the Moorish officials, is in itself the strongest possible recommendation. In this way France is steadily working, and who can forbid her?....In her unquestioned ambition the strong point of France is that she has no rival to fear, and that she can, therefore, afford to wait till the opportune moment arrives when, the hands of those who might protest being tied, she may strike a successful blow. So as matters stand it is only a question of time for Morocco to be added to Algeria. This remarkably well-informed and accurate summary of the state of Morocco's affairs in the closing year of the nineteenth century contained a prophecy nearly as accurate of what was to happen in the first third, just past, of the twentieth.

It is neither necessary nor possible to enter on details here. The essential facts may be briefly stated. By something of a horse trade with Italy on the one hand and with Germany on the other, the "op-

portune moment" for France in Morocco arrived definitely in 1911-12. By management both wise and clever France not only escaped serious trouble but derived valuable aid from her North African holdings during the great war. At the end of armed warfare naturally German plums connected with this region dropped into French baskets held ready. The result, as anyone can see for himself on any good modern map of Africa, is a French African colonial empire many times the size of France itself. Of this empire Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis form a mere cap, or at most a sort of cowl or hood. From the northernmost point of Tunis, some 37 degrees north latitude it stretches to the Gulf of Guinea and beyond to the South Atlantic coast some 5 degrees south of the equator. From its westernmost point at Cape Verde in the North Atlantic region, some 17 degrees west longitude it reaches at the southeastern point of its boundary with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the 27th degree east longitude. Even when we exclude from the calculation France herself and her holdings elsewhere, it will not be uninteresting for most citizens of the United States to compare these measurements with our own.

The tale of modern ownership of the rest of Moslem North Africa is soon told. A glance at the map suffices to show that in its allotment to France the older but less effective claims of Spain were met by a small slice known as the Rif, connected with Ceuta, and made famous for a passing moment after the great war by the dramatics of Abd al-Krim, and by a somewhat larger slice on the Atlantic coast opposite the Canary Islands, known to some of us under the gorgeously euphemistic title of the Rio de Oro.

The "internationalized" port of Tangier and its environs need to be mentioned only in passing.

Of somewhat greater interest is the large block of rather waste and uninviting territory which lies between Tunis and Algeria on the West and Egypt on the East. It is now known under the somewhat grandiose name of Libya, being divided into Tripolitania, its western half, and Cyrenaica, adjoining Egypt. These are Italian names. It is the slightly sour apple, whereby in the horse trade of 1911-12 the Italian hunger for Tunisia was supposed to be appeased. "Occupied" with considerable effort in those years, it slipped almost completely from Italy's grasp during the great war, only to be thoroughly subdued, consolidated, and organized, with "rectified" frontiers in the years that have passed since.

What sort of countries and peoples are these, which have fur-

nished modern Europe, especially France, so much colonial sport and labor, glory and profit?

Lest we waste too much post-Versaillian sentimental sympathy upon them, let it be said at the outset that this is and has been, ever since it entered upon its "historical" time, pretty thoroughly colonial area. It has been in the world's news now for something more than 2500 years. In all that time it has rarely exhibited any deep-seated and general longing for genuine independence, nor extensive and enduring capacity to manage its own affairs, though on the other hand neither has it been easy for any length of time for others to manage.

It is most instructive to pass the stages of its story before one's mind in a rapid survey.

The spotlight first falls upon this coast in the ninth or tenth century B.C., with the advent of Phoenician merchant princes, who knew the value of writing and of the controlled publicity of which this century of progress seems to be so proud. Almost everyone knows Rome's great enemy, Carthage, but few realize what a little distance inland the effective control of this or any other Punic coastal settlement penetrated. After the destruction of Carthage some think that these Phoenicians established themselves far to the south in desert surroundings (see Bodley, *Algeria from Within*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1927, p. 196 f.). In any case a thin stream of Punic blood is presently all that remains after Rome had destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C. and usurped her place in North Africa.

We have been accustomed to take Rome and her greatness as a colonizer, as we take so many men and things, largely at her own valuation. Hence she has never been deflated in our esteem and remains today greatly overrated. Actually she accomplished little more in the way of penetration and thorough control of the inland regions and their peoples than had her predecessors. A few public buildings, bridges, and roads she may have constructed more solidly. In any case her conquerors in this territory, though they were Vandals, were not as thorough destroyers as she was. Apart from a few "magnificent ruins" her traces in this region are not more significant than those of Carthage.

The Vandal kingdom, which replaced Rome early in the sixth century A.D., was an ancient Christian forerunner of the later Moslem pirates.

The reconquest after about a century in the name of Rome by

the Byzantine Belisarius meant little except some reduction in the numbers of Vandal men of military age and an added mite of vain glory to the crown of Justinian.

A century later again what was left of this was replaced by Moslem Arab domination. Contrary to popular conception, except for a gradual and not very great change in religion and a progressive and more extensive change in language, this was for three centuries not very different from what had gone before. About the matter of religion, language, and a more serious change in population we shall say a few words presently. In the meantime the merry game goes on pretty much by the same old rules.

