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The Spanish Zones in Morocco

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THE SPANISH ZONES IN MOROCCO

H.E. Señor Don Alfonso Merry del Val, Spanish
Ambassador

Read at the Meeting of the Society, 16 February 1920.

IT is not long since the Royal Geographical Society listened to a lecture on Morocco from the lips of one of the men best acquainted with that interesting country. His report in its general character embraced a description of the whole empire. My aim to-night is different. I propose to submit to you a monograph revealing the local features and present situation of men and things in the northern and southern zones of the regions now under Spanish control. We will begin with the political definition of the territory comprised by the Spanish Protectorate.

How did the Spanish Protectorate come into being? What is its extension? I will spare you the details of Spain's historical claims on Morocco. It suffices to say that, by a logical process of reaction, or rather of revulsion, the Spanish people, almost crushed out of being by the Moors, gradually reconquered and re-peopled the territory of the Peninsula, until acquiring the momentum of energy accumulated during five hundred years it overflowed its own boundaries, and towards the close of the fifteenth century carried into its traditional enemy's country, not merely the warfare under which it had so long suffered, but also a civilization superior to that brought to its own soil by the African invader.

There is no doubt that if the Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had but heeded the prophetic counsels of that genius Isabella the Catholic, one of the greatest of a nation whose women have glorified their sex as in few other lands, they would long since have turned Morocco into a magnificent prolongation of their own southern province of Andalucia. They preferred, however, the easier profit to be found, almost for the asking, in America.

But if Spain as a State and a people turned her eyes elsewhere, neither her kings nor her people were wholly neglectful of Africa, and Africa for Spain has always meant above all the Barbary States. Our monarchs maintained through the vicissitudes of an almost unceasing warfare, and in spite of almost daily aggression on the part of the Barbary pirates, more

or less continual relations with the Sultans of Morocco. Thus treaties were concluded between the two countries in 1780, 1799, 1844, 1845, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1866, 1880, 1894 and 1895, not to speak of various diplomatic missions.

Apart from official action, private individuals more and more frequently crossed the Straits from Spain and settled in Morocco, until Spanish has become the *lingua franca* on all the coast and Spanish currency circulated as freely as the native coinage. Spain's successful campaign of 1859, which culminated in the taking of Tetuan, increased her prestige in the country. In 1904 we find delimited for the first time the zones which later became the Spanish Protectorate by the Convention between Spain and France of October 3, a complement to the Treaty of April 12 of the same year concluded by Great Britain and France. The stipulations of 1904 were definitely confirmed by the Convention between Spain and France of 27 November 1912. The limits of the northern zone thus placed under Spain's protection and administration are approximately those indicated on the map (p. 334).

Right through the Middle Ages, soon after the discovery of the Canary Islands in the thirteenth century and down to the sixteenth, hardy adventurers from the Peninsula, and more particularly from the Canaries themselves, of whom the most remarkable was Don Diego Garcia de Herrera, had settled on the coast of North-west Africa, both in what is now known to us as the Empire of Morocco and even further south beyond the Wad Draa in the No Man's Land that stretches into the Sahara on the west and can fitly be described as the fringe of the Great Desert. At one time their watch-towers, keeps and castles studded the cliffs of the Atlantic Ocean in a long chain; they struck up alliances with native tribes, held others in vassalage, collected formidable armies, half Christian and half African, took part in the local wars and waxed rich by trading with the interior. Thus it is that the contour of this part of the Atlantic coast is as well known in our own day to the fishermen and small traders of the Canaries as to the natives themselves, and that many of its promontories, bays, and other natural features bear Spanish names, as is testified to at once by old and modern maps and charts. Of these outposts of Spain, reduced to-day to a heap of ruins—Tarfaya, Arxis, and the rest—the best known, perhaps the most important, was Ifni. On this inhospitable, sandy beach, to the north of the Wad Nun, there existed for a long period a Spanish fishing-station known as Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, originally founded in 1456. The treaty of Peace, which on 26 April 1860 put an end to the war between Spain and Morocco, obliges the Sultan by Article 8 to grant in perpetuity to Spain in that very place sufficient territory for the establishment of a fishing-station such as she formerly possessed there. This right was recognized and confirmed by Article 4 of the Spanish-French Convention of 1904 and by Article III. of the Spanish-French Treaty of 27 November 1912. The latter assigns to Spain an "enclave,"

comprised between the rivers Bou Sedra on the north, Wad Nun on the south, and on the east by a line running north to south at 25 kilometres' distance from the coast. Moreover, according to Articles 5 and 6 of the Convention of 1904 and 2 of the Convention of 1912 the Spanish Protectorate is recognized over a strip of territory between Wad Draa on the north and a line corresponding to lat. $27^{\circ} 40'$ N. to the south. Beyond this line Spain may at any time occupy the country adjoining her own colony of Rio de Oro on the south and bounded on the east by a straight line following the meridian 11° west of Paris.

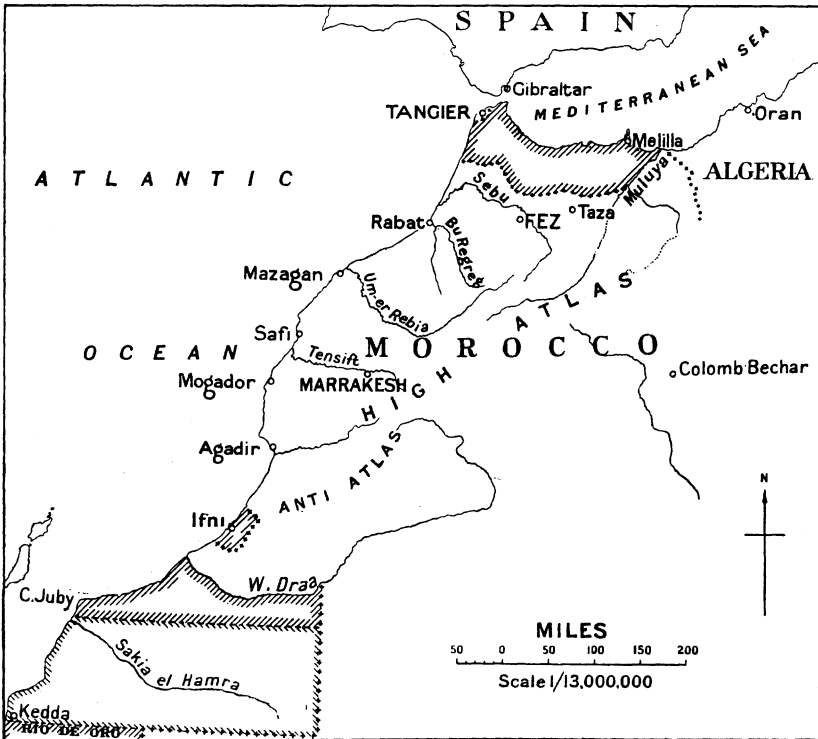


Fig. 1.—The Northern and Southern Zones of the Spanish Protectorate: boundaries hatched

It is not my purpose, nor is it possible for me, to describe with the minuteness of the material at my disposal the natural features, the ethnography and the economic situation of both zones of the Spanish Protectorate. I prefer, therefore, to devote to the northern zone the greater part of my lecture, notwithstanding the interest offered by the southern zone, of which sufficiently little is known to enshroud it with a certain charm of mystery, every day more and more dispelled by our relations with the native inhabitants.

