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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

BY

A. COTTERELL TUPP, I.C.S., LL.D.

May 23, 1906



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* This part had to be postponed for want of time.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND GEOGRAPHY

1. CONNECTION WITH CENTRAL ASIA.

SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, in introducing the lecturer, said: Dr. Cotterell Tupp is well known to the members of this Society for the very kindly and useful interest he takes in its finances. I do not know exactly how we should be able to do without him. This afternoon he is reading to us a paper on a subject about which we have heard very little of late either here or elsewhere—the position of the French in the East. He has collected his information from such varied and exceedingly comprehensive sources that I am quite sure that the compilation he has made as a result of his studies will be most interesting to us. We shall have the advantage of having put before us a vast amount of information which it must have taken Dr. Tupp months to collect.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It may have occurred to some of you that the connection between Central Asia and the Indo-Chinese peninsula is neither very obvious nor very intimate; and it may be asked why Indo-China should be the subject of a lecture at the Central Asian Society. The answer is that the connection between these two portions of Asia is both physical and ethnological. All the great rivers of the Ultrindian peninsula (which is the name I venture to suggest for the great mass of land which juts out to the south from the south-east portion

of Asia) have their origin in the eastern extremities of the Himalayan range.

Taking them from west to east, the Irawaddi, the Salwín, and the Mekong, all rise in the eastern highlands of Tibet near the borders of China. The Menam, the great river of Siam, does not begin its course till these ranges have sloped down into the mountains of the Shan States and of the Laotian Kingdom ; but this, the Menam, is the only one of the four great rivers of the Ultrindian peninsula, which does not rise directly in the Central Asian mountain ranges. I will speak of the ethnological affinities of Central Asia and Ultrindia further on ; it is enough to say now that there is little doubt that a large portion of the population of the northern part of the peninsula is of Central Asian origin, just as a large part of the southern portion is of Malayan origin.

2. THE NAME AND CONSTITUENT PROVINCES.

And now as to the name. This great peninsula is composed of Barma on the west, Siam in the middle, and French Indo-China in the east, with the Malay States and Singapur in the extreme south. It is obvious that the name Indo-China is not appropriate to a country situated between India and China, and belonging to neither. Chryse the Golden and the Golden Chersonese are fanciful epithets and not names ; whereas ' Further India ' would appear to indicate that it was another India further east than the real India, but it is not India or Hindusthán in any sense, and the inhabitants are not Hindús ; I therefore venture to recommend to you the name of *Ultrindia*, or the countries beyond India, as a good working name for this great peninsula as a whole.

It is composed of the three great States—Barma, Siam, and Indo-China. In this lecture I have nothing to do with Barma and Siam, except in as far as they border on, and have political relations with, Indo-China ; and in the case of Siam, inasmuch as a great part, or nearly the whole, of the present French Indo-China was at one time under the rule of the Siamese, and has been annexed from time to time from that kingdom.

I shall afterwards give a short account of how and by whom the French conquests and annexations were made ; but in this geographical portion of my paper it is perhaps enough to say that Indo-China, as it now exists politically, is composed of five provinces :

1. *Tongking* in the north, next to China, and traversed by the Red River.

2. *Annam* along the eastern coast, from north to south, and wholly beyond or east of the great river Mekong, which traverses Indo-China from north to south.

3. Next to this on the west comes the great province of *Laos*, which stretches from the Chinese border in the north in lat. 23° to lat. 12° on the borders of Cambodia. Its western boundary is the great river Mekong throughout.

4. The fourth province is the ancient *Cambodia*, stretching from 14° N. to 10° N., and having the Siamese province of Battambang on the west. The river Mekong flows right through the middle of this province and of the remaining fifth province—

5. *Cochin China*, and empties itself into the sea south of Saigon in lat. 10° . Cochin China is the extreme southerly province which occupies the southern extremity of the great peninsula from lat. 12° N. to lat. 8° N., and includes all the mouths of the Mekong

To these five provinces must now be added, since 1896, a great slice of Siam, extending from the Mekong westwards as far as its tributaries extend to the west. At first the French contented themselves with Annam along the eastern coast ; then they gradually absorbed the whole of Cochin China and parts of Cambodia ; and they finally annexed all the Laotian districts—*i.e.*, those between Annam and the great river Mekong ; then they took a zone 25 kilometres wide to the west of the river, first making it neutral, and then annexing it ; but in the last arrangement, which has now been sanctioned by England (in 1896), the whole country west of the Mekong and covered by its tributaries has been made over to the protection of France (Doumer, p. 44) ; and the boundary-line now runs roughly down the 100th parallel of east longitude, from the great bend of the Mekong at Nong-Khay in lat. 18° to near Battambang in lat. 13°. The French have now, therefore, in their possession the whole of the peninsula east of the 100th parallel—about 270,000 square miles—(‘Ireland,’ p. 146) ; and the boundaries of their territory are : on the north, China ; on the east, the Chinese Sea ; on the west, a small extent of Barma and for the rest Siam ; and on the south, the Gulf of Siam and the Chinese Sea. The French took possession of Battambang and Chentában (the port on the Gulf of Siam), and held them till quite recently ; but an article by Dr. Morrison (the *Times* correspondent at Pekin) in the *Times* of May 19 states that Chentában has now been given up by the French to the Siamese. Battambang is now within the watershed of the Mekong, and does not, therefore, come within the agreement of 1896 with England.

3. THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION.

French Indo-China is governed, under the control of the French Colonial Office, by a Governor-General or Viceroy, who is usually appointed from those deputies or senators who have had colonial experience, or have distinguished themselves in debate on colonial subjects. The last but one was M. Paul Doumer, who is now President of the Deputies' Chamber, and who was in the running for the Presidency when M. Loubet resigned. M. Doumer has written a very large book on his government of Indo-China for five years, from 1897 till 1902, and I recommend those who wish to pursue the subject further to read his book, for though it is diffuse and might have been more systematic, yet it is a storehouse of facts ; and it is the first, and, as far as I know, the only authoritative, account of Indo-China which is in a moderate compass, for M. Pavie's great work, '*La Mission Pavie Indo-Chine*,' has already reached five volumes quarto, and is still unfinished, and I am afraid that a work of that size would daunt the courage of most of us.

The capital of French Indo-China is Saigon, which is in the east of Cochin China, and near the south-east extremity of the peninsula. The Governor-General generally lives in Saigon, and the headquarters and Government House are there ; but he also resides at Hanoi, in Tongking, on the Red River in the extreme north. Under the Governor-General are the provincial Governors who live at the headquarters of provinces ; Hanoi for Tongking ; Hué on the east coast for Annam ; Luang Prabang on the Mekong for Laos ; Pnom-penh at the junction of the Mekong and the great lake for Cambodia ; and Saigon for Cochin China.

