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PAPERS RELATING TO PACIFIC AND
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DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS,
✓ DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

April 14, 1922.

THE HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR: With a view to making the material available for the confidential information of the Department and of the diplomatic missions, I have the honor to submit herewith, in assembled form, the memoranda concerning Pacific and Far Eastern questions which were prepared by this Division, or under its supervision, for the use of the American Delegation to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament. With the exceptions noted below the material thus submitted was prepared either by the regular staffs of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs and the Division of Russian Affairs, or by members of the so-called Conference Section, which consisted of experts specially attached to the Division of Far Eastern Affairs for service in connection with the Conference.

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Japanese Interpretation of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement;

The Chinese Tariff (with Dr. Hornbeck);

Summary statement of the Financial Situation in China, Part 2. Organization of the new Four-Power Consortium for loans to China;

Japanese Propaganda (with Mr. Neville).

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China in the World War;

The Political Relations of Tibet;

The Political Relations of Mongolia;

Extraterritoriality in China;

Korea (with Mr. Neville).

In the preparation of the memorandum on *Japanese Propaganda*, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Neville received the active assistance of the Military Intelligence Division of the General Staff, War Department. The memorandum on *The Chinese Tariff*, by Dr. Hornbeck and Mr. Johnson, was based upon a monograph originally prepared by Dr. Hornbeck for the Tariff Commission.

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In addition to the memoranda above listed, the paper entitled *Impressions of the Present Situation in Japan* was originally written for another purpose by an American traveler having no official status, who consented to its use in this connection on the understanding that his name should not appear; the memorandum on the subject of *Critical Mineral Resources in the Far East* was prepared, at the request of the Department, by Mr. H. Foster Bain, Chief of the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior; and the paper on *American Cultural Interests in the Far East* was prepared, at the instance of the Department, by a group of representatives of missionary societies working under the supervision of the Reverend Dr. Arthur J. Brown of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

For the preparation of the maps accompanying the text, acknowledgments are due to Mr. Prentiss B. Gilbert, Mrs. Annabelle W. Phelps, and Mr. George W. Garland, of the Division of Political Information, and to the Topographic Branch of the Geological Survey, Department of the Interior.

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Respectfully submitted.

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Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

SUBJECTS.

	Page.
The open door policy in China.....	1
Railway development in China, open door policy, "spheres of interest," and the problem of foreign control.....	49
The Chinese Eastern Railway.....	89
Japan in South Manchuria: the South Manchuria Railway.....	131
The Shantung question.....	173
The Twenty-one Demands made by Japan upon China, 1915.....	245
Japanese interpretation of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement.....	315
China in the World War.....	339
The political relations of Tibet.....	389
The political relations of Mongolia.....	451
Extraterritoriality in China.....	487
The Chinese tariff.....	503
Summary statement of the financial situation in China, Part I.....	527
Summary statement of the financial situation in China, Part II.....	563
Impressions of the present situation in Japan.....	579
Japan in the Far East.....	589
The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.....	631
Japan's claim to a right of colonization based on the theory of "pressure of population".....	655
Japanese immigration and alleged discrimination against Japanese residents in the United States.....	691
Japan's claim to "racial equality".....	747
Japanese propaganda.....	769
Korea.....	783
Russia as a Far Eastern power.....	805
American and Allied intervention in Siberia.....	849
Foreign rights and pretensions in Eastern Siberia.....	899
The Bolsheviks and the Far East.....	945
Foreign economic interests in the Far East.....	963
Critical mineral resources in the Far East.....	1009
American cultural interests in the Far East.....	1019
The islands of the Pacific Ocean.....	1045
Electrical communications, with special reference to China and the North Pacific.....	1155

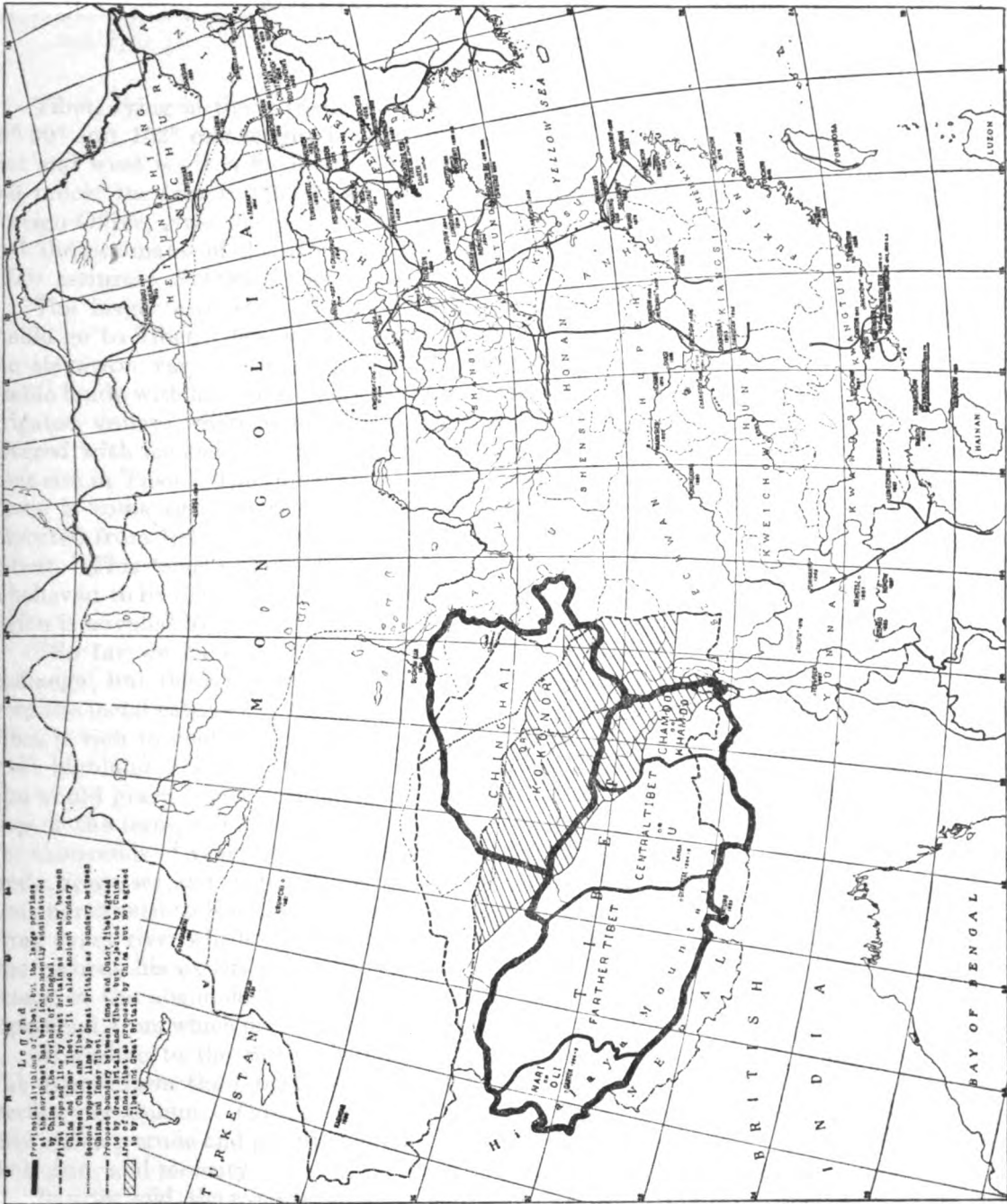
POLITICAL RELATIONS OF TIBET

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Map	v
I. Geographical Note.	
Tibet the Far West of China. Elevation 9,000 to 29,000 feet. Area 469,320 square miles. Population 2 to 7 millions. Country rich in minerals, particularly gold.....	1
II. The Government.	
Theocratic; Tashih Lama has religious and Dalai Lama political power. Latter assisted by Council and National Assembly, but all under suzerainty of China. China's suzerainty dates from 1260 A. D.....	2
III. Early British Relations.	
Began in the Administration of Warren Hastings, 1774. Great Britain utilized native quarrels to establish control of border states of Tibet....	2
IV. Russian intrigue in Tibet.	
Dordjief, a Buriat, subject of Russia, becomes a Russian agent at Lhasa and convinces the Dalai Lama that he needs Russian protection against Britain. 1898-1903.....	3
V. The Younghusband Expedition of 1904.	
Takes advantage of Russia's absorption in war with Japan; invades Tibet, captures Lhasa.....	4
VI. Treaty of 1904 between Great Britain and Tibet.	
Results from Expedition of 1904; grants British control of industrial enterprises in Tibet.....	5
VII. Treaty between Great Britain and China, 1906.	
China objects to direct negotiations between Great Britain and Tibet, but assumes payment of indemnity and incorporates most of the provisions of the 1904 Treaty, not however British control of industrial enterprises.....	5
VIII. Treaty between Great Britain and Russia.	
Binds both to deal with Tibet through China. 1907.....	6
IX. Exile of the Dalai Lama.	
Visits Peking and is made to feel subordination to Emperor of China. Returns to Tibet with ill feeling towards China. 1908-10.....	6
X. China asserts her authority.	
Tibet opposes.....	6
XI. Tibet appeals to Great Britain.	
British Government shows sympathy.....	7
XII. The Dalai Lama flees to India.	
He is well received. 1910.....	7
XIII. The Republic of China and Tibet.	
China recognizes equality of all races and provides for representation of Tibet in Chinese Parliament, 1912.....	7
XIV. The British Protest.	
Great Britain objects and protests China's attempt to restore order in Lhasa by force.....	8
XV. The Simla Convention.	
Tripartite Conference of Great Britain, China, and Tibet, 1913-14, results in proposed Convention signed by Great Britain and Tibet but rejected by China. Restores British control of industries. Proposes a division of Tibet into Inner and Outer; latter to be autonomous, former under administration of China.....	8
XVI. Objection of China to division.	
Would agree if dividing line moved farther west and certain districts were recognized as in China Proper.....	8

	Page.
XVII. Grounds of British Recommendation.	
Evidence of ancient records as to original boundary between Tibet and China and as to modification of region of Inner Tibet by Chinese military and political influences	9
XVIII. Ostensible and real reasons for British interference.	
Nearness of Indian centers of British military power to Outer Tibet.	
Desire to control mineral resources of Tibet	10
Annex I. Convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet.	11
Annex II. Mongol-Tibetan Treaty	13
Annex III. Minutes of the Conference on Tibetan affairs between the British, Chinese and Tibetan Governments.	14

MAP SHOWING THE TIBET QUESTION



POLITICAL RELATIONS OF TIBET.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Tibet, lying in the extreme western portion of China, is included approximately between $78^{\circ} 30'$ and 102° east longitude and between $27^{\circ} 20'$ and $39^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude. The length east and west is given by Richard as 1,240 miles and its greatest breadth north and south as 740 miles; its area is 463,320 square miles. The handbook Tibet, prepared by the British Foreign Office, gives the extreme length as 1,370 miles and the breadth as 820 miles and states that the estimates of the area vary from 463,320 to over a million square miles. It takes as a fair estimate, 814,000 square miles.

The larger estimates are based upon the belief that certain regions claimed by China should go to Tibet. The whole country forms a vast mountain mass, the highest in the world, the elevation varying from 9,000 feet to 29,000 feet above sea level. There are extensive "table lands with lakes and rivers having no outlet." In some regions there are deep and well irrigated valleys where vegetation is luxuriant. The loftiest peaks and ranges are of course covered with ice and snow throughout the year. All the great rivers of China and India take their rise in Tibet. The climate is very moist in the south and rather dry in the north and west. There is some agriculture, but the grain raised is insufficient for the population. Rice is imported from India. The people are as a rule rather poor. Polyandry is practiced to a great extent. This tends to keep down the birth rate. But while the people are poor, the country is believed to be rich in mineral resources. This is possibly one reason that such an inhospitable region is coveted by others. Holdich in his *Tibet the Mysterious*, page 329, says:

"So far we have looked at Tibetan trade from the ordinary standpoint of commercial exchange; but there is just one consideration which affects Tibet, placing that country apart from the usual category of the world's consumers or distributors of ordinary trade commodities. Tibet is rich in gold, and it is impossible to suppose that the exceptional position which the great highland country occupies in that respect is altogether absent from the minds of those who would grasp at political influence at Lhasa. Tibet is not only rich in the ordinary acceptance of the term; she must be enormously rich—possibly richer than any country in the world. For thousands of years has gold been washed out of her surface soil by the very crudest of all crude processes and distributed abroad. Some has gone to India via Kashmir or Kumaon, some northward to Kashgar; but most of it undoubtedly has gone to fill the treasuries of Peking. From every river which has its source in the Tibetan plateau, gold is washed. Every traveler who records his experiences in that country speaks of gold workings, and refers to the vast extent of the abandoned mines; mines which on the Chang Tang appear to be shallow and superficial, from which probably not even one-half of the gold upturned has ever been extracted."

According to the British handbook, the most important mineral found in Tibet is gold. The export from the territories bordering China is stated to amount to about 45,000 pounds sterling per annum. This accounts only for what is taken into China. The mines are worked only by very crude and primitive methods. According to Rockhill other ores are silver, copper, lead, iron, and mercury.

Besides gold, the exports consist chiefly of musk, medicines, wool, skins and hides, carpets and rugs. The principal imports are tea, rice, cotton and woolen cloth and silk.

The prevailing religion is Buddhism, in two sects, red and yellow. The yellow-robed monks belong to a reformed sect now in power. Strictly speaking, this religion is Lamaism rather than Buddhism, but it is a corruption of Buddhism. There are said to be 300,000 Lamas in the country. The total population is estimated to be from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000, most of whom are Mongols, but there are tribes of less civilized people whose religion is fetichism and whose manners are savage.

II. THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Tibet is theocratic in character. The two chief lamas of the country, those of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo, divide the power between them; but while the Panshen Lama of Tashilhunpo looks after religious matters, and may perhaps have a more sacred position, it is the Dalai Lama of Lhasa that holds the temporal power. Both those lamas are believed by adherents of their religion to be reincarnations of their predecessors and, in the beginning, reincarnations of two of the principal saints of Buddhism.

The Dalai Lama is assisted in governing the country by a Council of Five, and in times of emergency by a National Assembly representing both the clergy and the laity of Tibet. For administrative purposes the country is divided into four provinces.

For many centuries, however, Tibet has been a dependency of China, and the latter has maintained a Resident, known as the Amban, at Lhasa, the capital of Tibet.

The Chinese histories record the establishment of relations with Tibet in the eighth century of the Christian era. At that time Tibet was a powerful State. Its armies invaded India and central Asia. At one time they conquered and ruled a portion of north China.

Tibet was in alliance for a time with the Khalif of Bagdad and supported him with troops. During the Tang dynasty China maintained cordial relations with Tibet, and an imperial princess was given in marriage to the King of that country.

By the thirteenth century Tibet had fallen under the influence of Lamaism, which spread also through Mongolia. Kublai Khan, one of the Mongol Emperors of China, in 1260 A. D., conferred upon the Chief Tibetan ecclesiastic the title of "Great Precious Prince of the Faith" and recognized him as head of the Lama Church. (Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*, p. 2.)

This was the beginning of a shadowy sort of overlordship on the part of China, which grew into a real suzerainty. Tibet recognized the suzerainty of the Manchus in 1642, two years before the Manchus captured Peking.

In 1750 the temporal power was taken from the King and given to the Dalai Lama and the Panshen Lama. Subsequently the latter devoted himself to religious affairs, leaving the temporal power in the hands of his colleague, the Dalai Lama.