In crusading times two dynasties, native Berber in origin and in their original military force, but Moslem in religion and Arab in speech, attain a greater degree of independence and for a space of two centuries a larger extent of subjugated territory than the Numidian and Mauretanian kingdoms of ancient Roman times. After that, despite the influx of cultured Spanish Moslems the whole mass reverts to its natural state of quarreling sections, princes, tribes, with Christian Europe, Spanish, French, and Norman, nibbling with ineffective encroachments at the maritime borders, but not yet ready to assume effective rule.

This state of affairs is brought up to date by a few centuries, during which on the one hand Ottoman Turkish suzerainty of a sort, on the other, in Morocco, lordly Arabic or pseudo Arabic Shereefian dynasties supply at least the semblance of foreign domination which seems to be the natural measure of "self-determination," which the native "nations" of North Africa require. This is the era of the Barbary pirates, which leads up to the modern state of affairs with which this essay started. Its lasting result is a thin trickle of Janissary blood, blood of all the peoples of Europe and hither Asia, especially Asia Minor, united only in that they all were *kular*, that is, slaves, of the Sultan. Hence their descendants by native women are *Kuloghlus*, slave-children.

We have spoken several times of the "natives" of North Africa. Who are these natives, these Moors and *svelte* Othellos, who appear so romantic and interesting, especially to "Anglo-Saxon women," in their native habitat, as Bodley so demurely relates in his *Algeria from Within* (p. 69ff.), and on our own soil, as we saw them but yesterday in the Moorish village of our great Century of Progress Exposition? In the first place it must be clear from what we have

said of the remnants of Phoenicians and of Roman and Ottoman soldiery that even the most aboriginal of these natives are in some measure mixed blood. Further, it may be said in a broad, general way that a large proportion of the population of this extensive area is in greater or less degree of Berber extraction. Just who in the last analysis these Berbers are is hard to say. They were certainly there, when the Phoenicians discovered their land. And in greater or less purity, in more or less solid blocks or interspersed and inextricably intermingled with non-Berbers, as nomads, farmers, and city dwellers, they still exist from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, from the southern Sahara to the Mediterranean. He who desires more information may begin by reading Rene Basset's article on the Berbers in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* and Mathéa Gaudry's masterly study *La Femme Chaonia de l'Aurès* (Paris, Geuthner, 1929), both of which will lead to further reading. Here it must suffice us to say, that the original Berber element may be the residue of a prehistoric white wave of immigration, which crowded the greater part of a previous layer of inhabitants south of the Sahara into the Negro and Negroid area. With such light modifications as have been suggested, the Berbers form the main bulk of the population from the beginning of history to the middle of the eleventh century.

In religion and everyday life the gods, rites, and institutions of Phoenician and Roman masters leave something of their color on native cults and customs. Presently the great Jewish missionary wave, called the Dispersion, Judaizes a portion of the populace. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Christian modification of this new type of religion replaces the Jewish in its missionary activity. In their own way the Berbers are Christianized. Finally the Moslem form of the same religious type replaces the Christian, and the Berber country remains Mohammedan to the present day. But whether they be Christian or Moslem, they retain enough of their old customs to make them distinctive. And always, in place of the established, official form, they choose some rebellious, heretical type of religion. Curious early Christian or semi-Christian sects, Montanists, Novations, Donatists, Manicheans flourish in Roman Africa. It is the same in Islamic times. Berbers enroll in Moslem Arab armies and help them conquer Spain. Disappointed in their hope of gain and place in the official Islamic system they turn to rebellious forms. Kharidjism, which means "rebelliousness," becomes the fa-

vorite religious watch word of the Moslem Berbers. In curious sects, Ibadites, Sufrites, this "rebelliousness" retains its hold on Berber sections of the land to this day. The heretical Shiite family of the Fatimids find the first solid foothold for their great rebellion against the Caliphate of Baghdad among the Ketama Berbers of Tunisia. In fact the three greatest counter-caliphates established in hostile contrast to the great central caliphal idea of Islam, that of early Medieval Spain, that of the Fatimids, and that of Morocco, which was more or less fully disestablished only in our own times, all arise in Berber or semi-Berber lands. But the Fatimid venture was to cost the Berbers dear.