The northern zone of the Spanish Protectorate is that part of the

Moorish Empire which stretches from the Muluya River, now in reality the western frontier of Algeria, and the sea. It is therefore in a straight line some 200 miles in length. Roughly speaking, this zone extends on an average some 60 miles inland, although it varies in depth, following the course of rivers and the crest of mountain ranges on the south. Its superficial extent is calculated to be 7700 square miles. This territory is governed by a Khalifa or Representative of the Sultan, who is at present His Shereefian Highness Muley el Mehedi, younger brother of the reigning Sovereign. His residence is at Tetuan.

The Khalifa is assisted by a Council of Viziers, and has an organized native military force at his disposal, drilled and commanded by Spanish officers. His Highness is empowered to issue "Dahira," or Imperial Decrees as the Sultan's Delegate. His administration is under the supervision and control of a Spanish High Commissioner, who is supported by different departments for Diplomatic, Military, and Economic Affairs, Public Works, Health, etc. Spanish courts of law have been established in the principal towns, although justice is locally administered by the Kadis, or native judges, in the regions actually occupied by Spain, under the guidance of Spanish "Bureaux indigènes" and the officers of the Spanish Native Police. For natives the legislation peculiar to the country is still in force. The Spanish zone being under the jurisdiction of the Act of Algeciras, only the taxes authorized by that treaty are levied in the occupied districts. These taxes sit lightly on the population and constitute a wonderful improvement on the old Shereefian *régime*.

Although the religious law and custom had fixed the proper taxes to be paid by the natives, the greatest abuses were committed by the Sultan's Government as recently as ten years ago in all Morocco, and are the rule where the two Protecting Powers have not yet penetrated.

Until 1912 all Governorships were leased by the Sultan to the highest bidder, generally for £6000 to £8000 paid in cash plus presents and commissions to the Viziers who participated in the job. The governor or Kaid, as soon as he arrived in his unfortunate district, set to work to recoup his expenses with a handsome profit out of the inhabitants he was sent to rule and protect.

All those in authority, from the Sultan downwards, practised the most bloodthirsty methods in the just or unjust punishment of those submitted to their rule. If we add the grossest corruption and venality in the State functionaries, in the administration of justice and the registration of property, its purchase, sale, and hereditary transmission, we can easily understand that life was hardly bearable to the native and how the country was in a state of permanent rebellion, being officially recognized as Blad el Maghzen, or lands under Government control, and Blad es Siba, or the rebel country. It is thus easy to explain, moreover, why neither of the two Protecting Powers, Spain or France, has ever been



MARKET OF THE BENI BU IFRUR



SHRINE AT SIDI MOHAMMED BEN NUIS



BERBER WOMEN AT A MARKET IN THE RIF

compelled to quell a rising in any part of the territory actually occupied by them. In spite of their deep-rooted prejudice against the Christian and the foreigner, the relief afforded to the native population by fair administration of justice, light and regular taxation, employment on public works, and security for agriculture, trade, and property is so great that they welcome and bear with pleasure the rule of the Rumi.

With the exception of two strips of flat or undulating country stretching from Tangier to the Luccus River on the west and from Ceuta to Tetuan on the east, both of them on the coast, the only comparatively level ground in the Northern Zone of the Spanish Protectorate is that immediately to the east of Melilla, el Garet, and the larger plain and rolling lands between the Rif Mountains and the River Muluya to the south-east and south. The rest of the Spanish Northern Zone is one mass of hills, many of which rise to more than 6000 feet. It is quite true that some of the valleys are even now smiling with fertility, and that most of the slopes and lowlands would under cultivation, a lost art in Morocco, richly repay the trouble, as they no doubt will under the sway of a country like Spain, where the farming of the dry land and the watering of the more fruitful soil have been practised for countless generations with signal success from before the time of the Roman conquest, and not with least ability by the settlers of Arab and Persian race and their Berber vassals and pupils, who, under the common name of Moors, brought mediæval civilization to such a high pitch in the Peninsula.

These facts and possibilities, however, do not alter the general character of the zone. Many people have inquired how it is that Spain has accepted such a barren and difficult territory as her share in the Protectorate. I can only recommend them to read the works published by different Spanish authors on our policy in Morocco: González Hontoria, Count de la Mortera, Professor Mariano, Gomez Gonzalez, Jerónimo Becker, Ortega and others. The repeated and recent declarations of Spain's leading statesmen offer a more conclusive and clearer explanation than I can give to-day. You will however, I think, feel interested by the brief compendium published by a compatriot of mine in the London review, "Morocco," of 15 February 1919 and 22 February 1919, under the title of "Why Spain is in Morocco."

This clearly worded and most interesting article was specially written for the British public. It shows how Spain was not moved in her claim to occupy certain parts of Morocco by romantic dreams or mere ambitions or lust of conquest, but by practical considerations of the greatest political and strategical importance; how her parties of every shade are at one on this matter, and how Great Britain's interest is identified with ours in that occupation. We Spaniards are particularly intent on you British being well acquainted with the problem and our way of looking at it.