Under these, again, are the *Préfets* of what we should call 'divisions' in India—*i.e.*, groups of four or five districts each; and finally the *Subpréfets* of districts. I may here remark that there is nothing more difficult in the study of this great country than to ascertain accurately the proper names of places and of people. In all cases they are in languages with which the ordinary Englishman is little likely to be acquainted, such as Laotian, Khmer or Cambodian, Chinese, and Siamese. Then we have acquired our knowledge of these names chiefly from French sources, and you will be well aware how strong is the tendency in French to corrupt and mutilate all proper names of places and of persons. It is only since McCarthy in the employ of the Siamese Government has surveyed so much of the peninsula from 1883 to 1900 that many of the names have acquired a fixed form and an intelligible spelling. The Anglo-Burmese Boundary Commission of 1889-1890; the Anglo-French Mekong Commission of 1894-1896; and the Barma-China Boundary Commission of 1898-1900, have all added greatly to our knowledge of places and boundaries in Indo-China; but even now the official French map of M. Pavie differs seriously from the maps given in M. Doumer's 'Indo-China' and in Hugh Clifford's 'Further India'; and in the latter the spelling in the text constantly differs from that of the map.

The population of Indo-China is about 20,000,000, divided into—

Cochin China	...	...	3,000,000*
Cambodia	...	...	1,000,000
Laos	...	...	1,000,000
Annam	...	...	7,000,000
Tongking	...	...	8,000,000†

* Norman says 2,000,000.

† See Doumer, p. 32.

According to M. Doumer, these populations are fairly well ascertained ; but, apart from making allowance for Oriental inaccuracy, it seems improbable that Laos and Cambodia, which are together more than double the size of Annam, should have only 2,000,000 against Annam's 7,000,000, particularly as Annam is extremely mountainous, while Laos is in the fertile valley of the great Mekong.

The present Indo-China is nearly conterminous with the old Empire of Annam when at the height of its prosperity. This empire included Tongking, Annam, and Cochin China ; and Cambodia was tributary to it, but Laos seems never to have been completely conquered by it. Most writers agree that the inhabitants of these provinces were to a large extent of Malay origin, especially in the south ; but in Laos there appears to be a different race, and in Tongking there are, of course, many Chinese. I can discover very little in M. Doumer's book on Indo-China about the native functionaries who work under the French officials, but in one place (p. 59) he says that the French have preserved the titles of the old Annamite officials, and that they are—

Huyen = Sous-Préfet ;

Phu = Préfet ;

Doc-fu-su = Deputy-Governor ; and

Tong-doc = Governor ;

but he adds that there are really no Annamite Tong-docs, or Governors, now, as the French have absorbed all these posts for themselves, and the titles are merely honorific.

Before I leave the subject of the administration, I may say a word as to the French view of their persistent expansion eastwards at the expense of Siam. They say

that they have succeeded to the old Annamite Empire, which, as we have seen, included all the eastern provinces, including Cambodia and, to a partial extent, Laos, so that as long as the French restricted their claims to the country east of the Mekong they had some justification for their action ; but when they extended them to the 25-kilometre zone west of the Mekong, and then to the whole valley west of the Mekong, right up to its watershed with the Menam, it is difficult to see any moral right in the matter ; and they have now, I believe, occupied the purely Siamese districts of Battambang and Chentában, for which there is no excuse, as they promised to give them up if the valley of the Mekong was ceded to them, but the *Times* of May 19 says Chentában has been given up again. Of course, we have no right to throw stones, for we have taken the whole of Barma by no better right, and we have even encroached on Siamese territory in the Malayan Peninsula, but I believe we have never annexed any portion of Siam proper. Our Barmese borders march with Siam for 900 miles, and with Laos for 100 miles, or altogether 1,000 miles ; but we have as yet had no serious disputes with either France or Siam about our boundaries in these regions ; indeed, we surrendered to France portions of the Shan States on the Laotian border which we might very well have kept for ourselves, and I am not sure that we shall not some day regret having done so.

4. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

From the southern face of the Continent of Asia there project three great subcontinental peninsulas : beginning from the west, they are, first, Arabia, then India, and lastly Ultrindia. The Indian and Ultrindian

peninsulas are connected in the extreme north, where Bengal and Assam join on to Upper Barma. To the North of Assam and of Upper Barma the eastern extensions of the great chain of the Himalayas form stupendous mountain barriers between them and Tibet and China ; and still further east, in the Chinese province of Yunnan, great spurs of the Himalayas stretch away southward till they divide Upper Barma from the Laos States, and, being continued in smaller ranges still further south, they divide Barma from Siam, and stretch right down the whole length of the Malay Peninsula. In the east of Yunnan they stretch down into Tongking, and then, forming the eastern edge of the peninsula, constitute the range of mountains which traverse Annam from north to south and form the backbone of Indo-China. Between the range on the west, which goes down to the Malay States, and the range on the east, which traverses Annam, lie the fertile valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, which form the countries of Laos, Siam, and Cambodia.

It is these great ranges and the southern spurs of the Himalayas which determine the course of all the great rivers of this peninsula, for all of them, except the Menam, rise in the Yunnan Mountains, which are prolongations of the Himalayan range. Taking them from west to east, the Irawádi, the Salwín, and the Mekong all rise in the north of Yunnan, not far from one another. The Irawádi flows down through Upper and Lower Barma to Rangoon, and discharges itself into the Gulf of Martaban ; the Salwín flows through Yunnan, Upper and Lower Barma, to Maulmain, and also discharges itself into the Gulf of Martaban, not far east of the Irawádi. The great Mekong, the mightiest of them all, rises far away in the north of Yunnan, traverses the

whole width of that province, and then divides Upper Barma from Laos, and Siam from Laos, and Annam from Cambodia, and passing through the centre of Cambodia and Cochin China, it debouches by many mouths into the South China Sea. It is roughly 1,800 miles long from Yunnan to Cochin China. It forms the great waterway through Indo-China, dividing Laos from Cambodia and Siam. It is really navigable only for 300 miles, up to Stung-treng, in Cambodia, where there are formidable rapids; but French gunboats have pushed on past the rapids nearly up to the great bend in lat. 18°, where the Mekong turns south after a long easterly course.