The title "Dalai Lama" was conferred by a Mongol Khan in 1576. With the Tibetans the relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Empire was held to be that of teacher and pupil, but to Chinese it was that of a vassal to his overlord. (Minutes of the Simla Conference, p. 1.)

The Chinese rule over Tibet was scarcely more than nominal and the yoke was hardly felt by the Tibetans. During the eighteenth century, moreover, the Tibetans profited by their relationship to China. Tibet was invaded by the Nepalese, who sacked the monasteries and carried off much booty. The Tibetans appealed to China, which sent an army, defeated Nepal, and compelled that country to restore the plunder taken and to pay annual tribute to China. (Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 30.)

III. EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH TIBET.

British official relations with Tibet began in 1774, when Warren Hastings was in charge of the British East India Company. The Bhutanese had raided the territory of one of their neighbors who applied to the British for assistance.

The British punished the Bhutanese who were subjects of Tibet. The Panshen Lama interceded for the ruler of Bhutan, and Hastings sent Bogle to establish friendly relations with Bhutan and Tibet. Bogle was well received but met some opposition from the Nepalese and did not succeed in opening up trade relations, as had been hoped. After Bogle's return, Hastings, in 1783, sent a relative, named Turner, to Tibet. He, too, was well received and secured trading privileges for natives of India. The European, however, was still dreaded, or perhaps the Chinese Resident was unwilling to have Europeans open up commercial relations with Tibet. (Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 29.)

These attempts at commercial intercourse might have led perhaps to something more substantial, were it not for the fact that in 1792 the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet. The Chinese sent a strong army to the assistance of Tibet. By one of those remarkable marches for which Chinese soldiers have been distinguished, some 70,000 men climbed the mountain fortresses of Tibet and subdued the invader. This was followed by the establishment of stringent regulations against the intercourse of Tibet with the outside world. (Holdich, *Tibet the Mysterious*, pp. 104-109.)

During the period in which the Gurkhas were invading Tibet they overran Sikkim also and conquered it. They were defeated by China, as already told, in 1792, but subsequently they were engaged in war with the British and were defeated again. The British restored the Sikkim Rajah to his throne in 1817 and the Rajah in 1859 ceded Darjeeling to Britain for a mountain summer resort.

The treaty with Sikkim provided that the Rajah would refer to the British Government for arbitration any difficulties that he might have with his neighbors and that he would pledge himself and his successors to join the British troops with his whole military force when British troops were employed in the hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power.

The Rajah was further pledged not to allow any British subjects nor the subjects of any European or American State to reside in his territories without the permission of the English Government. (British State Papers, vol. 4, p. 262.)

As a result of the same war a treaty with Nepal was made which secured to Britain the cession of a large territory and bound Nepal not to molest Sikkim, and not to take any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State into its service without the consent of the British Government. Moreover, Nepal was pledged to refer to the British Government for arbitration any difficulties that they might have with Sikkim. (British State Papers, vol. 4, pp. 255-257.)

Thus by taking advantage of the quarrels of these petty Indian rulers, Great Britain gradually brought one State after another into a relationship of subordination to herself. These three territories, nominally a part of Tibet and dependencies of China, were brought really into a position of dependence upon Britain. The present action of Great Britain therefore is but another illustration of the policy deliberately adopted which she has followed for over a century in her Asiatic conquests.

In 1849, owing to the hostility of the new Rajah of Sikkim, more territory was taken from that little State by Great Britain, and in 1890 China by treaty recognized Sikkim to be a British protectorate. This treaty defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. A later treaty of 1893 with China provided for the opening of trade at Yatung on the Tibetan side of the frontier.

These two treaties the Tibetans have refused to accept as of force, since they themselves were not represented in the negotiations, and this was one of the causes that led to the invasion of Tibet by British troops in 1904.

IV. RUSSIAN INTRIGUE IN TIBET.

About 1880 a Russian subject named Dordjoeff, but a Buriat and a lama, living near Lake Baikal, made a visit to Tibet. Being a lama, he had no trouble in entering the country and remaining there. He spent some years in Lhasa and vicinity and in 1898 he was sent back to Siberia and into Russia to solicit contributions for the support of his religion. There are many Buddhists in Russia's vast dominions and Dordjoeff apparently had some success in his mission. The Russian Government seized the opportunity to persuade him to act as Russian agent at Lhasa. He returned to Lhasa and endeavored to persuade the Tibetan Government to ask the protection of Russia. Russia, he said, was the most powerful nation in the world. The British were a grasping people. China, the Suzerain Power, was really a *weakness*. The proper thing to do was to trust Russia. The Dalai Lama was convinced. He said he would go in person to Petersburg to see the "Great White Tsar." He sent in advance the holy cushion on which he was to sit, and with it some sacred scriptures of his religion. But the Tibetan Grand Council opposed the project, saying they needed no protector. The Dalai Lama, however, was stubborn. He sent Dordjoeff back to Russia, who brought a second message to Lhasa asking the Dalai Lama to send an envoy to consider the matter further. The Dalai Lama did so.

The arrival of this mission at Odessa on the 25th of June, 1901, created great interest. The *Novoe Vremya* of the 30th of June said:

"The reappearance of the Tibetan mission in Russia proves that the favorable impressions carried back by Dorshieff to his home from his previous mission have confirmed the Dalai Lama in his intention of contracting the friendliest relations with Russia.

"This is not astonishing; those acquainted with the Far East must know that in those lands news travels, if not with the speed of lightning, at any rate much faster than it does by Russian telegraph; and therefore it can not be wondered at that the news of the events of Pechili; the capture of the Taku forts, Tientsin, and Peking; the Russian victories of Manchuria,

the taking of Mukden, etc., have penetrated to the Lama of Tibet. Under these circumstances, a *rapprochement* with Russia must seem to him the most natural step, as Russia is the only Power able to counteract the intrigues of Great Britain, who has so long been endeavoring to obtain admission and only awaits an opportunity to force an entrance. It would also be only natural if other central Asiatic and west Chinese nations were to aspire toward a similar friendship with Russia, who has won the respect and confidence of all who own her sway.

"The difficulties encountered by the Tibetan mission on its journey through India explain why Tibet, who has already seen the lion's paw raised over it, turns its eyes toward the Emperor of the North. Even now the lion is not quiet, but forges its chains in India itself. It is no secret to any one against whom all these rifles, guns, and cartridges are collected, all these factories of cordite and lyddite erected. These have, indeed, wrought no miracles in South Africa, where England has striven in vain to deprive a small but valiant people of its independence. Perhaps rumors of this heroic struggle have penetrated to Tibet." (British Parliamentary Papers; 1920, Tibet, p. 115.)

The mission returned to Tibet in 1901, bringing with it the draft of a treaty with Russia and a proposal that Russia be permitted to send a member of the Russian Imperial Family to be representative at Lhasa. The Chinese Amban learned of this and, together with the Grand Council, strongly opposed the proposed treaty. Dordjief then deliberately set to work to alarm the British Indian Government and cause them to invade Tibet in the hope that Russia would come to the assistance of Tibet. Russian rifles were sent into Tibet and Dordjief boasted that he would have Russian soldiers in Lhasa in the spring of 1903. He allowed these reports to reach the Indian Government, which began at once to plan a counter move. (Landon's Opening of Tibet, pp. 23-26.)

In 1900 Russian forces had swept down through Manchuria and taken possession of that vast region. This gave the Orient an impression of great strength and may have contributed to the belief of Dordjief and the Dalai Lama that Russia would be able and willing to replace China as protector of Tibet and prove more than a match for the British. The anxiety of the British was increased by a rumor in circulation in 1902 that China had entered into a secret treaty with Russia affecting Tibet.

But in 1903 Japan was pressing hard for the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia and early in 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out.

The British Government had inquired at Petersburg about the mission of Dordjief in 1901, but had been told that it was purely a religious one, similar to those sent by the Pope to the faithful in foreign lands, that the mission had no political or diplomatic character. (British Parliamentary Papers; 1920, Tibet, p. 117.)

But this, of course, did not relieve the anxiety of Great Britain. Russia had as much right as Great Britain to intrigue in Tibet; that is to say, neither had any right there, since Tibet for 700 years had been a part of China. Both Russia and Great Britain had been advancing in Asia by much the same methods, and the jealousy of the lion and the bear had been manifested in Turkey, in Persia, in Afghanistan, in Tibet and China. The loftiest mountains in the world as a barrier between them were not high enough to dissipate their fears one of the other.

V. THE EXPEDITION OF 1904.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, was not slow to take action. There was not lacking a reasonable excuse for a military movement. The Tibetans, as I have said, had never recognized the treaties of 1890 and 1893 between Britain and China, because they, the Tibetans, had never been consulted and the treaties had disposed of Tibetan territory and Tibetan rights. They had therefore thrown down the boundary stones on the Sikkim frontier, had built a wall across the only road to Yatung, which the treaties of 1890 and 1893 had declared open to trade, and had established a customs station at Giaogong, 15 miles on the Indian side from the boundary. (Landon, Opening of Tibet, p. 26.)

Lord Curzon in the spring of 1903 asked for 1,200 rifles and permission to advance immediately to Lhasa, but the British Government was not convinced of its necessity; it granted permission merely for a small escort to accompany Major Younghusband to Kamba Jong, 15 miles north of the frontier. China had agreed that a Chinese officer and a representative of the Dalai Lama should meet the British at the frontier and discuss the situation. Major Younghusband went, but the Chinese and Tibetans refused to negotiate with him unless he would return to Giaogong, on the Indian side of the frontier. (Landon, Opening of Tibet, p. 27. See also Younghusband, India and Tibet, pp. 89, 110, 115.)

Younghusband admits that the crossing of the frontier in the face of protests seemed to be a high-handed action and that there seemed to be some force in the Tibetan argument that discussion should take place at Giaogong. (India and Tibet, pp. 114, and 115.)

It seems, however, that the Chinese Government had agreed to Kamba Jong as the place of meeting, but apparently they did not know that Kamba Jong was on the Tibetan side of the frontier. (India and Tibet, p. 130.)

The British arrived at Kamba Jong on July 7, 1903. They remained there throughout the summer and autumn, having rather friendly relations with the people and with some of the lamas, but unable to bring the Government to consent to negotiations unless the British would withdraw to Giaogong. At last, in November, 1903, the British Government on the appeal of the Indian Government permitted the force to advance to Gyantse, about 100 miles north of the Indian frontier. This move brought protests not only from China, but from Russia also. On November 17 the Russian Government reminded Lord Lansdowne of the manner in which Russia viewed the Tibetan question and expressed the feeling that such an invasion of Tibet was calculated to involve a grave disturbance of the Central Asian situation. (Younghusband, India and Tibet, pp. 144, 145.)

The British forces were considerably reinforced by troops from Darjeeling, which moved up through the pass in December, 1903, and on January 8, 1904, reached Tuna on the way to Gyantse.

Thus far the British had met merely with protests, but no armed resistance. But on March 31, 1904, when they attempted to move beyond Tuna they found the road blocked by a force of Tibetan soldiers. Apparently they had not intended to fight, but one careless shot called out a return volley from the British and the ground in a few moments was covered with Tibetan dead. Other brief skirmishes occurred and a fight at the Gyantse fort. Armed opposition of course only strengthened the British determination to go forward. They reached Lhasa, the capital, on August 3. The Dalai Lama had fled. He took Dordjieff with him and made his way to Mongolia, where he took refuge with the Hutukhtu of Urga.

The capture of Lhasa disclosed the fact that the Chinese Resident had been unable to leave the capital and enter into negotiations with the British because the Dalai Lama would not consent and the Resident had no force sufficient to make his will felt. He was practically a prisoner in Lhasa.

VI. TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND TIBET.

The Dalai Lama having fled, negotiations were conducted with the Regent, the Council, and the National Assembly, and a convention between Britain and Tibet was signed on September 7, 1904. China was no party to the treaty. It levied an indemnity of £500,000 upon the Tibetans; i. e., 75 lakhs of rupees. This was subsequently, by a note attached to the treaty, reduced to 25 lakhs. (China afterwards assumed the debt and paid it.)

The most important item of the treaty was Article IX, which stipulated as follows:

"The Government of Tibet engages that, without the previous consent of the British Government—

"(a) No portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged, or otherwise given for occupation to any Foreign Power.

"(b) No such Power shall be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs.

"(c) No representatives or agents of any Foreign Power shall be admitted to Tibet.

"(d) No concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights shall be granted to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any Foreign Power. In the event of consent to such concessions being granted, similar or equivalent concessions shall be granted to the British Government.

"(e) No Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any Foreign Power or to the subject of any Foreign Power." (MacMurray, p. 578.)

These provisions were a violation of the policy of the Open Door, to which Great Britain had subscribed, and direct negotiation with Tibet instead of with the Suzerain Power was, of course, offensive to China. On the 27th of September the Government appointed Mr. Tong Shao-Yi a high commissioner plenipotentiary to proceed to India and negotiate with the British Government in regard to Tibetan matters.

VII. TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA.

This resulted in the Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1906 in which China confirms with modifications the Convention of 1904 with Tibet.

Clause (d) of Article IX of that convention was modified by Article III of the treaty of April 27, 1906, which declared that:

"The concessions which are mentioned in Article (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any State or to the subject of any State other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the trade marts specified in Article 2 of the aforesaid Convention Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India."

The remainder of Article IX of the Convention of 1904, however, is still in force. (MacMurray, 1906/2, p. 576.)

VIII. TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA.

The treaty was followed by the negotiation on August 31, 1907, of a convention between Great Britain and Russia in which the two Powers agreed that neither would enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the Chinese Government. It was also agreed that neither should send representatives to reside in Lhasa. (MacMurray 1907/16, p. 674.)

IX. EXILE OF THE DALAI LAMA.

In the meantime the Dalai Lama was still an exile in Mongolia.

On the 10th of September, 1904, the Imperial Resident posted a notice in Lhasa temporarily vacating the office of the Dalai Lama and appointing the Panshen Lama of Tashilhunpo to succeed him in the discharge of his political duties. This had been authorized by an Imperial edict at Peking issued on August 28, 1904.

The Dalai Lama remained in Urga until 1907. In November of that year he arrived at Kokonor on his way back to Tibet.

The Chinese Emperor sent him a message inviting him to come to Peking. He accepted the invitation and traveling by easy stages reached Peking on September 28, 1908.

He had audience of the Emperor on October 14, 1908. He was treated with great respect while in Peking. His position as head of the Yellow Church was fully recognized. A new title was conferred upon him; but it made clear his subordination to the Chinese Emperor, and his dislike for the Chinese was intensified. The American minister, Mr. Rockhill, who was well known to the Dalai Lama, had several interviews with him and was consulted a number of times by Dordjief. Mr. Rockhill wrote to the President a very interesting report of the visit. In it he says:

"The Dalai Lama will probably start on his journey back to Lhasa about the end of this month and reach his capital by May of next year. His pride has suffered terribly while here and he leaves Peking with his dislike for the Chinese intensified. I fear that he will not cooperate with the Chinese in the difficult work they now propose to undertake of governing Tibet like a Chinese province, and that serious trouble may yet be in store for my friend the Dalai Lama, T'ub-tan gyats'o, if not for China. * * * The special interest to me is that I have probably been a witness to the overthrow of the temporal power of the head of the Yellow Church, which, curiously enough, I heard 20 years ago predicted in Tibet, where it was commonly said that the thirteenth Dalai Lama would be the last and my client is the thirteenth." (Peking, Nov. 10, 1908; file 17114/-1.)