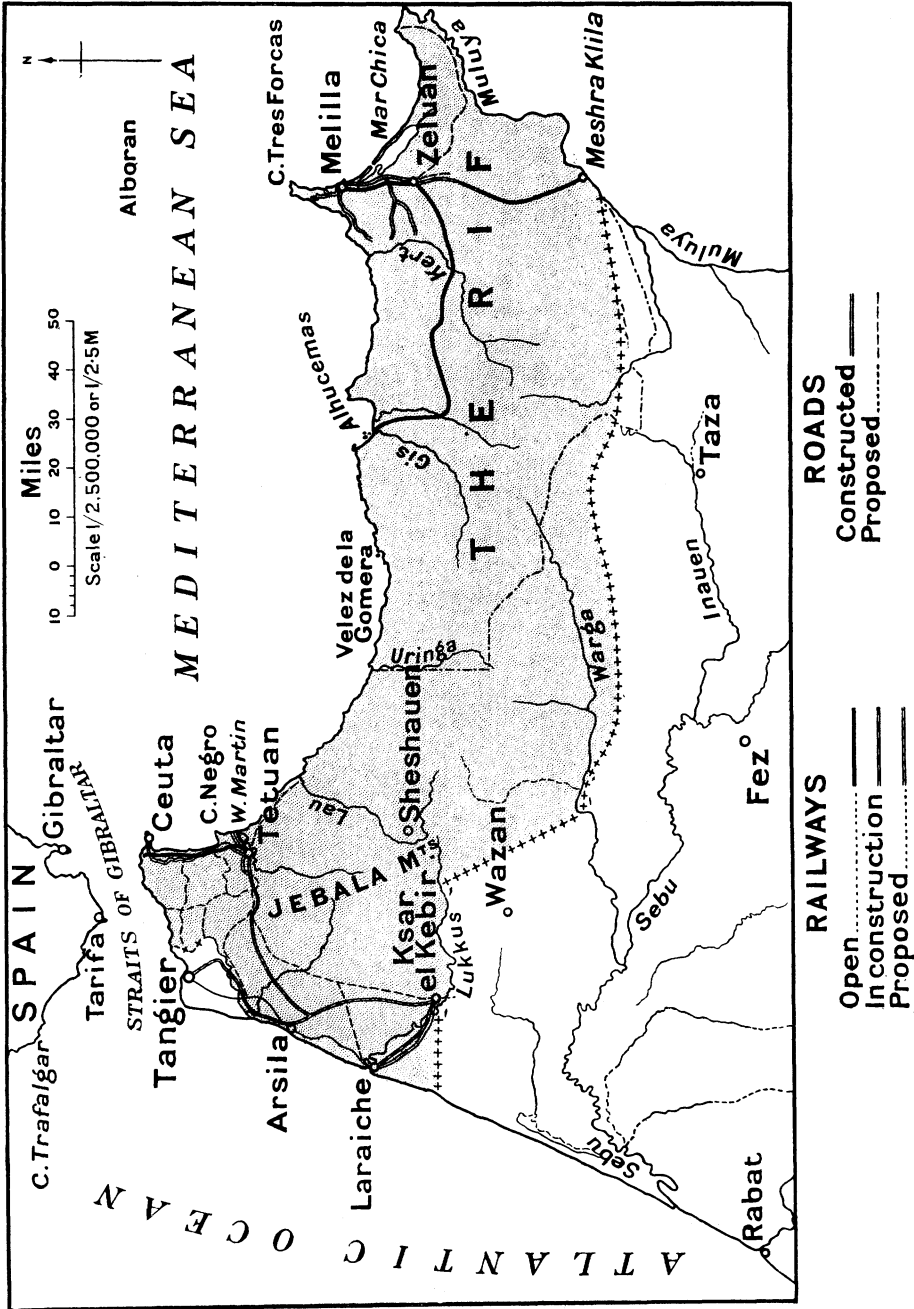


FIG. 2.—THE NORTHERN SPANISH ZONE

If we consider the mountain ranges of the Northern Zone we shall see that they can properly be divided into two principal blocks, although in reality belonging to the same orographic system. One of these, the nearest to Europe, runs almost due north to south, rising from the very Straits of Gibraltar, from the fortress and town of Ceuta itself, built on an outlying spur of the range, and reaching with a slight south-easterly trend to the immediate vicinity of the rivers Sebu and Warga and the fair plains of Fez. This is the Jebala chain, second only in importance and local fame to the Rif Mountains themselves. The topographical features of this region and its ethnography are sufficiently different from those of the other mountainous block, the Rif, to be separately described.

The Jebala, or Hill-land, the name of which is derived from the Arab word "Jebel," is for the most part, although not wholly, comprised in the northern Spanish zone of the Protectorate, and covers the western half of the latter. None of the heights included under the denomination Jebala exceeds 7000 feet in height; Beni Hassan is 6600, Jebel Alam 6000. The streams descending from the Jebala watershed run into the Mediterranean on the east and into the Atlantic on the west and south. The principal among them are the Wad Luccus (about 93 miles in length), the Wad Warga (about 62 miles long), of which the former runs into the Atlantic at the port of Laraiche, while the latter is an offshoot of the Sebu and the Wad Lau (about 50 miles), running into the Mediterranean to the south-east of Tetuan. Besides these, innumerable watercourses of different importance and length cover the whole of this hill region, but neither the rivers just named nor the lesser streams are navigable. Their utility is confined to natural irrigation, the Moor of to-day having abandoned that art in which his ancestors in Spain excelled.

To the east the Jebala hills join the Rif Mountains, forming a vast semicircle with them. No flat ground of any extension, only valleys, sometimes narrow and sometimes broad, break up this veritable maze. To the north-east alone a strip, some 25 miles in length and some 5 or 6 in depth, runs from Ceuta to Tetuan between the foothills and the sea. It belongs to the Hauz, or coast-land of Tetuan. This town itself, at the mouth of the not very imposing Wad Martil, is built in one of the broadest valleys to be found in this part of the country, running from the south-east to the north-east just beyond the Mediterranean mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar.

On the west, the Jebala hills are separated from the Atlantic Ocean by the smiling valleys and broad plains of El Gharbia, Es Sahel, Khlot and Tilig. These are watered by the Marharhar, the Hasheff, the Garifa, the Luccus, and a host of minor streams, some of which, but only the smaller number, dry up in summer. The total area of these lowlands is supposed to cover some 900 square miles, as far south as the border-line.

The natural characteristics and agricultural value of the country differ very considerably. The highlands are fairly well covered with

century-old cedars, wild cork and olive trees, ilex, pines, arbutus, pistachio and carob trees, box, lentisks and laurustinus along the brooks and rivers. In the valleys grow neglected but luxuriant fruit-trees; orange, apple, cherry, mulberry and pomegranate, walnut and chestnut trees; their slopes are sown with wheat, barley, maize, and millet, and a few vines where Christian settlers, untrammelled by the precepts of the Koran, dare to cultivate this plant and to rear pigs. The flora and fauna of Northern Morocco are not yet African. They are those of the Mediterranean shore, and differ but little from what is to be seen across the Straits in the neighbouring Andalucia. Few countries deserve better than this part of Morocco the beautiful name of "Land of Flowers."

The domestic animals to be found in the poverty-stricken villages, or Dchra (from Dchar), of the Jebala uplands are a limited number of cattle, small in size, peaceful of disposition, and generally dun in colour; ponies and donkeys for transport along the hill paths; sheep and goats fed on the rich green grass of the glens and lower spurs of the hills in flocks more numerous than the herds; and unending troops of poultry, whose diminutive size gives the wished-for sarcastic touch to the cynical Moorish proverb: "The country is never quieter than when there is one fowl for five men." Around the huts and all over the hill-sides swarms of buzzing bees feast on the strongly scented flowers and herbs.

No picture of a Moorish village or farm-yard is complete without the addition of a pack of savage mongrels, whose striped coat, pointed muzzle and snarling savagery suggest a wolfish descent or more probably an alliance with the jackal, the existence of wolves in Morocco being, to say the least, doubtful.

Such are the Jebala highlands; a rugged region of wild beauty, neither rich nor poor in its soil and natural products, wind-swept and drenched by showers of semi-tropical rain for six months of the year, and during the other six dried up by a sun as scorching as the Levanter from the desert which fans the crags and rushes down the valleys into the plains and towns of the west. Of the people bred in these austere surroundings we will speak presently.