I need not deal in detail with any of the other great rivers, as they flow through Barma and Siam, and do not affect French Indo-China; but one other river which flows throughout the whole length of Tongking must be mentioned—viz., the Red River, which has become famous as the scene of many of the fights between the French and the Chinese and Tongkingese. This river rises in the Yunnan Mountains, west of Yunnan city, and flows down to the borders of Tongking south-easterly at Lao-kai; thence it flows south-east throughout Tongking, and, passing the capital, Hanoi, it empties itself into the Gulf of Tongking.

I must not weary you with further details of the physical geography of this great and little-known country; but, before concluding this section of my subject, I may perhaps draw your attention to the general construction of the whole country, and to the wonderful way in which it is extending its whole area. It begins at its highest on the borders of Yunnan, in China, and slopes gradually downwards, as is shown by the course throughout it of the great river Mekong, to

the South China Sea and the Gulf of Siam, and in the north it slopes eastwards to the Gulf of Tongking. The consequence is that the Mekong, with all its innumerable tributaries, the Menam in Siam, and the Red River in Tongking, all bear down to the sea immense quantities of silt, which is derived from the higher ground, and is constantly deposited in the sea, near the embouchures of these three rivers. The land is therefore ever encroaching on the sea, and nearly all of Cambodia and Cochin China must have been formed in modern times, geologically speaking, while a great part of their southern borders have been created within human, if not within historical, periods.

There is in Cambodia a great lake, the Tonle-Sap, which is at present 120 miles from the sea, and which communicates with the Mekong near its mouth. This great lake in the rainy season covers hundreds of square miles, and occupies a considerable part of Cambodia, and there is every reason to believe, from the physical geography of the region and from the great ruins of Angkor Wat, which are situated near the lake, and which I will describe later, that this lake was at one time quite close to the sea, and that, at an earlier time still, the sea extended up to the mountains which are 100 miles north of it.

The immense deposit of silt and the gradual encroachment of the land are further proved by the persistent and constant silting up of the Gulf of Siam; it is shallow everywhere, and the northern part has got much shallower within historic times. It is possible, therefore, to look forward to a time, no doubt historically remote, but still geologically not far distant, when the Gulf of Siam will be completely silted up—in its northern part, at least—and when the Malay Peninsula

will be joined on to the west coast of Cambodia by dry land of the deltaic aspect, which we now see in Cochin China and in the south of Siam.

5. THE RAILWAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS.

As you will easily imagine, all the railways in Indo-China date from a period subsequent to the French conquest, and they are not as yet numerous or very extensive. They all start from one of the three capitals, Hanoi in Tongking, Hué in Annam, and Saigon in Cochin China. There are no railways as yet in the provinces of Cambodia and Laos. There is a projected railway from Bangkok, the capital of Siam, to Hué, the capital of Annam, right across the peninsula in about the 15th degree of latitude. The first portion of the railway, as far as Korat, will be Siamese ; and is, I believe, already constructed ; but the portion from the Siamese border to Hué is not yet made, and will be a work of years ; as it traverses part of what was Siam, and the whole width of Laos and Annam, besides crossing the great Mekong where it is a mighty river.

Beginning in the south, the railways in Cochin China are a short line from Saigon south-west to Maitho, on one of the mouths of the Mekong—this is about 50 miles long. The other railway runs north-east from Saigon, and is constructed with some gaps up to Hué, the capital of Annam. From that place there is another gap of 200 miles, and then it is complete into Hanoi, the capital of Tongking. From Hanoi there is a railway for nearly 200 miles up to the Chinese frontier at Lao-kai ; this is intended to be prolonged up to Yunnan city, the capital of Yunnan ; and, if feasible, on to the Yang-tse, the great river of China. The French have found the

Red River, which runs parallel to this railway, entirely unfit for navigation, and they have therefore devoted all their efforts to creating railway communication with Yunnan, and so drawing off the trade of South-West China into Tongking instead of into Barma ; but from what Mr. Colquhoun says of the greater fertility of Western Yunnan, it seems probable that the greater part of the Chinese trade will always go westward, either via Bhamo and Momein, or by Mr. Colquhoun's route through the Shan States further south. At this last point China is nearer to the sea than anywhere else in the south-west, and it is quite possible that the route parallel with the Salwín River, and coming out at Martaban or Maulmain, will be *the* trade route of the future. The south-west corner of Yunnan is as near to Akyab as it is to Maulmain, and it might be expected that trade would go to Akyab ; but in this mountainous country the trade routes are bound to go north and south parallel to the rivers, and not east and west across the valleys and at right angles to the rivers, as commercial intercourse is practically impossible in this direction. From a telegram that has been recently sent from M. Beau, the present Governor-General of Indo-China, it appears that he expects that the railway from the north frontier at Lao-kai towards Yunnan city will be finished to Mengtse, about half-way to Yunnan, in three years' time ; so we have still time to begin our railway from the south, and to penetrate Yunnan through the Shan States.

Besides railways, the only other communications in Indo-China are the two great rivers, the Mekong and the Red River, whose courses I have already described ; both of them are full of rapids and obstructions, and really only afford navigation for boats and small vessels

except for a certain distance from their mouths. Large vessels come up the Mekong to Stung-treng, and up the Red River to Hanoi ; but beyond these points navigation is practically confined to boats, though I am informed by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Barma that the French now have gunboats in the Upper Mekong, near Luang Prabang.

There is one other route of commerce which must be mentioned—viz., the great lake of Tonle-Sap, and the River Mesap, which joins it to the Mekong. The lake itself is about 120 miles long in the dry season and from 5 to 20 miles broad, and in the wet season it expands into a veritable sea, stretching from Sisophon in Siam to Pnom-penh, the capital of Cambodia, or 250 miles long and 70 miles wide from Angkor Thôm to Pursat. This river and lake give communication between all places on their banks and all those on the Mekong, and afford a trade route between Siam on the west and Cambodia and Cochin China on the east. As regards the trade of Indo-China, I shall not weary you with statistics, but a few facts show the immense costliness of the colony to the French nation. It cost the French £600,000 to build the railway from Saigon to Maitho on the River Mekong, which is under 50 miles, or £12,000 a mile (Candler, p. 161), and yet it has never been of any real use to trade. It is reckoned that the French have spent £19,000,000 in order to dispose of £2,500,000 worth of products ; and Mr. H. Norman, M.P. ('Far East,' p. 133), reckoned that Tongking had cost the French taxpayer £4,881 a day, *for every day he has had it*. Everything is subsidized—the chief towns, the steamers, the papers, the opera, the hotels, the merchants, and everyone ; and the cost of this may be imagined. Of course, protection is the rule everywhere

in a French colony, and heavy duties are levied on all articles imported, which restricts trade, and which has prevented even the French themselves from having anything but a small share—about a quarter—in the total imports (Ireland, p. 150).