The Dalai Lama returned slowly to Tibet and reached Lhasa on December 23, 1909. (British Parliamentary Papers, 5240, Tibet, p. 185.)

X. CHINA ASSERTS HER AUTHORITY. TIBET OPPOSES.

During this same month relations between Tibetans and Chinese became much strained by the announced intention of China to send a force of some 2,000 troops to Lhasa. This was a belated effort of the Chinese Government to recover its authority in Tibet.

Chao-Erh-feng, who had been appointed Resident at Lhasa in March, 1908, was a man of considerable force of character, but was bitterly hated in Tibet because he had in 1906 destroyed a lamasery in eastern Tibet, the headquarters of a rebellion and a place where a former Resident had been murdered.

The inhabitants of the eastern Tibetan district are of various tribes, some of whom are non-Tibetan, such as the Lisus, Lutses, and Michemis. (Richard's Comprehensive Geography of China, p. 547.) Moreover, the district is not under the Government of Lhasa, but independent of it. The appointment of Chao was followed by an uprising in eastern Tibet and the report that Chao was taking a military force with him created fear in Lhasa.

In November, 1908, steps were taken to organize a number of districts in eastern Tibet into counties and prefectures. Chao moved toward Lhasa and reached Chiamdo, and during 1909 the Tibetans raised a force to oppose his progress. In January, 1910, a small force of Chinese entered Lhasa and a fight took place, in which a number of Tibetans were killed.

XI. APPEAL TO GREAT BRITAIN.

The Tibetans appealed to Great Britain to use her good offices to stop the advance of the Chinese. The British Government in February, 1910, sent a message to China, disclaiming any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet, but stating that they could not be indifferent to the disturbance of the peace and complaining that China had not informed them of her intentions. China stated that what they had done was nothing more than their right and that China had always exercised the right of sending troops into Tibet. China pointed out, too, that it was the Dalai Lama who had created the trouble that led to British intervention in 1904 and that he was now stirring up further trouble and was wholly unreliable. (British Parliamentary papers, 5217, Tibet, pp. 195, 196, 203, 209.)

XII. THE DALAI LAMA FLEES TO INDIA.

On the 12th of February, 1910, the Dalai Lama fled again from Lhasa despite the advice of his councillors to the contrary. This time he turned to India. On the 25th of that month he was deposed by edict of the Chinese Regent. (Peking Tel. file 1518/3530.) This was not an unprecedented act and seems to have been justified.

The Viceroy of India on the day following the deposition of the Dalai Lama telegraphed the secretary of state for India that the position of the Dalai Lama as spiritual leader was not affected by the edict of deposition and that he was sending a representative to Darjeeling that night to carry his compliments to the Dalai Lama and inquire after his health.

The Dalai Lama was well received in India and became very friendly with the British officials there.

He remained in India some two years, during which time he was repeatedly urged both by Chinese and Tibetan officials to return to Lhasa. He finally yielded to their solicitations and left India for Tibet on June 24, 1912.

In the meantime Chao Erh-feng, who was a very capable administrator, had greatly strengthened the Chinese control in Lhasa, so much so that the British Government recognized that the suzerainty was being made effective. (British Parliamentary Papers, 5217, Tibet, p. 215.) But Chao was promoted to the post of Viceroy of Szechuen and in 1911 was making his influence felt there in strengthening China's control of the Tibetan border.

XIII. THE REPUBLIC AND TIBET.

It was the severity of his measures toward the Szechuen Railway Company that precipitated the revolution of 1911 that overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. In the midst of the disorders occasioned by the revolution Chao was murdered. The troops in Lhasa mutinied in sympathy with the people at home. The Tibetans attacked the troops and besieged them in their quarters.

Further disorders occurred on the Szechuen border also. At this time the Provisional Government of the Republic was in control at Peking.

All races were declared to be on an equality in the Republic and a new national banner was designed of five stripes—representing the five principal races of China—Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turkis and Tibetans. Due provision was made for the representation of Tibet in Parliament.

But this did not please the Tibetan Government; the Dalai Lama entered into a treaty with the Hutukhtu of Outer Mongolia, which had declared its independence of China, mutually to assist one another to maintain their independence and entire separation from China. (See Annex II.) The activities of Russia in connection with the separatist movement in Urga, and the friendly relations established by the Dalai Lama with the British, together with the reported close relations between the Japanese and certain Manchu princes in Manchuria, gave rise at this time to rumors of an understanding between Great Britain, Russia and Japan which would allow each a free hand in the region with which it was concerned. It is doubtful that there was ever any agreement of the sort. (Peking Tel. Aug. 29, 1912, file 893.00/1434.)

XIV. THE BRITISH PROTEST.

In the summer of 1912 the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, being besieged by the Tibetans, appealed to his Government for protection. China prepared to send an expedition for this purpose from Szechuen. This coming to the knowledge of the British Minister at Peking, he called at the Foreign Office and asked to be informed if troops were to be sent into Tibet. Subsequently China informed the British Minister of her intention to send a small force to rescue the Resident. The British Minister objected, declaring that although the suzerainty of China over Tibet was recognized, Great Britain did not recognize China's sovereignty there; that China must not interfere with internal affairs of Tibet without first consulting Great Britain; and that China must not send officials or troops into Tibet. Sir John Jordan, the British Minister, also objected to the representation of Tibet in the Chinese Parliament. He declared that until China agreed to these demands, Great Britain could not recognize the Republic and would forbid the entrance of Chinese into Tibet via India.

The Chinese replied orally that they regarded the closing of the Indian frontier as an unfriendly act, intimated that Tibet was a part of China, but agreed not to send the troops. The Chinese Government asked the British Minister how the Chinese in Lhasa were to be rescued. He replied that arrangements could be made to send them out through India. Consequently peace was concluded between China and Tibet in August, 1912, and all the Chinese over and above the ordinary escort of the Resident left their arms in Lhasa and were escorted out via India. (Peking Tel. Aug. 31, 1912; file 893.00,1435; and oral communication of Chinese For. Office to Peking Legation.)

XV. THE SIMLA CONVENTION.

Matters have remained ever since in the rather unsatisfactory condition just represented. But in October, 1913, a tripartite conference was held at Simla which resulted in the initialing by the representatives of Great Britain, China and Tibet of a convention which aimed to determine the relations of China and Tibet and to define the interest of Great Britain in the latter country.

The action of the Chinese representative in initialing the convention was repudiated by China which has steadily refused ever since to agree to its provisions. It was, however, signed by the British and Tibetan representatives.

The Simla Convention provides for a division of Tibet for administrative purposes into "Inner" and "Outer" Tibet after the analogy of the division of Mongolia. "Inner Tibet" is to be that portion nearest to China. The boundary between the two sections is indicated on a map attached to the convention. (See map attached hereto; see also Annex III.)

The convention recognized Tibet as a portion of China and under China's suzerainty. It provided that "Outer Tibet" should be autonomous but "Inner Tibet" was to be administered by China. Both Great Britain and China were to agree to abstain from all interference in the administration of Outer Tibet. China was to agree not to convert it into a Chinese Province (as attempted in 1911) and not to have it represented in the Chinese Parliament. China was to agree, furthermore, not to station troops in "Outer Tibet" nor to station civil or military officials there nor to send Chinese colonies there. But China was to continue to enjoy the right to send a Resident to Lhasa, with an escort of not more than 300 men. The British were to be allowed to send their agent at Gyantse to Lhasa, if occasion should require, with an escort.

Article III of the treaty of 1906 was to be canceled. This is the article which declared that the concessions mentioned in (d) of Article IX of the Tibetan Convention of 1904 were denied to any State or the subject of any State other than China. The abrogation of this stipulation would appear to leave the original paragraph (d) in force, i. e., that without the consent of the British Government no concessions for railway building, mining, erection of telegraphs or any other rights were to be granted by Tibet to any Power or the subject of any Power. This would give Great Britain a monopoly of these rights and close the Open Door in so far as Tibet is concerned.

The Simla Convention further stipulated that difficulties arising between China and Tibet should be referred to Great Britain for adjustment.

XVI. CHINA OBJECTS.

China demanded amendment of the proposed convention in the following sense:

"1. China can never agree to the clause that 'Tibet shall not be represented in Parliament or other similar body.'

"2. China asked that the number of the escort of the British agent should under no circumstances exceed that of the Chinese escort of the Chinese Amban in Lhasa. (Art. 4.)

"3. That the Chinese Amban should have the right of appointing deputies to all the places where there were British trade agents. (Art. 4.)

"4. That the new regulations to be negotiated between Great Britain and Tibet should be submitted to the Chinese Government for its approval. (Art. 7.)

"5. China declared that in regard to the frontier question, mentioned in Article 9 of the draft convention, it could not be said that they had not made a number of concessions, but they were prepared to show their great regard for the wishes of the British plenipotentiary by the following proposals:

"(a) All the places north of the Tangla Range, the original limits of Chinghai, Atuntzu, Batang, Litang, etc., should all be administered by the Central Government in the same way as the inland districts.

"(b) All the places east of the Salween, together with Darge, Miarong, Chiamdo, Jyade, etc., should retain the original territorial name of Khamdo, but should be regarded as a special zone where the Central Government should have the right of doing whatever they think necessary for the consolidation of their position in that country. With the exception of these districts, which China had already instituted, no more new districts should hereafter be created, and the religious control which the Dalai Lama had had in the country should remain as heretofore.

"(c) All the places west of the Salween should be placed within the limits of the autonomy of Tibet, but any question which might arise there, of political, territorial or international nature should be discussed between China and Great Britain, while the Tibetans should participate in the said discussions; a statement to that effect was to be inserted in the proposed appendix." (Minutes of Simla Conference; see Annex III.)

The chief of these objections of the Chinese appeared to be that relating to the boundaries between the proposed Inner and Outer Tibet, and between China and Inner Tibet.

On the map attached hereto the broken line indicates the ancient boundary between China and Tibet, and that which was to be adopted by the first British proposal as the proper boundary to-day between China and Inner Tibet. It would have included in Inner Tibet a large part of the Kokonor region, which in 1913 China recognized as the Province of Chinghai, with its own representatives in the Chinese Parliament. This line also inclosed in Tibet districts which for many years have been considered by China as forming a part of the Province of Szechuen and governed as such.

The dotted line shows what was yielded by the British in their second proposal. As drawn across Kokonor it is moved farther toward the southwest than the first line, but still retains in Tibet more than half of Kokonor. Eastward, too, it claims for Tibet the Szechuen marches.

The dot-and-dash line is that proposed by Great Britain as the boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet. As will be seen, it gives to Outer, or autonomous, Tibet a large portion of Kokonor and in a north and south direction it coincides with the eastern boundary of Khamdo or Chamdo. This eastern boundary of Chamdo in its southern section is held by the Chinese to be not a boundary between an "Inner" and an "Outer" Tibet, but between China and Tibet.

For centuries the peoples along the border have had close intercourse. There has been colonization by the Chinese and some intermarriage with the aborigines. This intermingling of the races has been followed by the political organization here and there of counties and prefectures with ordinary Chinese administration.

The Chinese have been very reluctant to agree to any such distinction as "Inner" and "Outer" Tibet, but as a mark of their desire for peace they agreed at Simla to recognize such a distinction provided Inner Tibet be made to include the region indicated on the map by the shading. This would take from autonomous Tibet an extensive region which, the Chinese claim, is inhabited by tribes differing from those of Farther Tibet and having a political organization independent of Lhasa.

XVII. GROUNDS OF THE BRITISH RECOMMENDATION.

The reasons for recommending the boundaries laid down by the British and Tibetans are well stated by Sir Henry McMahon as follows:

"A. Well-authenticated records, both Chinese and Tibetan, including the China-Tibet Treaty of 822 A. D. and the Chinese maps of the Tang Dynasty, indicate historic Tibetan frontiers, such as are shown by the red line on the skeleton map, which I now lay upon the

table. [The "red line" is that indicated on our map by a broken line.] My Tibetan colleague has produced evidence of Tibetan rights and privileges of varying degree throughout the whole of the territory shown within this red line. The line appears indeed to outline the frontiers of Tibet as a geographical and political unit.

"B. The edicts of the Emperors, Kanghsi and Chienlung, provide evidence of changes in the political status of certain portions of Tibet, and it is clear that a measure of Chinese control was established during the eighteenth century. At that period a pillar was erected in the neighborhood of Batang, and it is clear that that pillar, together with the watershed on which it stands, then marked and has continued to mark a well-defined line between the sphere of periodical Chinese intervention in Tibet and the sphere in which Chinese dictation was of a purely nominal nature. These two spheres are divided by the blue line on the map, and I propose that they be designated as the zones of Inner and Outer Tibet. [The "blue line" is our dot-and-dash line.] It is clear that these two zones are on different political bases and that they require separate treatment.

"C. The campaigns of various Chinese officials during the last half century considerably modified the historic status of Inner Tibet; at various times semi-independent States, which had come under the more direct control of China, reverted to the Lhasa Government; other States again were the scenes of Chinese military operations and temporarily lost their independence; lastly the inhabitants rose and drove out the Chinese not only from the outer zone but from the whole of Tibet.

"D. Such was the state of affairs when this Conference was summoned. The historic limits of Tibet had not been respected by the Chinese, and the historic rights of the Chinese had in consequence been ignored by the Tibetans. A state of war existed which proved a burden to the people of the country and a menace to the neighboring frontiers. It is my most earnest desire to assist my honorable colleagues in making an end to these troubles and in finding some settlement which will restore to the whole of Tibet continued prosperity and peace.

"E. My Chinese colleague has requested that in defining the geographical limits of Tibet I should suggest also some solution of the political difficulty. The blue and red lines indicated on the map demonstrate the solution which I propose for the geographical problem. As regards the political difficulty, I am of opinion that it will best be met by recognizing the established autonomy of Outer Tibet whilst recognizing also the right of the Chinese to reestablish such a measure of control in Inner Tibet as will restore and safeguard their historic position there without in any way infringing the integrity of Tibet as a geographical and political entity." (Annex III, minutes of Simla Conference.)

XVIII. OSTENSIBLE AND REAL REASONS FOR BRITISH INTERFERENCE.

The Chinese representative objected to the second paragraph of Article IX of the proposed convention that it would practically leave the administrative control, even of Inner Tibet, in the hands of Lhasa. To this, one of the members of the British delegation replied that Outer Tibet was far nearer to the great cities of India and to British centers of *military strength* than was Inner Tibet to corresponding centers in China, and that Great Britain was adopting a self-denying attitude toward Tibet. (Minutes of Simla Conference.)

China might have retorted that it was not India but Great Britain that was destroying China's suzerainty in Tibet, and that the great cities of British culture were far removed on the other side of the globe, while China, whose historic rights were being invaded, had for centuries ruled Tibet through the Viceroy of Szechuen, whose great cities were as near as those of India to Tibet and would compare favorably in population, wealth and culture with the greatest of India's cities.

But the reminder of the propinquity of British centers of *military strength* was timely, for it is still military strength, apparently that decides such questions as those in dispute.

At bottom, however, the real reason for British interest in Tibet is probably the wealth of Tibet. The mineral riches of its mountains and streams have made Tibet a Naboth's vineyard to the neighboring British Ahab.