But first would I say a word of the lowlands; of the Gharbia, Es Sahel, Khlot and Tilig, the last named of which extends to just beyond the northern Spanish zone into the smiling land of Sefian. The Gharbia is divided from the poorer region of Tangier, where rocks and marshes alternate with a heavy clay, by the Akba al Hamra hills, once famous for their brigands and the treacherous quicksands of the Tahadarts river flowing a little further west into the Atlantic. It is a succession of rolling hills green with grass or sprouting crops in the early spring, with a river or stream in every little vale; smiling land indeed, though without a tree. To the west and south the Gharbia, or little Gharb, merges gradually into the Sahel or sandy coast-land. Great patches of esparto grass and palmetto begin to appear, and remains of once great forests are

still to be traced in the Gaba or woods of Es Sahel, Bujaren, and Laraiche. The picturesque little coast town of Arsila (30 miles to the south-west of Tangier), with its old Portuguese battlements and towers on a low rocky pedestal resting in its turn on the beach of firm white sand which sweeps like a vast crescent from far-away Cape Spartel, was built at the boundary-line of El Gharbia and Es Sahel as Laraiche at that of Es Sahel and Khlot. To the north its walls are kissed by the insignificant Wad el Kelu, while to the south and east they are surrounded by a deep moat wondrously overgrown and filled in by a wealth of cactus, prickly pear, laurustinus and fig-trees, entwined with flowering creepers, among which is ensconced the sanctuary of a local "Marabut," rearing its dome of glistening white but a few yards from the ever-breaking surf of the Atlantic. Arsila, the only port besides Laraiche in all the western part of Jebala, of which it is the capital, has no monuments worthy of mention, but is to be remembered as the residence of the notorious Raisuli during his governorship of the province.

For the lazy Moorish peasant with his primitive, unsatisfactory implements the Sahel is a barren land, but qualified Spanish explorers (see Cereceda, 'Yebala y el Bajo Luccus,' pp. 207 and 208) not only regard the light red sandy soil as most favourable for afforestation, but as capable of bringing forth abundant crops. To that same indolent cultivator the districts of Khlot and Tilig bordering on the Sahel to the south must, on the other hand, seem an ideal ploughland as to the traveller they appear a Paradise. Here it is that the famous red earth, or *hamri*, a mixture of clay and silicious sand and chalk, and the rich black argillaceous loam, or *tirs*, 5 or 6 feet in depth, first appear. This is the wonderful soil which, thanks to a happy combination of nitrogen and potash with clay and loam, through thousands of years produced with hardly any preparation and no manuring such crops of wheat, barley, and millet as are not known elsewhere from Morocco to Bessarabia. It is from this same fat earth and from better sorts of hamri that the provinces of El Gharb, Abda and Dukkala in the French zone draw their incomparable agricultural wealth, which in the opinion of many outvies the mineral riches of Morocco. Over the broad flat expanse of Khlot and Tilig roam countless horses and mules, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, akin but far superior in quality to those of the Jebala. Their numbers and appearance revive the memory of those described in Scripture; indeed, the scenery, people and customs of all this region savour strongly of biblical times, just as the Jebala are Virgilian in their rusticity.

El Ksar itself (about 10 miles from the sea and 22 from Laraiche) has nought to recommend it to your attention save the fact that it is the capital of the prosperous Khlot region. The great battle fought in its vicinity four hundred years ago is but a memory, although it cost the life of three kings, among them the romantic Don Sebastian of Portugal, with

the flower of his chivalry ; of its once famous walls there is hardly a trace, and its habitants are not ten thousand. This is the number of those that people *Laraiche*, the port at the mouth of the *Luccus*, which not only is the sea-gate of this south-western portion of the Spanish zone, but was for long the starting-point and terminus of the traffic to and from *Fez*. *Laraiche*, occupied by Portugal in 1504, and ceded to Spain in 1610, remained in our possession for seventy-nine years, until in 1689 it was recovered by Muley Ismael, Morocco's greatest Sultan. The old ramparts and towers are largely Spanish. Although the entrance to the port is made difficult by the dangerous bar, as so often happens in Morocco, *Laraiche* promises to gain in importance when the new harbour works are completed. Like most of the towns in this northern part of the empire, it has little or nothing of interest to show the traveller, but much that is picturesque. As you toss in a Moorish barge amid much shouting and the chant of the native boatmen over the triple line of surf, nothing reminds you more of a pirate's stronghold than this old town, strung along the high southern bank of the *Luccus* in a succession of terraces. In the vicinity the ruins of the Phœnician and Roman *Lixus* may prove attractive to the archæologist, although less so than *Volubilis* and *Meknés* in the French zone. Close to *Laraiche* one rides through the beautiful *Gaba*, or grove of ilex and cork trees, the remnant of a great forest, and passes on the way to *El Ksar* through the *Adir* or great Crown Estate, which until recent years had been neglected by the Sultan and his Government, so that the stud and herds of picked horses and cattle now run wild over its pastures and among its woods and marshes.

If from the extreme west we turn to the north and east of the *Jebala* hills we shall discover on the map the other flat strip of country referred to at the beginning of my lecture, running from *Ceuta* to *Tetuan* (23 miles). Having ridden from one town to the other, and forded the different rivers which under the names of *Wad Smir*, *Rio Negro*, and *Fenidek* stream down from the heights only 3 or 4 miles off the beach, I can testify to their insignificance and to the unpromising aspect of this sandy soil, half swamped in parts by pools of brackish water and more plentiful in reeds and brushwood than in crops. Yet the Spanish experts who have examined this belt, the border-land of *Andjera*, towards the Mediterranean, while recognizing its deficiencies, are hopeful of its future under proper drainage and cultivation. It is cut in half by an outlying spur of the *Andjera* chain projecting into the sea under the name of *Cabo Negrón*, or *Ras el Tarf*, the scene of different engagements between the Spanish troops and local tribes. At its foot we find *El Medik*, of which more anon.

Eighteen miles to the south-east lies the town of *Tetuan*, on the last easternmost slopes of the *Jebel Dersa* overlooking the open valley of the *Wad Martil* and opposite the frowning snow-covered peaks of *Beni-Hozmar*, *Jebel Bu Zeitun* and *Beni Hassan*. Few towns in the world

can equal this situation ; few even in Morocco can rival its Oriental charm ; and certainly in my opinion, the artistic beauty of its houses and gardens, none nearer than Fez. It was from these gardens and orchards, famous in all Morocco and in Spain, that the oranges known as "tangerines" originally came, a source of wonder to all who have in recent times visited those neglected enclosures, where the trees unpruned and untended were dying in the deadly embrace of creepers run wild, or eaten up by moss and parasitical insects. Horticulture is not practised by the Moor, and I have always shrewdly suspected that the gardeners who planted out and kept his not very numerous olive groves and fruit-trees in the past were Christians once working in thousands as slaves of their Barbary captors, but with whose disappearance the finer branches of cultivation, bridge-building, and public works generally seem to have died out until the advent of the era of Protection.

The population of Tetuan is to-day about 30,000 civilian inhabitants, of whom five or six thousand are Jews and three or four thousand Europeans, nearly all Spaniards. Its port, though exposed to the east, which on the northern Moroccan coast signifies a great disadvantage on account of the prevalence and force of the Levanter, was always active, and now more so than ever since our occupation. Tetuan has her railway now, linking her up with her own port and Rio Martin, and another connecting her with Ceuta and Europe ; a few months hence she will see another building on the road to Tangier, and is already surrounded by modern highways and bridges, of which one already reaches far out towards that town. The importance of Tetuan has been enhanced of late years by the establishment there of the residence of His Shereefian Majesty's Khalifa, H.E. the Spanish High Commissioner, and their respective Departments. The base and headquarters of considerable military forces, it is, moreover, now surrounded by cantonments, hospitals, and a new European quarter erected outside the walls in order to efface as little as possible the picturesque aspect of this lovely Moorish town.