The total area of Indo-China is 200,000 square miles, or rather was before the annexation of Eastern Siam. It must be now at least 250,000 square miles, if this latter be considered as finally annexed to France. Mr. Ireland states it at 270,000 square miles (p. 155). Up to 1896 Indo-China cost France about £33,000,000 ; in 1897 M. Paul Doumer began his financial reforms, and by 1902 he had made the receipts and expenditure balance, and from 1902 to 1906 Indo-China has repaid to France about £2,000,000 as military expenses. How M. Doumer managed to effect this miraculous change I cannot say ; for he seems to have been spending freely on public works, etc., all the time ; and, having had some experience of Oriental accounts, I must confess that some doubts of the exactitude of the recent Indo-Chinese budgets have crossed my mind. These doubts are confirmed by the opinion of one of the most competent of Frenchmen, M. Leroy Beaulien, who says, 'Our colonial official statistical documents incessantly contradict one another' (quoted by H. Norman, p. 127).

PART II

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY

6. EXPLORATION BEFORE THE FRENCH CONQUEST AND EARLY HISTORY.

FROM the dark and distant ages, from the dim and obscure twilight of primeval times, a faint glimmer of light here and there reaches us in which we see the peoples of what we now call Asia and Europe existing as nomad tribes, scattered over the sparse and infrequent oases of semi-cultivation, which were interspersed at rare intervals among the deserts, the swamps, and the forests of the age, when man was but little more than one of the races of animals which roamed o'er the face of the earth. Distances which are now traversable in days were then immeasurable both in time and in hardship, and presented the most formidable obstacles to intercourse between tribes who were even a few hundred miles apart. In all the vast extent of space from the Arctic regions to the Black Sea there could have been but little intercourse between Asia and Europe. Any intercourse which did exist was confined to Caucasia, the southern shores of the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and Syria. To these countries, for unnumbered ages, all the commerce which took place between east and west was restricted. The earliest empires of which we know anything grew up in that south-western corner

of Asia which we now call Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria, and it was not till a few centuries before Christ that the Greek races formed States which exercised any influence in Asia.

The first influence of Europe on Asia of which we have any detailed records was that of Alexander of Macedon; the first influence of Asia on Europe was that which filtered through Asia Minor to the western coast, and gave to Ionia and the islands of the Levant that Oriental tinge which has characterized them for many centuries.

Of all the nations and countries of Asia there is not one which took longer in becoming known to the European peoples, and which was more completely left undescribed, than Ultrindia. Right up to the middle of the nineteenth century only the coasts of the Ultrindian peninsula were known, and it was not until Henri Mouhot, François Garnier, and Auguste Pavie made their adventurous journeys up the great Mekong River, and throughout the provinces of Laos and Tongking, that we really knew anything of the interior of Indo-China. Far away, even in the centuries before Christ, vague rumours of a land beyond India which was yet not China grew and spread, but no certain knowledge was attained; and so late as Pomponius Mela, in 43 A.D., the earliest definite mention occurs of two headlands beyond the mouths of the Ganges; but he seems to have thought that the continent of Asia ended here, and that there was nothing beyond these Capes.

About 70 A.D. the author of the 'Periplus of the Red Sea' (one of the first contributions to geography) visited nothing further east than the Malabar coast in India, and thought that Chryse was an island.

The next distinct mention is by Ptolemy, about

A.D. 130. Ptolemy describes, and enters in his map, a large peninsula, jutting out south from the continent of Asia, and situated east of the mouths of the Ganges ; and he is, therefore, the first who defines Ultrindia in any way, and even he is quite wrong as to the shape of it. During these first centuries after Christ it was called Chersonesos Aurea, and was believed to be the land from which Solomon obtained his gold. M. Pavie still supports this view, but it is extremely improbable. After Ptolemy there is a long interval till Cosmas, the monk, in about 550 A.D., describes the sea-route to China, and dwelt on the necessity of turning north after getting round Ultrindia. He was the first to get rid of the idea of a great southern continent south-east of Ultrindia.

After this the Muhammadan traders and adventurers appear on the scene, and in 850 and 920 A.D. there are books describing the sea-route to China by Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, and Canton, but they are of the roughest description, and give no details about Ultrindia (Clifford, p. 20). Ibn Batuta returned from his travels about 1347, but he tells us nothing about Ultrindia.

About 1300 A.D. Marco Polo returned, probably from Amoy, to the Persian Gulf by the Straits of Malacca, but he does not describe Ultrindia or seem to know anything about it, though he proves that the sea-route to China was well known and much travelled by that time. Friar Odoric, who lived from 1286 to 1331, travelled through Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, but adds little to our knowledge. For more than two centuries after this we have no further travels in South-East Asia ; and it was not till 1500, after Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape and brought the Portuguese into

Eastern Asia, that we begin again to hear of the lands east of India.

The Hindus and Muhammadans, who had in their turns converted many, if not most, of the natives of the country south-east of India, never attempted *conquests*; but the Portuguese began at once to acquire territory, and the first expedition was to Malacca in 1508, under Lopez de Siqueira. In 1511 the great Dalboquerque himself sailed against Malacca, and after a siege took it; and though it passed to the Dutch and then to the English, it never returned to the native power after that, and was thus the first *permanent* European settlement in the Ultrindian peninsula. Dalboquerque sent one Fernandez as an ambassador to Siam, and that was the first European intercourse with that kingdom. Before leaving for India in 1512, he sent Dabren to Borneo, Celebes, and other islands, and this was the beginning of the Portuguese dominion further east than Malacca. Dalboquerque died in 1515, and by that time the Portuguese had made good their hold of Malaya and the islands.

In 1526 the Portuguese annexed the Moluccas (Geram, Amboyna, etc., on the equator just west of New Guinea), and the Spaniards began to appear in the east, though they were hampered by the decree of the Pope giving the east to Portugal and the west to Spain; but the defeat of the Armada opened the way in 1588 to the English and the Dutch, and they now appeared upon the scene from about 1600 (Clifford, p. 81).

Still, the Portuguese maintained their superiority for some years, and it was not till almost 1630 that their power declined; and first the Dutch and then the English obtained the supremacy. The first Englishman to reach Barma was Robert Fitch, in 1586, but before

this, in 1548, the Portuguese had helped the King of Pegu against Siam, and he flourished till 1600, when his kingdom was conquered by the people of Arakan and Tunghú. In 1613 the King of Ava obtained the ascendancy over all Barma, and this lasted down to our own conquests in 1852 and 1885.