Several times now reference has been made to the eleventh century A.D. as an incisive epoch in the Berber story. The Berbers had attached themselves to the rebel Fatimids and had helped them conquer Egypt and Syria and to threaten Baghdad itself. With the Fatimids settled and centered in Cairo, the Berbers at home resumed the merry game of rebellion, with its point now turned against their new masters, the Fatimids. This time they were punished with a scourge, compared with which Carthage, Rome, Vandals, Byzantines had been but the crack of a child's lash, a scourge such as some two thousand or more years before they themselves may have been to those who were before them. The Fatimids had no army, but they had, troubling the peace of Egypt, a horde of Arab nomads crowded out of desert Arabia, a confederation of Arab tribes best known as the Bani Hilal, "the children of the crescent." To these they opened the flood gates of Egypt's western frontier. This was no mere raid, that flooded suddenly only to ebb back again. This was no mere military campaign that might establish garrisons, in which Phoenician, Roman, Turkish, French soldiery might play with or even marry a few native women. This was the epic migration of a nomad, a wandering people, men, women, and children, bag and baggage. It was a great flooding sea of humanity that rolled slowly along, submerging lowland and plain. Just when Europe was sending its crusading armies in ineffective driblets eastward on a more northerly line to the Holy Land, this Arab host was drifting irresistibly westward until it reached the Atlantic. The relatively pure Berber element is crowded before it into mountain retreats or to the southern border of the Sahara. All along the line of their drift the Arab terror is still alive under the ashes: not only in Algeria, of which Bodley in *Algeria from Within* (p. 22, compare p. 26) tells the story, but all

along the line you may "ask anyone who the natives are and they will reply "Arabs"; some of the more intelligent will say "Arabs with a sprinkling of Berbers". To the Berbers it was this kind of a scourge. To the Arabs it was and is an epic saga, which their minstrels chant to this day in the cities and villages of Egypt (see Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and Taha Hussein, *An Egyptian Childhood*), and which Bertram Thomas heard as he, the first European man, crossed the great south-central Desolate Quarter of Arabia (see his *Arabia Felix*, Scribner, 1932, p. 208 ff, 277 ff, 289 ff.). This compound of human chemistry, with a further admixture of more southern color, to which we shall come presently, this is the romantic Moor, this is the Moslem North African whom the French, Spaniards, and Italians found, as during the past century they entered this forbidden land.

Very curious, interesting and perhaps instructive as well is the ebb and flow of human migration, culture, and force over this odd Eden of North Africa. First, before the time of written historic news, a clear drift northwestward from North Africa of a people that builds dolmens, cromlech, cairns, and Stonehenge circles. Are the people, who did the prehistoric sculptures and drawings of Northern Spain and Southern France of this race or drift? Did they, as seems likely to this writer, drift from an African center with the great crescent of their dolmens extending east and northeastward through Syria-Palestine to Asia Minor, as well as northwestward through Spain and France to England and Scandinavia? Or did they, from a Syro-Palestinian source, drift westward over Europe (Olmstead's *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 23, 24 ff.)?

In any case, presently they are submerged by a great countermarch of what we may for want of a better name call Berber folk. Whence do they come? It would seem from Europe, for their urge and drift is eastward and southward until they reach the limit of their expansive power on a frontier that may be called in the East Egyptian and in the South "The Color Line."

Then, from the time when history becomes interesting news, we have written records and they show a curious rhythm.

A thin, but not ineffective thrust westward by Phoenician commerce and commercial exploitation impinges along the Mediterranean coast on the solid "Berber" block. It slips over the straits of Gibraltar into Spain, and in a very thin trickle through the straits

along the North Atlantic coast of Africa and Europe, perhaps as far as Britain.

As this westward drift comes to a stop and begins to ebb, it is met by a counter stroke, this time chiefly military and political and from the North. Rome "wipes out" Carthage and plants upon the ruins its standards and its garrison-colonies. The polite language becomes Latin, and a veneer of Latin culture, thinning out rapidly to nothing as we look southward, overspreads the rich coast area. A little variation is introduced at this point by the little, and not very significant westward trek of the Vandals. The vandal drop is quickly lost in the Berber bucket. It was, as their last king, Gelimer, shouted, as he was marching by the wheels of Belisarius' triumphal chariot, but a *vanitas vanitatum*. And Rome's colonization was not much more. Perhaps, indeed, the force needed to keep Africa and other colonies subjugated and the counter flow of African and other peoples and cultures into Rome did as much or more for the undermining and ruin of Roman power than Roman military strokes and police surveillance ever accomplished in the ruin of Carthage and the uplift of North Africa into the Roman world.

Beginning with a very slim raiding thrust westward the Moslem Arab with ridiculous ease toppled Rome's tottering remnants out of the picture. Military campaigns follow, but they accomplish little more than had other military attacks before them. Then the Arab migration changes the face of the land. Despite attempts, clearly fostered by France to arouse something like a general Berber consciousness (see Massignon, in *Whither Islam*, edited by Gibb, London, 1932, p. 91f.), North Africa is today more thoroughly Moslem Arab in language and feeling than ever it was Berber, Latin, Jewish, or Christian.

With this last East-West movement ended, but Arab-Berber amalgamation not yet fully accomplished, we come once more, as Louis Massignon (*Whither Islam*, especially p. 79 f. and p. 97 f.) clearly observes, to a distinct North-South movement of power, feeling, ideas, and population. This, perhaps, is the most distinctive accomplishment of the great French and the lesser Spanish and Italian action of this and the bygone century in the story of human culture. What it means in full and what its issue will be no man can yet say.