Another and up to now inviolate city will soon be revealed to European eyes at a point about 30 miles to the south-east of Tetuan. Built towards the close of the fifteenth century by certain fanatics desirous of avoiding all contact with the advancing tide of Christian civilization, Sheshauen was from its birth a holy place. The site selected was the territory of the Khmas tribe, the very heart of Jebala, isolated between the savage Rif country to the east and the rampart of the principal Jebala range on the west, thus effectively ensuring during more than four centuries absolute seclusion and peace for the Shorfa who govern this townlet of some 5000 inhabitants. No European has ever trodden its streets, although in 1883 the courageous French explorer, Vicomte de Foucauld, disguised as a native, was able to reach its suburbs, and lucky enough to get back therefrom with a whole skin, after being turned back by the authorities. Sheshauen's veil of mystery has, however, already

been lifted by indiscreet Spanish aviators. A few months ago photographs were taken from the air, and it is probable that next spring Spanish troops will be within its walls. With this ends my rapid description of the natural features and towns, five in all, of the western portion of the northern Spanish zone of the Protectorate.

Of the domestic fauna I will say little. The native horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, if decidedly requiring improvement, are susceptible of developing into fine breeds of their kind. In like manner European methods applied to the existing cereals are preferable, given the climate and soil, to experiments in foreign varieties. On the other hand, the development and increase of vineyards, olive groves and esparto fields, the introduction of fruit-trees of various kinds and the cultivation of vegetables, careful afforestation in some districts, and the regeneration of the existing species, especially of the cork and carob trees, as also the scientific cutting and replacing of native woods, is imperative if the country is to give a full yield of its resources. The cotton-plant, above all, seems to offer bright prospects to those who should care to rear it in the certainty of obtaining qualities similar to those attained in Egypt and the United States. Morocco unites the climatic conditions of the first with the "black cotton soil" of the latter. The tobacco plant grows wild in many places.

Wild animals are limited to the jackal, fox, hyena, baboon, and boar. Lions, fairly numerous a century ago, have been wiped out by the repeating rifle. Wolves do not appear to exist, and Europeans have not seen the wild cat and lynx of which there is rumour.

Sweet-water fish are not as common in this part of Morocco as farther south, although some shad may be caught in the larger rivers. The wonderful wealth of sea fish makes up for this deficiency, the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts being among the best in the world for variety and quantity. Spanish steam-trawlers have been working there for many years, and curing and salting establishments at Ceuta and Melilla, particularly for sardines.

The climate of Northern Morocco is partly Atlantic and partly Mediterranean, although mainly under the latter influence. The temperature in the lower regions varies much, from 2° C. to 38° C., sometimes fluctuating about 18° in the twenty-four hours, the nights being generally much colder than the days. On the higher levels no proper statistics seem to have been compiled. Heavy rains, usually in the form of showers, fall continually from November to the end of April, and are preceded and followed by lighter falls in October and May. Rain in the intervening period is practically unknown. In the plains on the Atlantic coast 400 to 800 millimetres rainfall have been registered. Blustering west and south-west winds from the Atlantic are common, and in summer the dreaded Levanter's scorching breath seems to kill life within the body. Even horses and mules are affected by it.



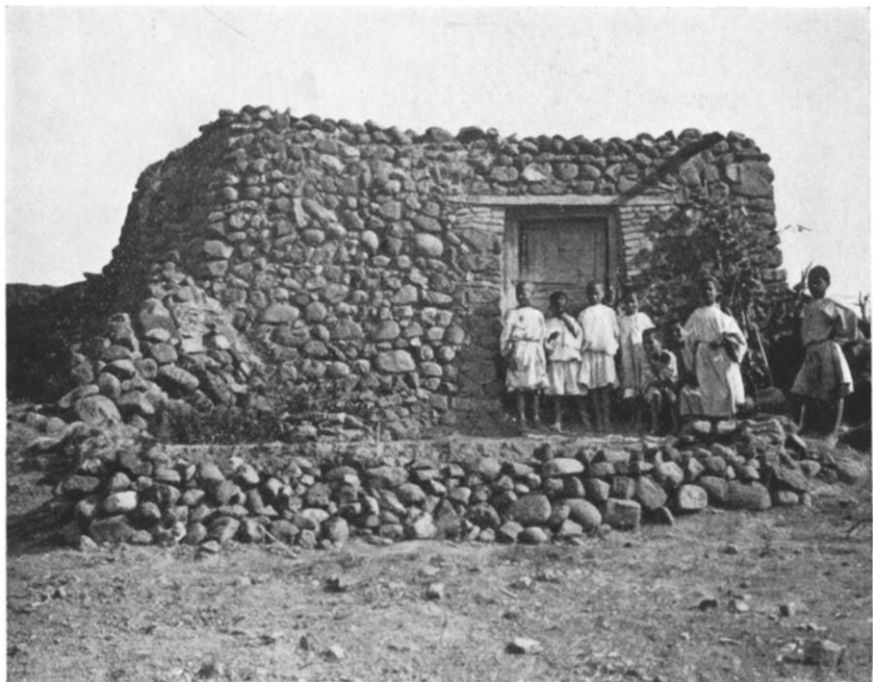
NATIVE FARRIER AT EL JEMAA EL TELAT



RIF WOMEN SELLING EARTHENWARE AT THE MARKET OF EL ARBAA DE ARKEMAN, SOUTH-EAST END OF MAR CHICA



BERBER HOUSE OF THE BETTER CLASS, BENI BUGAFAR, EASTERN RIF



TYPICAL BERBER HOUSE AT FRAJANA, 5 KM. WEST OF MELILLA

For a fuller knowledge of the fauna, flora, climate, and geology of the northern Spanish zone I would recommend the perusal of the Reports of the Spanish Society of Natural History, of the little volume 'Djebala' by a mission of explorers sent out in 1913 by the same Society, the Yearly Reports of the Public Works Department of the High Commissioner at Tetuan, the *Proceedings* of the Royal Zoological Society of London, particularly papers by Messrs. De Winton and Waterhouse, Debrel's works, 'Modern Morocco,' and numerous French publications.

Minerals do not seem to abound in the Jebala as they do in the Rif, although it is true that the south and eastern portions have not yet been prospected. Near Ceuta a very remarkable vein of antimony, already tapped, is found; some traces of coal on the slopes of Jebel Dersa; and elsewhere pockets of iron and possibly other deposits. Some signs of petroleum have been noticed in the marshes of the Khlot and lower Jeba district. No accurate information as to the mineral wealth of this or most parts of Morocco can be given until the country is more extensively and closely prospected than its state allows of at present. I would, however, recommend the perusal of the Report published by a Special Government Commission in the Bulletin of the Geographical Institute of Spain for 1917 (*Boletín del Instituto Geológico de España, 1917*).