There was a colony of Portuguese in Siam from 1540 to 1636, and the first exploration of the coasts of Indo-China was made by them in 1540-1541, under F. Mendez Pinto. He touched at Pulo Kondor, an island off Cape Cambodia, the south-east cape of Indo-China, and then at one of the mouths of the River Mekong ; thence he sailed up the coast of Annam, and crossed to the island of Hainan, and then visited Tongking. This is the first European exploration of Indo-China, and was made while the Portuguese were still supreme in the East. The Portuguese then settled in Cambodia as they did in Siam, and they discovered the great lake Tonle-Sap and the ruins of Angkor Wat about 1570. About 1580 the Frenchman Louvet visited the delta of the Mekong, and was the first of his race to set foot in Indo-China.

The first Englishman to arrive in Ultrindia, and to dispute the mastery of the Portuguese was James Lancaster,* who afterwards commanded the first British East India Company's fleet. He reached Sumatra and Penang in 1592, and there captured several Portuguese ships. He was forced to return to Ceylon and thence to England by sickness among his crews. In 1596 the first Dutch East India Company's fleet reached Sumatra and Java, and traded at Batavia. On December 31, 1599, the British East India Company's charter was

* He was knighted by Elizabeth afterwards (Knight's 'Dictionary of Biography').

granted, and the first English fleet sailed for the Far East on February 16, 1600. Lancaster, who was in command, reached Sumatra in June, 1600, and traded there with Achin, and took some rich Portuguese prizes. He left a factor and eight men at Bantam, and this was the beginning of the East India Company's *trade in the East*.

In 1605 the Dutch took the Molucca Islands of Amboyna and Tidor from the Portuguese, and in 1641 they took Malacca and became the leading European nation in Malaya and the islands. In 1682 the Dutch drove the English out of Java, but they remained in Sumatra, and in 1795 the English took Malacca and retained it after the Treaty of Vienna in 1824, exchanging it for Bencoolen, in Sumatra. They thus became established on the Ultrindian peninsula. In 1786 the English leased Penang, and in 1798 they purchased the province Wellesley. In 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles obtained the cession of Singapur from the Sultan of Johor. In 1871 we ceded our rights in Sumatra to the Dutch in return for their abandonment of all rights in Malaya, and in 1874 we extended our protection over all the native States of the Malay Peninsula, south of the Siamese border, and thus became possessed of all the southern part of Ultrindia.

I may say a few words about Siam, as much of it is now Indo-China. In 1634 a Dutch post was established in Siam, and trade went on for many years till in 1740 the Dutch finally withdrew. About 1650 the Greek, Falcon, who had established himself at Bangkok, entered the service of the Siamese Government, and in 1665 became Prime Minister ; but after introducing the Jesuits, he was murdered with them some years later.

In 1821 John Crawford was sent by the English on

an embassy to Bangkok and to Hué, in Annam, and this seems to have been our first intercourse with Indo-China. Even then he found a Frenchman established at Saigon, a M. Diard, and French influence was already predominant at the Court of Annam at Hué, although the French did not attempt to acquire territory till 1858. Both the Dutch and the East India Companies established factories in Indo-China soon after 1600, and in 1616 the English had a factory at Pulo Kondor, but it was abandoned soon afterwards. In 1635 the Dutch East India Company founded a factory in Cochin China, and began the first exploration of the Mekong. In 1641 the Governors sent a factor up the Mekong to Vien Chan, but the Dutch soon after abandoned their settlements in Cochin China. After the Dutch left, the Portuguese remained in Cochin China, and exercised a good deal of influence till, in about 1700, they were all murdered, and the Portuguese never returned. French influence increased, and in about 1770 the Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine built a church at Saigon, and in 1787 took the King's son to Paris, and a treaty with France was made. It was on this treaty that the French afterwards based their rights to Cochin China, though they did nothing at the time, and the country was not ceded to them. Many Frenchmen returned with Béhaine to Cochin China, and they helped the King to conquer Annam and Tongking. Béhaine died in 1789, but the King retained all three kingdoms for twenty years, and encouraged the settlement of Frenchmen till his death in 1820. In 1824 his successor persecuted and expelled the French, and in 1851 a second massacre of missionaries took place. In 1857 Bishop Diaz was murdered, and Cochin China was invaded, and finally, in 1860, it was ceded to France, and the modern history of Indo-China commenced.

In 1859 a French protectorate was established over Cambodia, and a few years later a rebellion broke out, and the King Norodon was re-established on the throne by French arms, since which time Cambodia has been really a French province.

To turn to Tongking, the last of the present French provinces. A Dutch factory existed there from 1637 to 1700, but was then abandoned. Tongking was conquered by the Empire of Annam in 1788, and remained a part of that Empire till after Dupuis' exploration of the Red River, which led to the French interfering, and it was annexed after a long struggle lasting from 1874 to 1888.

We have now traced, in brief, the earlier history of all the States of the Ultrindian peninsula, and I now wish to give you some account of the explorations of the three great Frenchmen, Mouhot, Garnier, and Pavie, which really led to the annexation by France of all Indo-China and of the eastern portion of Siam, which had never belonged to the Empire of Annam.

7. FRENCH EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST—MOUHOT— GARNIER—PAVIE.

HENRI MOUHOT'S is the most pathetic story of the three, for Garnier died fighting bravely in Tongking, and Pavie survived to write his great book and to compile the map which you see before you, while Mouhot died of fever all alone at Luang Prabang, the capital of Laos, with no friends near him except the faithful servants, who preserved all his property and sent his journals and specimens to Bangkok, whence Dr. Campbell forwarded them to Jersey to his family.

Mouhot was born in France in 1826, and was first a

teacher in Russia and France, and then took to photography as a livelihood and natural science as a hobby (Mouhot, p. 20). On the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 he returned to France, and travelled with his brother in Germany, Italy, and Holland, always photographing. In 1856, having married an English-woman, he settled in Jersey as a professor ; but a book on Siam excited his desire to explore, and he left England on April 27, 1858, and arrived in Bangkok on September 12. He first went up to Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam, and into the mountains beyond, but he had to return, and then started to explore Cambodia and Cochin China. He went down the coast to Chentában and all through the islands to Kamput ; thence he travelled up country to Pnom-penh, the capital of Cambodia. He sailed through the whole length of the great lake Tonle-Sap, and visited the great temples at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thôm, which will be described later on ; he then proceeded north of Battambang and through the mountains to Bangkok. From Pnom-penh he had visited the savage Stien tribes to the east, and lived among them for some time on the borders of Annam.