The Chinese Government, as has been said, refused to sign the Simla Convention. It was signed by the British and Tibetans on July 3, 1913. But the Chinese representative had given formal notice that his Government would not recognize any agreement that might then or thereafter be signed by Great Britain and Tibet.

Matters remained in this condition for nearly a year. In June, 1914, the British Minister at Peking assured the Peking Foreign Office that the Simla Convention was the only solution of the Tibetan question, and that China would be deprived of its advantages if she persisted in her refusal to sign it. (*Far Eastern Political Science Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 107.)

During the World War but little attention could be given to this question, but it is understood that Sir John Jordan endeavored on several occasions to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. In June, 1915, some counterproposals were made by China. (*Ibid.*)

In 1917 disorders broke out on the eastern frontier of Tibet, due to the nonpayment of the Chinese troops by the Peking Government. These troops, or some of them, attempted to invade Tibet. The Tibetans drove them out. In the summer of 1918 a British Consul employed his good offices in an attempt to make peace. A truce was established, which continued until quite recently, but the feeling between the Tibetans and Chinese has not improved. (*Ibid.*, p. 108.)

American travelers who have visited western Szechuen during the present year report a deplorable condition of affairs in that region. The Tibetans attempted to capture Batang last June, but were driven back by the Chinese troops, who, however, looted the city. The whole region is said to be infested with brigands who ravage the countryside, robbing and killing without restraint. (Peking Legation No. 1282, June 13, 1921, file 893.00/3969.)

Among the proposals that have been made by China is one that the boundary between China and Tibet be that laid down by the Manchu Government in 1727; that Tibet be recognized as a self-governing dominion; and that China retain her Resident at Lhasa.

Early in the summer of 1919 Sir John Jordan, the British Minister in Peking, brought the question to the attention of President Hsu Shih-chang, who promised that negotiations would be resumed as soon as peace should be established in Europe.

Accordingly the matter was brought up again in August, 1919, but there was such strong popular opposition to the proposed basis of negotiation that China asked to have the matter postponed until measures could be adopted to enlighten the people and form a more favorable public opinion. (*Far Eastern Political Science Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 108, 109.) This is the present situation.

E. T. W.

ANNEX I.

Convention between Great Britain, China, and Tibet.¹

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Excellency the President of the Republic of China, and His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, being sincerely desirous to settle by mutual agreement various questions concerning the interests of their several States on the Continent of Asia, and further to regulate the relations of their several Governments, have resolved to conclude a Convention on this subject and have nominated for this purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, Knight Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department;

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China, Monsieur Ivan Chen, Officer of the Order of the Chia Ho;

His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Lonchen Ga-den Shatra Pal-jor Dorje; who having communicated to each other their respective full powers and finding them to be in good and due form have agreed upon and concluded the following Convention in eleven Articles:

ARTICLE 1.

The Conventions specified in the Schedule to the present Convention shall, except in so far as they may have been modified by, or may be inconsistent with or repugnant to, any of the provisions of the present Convention, continue to be binding upon the High Contracting Parties.

¹ Taken from Minutes of the Simla Conference of 1913-14 (rejected by China but signed by Great Britain and Tibet).

ARTICLE 2.

The Governments of Great Britain and China recognising that Tibet is under the suzerainty of China, and recognising also the autonomy of Outer Tibet, engage to respect the territorial integrity of the country, and to abstain from interference in the administration of Outer Tibet (including the selection and installation of the Dalai Lama), which shall remain in the hands of the Tibetan Government at Lhasa.

The Government of China engages not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province. The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibet or any portion of it.

ARTICLE 3.

Recognising the special interest of Great Britain, in virtue of the geographical position of Tibet, in the existence of an effective Tibetan Government, and in the maintenance of peace and order in the neighborhood of the frontiers of India and adjoining States, the Government of China engages, except as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, not to send troops into Outer Tibet, nor to station civil or military officers, nor to establish Chinese colonies in the country. Should any such troops or officials remain in Outer Tibet at the date of the signature of this Convention, they shall be withdrawn within a period not exceeding three months.

The Government of Great Britain engages not to station military or civil officers in Tibet (except as provided in the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet), nor troops (except the Agents' escorts), nor to establish colonies in that country.

ARTICLE 4.

The foregoing Article shall not be held to preclude the continuance of the arrangement by which, in the past, a Chinese high official with suitable escort has been maintained at Lhasa, but it is hereby provided that the said escort shall in no circumstances exceed 300 men.

ARTICLE 5.

The Governments of China and Tibet engage that they will not enter into any negotiations or agreements regarding Tibet with one another, or with any other Power, excepting such negotiations and agreements between Great Britain and Tibet as are provided for by the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet and the Convention of April 27, 1906, between Great Britain and China.

ARTICLE 6.

Article III of the Convention of April 27, 1906, between Great Britain and China is hereby cancelled, and it is understood that in Article IX (d) of the Convention of September 7, 1904 between Great Britain and Tibet the term "Foreign Power" does not include China.

Not less favourable treatment shall be accorded to British commerce than to the commerce of China or the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE 7.

(a) The Tibet Trade Regulations of 1893 and 1908 are hereby canceled.

(b) The Tibetan Government engages to negotiate with the British Government new Trade Regulations for Outer Tibet to give effect to Articles II, IV, and V of the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet without delay; provided always that such Regulations shall in no way modify the present Convention except with the consent of the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE 8.

The British Agent who resides at Gyantse may visit Lhasa with his escort whenever it is necessary to consult with the Tibetan Government regarding matters arising out of the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet, which it has been found impossible to settle at Gyantse by correspondence or otherwise.

ARTICLE 9.

For the purpose of the present Convention the borders of Tibet, and the boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet, shall be as shown in red and blue respectively on the map attached hereto [broken and dot-and-dash lines respectively].

Nothing in the present Convention shall be held to prejudice the existing rights of the Tibetan Government in Inner Tibet, which include the power to select and appoint the high priests of monasteries and to retain full control in all matters affecting religious institutions.

ARTICLE 10.

In case of differences between the Governments of China and Tibet in regard to questions arising out of this Convention the aforesaid Governments engage to refer them to the British Government for equitable adjustment.

ARTICLE 11.

(Ratification clause.)

In token whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Convention, three copies in English, three in Chinese and three in Tibetan.

Done at Simla this —.

SCHEDULE.

1. Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet, signed at Calcutta the 17th March 1890.
2. Convention between Great Britain and Tibet, signed at Lhasa the 7th September 1904.
3. Convention between Great Britain and China respecting Tibet, signed at Peking the 27th April 1906.

The notes exchanged are to the following effect:

1. It is understood by the High Contracting Parties that Tibet forms part of Chinese territory.
2. After the selection and installation of the Dalai Lama by the Tibetan Government, the latter will notify the installation to the Chinese Government, whose representative at Lhasa will then formally communicate to His Holiness the titles consistent with his dignity, which have been conferred by the Chinese Government.
3. It is also understood that the selection and appointment of all officers in Outer Tibet will rest with the Tibetan Government.
4. Outer Tibet shall not be represented in the Chinese Parliament or in any other similar body.
5. It is understood that the escorts attached to the British Trade Agencies in Tibet shall not exceed seventy-five per centum of the escort of the Chinese representative at Lhasa.
6. The Government of China is hereby released from its engagements under Article III of the Convention of March 17, 1890, between Great Britain and China to prevent acts of aggression from the Tibetan side of the Tibet-Sikkim frontier.
7. The Chinese high officials referred to in Article 4 will be free to enter Tibet as soon as the terms of Article 3 have been fulfilled to the satisfaction of representatives of the three signatories to this Convention, who will investigate and report without delay.

ANNEX II.

*Mongol-Tibetan Treaty, Concluded at Urga on 29th December, 1912.*¹

Whereas Mongolia and Tibet, having freed themselves from the Manchu Dynasty and separated themselves from China, have become independent States, and whereas the two States have always professed one and the same religion, and to the end that their ancient mutual friendships may be strengthened: on the part of the Government of the Sovereign of the Mongolian people—Nikta Biliktu da Lama Rabdan, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs and Assistant Minister General and Manlai Caatyr Bei-Tzu Damdinsurun; on the part of the Dalai Lama, ruler of Tibet—Gujir tsanshib Kanchen Lubsan-Agwan, donir Agwan Choinzin, Tshichamtso, manager of the bank, and Gendun-Galsan, secretary, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I.

The Dalai Lama, Sovereign of Tibet approves of and acknowledges the formation of an independent Mongolian State, and the proclamation on the 9th day of the 11th month of the year of the Swine, of the master of the Yellow Faith Je-tsun Dampa Lama as the Sovereign of the land.

¹ Taken from *With the Russians in Mongolia*, by Perry-Ayscough and Otter-Barry; pp. 10-13.

ARTICLE 2.

The Sovereign of the Mongolian people Je-tsun Dampa Lama approves and acknowledges the formation of an independent State and the proclamation of the Dalai Lama as Sovereign of Tibet.

ARTICLE 3.

Both States shall take measures, after mutual consideration, for the prosperity of the Buddhist faith.

ARTICLE 4.

Both States, the Mongolian and the Tibetan, shall henceforth, for all time, afford each other aid against dangers from without and from within.

ARTICLE 5.

Both States, each on its own territory, shall afford mutual aid to their subjects, traveling officially and privately on religious or on State business.

ARTICLE 6.

Both States, the Mongolian and the Tibetan, shall, as formerly, carry on mutual trade in the produce of their lands, in goods, cattle, etc., and likewise open industrial institutions.

ARTICLE 7.

Henceforth transactions on credit shall be allowed only with the knowledge and permission of official institutions; without such permission no claims shall be examined by Government Institutions.

Should such agreements have been entered into before the conclusion of the present treaty, and should the parties hereto be unable to settle matters amicably, while the loss suffered is great, the payment of such debts may be enforced by the said institutions, but in no case shall the debts concern the *Shabinars* and *Hoshuns*.

(*Shabinars*.—People who depend from the Court of Hu-tuk-tu and pay taxes to the Court Department.)

(*Hoshun*.—Principality.)

ARTICLE 8.

Should it be necessary to supplement the articles of this treaty, the Mongolian and Tibetan Governments shall appoint special Plenipotentiaries, who shall come to an Agreement according to the circumstances then existing.

ARTICLE 9.

The present treaty shall come into force on the date of the signature thereof.

Plenipotentiaries of the Mongolian Government: Acting Ministers of Foreign Affairs Biliktu da-Lama Rabdan and Assistant Minister General and Manlai Caatyr Bei-Tzu Damdinsurun.

Plenipotentiaries of the Dalai Lama, Sovereign of Tibet: Gujir tsanshib Kanchen Lubsan-Agwan Choinzin, Tshichamtso, manager of the Bank of Tibet, and Gendun-Galsan, secretary.

According to the Mongolian chronology, on the 4th day of the 12th month of the second year of "Him who is exalted by all."

According to the chronology of Tibet, in the year of the Water-mouse, on the same month and day.

ANNEX III.

*Minutes of the Conference about Tibetan Affairs
Between the British, Chinese and Tibetan Governments.*

STATEMENT OF THE TIBETAN REPRESENTATIVE.

Firstly, the relations between the Manchu Emperor and the Protector, Dalai Lama the Fifth, became like that of the disciple towards the teacher. The sole aim of the then Government of China being to earn merits for this and for the next life, they helped and honoured the

successive Dalai Lamas and treated the monks of all the monasteries with respect. Thus friendship united the two countries like the members of the same family. The Tibetans took no notice of their boundary with China for they thought that the actions of the latter were all meant for the good of Tibet. Gradually the Chinese Emperor lost faith in the Buddhist religion, and he treated the precious Protector, the Dalai Lama, with less respect. The Chinese Amban in Tibet and his subordinate officials and troops entertained very little respect, later on, for the precious Protector, the Dalai Lama, although they knew him to be the owner and Ruler of Tibet both in religious and secular affairs, while they treated the people of Tibet, both laymen and monks, most disrespectfully and meanly as if they were pigs, asses and cattle. They oppressed the Tibetans and treated them with partiality, thus driving them to grief and desperation. After the trouble between the British and the Tibetans in the Wood Dragon year (1903-1904) the Chinese brought soldiers to Tibet on the plea of guarding the country. Commencing from Dar-tse-do (Tachienlu) they picked unnecessary quarrels with the people on the road, and robbed and destroyed villages and monasteries without any provocation. Immediately on their arrival at Lhasa, without any consideration for any agreements either verbal or in writing, they killed and wounded Tibetan officials. They fired at the Potala, the residence of the Dalai Lama, who was then staying in the Palace. They created such a serious disturbance that the Dalai Lama and the principal officials of Tibet, feeling themselves unsafe, had to leave the city. Len Amban, with the intention of killing and wounding as many of them as possible, sent many soldiers after them. All these circumstances were repeatedly explained to the authorities at Peking, but they paid no heed. After this, the Chinese proclaimed that the precious Protector Dalai Lama was degraded and should be treated as one of the common people, in order thereby to usurp the Government and the revenue of Tibet for themselves. They violated the treaties and forcibly took possession of all powers from the Tibetans. Wholly ignoring the holy tie of the disciple and the teacher, they committed unlimited injury both to the Government and the people of Tibet. During the revolution in China, the Chinese officials and troops in Tibet on the plea of civil strife among themselves, killed and robbed the people in U and Tsang and destroyed their houses and property. The country might be described as full of robbers and thieves. They attacked the monastery of Sera without any provocation, set fire to the city of Lhasa and created disturbance everywhere. They tried their best to destroy the upper and lower Palaces (the Potala and Norbuling), the cathedral and other places held sacred by the Tibetans. All their evil deeds and intentions cannot be recounted in years and months to come. At last the Tibetans, driven by sheer desperation, had to fight, which ended in the defeat of the Chinese. A treaty was accordingly concluded, keeping the Gurkha as an intermediary. The Chinese officers and troops volunteered to withdraw from Tibet, and they returned to China by Sea. Even after this, the Chinese officials and troops, devoid of shame as a nation, disregarded the treaties, and came to Kham where they set fire to many monasteries and many thousands of houses of our subjects, killed the people and robbed them of their property, although the Tibetans were staying in their own country. These people (the Chinese officials and troops) should be punished to the satisfaction of everybody. Tibet and China have never been under each other and will never associate with each other in future. It is decided that Tibet is an independent State and that the Precious Protector, the Dalai Lama, is the Ruler of Tibet, in all temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. Tibet repudiates the Anglo-Chinese Convention concluded at Peking on the 27th April, 1906, corresponding to the 32nd year of the reign of Kwangsu, as she did not send a representative for this Convention nor did she affix her seal on it. It is therefore decided that it is not binding on the three Governments.

Secondly, as regards the boundary between China and Tibet it is decided to be as follows: On the North-east by the stone pillar at Miru-gang in Zilling, thence to the East along the course of the river coming from Mar-chen Pom-ra mountain until it comes to its first big bend and thence to the South-east at a place called Chorten Karpo in Jintang. This is well-known to everybody. According to the new maps of the British Government the boundary of Tibet is as follows: On the north the Kuen Lun Range, the Altyn Tagh, the Tse-dam Range connecting the Altyn Tagh with the Ho Shili Range, the Ba-kang Po-to Range, thence to the North of Tso Gnon-Po, including the Ba-nak Kha-sum country to the border of Khan-su province of China, thence in a southerly and southeasterly direction, including the country of Go-lok, Hor-kog, Nya-rong, Gya-rong-Gya-kag-Cho-gyet, Chak-la and Dar-tse-do, thence in a southerly direction to the junction of the boundaries of Szechuan and Yunnan and thence west along the boundary of Tibet to Ri-ma. This part of the country has been recently named by the Chinese

as Hsi-kang. The above countries all form part of Tibet, being inhabited by the Tibetans and included in Tibet. It is decided that the revenue of these countries of the past years shall be returned to the Tibetans.