Let us now turn our eyes towards the Rif. This ancient land, once the Gomere province of Mauritania Tingitana, forms the eastern half of the Northern Zone of the Spanish Protectorate. It differs but little from the Jebala in its fauna and flora, so far as is known, but it has always been more or less closed to Europeans since the Arab invasion in the eighth century. More than two-thirds of its total area is occupied by an intricate system of mountains and valleys, the former apparently of lesser height for the most part than those of the Jebala, but in many districts much more denuded of vegetation. This region comes under the Mediterranean climatic *régime*, and towards its eastern portion begins to resemble Algeria, from which it was separated by the former Shereefian province of Angad, the Trifa plain and the Beni Iznaten and Beni Snassen, all of them beyond the Muluya River, and therefore in the French Zone. It is here that we find the plain of El Garet Bu Areg and higher tablelands of Mtalsa and Guerruao, all close to the lower Muluya River, where is the Zebra plain, one of the most important of the Rif. The Muluya, although ending its course in sandbanks and marshes, meets the mountainous country again towards its mouth in the low hills of Kebdana. With the exception of the shores of Tamsaman on the Mediterranean, this is the only flat land on the Rif; its total area is some 800 square miles.

There has been some discussion among writers as to the political and geographical limits of the Rif. The most reliable description appears to be that which assigns the Muluya, the old Roman frontier, and the Wad

Uringa as its terminal landmarks from east to west ; the Mediterranean on the north ; and the Benibu Yahi and Beni Hassan Mountains on the south up to the sources of the Warga River, whence a line with a slight northerly trend should be drawn until it meets the Uringa.

The Rif Mountains rise chain behind chain in crescent formation almost parallel to the Mediterranean, merging in the west into the Jebala range, of which they appear to form a geographical whole. Their principal peaks are Ain Zorah, Jebel Arzú, Jebel Mezgut de Guiliz, all on the south and south-east. None of these can claim more than 7000 feet in height ; the other ranges, always allowing for discoveries, are still lower, but are generally steep and rocky, and often covered by dense forests.

The principal river is the Muluya, the fifth in importance among all the known watercourses of Morocco, coming after the Sebú, Um-er-Rbia, Bu-Regreg and Tensift ; the Warga is the next, and lastly the Kert. Not one of these is or will be navigable. The lesser streams of the Rif, although numerous enough and most useful for the irrigation of the country, are wholly insignificant except as landmarks.

Much wilder than the Jebala, the great difference between the eastern and the western portions of the northern Spanish zone consists from the purely material standpoint in the great known mineral wealth of the Rif. I speak advisedly of the known mineral products because, as I have observed before, the future may be keeping some revelations in store with regard to the Jebala hills.

The mineral riches of Morocco have unfortunately been much exaggerated, to the great disappointment of many and the country's own harm. This cannot be sufficiently repeated. In the Rif, however, there are, no doubt, important deposits of iron ore (hæmatite, etc.), antimony, copper, lead, zinc, and silver, particularly in the south-eastern district. As the latter has been occupied by Spain in some places for the last ten years, and others more recently, much of the land has been properly prospected, and some really valuable iron and lead mines are being successfully worked at Mounts Uixan and Afra (Beni-bu-Ifru), while others have been opened at Cape Tres Forcas, and there is a great promise of fine results in the Beni-Urriaguel hills. Let not any of my hearers imagine, however, that I am offering them a tip or a clue. The whole territory of the Moorish Empire is covered by overlapping mining claims to such an extent that an international court has been established for the sole purpose of deciding them.

There is not one single native town in the whole of the Rif. The inhabitants cluster in villages, of which the largest contains two or three thousand at the most, although this is quite exceptional. The nomads of the plains and plateaux of the east live in tents. As a result, the only towns are the old Spanish coast establishments of Melilla, Alhucemas, and Peñon de Velez. In the first of these some natives have always resided,

none in the latter, as they have to keep on the defensive against sudden attack or treachery.

Agriculture is at the lowest possible level nearly all over the Rif, partly no doubt on account of the dearth of outlets for the local produce, due to the natives' own voluntary seclusion, but also to their unwillingness to work on the "sic vos non vobis" principle. The Rifi is nothing if not an individualist. He is well aware that the fruit of his work will either go to the "Maghzen" in the very rare case of his paying taxes, or to the petty local authority, the village sheikh, or again to some religious worthy, the "Shorfa," "Marebet" or "Zauia." He therefore grows enough for his own sustenance and that of his family, and troubles no more.

Statisticians in all countries are to be pitied, and this is particularly true with regard to the statistics of the population of Morocco. Registers of births and deaths are not kept in that happy-go-lucky land; the census is even now confined to the towns under European rule. Without doubt the natives would, as in some of our "civilized" countries, avoid it as a bringer of misfortune, for on this account nothing is more indiscreet, nor for the matter of that useless, than to inquire after a Moor's age or celebrate his birthday, both of which are in general unknown to him.

As far as can be affirmed with any degree of certainty, the native inhabitants of the Northern Zone of the Spanish Protectorate number little over a million. Of these it is supposed that the Rif contains some 560,000. They are divided both in the Jebala and the Rif into numerous tribes, the names of which are pretty well known, but as the patriarchal system is really the foundation of their political and social life, these principal groups are subdivided into an infinite number of fractions, or "rboa," which in their turn are liable to multiply at any time, either through an increase in the population or the breaking away from the parent stock, the result of necessity to seek their sustenance in new ground, or of the unending internecine quarrels, which are a plague over the whole of this otherwise pleasant country.

The fundamental strain of the peoples in this part of Morocco, with some few exceptions, is the Berber race. The Jebala and the Rifi, although similar in some respects, differ from each other sufficiently to make a separate description inevitable. The greatest distinction between them, greater than any natural features and therefore the only adequate reason for not treating them as a whole, is a double one. In the first place, the Jebala mountaineer has adopted the Arabic language, although not wholly. Moorish Arabic, particularly the spoken tongue, is rarely of the first quality. The Jebli, besides keeping his peculiar accent, intersperses his speech with Berber words or forms. The tribes confining on the borders of the Rif, such as Ktama, Beni Seddat, Metzua el Jebel, some fractions of Gomara, etc., have no Arabic; they have remained

faithful to the aboriginal "kbail" different from the "Tamazirt" of the Centre and the "shelloh" of Southern Morocco.

Secondly, he has become slightly mixed among the outlying tribes, at all events, with Arab blood, has swallowed a certain amount of civilization and softened his manners to some small extent. Whether by intercourse with the Fasi refinement as in the case of the Bani or southern hill tribes, or by contact with the Europeans at El Ksar, Larache, Tangier, and Tetuan, for many of his people are in service or trades in these several towns, he has come to recognize or tolerate certain forms of government and even some duties. He has been known to come down from his hills and pay tribute to his nominal governor at Arzila or Tetuan, particularly after a successful foray by the Sultan's "mehallas." On the whole, however, he is very much himself and still acknowledges his rifle as his only lord spiritual or temporal. In other words, the Jebala, in great part Blad-el Maghzen officially, is in reality Blad-es-Siba, or permanently rebel country, and when not actually under the range of firearms does what it chooses.