After resting for a time at Bangkok, he started for Laos and the north-central part of Indo-China. He went by Mount Phrabat and Korat (where the railway now ends), and turning due north he traversed utterly unknown and unexplored country, right through the heart of Laos, up to Paklai, on the River Mekong. Thence he went up the river to Luang Prabang, the capital, and there died of fever, although he had never suffered from it in all the marshy countries of the south. He died on November 10, 1861, and in three short years he had explored the whole of Cambodia and Laos and a great part of Cochin China and Siam. He was an

enthusiastic naturalist, and made great collections of birds, insects, and shells. He died just when he might have hoped to succeed in getting through to Tongking, and so to complete the circle of his exploration (Mouhot, p. 25).

The last three entries in his diary are : ‘ October 18. — Halted at H — — ’ ; ‘ October 19. — Attacked by fever ; ’ ‘ October 29. — Have pity on me, O my God . . . ’ and then silence. His servants buried him in European fashion, and carried all his property to Bangkok. His journals were preserved and published in 1864.

FRANÇOIS GARNIER was a very different type of man. Mouhot was a scholar, professor, and naturalist, exploring only in order to obtain his beloved specimens ; but Garnier was the fiery and ambitious explorer, administrator, and soldier, who explored in order to find new countries for his beloved France to annex, and that he might rise higher in her service himself. Garnier was born in 1839, and was a naval officer. He began with the most violent hatred of England, and in youth laid plans for its total destruction through a league of young men, which, of course, came to nothing. Later in life, when he visited India, he changed his views completely, and praised our administration enthusiastically. He proved the truth of his conversion by marrying an English wife.

Garnier went out to China in 1860. Saigon had been captured in 1859, and when the war with China was over Garnier arrived in Saigon with Admiral Charnier in February, 1861. Charnier raised the siege of Saigon, and took Maitho, and by October all Cochin China was subdued.

Garnier returned to France, but in June, 1863, he went back to Cochin China, was appointed an Inspector of Native Affairs, and was made District Officer of

Saigon. Here he first definitely planned his explorations, and became fired with the possibilities of the great Mekong. He urged them strenuously, and at last, in June, 1866, an expedition was sanctioned, but he, at twenty-seven, was thought too junior to command it, and Captain Doudart de la Grée, a post-captain, was appointed the leader. Garnier was second in command, and was the geographer and surveyor. Four other French officers accompanied the expedition, and they started in June, 1866. They went up the Mekong to Pnom-penh, and up the great lake Tonle-Sap. They landed and visited the famous ruins of Angkor Wat, and went on to Siam-Rep.

In July the De la Grée expedition began its ascent of the Mekong. On the 9th they had to abandon their gunboats. They soon reached the rapids of Sombor, and Garnier saw that his hopes of the Mekong being navigable right up to China were quite untenable. On July 21 they reached Stung-treng, and thence ascended the Mekong by degrees, exploring the streams which fell into it. By September 11 they reached Bassak, on the borders of Siam, and here they remained till Christmas; but Garnier made an excursion back to Stung-treng, and found the whole country south of that in rebellion. The trade from the Mekong only goes south to the delta, and Saigon from as far up as Bassak. North of that it goes west through Korat to Bangkok.

While the main expedition halted at Ubon, Garnier made his famous exploration south by Sankea to Angkor Wat, and he arrived at Siam-Reap on January 29, 1867, and at Pnom-penh a week later. He got his mails and instruments, and returned to Ubon on February 26, and to Uten on March 10, whither the expedition had proceeded from Ubon. He explored 1,000 miles, twice

passed through the rebel lines, fixed many landmarks, and proved himself an explorer of the first rank.

On March 24 they reached Nong-kai. The ancient capital of Laos, Vien-chan, was near this ; it was taken and destroyed by the Siamese in 1820.

The expedition followed the great bend of the Mekong westwards, and reached Paklai in April, 1867, thus crossing Mouhot's route. On April 29 they arrived at Luang Prabang, the capital of Laos. There they found the grave of Henri Mouhot, and erected a monument over it. In 1836 General McLeod had penetrated to the Mekong by Zimme and Kiang-tung, in lat. 21°, and he reached a point higher up the Mekong than Garnier did, as the latter had to turn off to the east. McLeod tried to penetrate to Yunnan, but failed, and returned through the Shan States to Maulmain ; he was, however, the first European to visit the Upper Mekong.

Garnier and his companions then went on up the course of the Mekong. They spent all July, August, and September pushing slowly up the river, and crossed the border into Chinese territory. There, on October 8, they left the Mekong finally, to their great regret. At last, after eighteen months of the most arduous exertion, and exposed to perils of all kinds, they reached the first Chinese city of Szemao in Yunnan, and, as Garnier himself says, they were the first Europeans ever to enter China from the south and from Indo-China. They reached Yunnan city in December, and were well treated there. The Governor gave them 5,000 francs, but refused to allow them to proceed to Talifu, as they wished to do, in order to trace the Mekong to its source. They left Yunnan on January 8, 1868, and almost at once De la Grée fell ill of fever, and sent off Garnier to try to reach Talifu. Garnier crossed the southern

branch of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and in March he entered Talifu ; but the Governor ordered him back at once, and he left in two days. Talifu was the capital of the Muhammadan rebels, who were then supreme in North Yunnan.

In April he got a letter informing him of the death of De la Grée, who had died on March 12. On April 5 he disinterred De la Grée's body, and carried it with him northwards till he reached Su-chau on the Yang-tse, and thence took boat down it to Hankau on May 27. Thus ended one of the most adventurous explorations which has ever been made, and the first which not only traversed Indo-China from south to north, but penetrated Yunnan right up to the Yang-tse, and returned by that river to Shanghai. They reached Saigon on June 28, after two years and one month's absence. The greater part of the credit is due to Garnier—the idea was his, and he did nearly all the mapping and surveying, besides being alone in the dangerous expedition to Talifu ; but De la Grée's tact and conciliatory ways smoothed the path of the mission. Garnier returned to Europe, and wrote an elaborate account of his mission, which was published just before his death. He then went back to Tongking, and the next we hear of him is that he died fighting bravely at Hanoi which he had seized. Garnier was sent to Hanoi, in November to arrange the disputes of Dupuis, a French trader and adventurer, with the mandarins. Dupuis had crossed Yunnan from the Yang-tse to Tongking, and was trying to carry back a cargo of salt to Yunnan city ; the mandarins refused to allow Dupuis to proceed. Garnier declared the Red River open to all, and war was declared. Garnier seized the citadel of Hanoi on November 20, and gradually got possession of all Lower Tongking, but the Tongkingese

called in the help of the Black Flags from China, and Garnier was killed in a sortie from Hanoi on December 21, 1873.