Thirdly, the Tibet Trade Regulations of the 5th December, 1893, and those of the 27th April, 1908, will be revised by the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet in mutual consultation and agreement, China having no longer any concern with the aforesaid Trade Regulations.

Fourthly, after all this trouble, great enmity has been generated between the Chinese and the Tibetans. It will therefore be only a source of constant friction if they were to live together in one country in future. It has already caused great trouble to the people of Tibet owing to the oppressive ways of the Chinese officials and troops. In future no Chinese officials and troops will be allowed to stay in Tibet. Their staying there is only an expense to the Chinese, who obtain no revenue from Tibet. In order therefore to ensure peace between the two countries in future no Chinese Amban or other officials and no Chinese soldiers or colonists will be permitted to enter or reside in Tibet. Chinese traders shall be admitted to Tibet when so authorised by permits issued by or under the authority of the Tibetan Government.

Fifthly, the third Dalai Lama visited Mongolia and spread widely the Buddhist religion there and made a mutual alliance as between the teacher and his disciples. The incarnation of Khalka Jetsun Tampa is selected by the Dalai Lama and his subordinate Lamas and officials are also appointed and their appointment letters given by the Dalai Lama. The people of Mongolia and China send monks to the different monasteries in Tibet and also pay vast tributes to the monasteries. The Buddhist monasteries and other religious institutions in Mongolia and China recognise the Dalai Lama as their religious head. All these will be continued facts to be recognised as at present.

Sixthly, the Chinese Government will compensate the Tibet Government soon in money for all the forcible exactions of money or other property taken from the Tibet Government, for the revenue of Nyarong and other districts, which they kept in their possession by force, for destroying houses and property of monasteries, officials and subjects of Tibet and for the damage done to the persons or property of Nepalese and Ladhakis. A list of the damage done can be produced but more such lists are coming from Kham. The Tibetan Government is unable to bear this loss.

The above are our claims.

Dated the 11th day of the 8th month of the Waterbull year (10th October, 1913).

[Seal of the LÖN-CHEN.]

THE CHINESE COUNTERPROPOSALS TO THE STATEMENT OF TIBETAN CLAIMS.

Since the commencement of intercourse between China and Tibet there have been many occasions on which the latter has received much-needed assistance and protection from the former. A Chinese expedition first entered Lhasa in the seventh century, and in 1206 Tibet was again subdued by Genghis Khan, who incorporated it into his wide-spread Empire. Tibet remained in this relation to China during the time of the Ming Dynasty. In 1650, the fifth Dalai Lama came to China to pay respects to the Emperor Shen Chih, who confirmed him in that title by issuing to him a warrant and a seal. In 1717 the Zungarians invaded Tibet and overran the whole country, and with the assistance of the Chinese the Tibetans afterwards succeeded in driving out their enemies. In response to a request proffered by the Tibetans, who were grateful to the Chinese, the Emperor Kang Hsi appointed an Amban to reside at Lhasa in order that the Tibetans could be better looked after. In the reign of Yung Cheng, two Ambans were appointed instead of one.

From thenceforward Tibet was twice invaded by the Gurkhas. At one time the number of Gurkhas occupying Lhasa was 18,000 in all, and these invaders destroyed the monastery of Tashilhunpo and there ransacked everything on which they could lay their hands. So powerless and helpless were the Tibetans that they again went to China for assistance. To their supplication China responded at once by sending over 50,000 soldiers to Tibet; and accordingly the Gurkhas were driven out of the country. Tibet was then definitely placed under the sovereignty of China.

What sacrifices China had made in money and lives for the sake of protecting the Tibetans and their territory?

Not only are these events recorded in Chinese history, but they are also referred to in English records and books, both official and private.

As regards the recent relations between China and Tibet which have resulted in such a misunderstanding as now exists between the two peoples, it is not China that can be blamed, but it is entirely due to the conduct of His Holiness the Dalai Lama himself. His Holiness once had an official named Dorjieff in his confidence, and on many occasions this official by means of dangerous intrigues tried to stir up international questions between China and her near neighbours. This ultimately led to the British expedition to Lhasa in 1904, which nearly jeopardized the friendly relations between China and Great Britain.

Had His Holiness the Dalai Lama then taken the advice of the Chinese Amban Yu-Kang by despatching a high official to meet Colonel Younghusband, His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner, on the Tibetan frontier, and conduct negotiations, the British Expedition to Lhasa would have been avoided and the payment of an indemnity of Rs. 25,000,000 by China on behalf of Tibet would have been saved. It is, therefore, maintained here that what has happened is all through the intractability of His Holiness to the good advices given to him by China from time to time, and his ignorance of the international situation.

As soon as the British Expedition entered Lhasa, His Holiness took flight to China. The Chinese Government, willing to let bye-gones be bye-gones, ordered the officials of all places *en route* to show him every attention. During his journey up from Wu Tai Shan to Peking his followers, however, caused much ruin and unspeakable trouble to the inhabitants of all the places he was passing through, which fact could be substantiated by a very reliable report from an independent source, if it were so desired. Nevertheless the Chinese Government overlooked this and His Holiness was accorded a very cordial welcome and many Imperial favours on his arrival in the capital.

With regard to the action which China has taken within recent years on her frontier, it is because the Chinese and local inhabitants in that quarter have been frequently treated with injustice by the Lama authorities and they have appealed to the Chinese authorities for protection. Their appeal was immediately responded to, but the Tibetans aggravated the situation by their brutal murder of Amban Fung and many Chinese officials, who were skinned to death.

From what has been related it is evident that the claims presented in the Tibetan statement are inadmissible, and in answer to them the following demands are made as the only basis for the negotiation of the Tibetan question:

(i) It is hereby agreed by the undersigned that Tibet forms an integral part of the territory of the Republic of China, that no attempts shall be made by Tibet or by Great Britain to interrupt the continuity of this territorial integrity, and that China's rights of every description which have existed in consequence of this territorial integrity shall be respected by Tibet and recognized by Great Britain.

The Republic of China engages not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province, and Great Britain engages not to annex Tibet or any portion of it.

(ii) The Republic of China has the right of appointing a Resident to reside at Lhasa who is entitled to all such privileges and rights as he has hitherto enjoyed. He is also entitled to have an escort of 2,600 Chinese soldiers, one thousand of whom shall be stationed in Lhasa, while the remaining 1,600 shall be stationed at such places as the Resident thinks fit.

(iii) Tibet undertakes to be guided by China in her foreign and military affairs and not to enter into negotiation with any foreign Powers except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government.

This engagement, however, does not exclude direct relations between the British Commercial Agents and the Tibetan authorities on such commercial matters as are provided for in Article V of the Convention between Great Britain and Tibet of 7th September, 1904, and confirmed by the Convention between Great Britain and China of 27th April, 1906.

(iv) Tibet agrees to grant an amnesty to all those Tibetan officials and people who have been imprisoned by the Tibetan authorities merely on account of their well-known sympathy for the Chinese and also to restore to them all the property which has been confiscated by the said authorities for the same reason.

(v) Clause 5 in the statement of Tibetan claims can be discussed.

(vi) The revision of the Trade Regulations of the 5th of December, 1893, and of the 27th of April, 1908, if found necessary, must be made by all the parties concerned and on the basis of Article III of the Adhesion Convention of the 27th of April, 1906.

(vii) The frontier boundary between China Proper and Tibet is now roughly indicated in the accompanying map.

IVAN CHEN.

October 30th, 1913.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD MEETING OF THE TIBET CONFERENCE HELD AT DELHI ON THE 12TH JANUARY 1914.

Present: Sir Henry McMahon, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E. C. S. I., British Plenipotentiary; and staff.

Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary; and staff.

Kusho Lonchen Shatra, Tibetan Plenipotentiary; and staff.

The plenipotentiaries took their seats at 11 a. m.

Sir Henry McMahon said that the meeting had been called in order that the Chinese and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries might have an opportunity of laying on the table statements¹ of the evidence in regard to the respective frontiers claimed by them.

The Lonchen Shatra said that he regretted he had not been able to complete the translation of all the appendices to his statement as he had only one translator, who was in bad health, but the translation of the remaining appendices was being pushed on as fast as possible.

Monsieur Ivan Chen said that since the last meeting of the Conference at Simla, there had been several informal meetings at the last of which it had been arranged that he and his Tibetan Colleague should submit the cases dealing with their respective territorial claims for Sir Henry McMahon's consideration and decision, after the communication of which they would refer to their respective Governments. He accordingly laid his case on the table for consideration.

The Chinese and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries then exchanged copies of their cases.

Sir Henry McMahon said that he would now proceed to consider the cases and communicate his conclusions to his colleagues as quickly as possible.

The Lonchen Shatra raised the question of the custody of the original Tibetan documents of which translations formed enclosures of the Tibetan case. The originals of these documents were produced and shown to the Conference. Sir Henry McMahon and Monsieur Ivan Chen agreed that in view of the great bulk of these documents they should remain in the custody of the Tibetan Plenipotentiary from whom they could be obtained for reference when required.

The Conference rose at 11.25 a. m.

T. G. B. WAUCH,
Acting Secretary to the Conference.
A. H. McMAHON,
British Plenipotentiary.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Chinese Statement on Limits of Tibet.

At the informal meetings on the question of the limits of Tibet on the 5th, the 11th, the 12th, and the 15th of December last, the Chinese Plenipotentiary stated the claims of the Government of the Republic of China to Giamda and all the places east of it, and also gave reasons with which the Chinese Government put forward such claims.

At the last informal meeting on the 19th of the same month, the Chinese Plenipotentiary, being of the opinion that almost no progress had been made, suggested that he and the Tibetan Plenipotentiary should each submit a statement to the full Conference for the consideration of the British Plenipotentiary, who would in due course of time inform them of the result of his consideration, when they will be given time to consider it and telegraph to their respective Home Authorities on the matter. This mode of procedure was then agreed to unanimously.

Under these circumstances the Chinese Plenipotentiary begs to submit the following statement:

I. What are the claims of the Chinese Government in regard to the question of the limits of Tibet?

The Chinese Government claim to have Giamda and all the places east of it, viz., Jyade, Dam, Zayul, Chiamdo, Enta, Markham, Puyul, Pemakoi-chen, Darge, Lhojong, Shobando, and Tenk'e.

¹ Vide enclosures Nos. 1 and 2.

II. What rights are the claims of the Chinese Government based upon?

The Chinese Government derive their rights from the historic connections of all those places with China and from what is called in International Law "effective occupation," evidences of which are given below.

Giamda, Lhojong and Shobando.

Giamda has returned to its allegiance towards China, since 1909, together with Rivoudze, Lhojong and Shobando. During that year, a punitive expedition was sent from Szechuan to Tibet under the command of His late Excellency Chao Erh Feng for the murder of the Chinese Amban Fung Chuan, and as soon as the Chinese army arrived, the native chiefs of all these places tendered their submission to His Excellency Chao, and in 1910 it was settled between him and the Tibetan Authorities that Giamda should be the boundary line between China and Tibet.

This settlement was reported to the Manchu Emperor Hsuan Tung and sanctioned by Imperial Rescript. On the 25th of May, 1913, the President of the Republic of China issued a Mandate ordaining that the territorial limit of Szechuan shall be the same as it has existed in the last days of the Manchu dynasty but no Chinese garrison shall cross to the west of Giamda.

Jyade, Dam.

Jyade lies in the valley of the Kara Ussou and is called thirty-nine "tutze" of Nak Tchon. It is under the control of the Chinese Deputy Amban of Lhasa, called Yeeching Chang-King. Dam is in the same position. A tax, called Kung Ma Nin or horse tax, is levied and collected every year by the Yeeching Chang-King, and its total is only about 391\$ odd. Under the Yeeching Chang-King there are Chinese officials, such as Kushanta, Tsuling Yilling, and Yaok-eyao, and five hundred soldiers in time of peace. The latter are all recruited locally.

When Colonel Younghusband stopped at Kampajong with his expedition in 1903-04, the Chinese Amban at Lhasa wished to meet him on the frontier, but he was prevented from carrying out his wishes by the Tibetans refusing to supply him with necessary transport. And when he turned to the authorities of Jyade and Dam for transport, they were quite ready to supply it because they were at liberty to do so.

When Tibetans are travelling about, they have to pay a certain toll, in crossing a river, but the people of Jyade and Dam are exempted from paying such a toll and others, if they can produce certificates from the Yeeching Chang-King certifying that the holders of the certificates are natives of Jyade or Dam.

This shows Jyade and Dam have nothing to do with Tibet at all and are absolutely beyond the jurisdiction of Tibet.

In "Mysterious Tibet" by Sir Thomas Holdich, a well-known authority on Tibet, pages 184-85, he says that "Rockhill's Tibetan escort had returned to Lhasa as he was now under direct Chinese jurisdiction in the province of Jyade. This Chinese province extends from east to west over two hundred miles and more of country, with a probable breadth of sixty or seventy miles, touching, to the north, the Dangla and its branches and, to the south, bordering on Lhasa governed provinces! Its people have in the oldest times preferred the Binbo religion (a form of devil worship or Lhamanism which has at one time or another prevailed over most parts of Asia) a creed not tolerated in the Kingdom of Lhasa which tried for a long time to crush it out of these regions."

Furthermore all Tibetans can only receive their official appointments from the Chinese Amban on the recommendation of the Tibetan Kab-lon, but the official appointments in Jyade and Dam are made by the Amban on the recommendation of the Yeeching Chang-king.

It is also well known that Tibetans are not at liberty to settle anywhere they like in Jyade and Dam, and that the people of Jyade and Dam call themselves by the name of Gyashokpa, or, in other words, that they claim that they are of Chinese race and do not belong to the Tangut stock.

By what is stated in the above it is incontestably established that Jyade and Dam have been long administered by China as a Chinese province and Tibet has not the least claim to them.

Zayul.

Zayul is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, both of which are outside the pale of the Tibetan control and are inhabited by independent and barbarous tribes called Miris, Abors, and Mishmis.

On the approach of the Chinese army at the place in 1911, the Chiefs of Zayul tendered their submission to His late Excellency Chao Erh Feng, and he then took effective occupation of it, as evidence of which he caused seals of office to be issued to the Chiefs and placed it under the administration of Szechuan. It is now called Cha-yü Hien.

Chiamdo, Gartok-Markham, Draya.

In Tibet there are four principalities which are directly under the Chinese control. These are Draya and Chiamdo on the east. Tashilumpo and Sakya Kongma to the southeast of Tashilumpo.

The Commander-in-Chief of Yunnan was formerly stationed in Chiamdo, and it was in the beginning of the reign of Yung Chen that the administration of this place was transferred to the authorities of Szechuan.

There are Chinese civil and military officials in charge of the local revenue and the Chinese garrison. It is the same case with En-ta.

Poyul Pemakoi-chen.

Poyul has never belonged to Tibet. It is a country inhabited by lawless herdsmen, and in the southern part of it there is a large number of Chinese settling there, with the result that there is now a thriving trade in blankets, baskets, silver and iron works, red pepper, and remarkably fine flour. Poyul is practically independent and Tibet has never been able to exercise any influence over the place. It surrendered its submission to China in 1909, and in the winter of that year Chinese officials were appointed to govern the place by His late Excellency Chao Erh Feng, who was at that time stationed in Chiamdo.