A few elemental facts stand out clearly. Though the "pacification" of Morocco seems to be not yet definitely accomplished and

complaints against Italy and France, as well as against Britain, simmer throughout the Moslem world, France especially, and Italy and Spain in her wake, have carried police law and order much farther from the Mediterranean southward in North Africa than ever was done before in the world's history. Roads are built and maintained, motor cars and airplanes are everywhere, there is no longer a terrible Sahara as of yore, safety and an increasing measure of sanitation are the rule, education of French type is spreading in the land, the French language is definitely superimposed on Arabic and Berber.

On the other side of the picture, Massignon speaks of "Intermigration on a South-North axis" continuing "to expand without interruption". What does this mean? The effective migration of Europeans southward certainly does not penetrate far south of the coast line. Influence and rule is one thing, migration is another. Influence and rule mean a very thin sprinkling of European administrators, police chiefs, White Fathers or White sisters, with here and there, as needed, a greater body of soldiery. But, as Bodley says (*Algeria from Within*, p. 38), "the actual French occupation of the land does not penetrate very far—in fact, in a great many areas the Frenchman is leaving the interior and returning to the coast. Again and again one passes through European villages with a church built to accommodate a thousand people or so, and one sees about twenty European dwellings in the town and the rest of the houses in ruins or inhabited by Arabs." And even in Algeria these coastal immigrants seem to be fully as much Spanish or Italian as French. In the market gardens all along the coast east and west of Algiers "the expert labor is chiefly supplied by Majorcans and Sicilians" (Bodley, *Algeria from Within*, p. 154). Westward, of course, the Spaniards predominate still more, and eastward Italian predominance begins notoriously in Tunisia itself.

On the other hand Massignon says (*Whither Islam*, p. 80) "the flow of North Africans to France for employment as manual laborers and workmen, which in 1910 was limited to some 500 dockers at Marseilles. . . .has risen to the enormous figure of 150,000 workmen in 1927." In very interesting sketch maps on p. 82 and 83 Massignon further shows the distribution of sectors in and about Paris" inhabited by Moslem immigrants from North Africa. . . .They have succeeded in insinuating themselves on all sides, and . . . .they are incorporated into the French life of the city, not shut off in a closed

quarter like the Chinese quarter ("Chinatown") of San Francisco ....Some seventy per cent of them remain for more than three years, and twenty per cent appear to be definitely established in France."

In connection with this South-North drift and with the "racial hybridization" which Massignon thinks conceivable, another element, not stressed by either Massignon or Bodley, will be of distinct interest to the intelligent American observer. Even before the advent of France in North Africa, Arabic Islam had a distinct tendency to break down an ancient "color line" and all race consciousness. Whereas in ancient times and even as late as Ibn Khaldūn (about 1400 A.D.) a fairly distinct color line ran south of the Sahara, since that time enough Negro and Negroid elements have been introduced as slave soldiery, concubines, and for other service, and more recently, especially by the Senussi dervishes, as full-fledged Moslem freemen to constitute a very appreciable factor in the population of North Africa. France shows no disposition to decrease this flow and has, in fact, by better roads, greater safety, and better means of transportation smoothed and cleared its channels. Those of us who are interested in "the rising tide of color" as a vital factor in the modern history of human culture should not overlook the important part it plays in modern Moslem North Africa.

AFRICA IN THE WORLD TODAY

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IN Africa today social unrest arises from three causes. These are economic depression, competitive imperialism, and the violence of cultural clashes between governing Europeans and the native races under their administration.

To forecast the political future of Africa is hazardous, but, in common with all abstruse subjects, the problem can be illuminated by recognizing component parts. And although these divisions are mutually related they can be separately considered.

A preliminary obstacle to the discussion of African affairs is the size of the continent, which is about twelve million square miles, approximately four times the size of the United States of America. But this difficulty is readily overcome by dividing the continent into natural regions with characteristic topography, climate, plants, and animals. If, in addition to this, we take into consideration the modes of life which native Africans have adopted in response to these physical conditions, the warp threads of the social pattern have been disentangled.

The present economic situation in Africa, which is characterized by a reduced demand for manufactured imports, and greater difficulty for disposing of raw materials, is part of a world-wide situation which no economist can fully explain, and for which no one has yet offered a remedy. It is easy to point out economic difficulties which affect Africa in particular, for example the underselling of British cotton goods by the Japanese, the slump in exportation of tin from Nigeria, and the lack of capital for improving processes connected with the extraction and refinement of palm-oil. But for the main part the African commercial situation is a corollary of the world situation with its international debts, tariff wars, and competitive armaments.

The European scramble for Africa is a phase of the past, and though a rehabilitated Germany may seek restitution of mandated territory, the present partitioning of Africa is likely to be maintained for many years. Therefore, if these premises be true, Africa is a pawn in the economic and political game.

I think that the main problems of Africa may be reduced to a series of questions relating to internal administration, and the adjustments which are necessary when European governments having different ideals and methods attempt to rule African natives. It should also be borne in mind that the core of the administrative problem lies in the great disparity of race, language, religion, and cultural level among these subject peoples.