These tribes are twenty-one in number (El Haus Tettauen, Beni Madan, Beni Said, Beni Mesauar, Jebel Habib, Mernisa, Beni Gorfet, Ahl Serif el Jebel and Utáa, Beni Zerual, Serrak, Gomara, Ktama, Beni Ider, Wad Ras, Beni Hosmar, Beni Hassan, El Khmás, Beni Arós, Zumata, Beni Issef, Gzaua, Beni Bu Selama, Beni Laitz, Mtuia el Jebel). If we reckon the Andjera tribe the list is complete as far as the Spanish zone is concerned, but this latter has never remained permanently within the very loose confederation formed by the rest. The Andjerines, once feared as pirates or coast robbers in the vicinity of the Straits of Gibraltar, and still wreckers and pillagers of stranded vessels, are the inhabitants of the north-eastern corner of the North African promontory, at whose extremity lies the Spanish town and fortress of Ceuta.

In general appearance there is little to distinguish them from their congeners, in spite of a probably stronger strain of Arab blood. The Jebala are generally men of magnificent physique, often over 6 feet in height, always broad chested and stout limbed, with lungs of leather and sinews of iron. They are frugal to the extreme, particularly among the poorer sort, contenting themselves with a piece of barley-bread, a few onions or figs and milk, fresh or sour (*lebén*), butter, tea, and sugar as their food all the year round. Splendid marksmen up to 300 yards, after which, in spite of their boasting, their aim is doubtful, as they despise the use of the sight, which they seem unable to understand, unwearied on the march, provisioning themselves for days with the scanty victuals they carry in the hood of their "jellaba," brave and quick to grasp a situation or the possibilities of a position, they make magnificent infantry soldiers, second only to their brothers the Rifi. Their arms are a repeating rifle, for the possession of which a man will give his whole fortune, risk his life, or stab his own father, and the curved "kumia" common in all Morocco, with

which they make terrible wounds and perpetrate ghastly mutilations. With his magnificent presence, the frank, open look in his brown or blue eyes—for many of these men are as fair and white as any Saxon—his swinging gait revealing the free man who has never known a tyrant, the Jebli would be most attractive were one ignorant of his treachery, his cruelty, thievishness, and immorality, the sad inheritance of far-off Phoenician traditions. His redeeming trait, shared in common with most Mohammedans, is his affection and reverence for his mother and his hospitality within his own house and village.

To his womankind the Jebli is hard beyond expression. A daughter is a chattel to sell to the highest bidder all over Morocco, and a wife at once a slave and a draught animal. In fact, many small farmers marry the three wives allowed by the Korán only to have the means of ploughing more land, for were some of the young ladies enlisted in the land army to volunteer in the same capacity for Morocco they would be expected to allow themselves to be yoked with the donkey or the cow, a spectacle no longer surprising for old residents in that country.

The Jebli is vaguely Mohammedan in his religion, the principal tenets of which he hardly knows and certainly observes with some carelessness, particularly in the essential matter of daily prayer. In many tribes not even one mosque can be found, and the only duty to which the Jebala people remain faithful with admirable steadfastness is that of the Ramadan or yearly strenuous fast. As education in the native schools deteriorates most deplorably year by year, doctrine becomes perverted, mutilated, garbled by ignorant masters and only imperfectly learnt by the young. As a consequence superstition of every sort is rife, the purer observance of the Prophet's teaching is replaced in practice by the veneration of a host of greater or minor "marabet," whose sanctuaries literally cover the land, and by adherence to various sects of which several are in fact heretical, or at least given to abusive practices. Such are the Jebala, of whom the authors best qualified to judge calculate that some 495,000 inhabit the northern Spanish zone of the Protectorate, and of them some 100,000 warriors.

To speak of industry and commerce under these conditions is, you will easily understand, absurd. The mountaineer is clad in cotton undergarments and a cloth waistcoat, made of material spun at Manchester and Roubaix respectively. Over this light dress he wears a "jellaba," or cloak, not unlike a "poncho" with sleeves. The stuff used for this outer apparel is a rough brown cloth of frieze-like texture, spun, dyed, cut and sewn by the women of his village. With the exception of the brown jellaba cloth and a certain quantity of coarse white woollen stuff, no other article save the immense native straw hat and a little pottery is manufactured by the hill villagers. Beyond this work they have no industry. Their trade consists in the sale of charcoal and poultry, but they are great buyers of tea, sugar, cotton cloth, rifles and ammunition.

The Rifi, as we know him, appears to be the prototype of which the Jebala has become a tamer species. Practically free, in the mountain region certainly, from any admixture of Arab blood, his language in every hill tribe is the Berber Kbaïl, the tongue of his race, which, save perhaps for some Phœnician, Carthaginian, and Roman strain on the coast, has come down intact to us. Twelve times, say the Moorish Chronicles, was Islam imposed on the Rif by the scimitar of the Arab invader, and twelve times was the yoke thrown off, although at each successive rising the land was drenched with blood. At last the Rifi conformed outwardly to the new religion, but in his heart he has never entirely accepted it, if we are to judge by his lax practice of the Koranic precepts and sometimes pagan and sometimes Christian rites in which he still secretly indulges. He has allowed his country to be accounted a province of the Shereefian Empire; he has consented to the building by the Sultan's Maghzen of a few isolated and now ruined fortresses, provided always that they served to support his resistance to Christian incursions, as at Zeluan against Melilla and at Ajdir against Alhucemas; he has even countenanced the appointment of Adel, or notaries, among his own people as functionaries useful for the more or less legal transmission of landed property, but he has taken good care to keep the Rif Blad es Siba or rebel in its entirety.

Far more energetic, hardier even and braver still than his Jebala brother, he is a yet more redoubtable and handier fighting man; his skill at taking advantage of the lie of the land he knows so well and of every crag and crevice is far greater, and his ferocity so cruel that no foreigner is allowed to live where the Rifi rules. Even the humble, necessary Jew is hardly able to exist among the tribes except as the serf of some powerful warrior whose protection he thus dearly buys for the purpose of working as agent of a wealthier principal in the counting-houses of Tetuan, Tangier, and Melilla, for were he to accumulate riches in the land itself they would soon be taken from him, probably by his protector himself, and his head would go with them. Rif treachery is proverbial throughout Morocco, and the tales told of *difat* or banquets to which life-long foes are invited, with honeyed words of reconciliation the better to stab them unawares, and others of the same sort, are as blood-curdling as the choicest from Afghanistan, so like the Rif in more ways than one. As in Jebala, there are no permanent rulers among the Rifi Kbaïlia; the Jemaa, or popular assembly, is supreme and delegates its authority, often in an irregular and corrupt form, to the "shioj," whose election generally leaves a few score voters stretched out on the hill side. Life is worth even less than in western Morocco, and relations between man and man, even those of the same family and living under one roof, are yet more precarious.