Dargé.

This place is situated in the north-east of Chiamdo. It is under "tutzi" whose headquarters are in Kenching, which has been instituted as a Chinese district and is now called Teh Hwa Chow.

III. With regard to the Tibetan claims in regard to the question of limits of Tibet, the Chinese Plenipotentiary further begs to submit the following statement as a reply to them.

Batang, Litang, Nyarong, etc.

These places are all east of the range of Ning Tsin Shan and have been under Chinese administration since the early period of the reign of Yung Cheng. About one hundred miles west from Batang there is a boundary pillar bearing Chinese inscriptions which state that east of this range it is Chinese territory while west of it is Tibetan. This was, however, the demarcation of the boundaries between China and Tibet for that time only, for after the death of Emperor Young Cheng, the Emperor Kion Lung, successor of Yung Cheng, formerly annexed Tibet in 1720 and since then Tibet has been under Chinese sovereignty and the whole of Tibet cannot be otherwise considered than Chinese territory.

In order to show the effective occupation of these places, a Bill passed in 1912 by the House of Senators of the National Assembly in Peking to constitute them as the eighth division of the Parliamentary election districts of Szechuan is herewith appended.

Kokonor or Ching-hai.

The Kokonor regions were taken by Chinese, in the time of Yung Cheng (in about 1700) from Lopotsangdantsin, great grandson of Gushi Khan, on account of his intrigues with the Sungarians for compassing a conquest of Tibet. The Chinese victorious army was under the command of Nien Ken Yao and Yo Tsung Ki, two well-known generals in the military history of China, and the conquest of Kokonor or Ching-hai is fully recorded in Chinese official records such as Pin-Ding-Ching-hai-Fong-Liao, Shen-Wu-Si-Ching-ki.

Since this conquest the Kokonor regions have been under Chinese administration, at the head of which is the Chinese Amban, whose headquarters are at Siningfu. In the time of Yung Cheng an Imperial Edict was issued ordaining that "not more than two hundred lama monasteries shall be built in Kokonor, and that each monastery shall contain no more than two hundred lamas."

The Kokonor regions are divided into twenty-nine banners under the leadership of Khoshoit, Choros, Khoit, Turgut, Khalkha, and Tshannomen. Under Khoshoit there are twenty-one

banners; and Choros and Khoit, one banner each; under Turgut, four banners; under Khalkha, one banner; and under Tsahannomen, one banner.

The leader of each banner is either a prince of the second class or a duke, and they are all under the control of the Chinese Amban at Siningfu who in addition to these banners has the following tribes under his administration:

- (1) The Gyakp tribe and the Kongpo tribe in the region between U and Khamo.
- (2) The Gyaldo tribe in the region between Chien Tsang and Hou Tsang.
- (3) The Djak tribe in the south-west of Tsang.
- (4) The Koskot tribe in the region between Hou Tsang and Lhari.
- (5) The Gyppo tribe, the Gyldin tribe, in the north of Lhari.

More details about Chinghai or Kokonor can be given on referring to the Chinese official records called Ta-Ching-Hui-Tsin and Ta-Ching-Yi-Tung-Tze.

IVAN CHEN.

January 12th, 1914.

[Subinclosure.]

Translation of a Bill passed in 1912 by the House of Senators of the National Assembly in Peking, referred to in the Statement, to which it is hereunto appended.

New Name.	Old Name.
Kang Ding Fu.	Tachienlu.
Tai-Ning Hien.	Tai Ning.
La Ding Hien.	Lu Ding Chiao.
Ding Hsiang Hien.	Hsiang Cheng.
Li Hwa Fu.	Litang.
Tao Cheng Hien.	Tao Chu village.
Ya Kiang Feng Hien.	
Kong Ling Feng Hien.	Kong Ga Ling.
Ngan Ling Ting.	Ngan Liang Chu.
Ba Ngan Fu.	Batang.
Tao Fu Hien.	Tao wu.
Yi Tung Hien.	
Hwa Chur Hien.	Nyarong.
Ning Tsin Hien.	Kiang Kia.
Hwa Ling Hien.	Hwa Ling Leng.
Chu Yu Hien.	Zayul.
Teh Yung Hien.	
Enta Ting.	Enta.
Cha Ya Fu.	Draya.
Wu Cheng Hien.	
Teng K'e Fu.	Teng K'e.
Hien Tsing Hien.	Hien Tsing.
Lu Ho Hien.	Chang Ko.
Chang Tu Hien.	Chiamdo.
Shih Chu Hien.	Shih Hsü.
Kong Hien.	Kong Chiao.
Pai Yu Hien.	
Ko Me Hien.	Thong Nyao.
Tung Poo Hien.	Kia Kung.
Kan Tze Chow.	Kanze.
Teh Hwa Chow.	Darge.

All the abovementioned Fu and Hsien have been constituted as the eighth division of the Parliamentary election districts of Szechuan.

IVAN CHEN.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Tibetan Statement on Limits of Tibet.

Although several informal conferences were held in the presence of the two Sahebs (Messrs. Bell and Rose) between the two Plenipotentiaries to come to some clear and definite understanding about the boundary between Tibet and China, yet we did not come to anything definite; at last it was decided at the last informal Conference held on the 19th December, 1913, that both the Tibetan and the Chinese Plenipotentiaries should get up their claims supported by original documents, or authentic copies thereof, books, and records, whatever may be available which would serve as evidence to prove their case, and then lay it before the British Plenipotentiary at a formal Conference, who will then consider on a whole that ought to be the boundaries of Tibet with China and give us his decision.

Though a great deal can be written justifying the claims of the boundary as shown by us, yet as it is feared that it may prove too tedious to the readers only an abstract of the case is given below.

The line marked in the map presented by the Chinese along with their counter-proposals of the present negotiations show the under-noted Tibetan territory included within their claims: (1) The Jongs in Kongbu beyond Giamda, (2) Nagchujong, (3) Lharilajong, (4) Gyaltönjong, (5) Sokjong, (6) Tar-Jong (Pembajong), (7) Shobadojong, (8) Lhojong, Riwoche, Chamdo under Lhojong, (9) Po-Chöjong, and within its jurisdiction Kanam Deba including Pemakoi, (10) Sangachöjong including Zayul and Menkong which is under it, (11) Tsawadzogangjong including Pashöd, (12) Markham Gartokjong including Dragyba (Traya) and Gojo, (13) Tsopasogu or the 39 tribes, (14) Nangchen, (15) Lhuthog, (16) Ling-tsang, (17) The Dri-chu Valley, (18) Damchökor, (19) Batang, (20) Litang, (21) Derge, (22) the Horser tribes, (23) Gakhog Dimchi Nyer-nga (25 tribes of Dimchis), (24) Kham Tong-kor, (25) Niarong, (26) Tsaidam, (27) Tso-ngön-po (Kokonor) including Banakhasum, (28) Golok tribes, (29) Amdo, (30) Tong-kor, (31) Gya-rong, (18 tribes), (32) Chagla, (33) Dartsedo (Tachienlu), (34) Milli, (35) Jün (Atuntsi), (36) Gyaltang.

The above places, inhabited by Tibetans, have been under and part of Tibet ever since the time of the righteous King Srong-tsan-gampo, some 1,300 years ago till now. Besides this in the time of King Nga-dag Tri-ral, 1,020 years ago, China and Tibet had a misunderstanding; war broke out and several Chinese provinces and cities were overrun by Tibetans. At last some Chinese Buddhist priests (Hoshangs) from one side, and some Lamas from Tibet mediated and concluded a peace. They fixed upon the stone pillar at Merugang (North of Sining), the bend of the Ma-chu (Hoangho) river and Chortenkarmo (near Ya-chao in Szechuan) as boundaries. These facts and events are clearly mentioned in the history and records (extracts submitted marked as Nos. 8 and 9). A long stone pillar, like the one at Meru, had been set up both at Lhasa and at the Chinese Capital (about 1,020 years ago). The Treaty thus concluded had been inscribed in Tibetan and Chinese characters side by side on the stone pillar in Lhasa—a print of the inscription on the Lhasa pillar is submitted marked as Nos. 1 to 7 with the translations thereof and a manuscript copy of both the Tibetan and Chinese inscription. An account of the event of the setting up of this stone pillar is given in the 5th Dalai Lama's History of Tibet compiled and published in block print making it an authentic basis of Tibetan History for further references (extract appended marked as No. 8).

In the index portion of Desri Sangay Gyamtso's book called Serdong Dzamliug Cyenchig, the only ornament of the Jambu Dwipa, also in block print, published some 200 years ago and widely known all over Tibet Mongolia and other places as one of the most reliable works, the above has been clearly mentioned (extract appended marked as No. 9).

All the inhabitants of the places mentioned in our statement and claims submitted at first some time ago are all Tibetans by race, manners, customs, language and Buddhists by religion.

The inscription on the stone pillar of Lhasa says, "downward from the place where the Chinese are met will be China and upward from the place where Tibetans are met will be Tibet." And accordingly these places formed part of Tibet during the reign of the several successive righteous kings of the old dynasty, and after that during that of the Incarnate Chenrezee Drogön Phagpa and nineteen generations of the Sakya Hierarch's line, and after them Desrid Phagdrü and ten successive rulers of his line, three generations of Rimpung Chögyal and three generations of Tsangpa Gyalpo.

During the time of the 5th Dalai Lama, the Biri Chief of Do-med and Tsanga Gyalpo conspired against the life of the Dalai Lama, the power and influence of the yellow hat sect and the peace and integrity of the State. The 5th Dalai Lama had then as disciple the Tsongön (Kokonor) Gowo-Shri-Tenzin Chö-gyal (who subsequently became Sridzin or regent of Tibet) who subdued Biri Gyalpo and Tsangpa Gyalpo by force of his arms, combined with Tibetan troops. Then he offered the whole to the 5th Dalai Lama, this was about 270 years ago. Lhakhungpa and Bagdro were deputed as Settlement officers in the East to Dartsedo (Tatsienlu), Chagla, Gyarong, Batant, Litang, Jün, Gyaltang, Meli and the places along the course of the Dri-chu (Kinsha or Yangtsikiang), Dam Gakhog, Demchi Nyer-nga, Golok, Lingtsang, Lhutog, Nangehen and all other places in the Domed to register the numbers of monasteries, houses, or families, both religious and secular according to doorsteps and fireplaces, amount of income and expenditure, etc. They prepared in all 56 different registers. This was 229 years ago. This is clearly mentioned in the 5th Dalai Lama's History. Some of these registers have been left at the places as permanent official records. Some of the original registers and documents bearing authentic seals are appended herewith for inspection (vide list of enclosures). Some of the Gobas or headmen of the estates had been appointed hereditary. Batang, Litang, Tatsienlu and other places had ecclesiastical and secular officers for each place appointed and sent down continually from Lhasa at first, but these appointments were made hereditary later, and are unquestionably Tibetan territory. It was the established custom with the Dalai Lamas, and the other great and holy Lamas, to defray the expenses for the maintenance of the Sangha or religious institutions (a list of which is submitted, marked as No. 44*) which is the foundation of the Buddhistic Faith in Tibet, from the revenue accruing to the Tibet Government and only appropriating the surplus after defraying all the necessary expenses of the Sangha. But owing to the gradual increase in the number of monasteries, and to prevent any of the usual periodical offerings falling short, some portion of the lands were gradually allotted as monastery estates to the monasteries themselves, and seeing that the people were put to great difficulties on account of the transfer and charges of the Jongpöns of these places who used to be sent from Lhasa when their service terms were up, the then Trungkors or officers there were given the title of Deba, and were made hereditary chiefs of the places and special warrants of Sanads were granted to each of them as will be clear from the enclosures submitted. These same Debas are defraying the expenditure of the above monasteries and temples within their estates. These places are continually sending tributes and offerings to the successive Dalai Lamas of Tibet and to the chief State monasteries. The high priests or abbots of the greater monasteries are appointed by the Dalai Lama and those of the smaller ones are appointed by the local headmen or three State monasteries or the chief Hierarch Lama of the various sects prevailing in Tibet. The monasteries in the above places send monks to be taught in the three State monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Ganden and some tribute. The religious rules and regulations are enforced by the monasteries while the secular administration, such as collection of taxes and trial of cases, are being done by the headmen called Gobas or Debas. Besides that they supply free labour and transport ponies to every officer sent down by the Tibet Government in the usual course of official duties. Chao Erh Feng and Ma Thi Thal, two Chinese officials, put to death the Batang Deba Nga-ngö, the Dechen Kangsar Deba, and the Litang Tseshag Deba appointed and installed by the Tibet Government greedily coveting the possession of the power over these lands. The Chinese officials plundered the property of these three Debas and sent down their children and adherents to Szechuan. Trung Deba (of Litang) escaped these Chinese officials and came to Lhasa to complain to the Lhasa authorities who originally appointed these Debas about the unbearable cruelties and lawless misdeeds of the Chinese officials. The details of their barbarous cruelties and rapacity will be given later on when we come to the question of indemnities.

At the last informal Conference the Chinese Plenipotentiary stated that the Tibetan territory eastward of Batang was Chinese territory. On being asked how it was considered so, he produced an extract copy from a book on Tibet, written by the Chinese Amban Sung of Lhasa in the 4th year of the reign of the Emperor Yungting, which mentioned that there existed a pillar making the boundary between Tibet and China at Nyinjin Shan-lin bearing eight inscribed characters. The inscription read "East of this is China, west of this is Tibet." He also states that he would produce books written by Europeans, besides the statement made by the British Minister at Peking to the effect that beyond Batang was Chinese territory and that there actually existed a pillar. In reply I answered that I was not aware of the existence of a stone pillar at Batang marking the boundary between Batang and Tibet. There may be pillars to denote

different meanings; the pillar, if there be any, may simply be meant to mark the sphere of influence between the Szechuan province and the Lhasa Amban. The British Minister would not know all these. I stated that upward from Dartsedo (Tatsienlu) all the land truly belonged to Tibet, basing my claim on the authority of the very ancient stone pillar, and several authentic old histories and original records (extract appended, marked as Nr. S. 8 and 9). I moreover asked whether the Chinese could produce any original document stating that the Dalai Lama had ceded the said State to the Chinese Emperor, or whether the Chinese had made war on Tibet and conquered it, and finally obtained the said lands after concluding a formal treaty, and if so, whether the original copy of such treaty can be produced. The Chinese Plenipotentiary said that he was not sure whether the pillar he mentioned bore inscriptions alongside those of the Chinese. As regards original documents, for the present he has only the extract from Sung's book mentioned above and the books written by European authors, as well as the statement made by the British Minister at Peking, which need not be repeated here. At this stage, Mr. Rose said that he was present at the interview between the British Minister and the Foreign Minister at Peking and that the clear statement of what had been said then might help to clear up matters and accelerate the business on hand. The Consul at Changtu had stated that he had seen the stone pillar at Batang. But being very old and worn the inscriptions whatever they were, could not be seen clearly.¹ I beg to say that if the Chinese side had any reliable original documents they would produce them according to the laws and customs of every country, without being asked, just to support their claims; so the inability to produce any authentic documents in support of their claim, in itself proves that their claim over the lands in question is not lawful. From the Tibetan side, however, original documents, historical facts and records proving their legal claims, etc., are produced, so unless the Chinese Government can produce original deeds, treaties, or documents, bearing Tibetan signatures and showing that the Tibet Government, it only goes to prove that the lands do not belong to China. Therefore unlawful encroachment, like a large insect swallowing up a small one, or in other words "might is right"—an uncivilised method—it is hoped, will not be permitted, and that lawful right will be respected and the lawful owner will be allowed to enjoy peaceful possession.