Therefore, a presentation of African social problems and the nature of the adjustments that have to be made must depend on a preliminary survey of geographical conditions, native modes of life, and the historical facts involved in the European intrusion.

No fallacy is involved in claiming the paramount importance of internal social problems, for to a great extent commercial enterprise, transport, and mechanical invention do take care of themselves despite economic depression. The transcontinental railway from Lobito Bay, through Angola and the Belgian Congo to the east coast, was opened in 1929. Imperial Airways have established a Cape to Cairo route, and French aircraft of the Aeropostale follow a regular route from Paris to Marseilles, Tangier, and Dakar on the west coast. In addition there are many local lines, British, Belgian, and Italian. Africa shares in the general advance of mechanism, but in Africa, as elsewhere, there remains social lag, a failure to understand the human problem.

Rapid extension of facilities for transport, combined with tourist traffic in parts of north and south Africa, may leave the impression of a Europeanized and denaturated continent. But a recent journey of ten thousand miles in Angola (Portuguese West Africa) and Nigeria, which is under British rule, convinced me to the contrary.

Millions of Africans are remote from railways, and even where European influence penetrates, the new objects and elements of culture which are introduced form but a thin veneer under which native languages, thought processes, and ancient institutions thrive. Who are these African natives? What are their modes of life apart from European interference? How has the grave social unrest arisen? In what way may amelioration take place? These are the most important of the questions discussed by ethnologists, educators, missionaries, and politicians.

A birds-eye view of Africa reveals three main topographical divisions; forest, parkland, and desert. These regions are not sharp-

ly divided, but on the contrary show a gradual transition from one type of country to another. The northern deserts are characterized by heat and dryness, the forests by heat and moisture, and the parklands by many areas in which elevation modifies tropical heat, secures ample rainfall, and so favors European settlement. Naturally the so-called 'native problem' becomes most acute in those regions where the white man has been able to establish himself permanently, to raise his family, and to form towns.

With the exception of the warm temperate and sub-tropical elevations of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, the greater part of northern Africa is occupied by the Sahara desert, which extends the width of the continent. But not everywhere is the desert so barren and hostile as is commonly supposed, for several habitable regions exist including high plateaux and numerous oases.

In the west are the mountains of Hoggar and those of Air where sedentary and nomadic Tuareg live under French rule. In the central region is the Tibesti plateau, also under French administration, inhabited by camel-owning Teda and Tibbu. Kufra and other isolated oases of the eastern Sahara are occupied by Senussi Arabs who have gradually been brought under Italian control by forceful measures, while further east, and bordering on Italian Libya is the independent kingdom of Egypt. The annual inundation of the Nile, which is now controlled and utilized for the irrigation of cotton fields, made possible the evolution of one of the greatest and most ancient civilizations of the world. Egypt, without the Nile, would be inhospitable desert.

The forest zone occupies a broad coastal region in the west, extending over Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Ashanti, Dahomey, Nigeria, and part of Cameroon. Dense vegetation is also typical of the vast central area of Africa drained by the river Congo. The forest zone is occupied by Negroes of two main linguistic families, the Sudanic in the west, and the Bantu in the central and southern portions. Hundreds of distinct languages and thousands of dialects are spoken by Negro tribes, while many differences of physique and culture have to be recognized. Yet, notwithstanding differences, there exists a basically Negro mode of life based on agriculture, ancestor worship, Negro law, social organization, and ancient methods of native government. This forest region contains unestimated wealth in the form of hard woods, oil palms, and other vegetable products both indigenous and introduced.

Along the entire length of east Africa, continued through the south, and extending into the southwest even so far as Portuguese Angola, are expanses of parkland, which are the typical habitat of herds of antelope, carnivora, and big game of all kinds. In this region are many large areas which are free from the tsetse fly, that carrier of sleeping sickness to human beings and disease to cattle. In these zones of immunity cattle are reared by natives in large numbers, but the economic use of the herds is slight in comparison to their religious and social significance for the tribes who raise them.

Among these east African cattle-breeders the beasts are not ridden, used for haulage, or killed for food, though they are ceremonially slaughtered, often in large number, at the death of a king. Among typical cattle-keepers milk is the principal food, agriculture is disdained, and the pastoral Hamitic tribes form an aristocracy among the Negroes they subjugated. One of the difficulties of European administration in this area is the promulgation of scientific husbandry, the encouragement of agriculture, and the establishment of economic uses for cattle.

In addition to the camel zone of the northern deserts, the cattle zone of the east, and the agricultural forest zones of the center and west, are tribes of a purely hunting culture. The principal of these are the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert in south Africa, and the Pygmies of the northeast forest region. The present tendency is for these primitive hunters to be absorbed in the Negro tribes who surround them. In a political sense, therefore, and apart from antiquarian and ethnological interest, the hunters and food-gatherers are negligible.