I now come to the third of our great explorers, AUGUSTE PAVIE; and afterwards I must say a word about Prince Henri d'Orléans, who was the first man to cross from Yunnan into Annam. Pavie began in the Siamese service and surveyed the telegraph line from Bangkok to Battambang. At the end of 1885 Pavie proceeded to Luang Prabang, the capital of Laos; in 1887 he made a journey from there into Tongking, and in 1888 was joined by two Frenchmen, Captain Cupet and Lieutenant Nicolin. In 1888-1889 Cupet surveyed the whole country south and east of the Mekong, right down to Cambodia, and across the Mekong to the Menam. In 1893 he was appointed to edit M. Pavie's great map, which is before you. Captain de Malglaive, M. Harmand, and Captain Rivière all worked at surveys of Laos and Tongking under or with Pavie from 1888 to 1894, and their labours formed the groundwork of M. Pavie's great work, '*Mission Pavie Indo-Chine*,' in five volumes quarto (1902), and of the large scale map of Indo-China, which you see before you, and which is a monument of industry.

PRINCE HENRI D'ORLÉANS, after exploring a great part of Central Asia and Tibet, started in January, 1895, to cross from Tongking through Yunnan to Assam. He went up the Red River to Lao-kai, the frontier town; he then crossed the frontier to Manhao, and kept along the Red River through Yunnan to Isa, where he turned west to the city of Szemao, and reached the Mekong River at Dayaken. He ascended the Mekong to Chuning city, and thence diverged to the city of Talifu. He then returned to the Mekong, and went straight up

it to lat. 28° at Tse-kon, on the borders of Tibet. There he turned west, crossed the Salwín, the other great river, and then the Irawādi River, and, passing through the Khámti tribes, he reached the Mishmi country, and was rescued by friendly natives when at the last stage of exhaustion and distress. He finally reached the Assam station of Sadiya, where he was welcomed by the English in December, and he then descended the Bramaputra to Calcutta ('Tonkin to India,' p. 351).

8. THE KHMERS AND THEIR MONUMENTS, ANGKOR WAT AND ANGKOR THÔM.

In the depth of Cambodia, near the great lake Tonle-Sap, are the immense and wonderful ruins of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thôm. The first account of these which I saw was in Mr. E. Candler's 'Vagabond in Asia,' and I was astounded at his description of these magnificent ruins. Dr. J. Macgregor also gives an account of his visit to them in his book 'Through the Buffer States,' and gives the same descriptions of miles of stately edifices covered with carvings of the most delicate and elaborate description, and retaining to a great extent their beauty and strength, although they are sunk in tropical forests, overgrown, deserted and abandoned of man. Accounts of these ruins are also given in Hugh Clifford's 'Further India,' and in Paul Doumer's 'L'Indo-Chine Française'; and they have also been described in J. Thomson's 'Antiquities of Cambodia' and in Frank Vincent's 'Land of the White Elephant.' I may also refer you to Henri Mouhot's 'Travels,'* as he was the first European to describe them in modern times, although the Portuguese knew them so long ago as 1564. In all these works you will find the

* 'Travels in Indo-China,' p. 278.

same expressions of astonishment and wonder at the discovery of these immense and splendid ruins, far from any great city or river, abandoned but not destroyed, covered with the most elaborate ornamentation, and still resisting in their solid strength the attacks of time and the encroachments of the forests and jungles with which they are surrounded. It is impossible for me at this late hour to give you any but the most cursory details of these magnificent ruins ; but I refer you to the books I have just quoted above, and particularly to the illustrations given by Thomson, Clifford, Fournereau, and Vincent. Mouhot says that these ruins have not their equal anywhere on the earth. Candler says, ‘ My wildest dreams of Angkor Wat were more than realized. I will not attempt to describe what I saw—it would not be believed.’

Angkor Wat is an immense building, designed as a temple and monastery, and is three miles in circumference within the ditches ; Angkor Thôm is a ruined city ; and besides these two there are scattered about in Cambodia, Laos, and Siam, temples and ruins which indicate a high state of civilization at the time they were constructed. What this civilization was we know not ; whence it came, how it progressed, and how it fell into decay are secrets which history will, perhaps, never divulge.

The people are called Khmers or Kumers ; but we really know hardly anything about them. Of their history only this much is known, that they inhabited Cambodia and the valley of Mekong from a very early time ; and that they must have reached a very high state of civilization and organization in the early centuries after Christ. The city of Angkor Thôm is supposed to have existed before the Christian era, and

the temples of Angkor Wat were certainly finished by the fifth or sixth century. From the main gateway to the main entrance of the temple is 1,000 feet, and the main building is 796 feet long and 588 feet broad ; the central pagoda is 250 feet high, and it is calculated that there are more than 100,000 separate sculptured figures on the outer walls of the temple. The whole of the stone was brought from 30 miles away, and some of the blocks weigh 8 tons. Almost every stone is carved, some with Hindu and some with Buddhist figures. Angkor Thôm, the ruined city, covers 24 square miles. The two Angkors are first mentioned in 1296 by a Chinese emissary sent to Cambodia in the time of the great Kublai Khan ; and the first mention of them by Europeans is in 1570.

The Chinese visit shows that the Khmer Empire was already decaying about A.D. 1300 ; for it was partially subject to China. Nothing is known of why the city and temples were abandoned as they were by 1550, but it is conjectured that earthquake and not pestilence was the cause. The Khmers were probably of Hindu origin, and not Mongolian, and their empire is supposed to have lasted from about A.D. 200 to 1500 ; but nothing is really known.

I had hoped to say a few words about the relations of France with Siam, of their long contest and its results ; and also to speak of the positions of France and England in Ultrindia, and of the possibilities of the future ; but time does not permit, and I must conclude.

Those of us who have served in tropical countries, and know the difficulties and drawbacks of administration and control in tropical lands and with tropical peoples, will be the first to sympathize with our French

friends—may I say allies?—in the splendid efforts which they have made during the last ten years to introduce order and civilization among peoples accustomed for centuries to live amid rapine and violence, and to wish them every success in their gallant endeavours, which have already cost them the lives of so many of the best and bravest of their explorers and officials.

I have tried, ladies and gentlemen, to describe to you the divisions of this great country, and to sketch its physical geography—its political administration and its communications. I have endeavoured to give you a short account of its history and exploration up to modern times, and then of the devoted and successful efforts of the French explorers ; and lastly, I have tried to bring to your notice the wonderful relics of the Khmer civilization of which we know so little, and of which we should wish to know so much. The study of this great country—its history and physical characters and geography—grows on one as one learns more ; and if I shall have induced even two or three of you to study some of the many able works which have appeared on this subject, and to feel a deeper interest in Ultrindia than you have hitherto felt, I shall have been amply rewarded for what has been to me a labour of love.