PART II.

Dza-de Tso-ba So-gu, the thirty-nine tribes of Dza-de.

The thirty-nine tribes of the Dza-de have not only been under Tibet since the successive righteous kings of Tibet, they are of Tibetan nationality and are Tibetans in dress and language and are Buddhist by faith. As to (1) how Go-shri Tenzin Chō-gyal at the head of the combined force of his own tribe and Tibetans, defeated the Biri chief and subdued the Domed, (2) how the local officials or Gobas of the time came to be confirmed as hereditary Debas (chiefs) with a view to save the people from being harassed by the constant change of officials, (3) how the monasteries send tributes and noviciate monks to the chief State monasteries—are in all points similar to those mentioned above. The thirty-nine tribes or Tso-pa So-gu are divided officially thus under the different Tibetan Jongs: (1) The Kyungbu Nagru, under Lho-jong; (2) Tso-pa Kyungbu Karu is under the Tibet Government Jong of Shobado; (3) Tso-pa Kyungbu Sertsu, under Tar-jong; (4) Tso-pa Nagshöd Tso-gu, under Lhari La-jong; (5) Tso-pa Do-shül Tödmed (upper and lower Dö-shul), under Riwo-che. All these are supplying transport and free labour (Ulag) or its lieu (in cash) to these different jongs as others under the direct jurisdiction of these Jongs. During the Tibet-Bhutan War, Tibet-Gurkha War, the Po ruptures, the Tsoba-Sogu supplied troops. During the fight with Niarong and the British, as they had to supply a great deal of transport and Ulag for the troops going up and down and for carrying their rations, besides making necessary preparations for the numerous officials, they were excused from supplying troops. They have to pay the customary taxes. The administration of justice and collection of taxes are done by the heirs of those hereditary chiefs in each place. In serious and important cases the Tibet Government sends down special officers to inquire and try the cases.

The Nag-shöd Tso-pa, numbering over 1,000 families paying grazing fees to the Lhari-la-jong under whom they are placed, and carry out his orders regarding taxes and cases. The Tibet Government also appoints the headmen of the pastures—called Tsa-zai Go-jed.

¹ This is incorrectly quoted. Mr. Rose said that he remembered the interview referred to, and that His Majesty's Minister had stated that a pillar had been seen by Sir A. Hosie about 75 miles to the west of Batang, but that, so far as he remembered, no mention had been made by Sir A. Hosie of any inscription, possibly because the inscription had been rendered illegible by age.

The monastic rules and regulations (Cha-yig) and the Sanads to the officers are all issued by the Dalai Lama and the Srid-dzin (Prime Minister or Regent) respectively. Copies of six such sanads, etc., are appended herewith marked as No. S. 51 to 56. Four original sealed registers giving numbers of families of the Tso-pa To-gu tribes and the original Inventory of the articles in the Kyung-po Yamjong are enclosed herewith, marked as No. 48. The Tso-pa So-gus are thus proved incontestibly to be under the Tibet Government from the beginning.

With regard to Tsai-dam, Tso-ngon-po (Kokonor), Banakhasum, Amdo, Tong-kor they all fall within Tibet as marked by the ancient stone pillar, politically; the people of all these places are Tibetan by race, manners, customs, etc., and are Buddhists by creed. Besides Gow-shi Tenzin Cho-gyal (a Mongolian chief and disciple of the Dalai Lama who conquered the Biri chief of Domed and Tsangpa Gyalpo with the help of his own and Tibetan troops) offered his body, wealth, and territories of Tso-ngön-po (Kokonor) to the great 5th Dalai Lama some 270 years ago. The taxes of these places also used to be collected by the Tibetan Government. This is clearly stated in the old history of Miwang Phola, which is widely known in most of the Buddhist countries. An extract from this history is attached herewith, marked as No. 58. As the followers of the Buddhist Faith multiplied, and the numbers of monasteries increased it was found necessary to devote the income from these States to the maintenance of the monasteries, among which the most important one was that of Kumbum Jampa-ling, the birth-place of the saintly Tsong-kha-pa consequently there was no need to appoint a separate officer for collecting the taxes from the abovementioned places. But they are all the same contributing a constant supply of noviciate monks to Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries and regular periodical money tributes to the Dalai Lama and the secular authorities. They also contribute free labour and transport and riding ponies whenever a Tibetan official happens to be travelling that way. His Holiness the Dalai Lama issues all the warrants, deeds, patents and orders, which have to be sent to the chiefs of these States. His Holiness also passes all the laws and regulations which rule the monasteries. The three chief States, and the Tashi Lhunpo monasteries appoint the head Lamas of the bigger monasteries and they send back continually tributes to their head monasteries which appointed them.

Niarong.—Niarong has been indisputably under Tibet since the time of the Buddhist kings. The registers showing the number of families calculated by the number of fireplaces and door-steps had been prepared and its justice is administered and taxes are levied by the Tibet Government. Once one Gompu Tseten, his son Norbu Tsering and his grandson Gompu Namgyal, descendants of Rinang Tusi of Lower Niarong, committed robberies and murder and plundered the neighbouring villages. They made a new house at Pangri. The son of Gompu Namgyal married the daughter of Da-Ket-Pa (the then ruler of Niarong) and then their highhandedness increased still more. Later on Gompu Namgyal attacked and conquered the countries of Da-Ket-Pa, Zurpa So-töd, Kulung Tang-gya and Gyab-shö and became very notorious. Though he committed all sorts of atrocities to the Ho-ser tribes, he was so much dreaded that they submitted quietly. Going on in unlimited acts of atrocities he attacked the five tribes of Horsers, beginning with Draggo, and then Mazur, and then Khangsar, drove out the chiefs and people and took forcible possession of their lands. Tre-hor and Biri submitted without any resistance. As will be seen from the 5th paragraph on Derge, he treated very cruelly, and the other adjacent States in the same way. Properties were enjoyed half by the owner and half by the enemies, human beings, both Chinese and Tibetans, were massacred, and dead bodies lay scattered like flies and insects along the route. Entire villages and countries were left empty. Litang was next attacked and the chief deprived of his lands, power and property. The trade route between Tibet and China was for a time closed. The treasures for paying the Lhasa Amban was robbed and his as well as his escort's pay was delayed, and his mail stopped. Government as well as private merchants could not travel by that route.

At that time (a) the chief of Draggo named Wangchen Dram-dul and his wife Pön-mo Norbu, his minister Jayzang La-kho with 500 families of his tribes, (b) the chief of Khang-sar named Ngö-drup Puntso, Mazur She-nyen Shugu Tashi, along with 300 families of their tribe came to Tibet in the Chu-khyi (Water-dog) year about 1862-63, saying that they had been indisputably under the Tibet Government all along, and complaining that the rebellious Niarong chief had dispossessed them of their lands and property; that he was too strong for them to resist, so that they had been compelled to fly for their life, they prayed for justice and protection, to grant them food and clothes for the time being until they could be restored to their own patrimonial lands which they had enjoyed up to that time by the grace of the Tibetan

Government. In short, they prayed the Government to take steps to redress their wrongs and to restore them to their former prestige and position.

Considering that they were the most faithful and loyal adherents of the Buddhistic Faith and that Tibetan subjects who had been so badly treated could not be left unavenged and also as the Litang route between China and Tibet had been practically closed for some time, the Tibet Government despatched a force of over 10,000 troops to avenge them and provided the above-named refugees, several thousand in number, with food, clothing and other necessaries during the whole time that the fighting was going on. By the autumn of the Chu-phag (Water-hog) year (1863-64) Derge and Litang had been reconquered. By the beginning of the summer of Shing-lang (Water-bull) year (1865) the trade route was open. On the 1st day of the 8th month of the Shinglang year (1865) Gompu Namgyal, his sons and grandsons, nephews and family members to the number of 30 persons, who had held out at Pangri were burnt alive in their house, which had been set on fire. Thus peace was restored to all the Tibetan territories down to Dartsedo (Ta-tsien-lu) in the East, including Chag-la, Batang, Litang, Dehor, Golok and others. Then Popön Punrab was appointed Niarong Chi-kyab (Commissioner) with a bodyguard of 500 soldiers, and left in Niarong to carry on the administration. They set about restoring to the different States mentioned hereunder all that they had been deprived of by the Niarong chief, viz, Gakhok, Demchi Nyer-nga, Derge, Lingsang, Lhutog, Biri, Mazur, Khangsar, Trewo, Draggio, Geshe, Chagla (Chala), Ba (Batang). The chiefs of these States were so grateful that the above Horser tribes and Derge undertook to maintain a permanent body of troops while on peace, to be increased proportionately in time of trouble besides supplying and rendering necessary services as well as obeying orders of the Tibetan Government in other respects. They offered a sworn bond of allegiance (herewith appended with translation, marked as No. 61) to the Tibetan General Chi-Kyab Kalön Pulung-pa, who then returned to Tibet with his troops. The Niarong people rose in rebellion against Punrab two months after Pulung-pa had left. But Punrab firmly stuck to his post and succeeded in quelling the rebellion. To prevent future risings, he compelled every family to take oath, and give up a little hair and nails of each person, to the Government swearing that they would never rise again, and thus effectually nipped the rebellion in the bud. Since then, they have regularly paid the Government taxes, and submitted to the authority of the 4th rank monk and lay officials, sent there by the Tibetan troops, and other officials are sent down and changed after the fixed periods, and the revenue whatever they are come regularly to the Treasury of the Dalai Lama.

In the Me-tre (Fire-monkey) year (18 years ago), while things were going on thus, it happened that the Chagla chief took under his protection the three tribes named Nga-dren and Shog of Niarong and thus a dispute arose. And in the dispute which ensued the Szechuan Tsungthu (Viceroy) without any reason picked a quarrel with the Tibetan officials in Niarong and suddenly sent Lee, Tang and other Chinese officials with troops to attack Niarong. The Tibetan Council at Lhasa were making preparations for fighting but the Dalai Lama ordered them to desist from fighting, and explained to them that some Tibetan officials would be sent by the sea route to Peking to complain about the high-handed and rude behaviour of the above-named Chinese officials. On the Chinese Government learning about the affair made an enquiry and ordered the State to be at once restored to Tibet and the offending officers, including the Viceroy of Szechuan, were dismissed, which orders were all carried out. These facts were mentioned in office records and the restoration of Niarong can be verified by the original sealed despatch of the Resident Lhasa Amban, which is herewith appended, marked as No. 62 Ka of III.

In the Chu-phag (Water-hog) year (1911 A. D.), Chao Erh Feng, in a most unscrupulous and atrocious manner, said that unless the Niarong Chi-Kyab returned immediately to Tibet he would expel him by force. At that time the Dalai Lama was in Darjeeling and negotiating with the British Government. Hoping that things would gradually get clearer, for a time at least, no active opposition was offered and he took the opportunity of upsetting the old system for a few years, and laying a false claim to the Niarong State. But considering how long we have been in actual rightful possession of the land and its revenues, we hope that our lawful claims will be recognized and that the land will be restored to us with its back revenue.

With regard to Horkog, Khangsar, Biri, Mazur, Trewo, Draggio and Tong-khor as stated before are not only within the boundary marked by the old stone pillar, but Niarong Gompu Namgyal and his son had plundered the property and taken away States of all people of these places. The Tibetan Government had at great cost to redress their wrongs, sacrificing lives

and money without stinting many years, and at last succeeded in wresting back the whole from the usurping hands of Gompu Namgyal.

The Tibet Government would have been quite justified if they had kept the whole under its direct control and administration just like Niarong. But considering that these were the most loyal and grateful people and that they would be still more so towards the Government and Faith, and as these people were the adherents and followers, or the laity who supported the three chief State Monasteries, and were practically the same as monastery properties or estates they were restored to their former status and position, on condition of rendering special service on extraordinary occasions of necessity and of complying with the usual orders and customary duties. These conditions they swore upon the most solemn oaths to abide by, and signed the bond of allegiance as mentioned above. Some of them have to send troops to the Niarong garrison annually, others contribute supplies and pay for troops. Some hold leases, contract funds for supplying tea to the monks, contract monopolies for rents or taxes, etc., in short, all sources of income and revenue accruing to the Government, of which a separate list is annexed, marked as No. 64, are being continually paid to the Tibet Government. Besides the above, they contribute transport ponies when the Niarong Chi-kyab orders as well as armed conscripts whenever he has to call for such from them. The ecclesiastical officers in the above places are appointed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the three chief monasteries or other important monasteries down in those places. The laws which are enforced there are framed in Tibet and enforced by Tibetan officials. The deeds, patents, warrants, leases, etc., are all issued by the Dalai Lama of Tibet both to the secular and the ecclesiastical officials. Customary taxes and contributions as well as young monks or novices all come to Tibet regularly from all the above tribes. Cases of unimportant characters are tried by local authorities. More important ones are tried by the Niarong Chi-kyab as will be seen from the enclosure marked No. 64. Thus it will be proved that they are actually parts of Tibet.

PART VI.

Derge.—As stated already in the first paragraph, Derge has been under Tibet since the time of King Triral of Tibet, some 1,020 years ago. After that Gompu Namgyal, the chief Niarong, invaded and annexed Derge and the Horkog State. He made his Nyerpa Lunguma, chief of Derge. He captured and imprisoned the chief of Derge and his ministers and kept the chief's wife, daughter of the Chagla chief, as his concubine. On account of his cruel oppression to the people, the Tibet Government sent down an army in the Chuphag year (Water-Hog) (51 years ago) under Shape Pulung; who subdued Niarong, reconquered Derge and released the wife, sons and the ministers from the prison. The lands were restored to their former owners and the people to their former prestige and position. They voluntarily submitted the entire lands, both State and monastery, to the Tibet Government's direct control and swore allegiance to the Government promising to lay down life and property at the Government's bidding. The Chief signed a bond on oath, binding himself to fulfill certain conditions and render certain services as will be seen from enclosure marked No. 61. The tribute fixed was 5 horse-shoes of Chinese silver (Rs. 625 at current rate), supply of free labour and transport for the Niarong Chi-kyab (Tibetan Commissioner at Niarong) and a number of troops to constitute the Chi-kyab's bodyguard, besides the rendering of special services on important and special occasions both in the civil and military line, all of which he was doing regularly and faithfully. All important cases have to be referred to the Niarong Chi-kyab for decision.

In the Shing-ta (Wood-horse) year (20 years ago) there was some domestic disagreement between the Derge Pönpo and his wife, and the Niarong Chi-kyab De-mön Dün-dün Dorj visited Derge and settled the matter amicably.

In Me-tre (fire monkey) year (18 years ago) a Chinese officer named Tang Daloye visited Derge with some troops. The Chinese Commander requested an interview with the Derge Pönpo when he treacherously seized the persons of the chief, his wife and both sons and conveyed them to Chengtu where they were imprisoned and their property looted.