Of the early history of Africa, apart from Egypt where written records were kept from B.C. 3500, little is known, though some inferences are drawn from archaeological study, physical types and their mixtures, languages, and cultural patterns. An early Negro population of unknown antiquity is assumed, and onto this mass many incursions of Semites and Hamites were projected. The generally accepted hypothesis states that Semites and Hamites with a camel-keeping and cattle-keeping culture formed a large body of people occupying parts of Arabia and southwest Asia.

The Semites, of whom the Arabs are a part, entered Africa in several migrations, bringing early Semitic culture, and later the Arabic language and Mohammedan religion. Two important Arab incursions over northern, and into Negro west Africa, were those

of the seventh and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Then for several centuries the Arab conquest spread from Egypt as a focus.

One of the most potent factors with which administration has to cope is the intrusion of Mohammedanism and Koranic law, which have affected the Berbers of north Africa, the Tuareg of the Sahara, and the Negroes of the west.

Hamitic intruders were divided into two main branches, the northern, including Berbers and Taureg, and the eastern comprising Somalis, Hadendoa, and many other tribes of similar type in which the refined features and the frizzly hair are quite different from the coarse physiognomy and wooly hair of Negroes.

On this heterogeneous mixture of races, languages, and modes of life came a European impact, which from the time of Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth century continued without interruption, and with an ever-increasing intensity. Exploration by adventurers, missionaries, traders, slavers, and government agents with political interests, form a chapter of sacrifice and daring initiative, which was focussed about the courses of the main rivers Nile, Niger, Congo, and Zambezi.

Rival trading companies fought the natives when necessary and indulged in combat among themselves, while their respective governments supplied ammunition, and somewhat tardily gave financial support. But boundaries were vaguely delimited, and the political and commercial situations were so complex as to cause frequent international tension, until in 1885 a concerted attempt was made toward demarcation of possessions, prescription of spheres of influence, rights of transport on main rivers, and political relationships between European governments and native rulers.

In this partitioning, which is often referred to as "the scramble for Africa" native rights were neglected. The Masai tribes were divided by the boundary separating Kenya Colony, which is British, from German East Africa (now mandated Tanganyika). In southwest Africa the Vakuanyama, a pastoral tribe of southern Angola, remained under Portuguese rule, while the matrix to which they belong, namely the Ovambo, were placed under German administration.

After the World War Germany lost, in addition to German East Africa, her possessions in west Africa, namely Togoland and Cameroon. The former was divided between Ashanti (British) and

Dahomey (French); while the latter was separated into a narrow strip to be added to Nigeria (British) and a broader slice for inclusion with French Equatorial Africa. German South West Africa was incorporated with British dominions in south Africa.

Such are the broad facts of geography, climate, ethnology, and history which are fundamental to an understanding of the present political situation, which can now be considered in relation to the various types of European control. In addition to the independent territories of Egypt, the Liberian Republic, and Abyssinia, many European nations have territorial rights with possibilities of commercial expansion, jurisdiction over millions of Africans, and at least a moral responsibility to the League of Nations.

Egypt is a sovereign state ruled by King Fuad, but Britain retains certain rights, chiefly to guard the Suez canal. In the fourth century Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia, and the history of the country has been centered around two main endeavors, namely the repulsion of Mohammedanism and Islamic conquest, also the avoidance of European dominion. Abyssinian independence was finally assured by defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1906.

To see motion pictures taken in the capital, Addis Ababa, which is the terminus of a railway from Djubiti in French Somaliland, gives a false impression of the development of the country as a whole. Slave raiding into the Sudan is reported at intervals, much of the country is rugged and inaccessible, communication is undeveloped, agriculture is primitive, and among both Somali and Galla are frequent feuds. The capital available is insufficient for irrigation and engineering schemes, and the country lacks a seaport, since Abyssinia is excluded from contact with the Red Sea by the intervening territories of Italian Eritrea, also French and British Somaliland.

Liberia has had a chequered career dating from 1820 when the American Colonizing Society sent out a company of freed Negroes from America. General Roberts (1841) was the first man of color to take charge of Liberian affairs, and a few years later Liberia adopted a republican constitution. Philanthropically and politically America has been brought into contact with Liberian affairs in the way mentioned, and financially the United States are interested because of the Firestone concession of a million acres for rubber production.

Politically, Liberia is an instance of the fact that colored rulers

can surpass their white competitors in repressive measures toward a Negro population. From the time of the first settlement of the coast with imported Negroes these have exploited the primitive inland tribes, and within the past few years the conduct of Liberian officials in securing forced labor has been a subject of inquiry by the League of Nations. The reports of the League and the discussion of these in the Journal *Africa* leave no doubt respecting the truth and gravity of the charges. Liberian forests hold an inestimable wealth of timber, but natural resources remain to a great extent unexploited, no railways exist, and general development is at a low ebb.

The two minor European powers in Africa, Italy and Spain, hold great areas of barren and sparsely inhabited territory. Spain has a nominal control over the Rio de Oro, a desert region in the western Sahara, and in addition to this the Rio Muni, a small coastal possession in the tropical forest belt.