Still less than the Jebal has the Rifi founded any large centre of population. Whereas the former, in humble imitation of the architecture to be seen in the coast towns, builds himself, when he has the means, a low, square cottage of stone and mortar thatched with twigs or rushes or

roofed with tiles, the Rifi, obstinate in tradition as old as his race, lives in a flat-roofed house of small stones loosely placed without mortar one upon the other with no binding matter to keep them together, following in most cases the outline of an oblong plan of which the type reminds the spectator of ancient Asiatic dwellings. The Berber Rifi's industry and trade can be placed on the same level as those of the Jebala peasant.

Of these the best fighters in Morocco there are some 75,000 armed with rifles of modern patterns from all the principal European countries, whose gun-running merchants have no cause for jealousy between them. The Hill Rifi form some twenty-five tribes with 320,000 souls out of a total population of some 540,000. The names of these clans are: Beni Ahmed, Beni Amreth, Beni Bexir, Beni Bu-Yahi, Beni Bu-Nser, Beni Bu-Shibet, Beni Bu-Frah, Beni Gmil, Beni Itteft, Beni Jennus, Beni Mezduy, Beni Said, Beni Sedat, Beni Tuzin, Beni Uariagal, Beni-Ulixec, Boccoia, Guelaia, Kebdana, Kzenaia, Mgaua, Mtiua-el-Bahar, Tafersit, Terguist, Temsaman, Zerket.

The only towns in the Rif are Peñon de Velez de la Gomera, Alhucemas, and Melilla. All the three are Spanish. Velez, once an outpost of the Visigoths of Spain, was occupied by order of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1508. It is only some 90 yards from the coast, and its half a thousand inhabitants are accustomed to continual brushes with their turbulent neighbours, having on occasions to cover over their streets with sand-bags, as they can easily be fired into from the cliffs of the mainland. Further east el Peñon de Alhucemas, at about a mile from the coast, on one of a cluster of three small islands occupied by Spain in 1673, houses some four hundred people. Both these positions are fortified and garrisoned against attempts from the coast. The Rifi are always on the watch to prowl round these islets in their "cárabos," or light high-prowed rowing boats: equally ready to fish, sell their catch in Melilla, or attack and loot a becalmed sailing-vessel. These descendants of the old Rif pirates oblige the masters of all craft sailing through this part of the Mediterranean to give their dreaded coast a wide berth. Melilla, the third of the old Spanish strongholds, was originally built on the site of the Phœnician and Roman trading-station of Rusadir, at the base of the great promontory of Tres Forcas. Conquered from the Moors in 1497 by Pedro Estupiñan, one of the Duke of Medina Sidonia's captains who had distinguished himself at the siege of Granada, and the scene of a long series of homeric fights all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Melilla became a flourishing town and the principal centre of trade in the Rif. Under the advantages afforded by its position as a free port, where no customs dues are levied, Melilla has for many years offered to British imports a gateway into this region of Morocco.

Melilla was again attacked by the neighbouring tribes in 1893, and it was from there that in 1909 the brilliant operations were conducted which

ended by giving Spain her present position in the Rif. The town has prospered greatly, its population increasing from 13,000 in 1907 to 77,000 at the present time, but of this I will presently give you further details.

If we now turn our eyes to the relatively flat fringes of land situated respectively to the west of the Jebala and to the east of the Rif Mountains, we shall see that they can properly be considered as the Marches of the two hill districts in question. It is here that the Arab race and mode of thought and its visible representation, the Shereefian Maghzen, have made most headway in all the Northern Zone of Morocco, although not always in the same way or to the same extent.

On the west the tribes, although of Berber origin, show all the characteristics of the dominant Arab strain. Following a pastoral and agricultural life, they build their so-called farms and their villages on the smiling slopes of the Gharbia, or on the plains of the Sahel, Khlot, and Tilig countries, from which they have taken or to which they have given their names. A few live in tents, others in the market town of El Ksar el Kebir. Their horsemanship is as good as any among the natives of Morocco, and their breed of horses one of the best. While partial to razzias and local fighting, they are on the whole much more peaceable than their neighbours, the Jebala, and much more amenable to authority, showing respect to the Sultan's Government and submission to the Kaids who represent him, and often by long and even hereditary tenure of their office end by occupying a position akin to that of a feudal lord.

The inhabitants of the plains and tablelands comprised between the Kert and the Muluya in the south-eastern corner of the Rif are either half Berbers and half Arabs, such as the M'talsa, the Beni-Bu-Yahi and the Ulad Bekhar, or totally Arab, like the Ulad Settut. The two former number respectively 44,000 souls with 6000 rifles and several hundred horsemen, and 68,000 souls with 10,500 rifles and 400 horsemen; the two latter, 8000 souls and 1200 rifles and a few horsemen, and 4000 souls with 600 rifles and less than a hundred mounted men. The Beni-Bu-Yahi and Ulad Bekhar are Arabs by race and in tongue. They are nomads, and like the former breed inferior horses, cattle and camels in great numbers.

No greater contrast is possible in the same people than between these wild men with their abject, down-trodden womankind and the courteous, affable, polished Moors of the coast towns. Among them I have many good friends. Observers of the Malekite rite, and recognizing their own Sultan as Great Shereef or visible Head of their religion, they affect to discard bright colours and precious metals. Their austere interpretation of the Koran prevents all unbelievers from entering their Mosques, and renders them impervious to European teaching, and in many respects to material and artistic progress, so that their mental attitude is fixed in that immobility peculiar to the East, from which they draw, with their

mode of thought, their manners and customs. In race they represent a fusion of Berber and Arab blood. It is easy to discern among them the Moor of Spanish origin, the Andalus, always an exile though often expelled from Spain by political enemies before the Christian conquest. These men form a kind of aristocracy in Morocco, and are generally in Government employ. The Moor of the better class, when not a trader or a State official, a judge, a notary, or a lawyer, lives on the rent from his houses in the town or the farms in the outlying country districts. Beyond a few looms and water-mills in Fez, a degenerate carpet factory at Rabat, some last remaining leather-workers, the making of 'azulejos,' or coloured tiles, and other crafts connected with a degenerate form of house-building, no industry can be said to exist in Morocco of to-day. Her exports are almost wholly confined to agricultural produce.

The Jews of Morocco are supposed to number 200,000. Less than one half reside in the northern Spanish zone. They are in great part of native origin, some among them immigrants at a very remote period, but many of them belong to the aristocratic Sephardim, or Spanish Jews, bearing Castilian names and speaking the Spanish tongue in preference to any other. Educated on European lines, these Spanish Jews represent in Morocco an active element of civilisation and progress, particularly in the towns, where, as in the Spanish Zone, they are no longer imprisoned within the Mellahs, but live free to work for the country's material prosperity, untrammelled by the limitations under which they laboured of yore and even now chafe under in the unoccupied regions of the empire. The value of their co-operation is well understood by the Spanish Government and population, of whose support they can always be assured.

(To be continued.)

GEOGRAPHICAL RECONNAISSANCE BY AERO-PLANE PHOTOGRAPHY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORK DONE ON THE PALESTINE FRONT

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THE development of aerial photography during the War resulted in a system by which the results of a rapid reconnaissance of a large tract of country could be expressed in a graphical form. Such results become of geographical interest when it is possible to convert them into maps or charts, and consequently we have to consider both the methods