DISCUSSION

SIR THOMAS HOLDICH : I think I shall only be expressing the opinion of the meeting generally if I say I am very sorry Dr. Tupp has brought his paper to a conclusion so soon. We could have listened with very great interest to a good deal more of it, especially as regards the relationships between France and England in respect to the Far Eastern country of which he has spoken. I regret that I have no practical acquaintance with that part of the world myself. It would have been to me an unending joy to see such ruins as those we have heard described. I cannot help thinking that they must to a certain extent surpass those marvellous ruins in the central forests of Ceylon at Anuradhapura ; and it seems pretty certain, from the account the lecturer has given us, that they are chiefly of Hindu, and not Buddhist origin.

SIR FREDERIC FRYER, in responding to an invitation from the President to speak, said : When I was in Burma we had a good deal of correspondence with the French on the subject of boundary demarcation. At one time it was intended to form a buffer State between Indo-China and Burma, and a Commission was actually appointed for the purpose of delimiting the boundaries of the proposed buffer State, but finally the idea was abandoned as impracticable. The only possession which Burma had on the eastern side of the Mekong was the Shan State of Möngsin. This was claimed by the French, but there was no particular justification for the claim so far as we could discover, and it was decided to occupy Möngsin with troops. Accordingly we sent a wing of a Goorka regiment there, and they remained for three or four years. Then came the treaty of 1896 with France, under which the Mekong was made the boundary between the British and the French spheres. Thus Möngsin was ceded to France and our troops marched out. I believe that the Sawbwa of Möngsin was much delighted when this happened,

because he thought he would have more independence and exercise greater authority under the suzerainty of the French than of the English. But he very soon had occasion to change his mind, and he would have been very much delighted if Burma would have taken him back again, but of course that was impossible. We never had any serious disputes with Siam on boundary questions. About 1892 we sent an expedition to occupy the Eastern Karenni country, whose inhabitants had revolted against King Thibaw before we took over Upper Burma. The Siamese authorities very kindly asked to be allowed to send a force to assist us. In due course the Karennis were brought to reason, but the Siamese force still remained there, and we were engaged for some years in diplomatic efforts to induce them to return to their own country, for they had no business whatever in Karenni. In the end, as negotiations were futile, a force was sent up and the Siamese troops were expelled. But in the meantime they had cut down several very valuable teak forests and carried away the teak. England still has a claim against Siam for damage done to the teak forests, but I do not think there is any present intention to press the claim. There is not very much intercourse between our officers and the French officers in Indo-China, but in the border province of Kengtung the French do occasionally come across our officers. We have a postal line established between Kengtung and the nearest French post, and as the French sometimes come backwards and forwards by that route, it may be said that regular communication is kept up between the two countries. At present our relations with France in Burma are entirely friendly, and I see no reason why they should not remain so, particularly now that the English people are such excellent friends with the French.

SIR THOMAS HOLDICH : Major Molesworth Sykes, who is with us to-day, has a more intimate acquaintance with the travels of Marco Polo than anyone I know. Perhaps he can tell us whether Marco Polo's writings throw much light on the subject of Indo-China.

MAJOR MOLESWORTH SYKES : I am afraid my studies of Marco Polo have been chiefly directed to his travels in Persia, but I may perhaps say a few words on the reason why he undertook the journey to China. As you know, it was as a boy of sixteen that he accompanied his father and uncle in the extraordinary journey which they took, lasting about three years, right across Asia from

west to east to visit Kublai Kaan,* to whom reference has been made this afternoon. Kublai Kaan took special notice of Marco, who, being very observant, was able to gratify the Kaan's delight in a good story, a delight shared by so many Orientals. Whenever Marco was sent on an expedition, upon his return he retailed vividly to the Kaan the things he had seen and heard, so much so that the Kaan refused to think of allowing the Polos to leave his Court. Twenty years went by in this manner. Marco's father and uncle were getting old, and he had reached middle age himself. An embassy came from the Court of Persia asking Kublai to send one of his grand-daughters to marry the Khan of that country—for they were not called Shabs in those days. Marco made up to the envoys, and said he knew the best way for them to travel home, and was willing to conduct them thither. So they petitioned Kublai Kaan to allow the three Europeans to guide them back to Persia, and he gave his consent. They started off with a large retinue 700 strong, but on arrival at Bandar Abbas only eight or nine remained, all the others having died on the road. So I think we may come to the conclusion that the climate in that particular part of the world is not very suitable for sanatoriums. The lady was one of the few survivors, and on reaching the capital, she found the potentate she was to marry had been dead some years. She settled the question quite amicably, however, by marrying his son; and Marco Polo, his uncle and his father then went safely back to Venice. The journey to which I have referred was taken by sea, and it is to be remembered that communication between China and Persia by sea was known as far back as the fourth century A.D. Chinese junks were reported in the Shat-ul-Arab, somewhere near the Busra of to-day, by Masudi. In the tenth century they went to Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Such journeys must have been paid when progressive dynasties were reigning, and we cannot but regard the traffic as extraordinary. When the Portuguese appeared in the Gulf there were only legends of the traffic to attest its existence. That such a traffic did exist was denied by a professor of Chinese at one of our universities to whom I wrote when I was hunting up the subject. But the fact is brought out by Sir Henry Yule in his 'Cathay and the Way Thither'—the way thither being very much I imagine, the Ultrindia of Dr. Tupp.

* Kaan signifies Khan of Khans.

DR. COTTERELL TUPP: There is but little for me to say in reply to the discussion. With regard to the ruins of Ankor Thôm, the extraordinary thing is that they are mixed Hindu and Buddhist remains, and they appear to have been decorated with absolute indifference as to which religion they represented. On the same panel of sculpturing you will see both Buddhist and Hindu figures—a mixture not to be seen anywhere else I believe. As regards the boundary of the Shan States, I understood Sir Frederick Fryer to say that the Mekong was agreed upon as the dividing-line; but I believe the French claim some part of the country to the west of the Mekong. M. Doumer certainly does so.

SIR FREDERICK FRYER: I don't think so. I think it is finally settled that the Mekong is the boundary.

SIR THOMAS HOLDICH: Is there not a neutral zone?

DR. TUPP: The question is still being argued, I believe. A large part of the Laos province is to the west of the Mekong, and I am not at all sure that further north the Mekong is made the strict dividing-line.

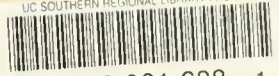
A vote of thanks to Dr. Tupp for his paper concluded the proceedings.

[P.T.O.]

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