Following the World War, and as a result of the expulsion of the Turks, Italy has sought to build a colonial Empire in the unpromising region of Libya in the eastern Sahara. Apart from the coastal belt, and with the exception of widely scattered oases, one is left to speculate with regard to the value of this concession and conquest. On the Red Sea coast, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland are important strategically, while commercial development centering in the production and export of coffee, hides, and gums, is to be expected.

Among the major European powers, France is prominent as suzerain of territory extending from the north coast to the equator. In Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia the French have brought order out of chaotic rebellion. They have established schools, dispensaries, and air ports, also a line of motor transport across the Sahara to French territory at the bend of the Niger. A railway across the Sahara is advocated on strategic grounds for the transport of west African troops to Europe, and as a commercial enterprise to aid agricultural development, especially the cultivation of cotton in the French Sudan.

In her northern territory France has a complex series of problems associated with Mohammedanism, and the desert nomadism of a proud intelligent people, the Tuareg, who are unaccustomed to domination of any kind. In the eastern Sahara, French territory marches with the border of Italian Libya, so giving rise to territorial jealousy and intermittent discord. The west African and central African regions governed by France present the Negro problem,

which will be analyzed later, and in addition to this the Mohammedan contact with western Sudanic Negroes complicates the administrative situation.

I thought during a journey of 5000 miles through Portuguese West Africa (Angola) that Portuguese enterprise in making roads, especially in the central region where stone is available, had been particularly successful, but the sandy tracks of the south and east are extremely difficult for motor transport. An enormous amount of engineering work remains to be done, especially in the direction of building bridges and providing ferries. Transporting a truck over weak wooden bridges and on frail rafts is a hazardous enterprise.

Lobito Bay is one of the finest natural harbors in Africa, and here starts the transcontinental railway. But, unfortunately, the line was completed about the time the world depression began, therefore no fair test of the enterprise has been made.

Portugal lacks capital, consequently there is an attempt to secure solvency by high tariffs, favored rates for goods carried in Portuguese ships, heavy taxation, and burdensome export duties. Boer farmers who trekked into Angola from South West Africa, also German and other settlers concerned with the production of coffee, sisal, and tobacco, are apt to ask lugubriously "Is it worth while?"

In 1929 the currency system was based on a paper unit named the *Angolara*, worth about a nickel, but at the same time the *escudo*, also a paper unit of small denomination, was circulating, and neither of these had an exchange value outside Angola, except perhaps in Portugal.

The population of Angola consists of Bantu-speaking Negroes of many physical types, but for the main part they are agricultural with maize and beans as their principal crops. These commodities have to supply sustenance and provide a surplus for the payment of government taxes. In the south of Angola are the cattle-keeping Vakuanyama, an intelligent warlike tribe who are now subdued, though formerly they were as truculent toward the Portuguese as were their southern neighbors, the Herero, toward German rule.

British territory consists of several west African tracts, of which the chief are Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ashanti, and Nigeria. But Britain's major possessions, like those of France, show a scheming for continuity. British territory stretches continuously from the Cape to Cairo, from the Union of South Africa, through the Rhodes-

ias, Nyassaland, Tanganyika Territory, British East Africa (Kenya), Uganda, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

In the west coast possessions Britain has her Negro problem, but political difficulties are somewhat simplified by the unsuitability of the tropical forest country for permanent settlement by Europeans. The general policy is one of administration through native chiefs, commercial development, and the provision of educational facilities, together with medical benefits.

The Union of South Africa, whose political outlook is complicated by rivalry of Dutch and British subjects, has problems of native administration which are particularly acute. Colored people outnumber the white population by about six to one, and elementary education has been sufficient to arouse a racial and social consciousness. Among the many intricate questions that arise are those relating to a franchise for natives, the segregation of natives, the occupations which shall be closed to natives, and the extent to which natives should, under a system of segregation, be allowed to manage their own affairs without intervention. Those who oppose segregation and self-development, along with self-government, point out the Europeans' need for native labor in both urban and rural areas, and if this need is conceded, how far may the native go in his competition with Europeans?

The east African possessions differ from those of the west topographically, since the former contain highland areas which are suitable for permanent settlement by Europeans, who can turn to cultivation and animal husbandry. And in addition to the clashing of European ambitions and native rights, the problem has been made more complex by the entry of British subjects from India, who function chiefly as traders, in which capacity they are adept at fleecing the Negro and the Hamiticized-Negro population. Consequently one has to ask what are the territorial and political rights of Europeans, Indians, and Negroes? and how are the rival claims to be adjusted? But despite all this complexity the social problems arising from government of Africans by Europeans can be analyzed under the concepts of native health and population, systems of education for natives, labor laws, and administrative method.

When considering the problem of health and population several premises may be accepted. For the greater part of Africa birth and death rates are unknown. Infantile mortality is high, but this is probably balanced by fecundity. An international conference dealing

with mortality among African children made clear that syphilis, yaws, malaria, sleeping sickness, and respiratory diseases take a heavy toll, while another cause contributary to high mortality is lack of care of expectant mothers and want of attention during delivery. The suggested remedies are an extended use of hospitals and dispensaries, further employment of itinerant doctors and sanitation officers, also the establishment of welfare centers for the instruction of Africans.

Beyond doubt, military operations of Europeans against Africans, diseases both indigenous and introduced, also unjust labor laws which separate families and take males to work in mines, have imposed a heavy toll on native life. But no probability exists that the indigenous population is likely to be reduced to the extent which has been the fate of North American Indians, Maoris, and the aborigines of Australia. Negroes and Hamiticized Negroes who form the bulk of the African population are physically and mentally resistant, they are not of the racial type which readily shrinks before European contact.

With the advance of medical research, therefore, and an improvement in sanitation, I surmise that a stabilization, if not an actual increase in the native population can be expected, yet it may be that a check will be placed on the growth of population by a postponement of marriage, as a result of European influence. If, however, the maintenance of anything like the present ratio of native Africans and Europeans may be postulated, the core of the social problem becomes evident.

Apart from local disturbances, peace is preserved when uneducated natives are wisely ruled and protected from the worst effects of disease and famine. But along with improved health, a possible increase in numbers, and a wider dissemination of education, the demand of natives for at least a measure of political control will arise.

In some stages of native development, and under local conditions which do not favor permanent settlement of Europeans, a paternal oversight and government through native chiefs is effective, as for example in several parts of Nigeria. If white rulers are able to preserve order and at the same time make a profitable commercial adventure they are satisfied, and the natives also are contented for they share the economic gains, and their sense of justice is not offended by the feeling of direct control.

But this west African situation is politically and socially simple compared with conditions in south and east Africa where highland country, moderate temperatures, and absence of disease encourage permanent settlement of Europeans on the most favorably situated land.

The educability of Africans is a question which has given rise to much discussion. The argument is sometimes advanced that Negroes should not be educated since they are required solely as a source of cheap labor for their European masters. But a consensus of intelligent and informed opinion has decided on some form of education; and the importance of the vernacular, and not a European language, as a medium of instruction, has been conceded.

Commissioners who have visited several parts of Africa have reported on the advisability of selecting certain languages as a basis for instruction and communication over large areas, where great diversity of speech prevails. Such a suggestion, logical as it may be, recalls the fact that in administration the solution of one difficulty often creates another. Language is the instrument of thought and social consciousness, and with the wider adoption of one tongue arises social cohesion, an increase of racial consciousness, an ability to give expression to political ambitions, and a general demand for greater recognition. Africans who now regard themselves only as members of this or that small local group will presently, on account of linguistic homogeneity, take a broader outlook and a more effective political cohesion.

Much discussion has centered about the choice of a curriculum, and in view of the Negroes' skill as an artisan the founding of additional trade schools has been advocated. At the present time many Africans have been trained as railway and motor mechanics. But a tendency exists for semi-educated natives, who have only a rudimentary knowledge of the three R's, to drift into coastal towns where they form a class of cheap clerical labor for Europeans. The crucial question is the discovery of an educational scheme, which will make scholars both able and willing to return to their own villages and pursuits, in order to be of service to their own people, who require help in sanitation, agriculture, and animal husbandry.

With European contacts comes a breaking down of native controls and traditions which have been effective in past time. The white man takes away and he breaks down such rites as tribal ini-

tiation, the ceremonies connected with ancestor worship, the respect for chiefs as emblems of the soul of a people; and what does he give in return? A missionary would reply that he gives the doctrine of Christianity, but does this grip the native mind so as to provide a control?

What can Mohammedanism do for the Negro? The acceptance of Islamic teaching is often made in the most perfunctory way without a knowledge of the fundamentals of Koranic precepts. Mohammedanism is able to give some uplift from nakedness, paganism, cannibalism, trial by poison ordeal and other practices. But on the other hand Mohammedanism is repressive to art, literature, and to free education unbiassed by the Koran; in general the teaching of the Prophet is unprogressive.

The British dictum is that "Interests of African natives must be paramount, and if those interests and those of the immigrant races should conflict the former must prevail." This sounds noble enough; but what would happen if the injunction were literally carried out with regard to apportioning the best land, the healthiest situations, and the ownership of gold, diamonds, or other mineral treasure found under the soil. Obviously, if the political dictum is not a platitude Africans will soon be the rulers.

What the future holds, and what the final adjustment will be no one can foresee. A wise administration will make the utmost of ethnological inquiry in order to obtain an accurate background of native tradition in law, religion, and social organization, for only in this way can conflict with Europeans be minimised. Labor laws will be just, education will be practical and directed toward improvement of health, food, and the general standard of life. With these advances will arise a growing consciousness of power, then will come the crucial test of administrative ability in fostering this sense and using it for political cooperation.

But when, perhaps in the far distant future, Africans all over the continent shall ask why the white man rules a people who outnumber him by a thousand to one, who shall give the answer?

Books Relating to Oriental Subjects