While the Tibet Government was about to send troops, the Dalai Lama countermanded them and sent two Tse-trungs and three representatives of the monasteries to Peking *via* India, to represent the highhandedness of the Chinese and the old system was restored in Derge. Both he and his wife had died in Chengtu, but the two sons returned to Derge, where the elder son, named Akya, inherited his father's office and the daughter of Sha-pe Ramp-a was given to him in marriage. The elder son Akya then came to Lhasa in Sa-phag (Earth hog) year (14 years

ago) to ask for confirmation in his rank. The Dalai Lama granted him a warrant confirming him in his rank and he returned to Derge. After his return to Derge there was some disagreement between the brothers and the Niarong Chi-kyab Dza-sak Horkang and to settle the case and took a bond from them (copy appended, marked No. 65). Once more on account of the younger brother's rebellion the elder came to Lhasa to lodge complaint against his brother. The Tibet Government remonstrated strongly with the younger brother. Therefore in the Me-ta (Fire-horse) year (1906), the elder brother was sent back to Derge with some soldiers from Markham, Jo-gang and Sang-jong with orders to make an amicable settlement. But the elder brother's partisan captured and threw the younger brother and his wife into prison. He later on managed to escape and again attacked his brother with the help of Goloks and others. The elder brother fled. The Niarong Chi-kyab and the special Tibetan official in Domed were sending some officers to settle the matter but Chao Erh Feng stepped in and aggravated the rupture to such an extent that it has not been made up even now. Tibet Government has spent a lot of money and sacrificed so many lives for Derge, and been at such trouble to reconquer it, all of which may be seen from the sworn bond, which is sure to convince one of Chao Erh Feng's action in this being unlawful interference. That the province is certainly Tibetan territory and the Chinese claim to it as being Chinese is quite invalid; the Tibetans claim to it is as strong as the body's claim to a limb as its portion. A just and definite decision on this is solicited. The Chinese Plenipotentiary stated at the last informal meeting that Chao Erh Feng had conquered the Jongs by force of arms (1) Markham Gartok-jong and the places under it, viz., Traya, Gojo, Mankung and Lingkar, (2) Tsawa Jogang-jong and the places under it, viz., Pashö, Dayer, Pomda Butog, Lagang and the salt mines of Chakta, (3) Sanga-chöjong, and in its jurisdiction Dzayul, (4) Po-chojong, and the countries under it, viz., Po Kanum and Pemakoi, (5) Lho-jong and the places under it, viz., Chamdo and Riwoche, (6) Shobado-jong, (7) Tar-jong, (8) Skjong, (9) Gyalton-jong, (10) Nagchu-jong, (11) all the Jongs of Kongbu beyond Giamda, and (12) Lhari-la Jong, and that there were records of the said conquests. The above States are indisputably Tibetan territory. All the officials, both monk and lay, who collect taxes and try cases as Jongpons and others are appointed and sent down by the Tibetan Government. A list of the names of the officials and their ranks and grades is enclosed herewith marked as No. 89. The entire staff of the subordinate officials, such as Shal-ngos, Dingpons and other headmen, as well as the head Lamas of the larger monasteries and the ecclesiastical officers under them are all appointed by the Tibetan Government, while those of the smaller monasteries are appointed by the chief monasteries, of which they are branches, and by the local officials such as Jongpons and other. The people pay annual tributes and taxes in cash and kind and supply free labour and transport, in short, they carry out the orders of the Tibetan Government most loyally and willingly in everything. Everybody knows that these places are indisputably Tibetan territory.

Chamdo is under Lho-jong and Tra-ya is under Markham Gar-jong. There are registers showing rent-rolls, numbers of monasteries and their estates and the allotments for their maintenance, and the number of families in the territory. The original records are appended herewith marked as No. 90. Owing to the increase in the number of monasteries and temples in Chamdo and Traya, founded by successive Dalai Lamas and other eminent Lamas, the income from the above estates had to be devoted to the maintenance of these monasteries; therefore it was not necessary to send special officers for these places, but sanads were granted to the head Lamas of the monasteries, to administer these places, by the Tibetan Government. But they contribute everything in common with the other Tibetan subjects, such as transport, taxes, free labour, and in time of war, conscripts, of troops rations for troops both in grain and cash whenever it is found necessary to collect them. In the troubles with the British Government in the Sa-ji year (1888-89) and in the Shing-druk (1903-04) year, there were troops in the Tibetan army from these places and the British Government is aware of the facts.

The monasteries in Chamdo are branches of the Sera monastery. So Pag-pa Lha, the Chamdo high priest, is enrolled in the register of Ser-je Lamas' lists (a college in the Sera monastery) and he has to undergo the regular training in the main monastery. The Traya monasteries are branches of the Drepung monastery and accordingly the head Lama, Tulku Lobzang Thupten Jigme Gyamtso, is enrolled in the register of Drepung Loseling Tratsang (a college in the Drepung monastery) and he has similarly to undergo training here. The appointment title and rank of these two Head Lamas are conferred by the Tibetan Government. It is the rule to submit the list of nominees for the post of the steward or manager to look after the estate under these Lamas for selection by the Tibetan Government. The monastic rules and

regulations as well as the laws which govern the people are framed and passed by the Tibet Government in common with those which are in force in all the Tibetan territories. The head Lamas are empowered to administer these lands as is clear from the records. It happened in the former times that the fame of these two Lamas reached the ears of some of the Chinese Emperors, who, being believers in the faith, sent them gifts with a view to acquire merits. These sometimes took the shape of valuable things, money offerings and sealed titles and praises, etc. So these two Lamas of Chamdo and Traya wrote letters and sent return presents which was merely mutual exchange of presents, etc., and there was no political significance. They pay neither tributes in time of peace, nor supply troops in time of war to China. Moreover when the Amban and other Chinese officers pass up and down through these places, they have to pay for their transport. Then the head Lamas of monasteries and the secular authorities pay proportionate tributes and revenue to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, contribute tea and money offerings to the chief monasteries. Young monks are also sent to them from these places.

Po Kanam is not only under the jurisdiction of the Po-chö-jong, a Tibetan Government Jong (fort), but the Kanam Deba (chief) is a descendant from a branch from the ancient dynasty of Tibetan kings, and so had been given a Government order saying that his descendants should be hereditary Debas of Kanam. Whenever an internal trouble occurred amongst the Po-ba people or when they mutinied against the Deba's authority it was always the Tibet Government who stepped in to settle the difference, and having done so always took a bond, for better behaviour in future. There are many bonds of that nature in the Tibetan Government records. In short they have been always carrying out the commands and fulfilling the customary duties as loyal subjects to the Tibet Government and paying tribute mostly in butter. Even during the late high-handed oppressions of Chao Erh Feng they signed and submitted an agreement, binding themselves to carry out the orders of the Tibet Government, whether it be to fight or otherwise, but that they would never submit to the Chinese yoke nor do homage to them.

After that when His Holiness the Dalai Lama came down to Darjeeling, the Chinese had it all their way, and did whatever they liked. The Po people were peaceably living in their own country. But the Chinese picked a quarrel with them and attacked them. The Deba fled to Pemakoi, where he was murdered by some of the natives. The people of Po petitioned to His Holiness the Dalai Lama last year praying that the daughter of the late De-ba may be provided with a husband who should succeed the late De-ba as chief of the Po country. The request has been granted and the duties of the Deba are being performed by the husband of the girl. Thus the Po-bas are indisputably Tibetan subjects. Chao Erh Feng is well known to everybody as a most unscrupulous adventurer whose acts cannot be justified or condoned. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was on his way to Peking to represent personally to the Chinese Government the urgent need of a perfectly friendly and frank understanding between the two powers and the Tibetans were living peacefully confiding in the friendly relations with China, when the Chinese attacked them treacherously and butchered them barbarously. Chao Erh Feng, out of mere thirst for blood, attacked and demolished the Chartin (Hsiencheng) and other Buddhist monasteries and many other places and butchered many innocent men, both high and low. He destroyed several temples and villages by setting fire to them without any provocation, massacred many hundreds of Lamas and lay people. He plundered gold, silver and rare bronze images and many other priceless treasures and relics. He cast the bronze and copper offering vessels of worship into bullets and small coins. And most sacrilegious of all acts of vandalism was that he had paper soles of shoes made out of the leaves of the sacred Buddhist scriptures which contained the teachings of the Lord Buddha. Some of them were thrown into ditches. These barbarous acts were truly demoniac and sacrilegious. He was determined to pick a quarrel with every one of them even when he had not the least ground for doing so. He simply called upon the officials and chiefs to bow down and submit to him or else he would send troops to destroy them and their homes. He was quite inexorable about it and went on plundering villages and driving the owners out. The innumerable instances of lawless and vandal acts of this officer were getting quite unbearable. The above mentioned places Chamdo and Traya and the other Kham Jongs complained to the Tibet Government about Chao Erh Feng's cruelties and the Government's apathy. They protested that if the Government did not take steps to punish Chao they would take justice in their own hands and sacrificing all hope of preserving life and property fight with him; and if they failed through the Tibet Government's not sending troops to their help they would go to seek refuge under more powerful and civilised Government elsewhere. The Tibet Government persisted in

believing that the Government of Peking could not act so treacherously by them, and sent men by the sea route and repeated representations through Len Amban of Lhasa year after year. But seeing that the Chinese were bent on pursuing the suicidal policy of destroying themselves and others too by backing up the evil deeds and realising at last that the Chinese officers and men in Kham, U and Tsang provinces were aiming at taking the whole country and usurping the sovereign power of Tibet, and trampling the faith and freedom of the nation under their feet and that they hated the Tibetans so bitterly that they would like to eat their very flesh and drink their blood and delighted in brutal murder and pillage they rose as one man and drove the Chinese out of Tibet back into their own country. Those who were in Kham were also about to be driven out when a few officers in some of the States prayed that they may not be hustled but that they would evacuate by a certain time. Meanwhile they brought up fresh troops, pretending that they were coming only for negotiating peaces. As soon as the new Chinese officers and troops had come up, they at once joined together and treacherously fell upon the people, burnt several villages, towns and monasteries and plundered them, and committed acts of unlimited barbarity. Just when the Tibetan Government was about to send troops in adequate numbers to expel these treacherous enemies, the President of the Chinese Republic sent telegraphic communications to His Holiness the Dalai Lama saying that he desired to re-establish strong friendly feelings between Tibet and China and would conclude a lasting peace and that he had issued order to the Chinese officials who were still in Kham to cease hostilities. At the same time the British Government also kindly proposed in several letters that they would confer with China on the subject. So the Tibetan Government have desisted from taking warlike steps relying upon the truth and justice of their cause. If unauthorised and unjustifiable acts of encroachment have to be accepted and recognised as conquest, it would be an instance of international encouragement to similar lawless acts. It would be like a murderer and robber being allowed to enjoy his booty and remain unpunished in a country which boasts of having law and justice. The public is sure to condemn any acts of criminal treachery and fraud, or brutal assault and robbery, committed by a friend, a brother, a disciple or a layman against one's friend, brother or teacher. Such a criminal would be punished by the law of the land, besides bringing down upon himself the displeasure of providence. Again if robber-like acts are to be regarded and accepted as fair conquest then all would take to robberies and the peaceful and law-abiding would have no chance whatever of enjoying any freedom or security.

The Chinese Government are surely fully aware of the fact that Chao Erh Feng had been guilty of such glaring misdeeds and that even if he had a hundred lives he should forfeit every one of them to the law. But instead of owning the truth if they descend so low as to base their claim on his raids as conquests and call it incontrovertible proof of just claim, it is like trying to swallow a living person—an impossible feat—which no one can be asked to believe. It is hoped therefore that a just decision after due consideration will be given to the above.

List of Documents Submitted to the British Plenipotentiary as Documentary Evidence to Prove the Boundary of Tibet.

Documents to go in with Part I of the case.

1. Three original prints from the Lhasa Doring (stone pillar) showing both Chinese and Tibetan characters, both sides facing North, South, and East.
2. Chinese copy of the decipherable portion of the Chinese characters of which several letters are invisible on account of great age—showing gaps.
3. English translation of the Chinese text of the inscription.
4. Tibetan inscription of the Doring, showing gaps where the letters are not decipherable (the translation of the gaps in italics).
5. An earlier copy of the Tibetan and Chinese inscriptions on the Doring, and its English translation.
6. The Tibetan inscription on the Northern faces of the Doring with their English translation.
7. A copy of the Chinese inscription of the North and South faces of the Doring, with its translation into English and Tibetan.
8. Extract from the authentic History of Tibet called "Dzo-dan Zhon-nui Ga-ton" (Delightful feast for the youths) compiled by the 5th Dalai Lama, bearing on the event of the setting up of the Doring and of making Me-rugang the boundary between Tibet and China.

9. Extract from the index to the De-srid San-gay Gya-tso's book called "Ser-dong Dzam-ling Gyen" (The golden tree which is the only ornament of the world) bearing on the boundary of Tibet, marked as "Ka," Part I.
10. Two registers showing the number of door-steps (families) of Dar tse-do (Tatsienlu) Rab-gang and Rong-kag and the Chinese frontier, marked as "Kha," Part I.
11. One register showing door-steps (families) in Do-Ga-den Kang-sar, and the frontier places under it.
12. A complete register showing the fireplaces (families) in Dar-tse-do (Tatsienlu), marked as "Kha," Part I.
13. A list of monasteries in Dar-tse-do (Tatsienlu), marked as "Kha," Part I.
14. Register showing number of door-steps in Lha-khang-teng, marked as "Ga," Part I.
15. A document showing jurisdiction and administration in Litang.
16. A register of order, laws and regulations of Meli and Lha-khang-teng.
17. A register of the number of houses in Litang Ga-den Namgyal Lha-tse.
18. A list of monasteries in Litang Ga-den Tubten Chamling.
19. One register showing number of houses in Gyal-tang Do-kar-jong.
20. A list showing the number of monasteries in Gyal-tang Do-kar-jong.
21. An agreement showing the number of troops to be raised from Gyal-tang in case of war..
22. A copy of the sanad given to A-ku Tse-ring of Litang.
23. A register showing the number of house in Nang-chen, marked as "Nga" of Part I.
24. A sealed list of houses in Go-lok, marked as "Nga," Part I.
25. A register of houses along the Dre-chu and the Kyi-chu Valleys and of the monastery estates of Dam, marked as "Nga," Part I.
26. A list of number of subjects and houses in Lun-drub Rab-den in Batang under the Dzung-ngon estate.
27. A register of militia Batang.
28. A register of subjects in Ba-til and adjacent places, and of Trung-kors, monastery estates, revenue to be levied from the subjects.
29. A register of landlords in Batang.
- 29 (a). A register of old and new taxes to be raised in kind from the people of Ba Linga estate and the upper and lower Gya-shok estates of Batang.
30. A new register of income from Ba Tru-sa-nang Gya-shok in Batang.
31. The 3rd register of the Batang Dzung-ngon Pun-tso Rab-den revenue from borax and salt.
32. Register of people paying taxes in kind in upper Gya-shog and Zee-go Gya-shog.
33. A register showing an account of expenditure to be incurred by Batang Lhun-drub Rab-den during New Year's festivities.
34. A register showing the account of the usual mess expenditure of the above jong.
35. A register of various systems of taxes in Ba Go-rong.
36. A register of people paying taxes in kind in Ba Tse-sum Gya-shog.
37. A register of houses in the La-rong monastery estates in Batang.
38. A register of revenue from To-hor, Gyal-ag-Do-rö-ting in Batang, in cash.
39. A register of houses under Ry-yon Jong-tsa in the Lun-rab estate in Batang.
40. A list of monasteries in Batang.
41. A register showing the jurisdiction of Lun drub Rab-ten jong in Batang and the houses and monasteries under it.
42. A copy of an order to the Batang Jongpen.
43. A copy of an order to the Batang monastery.
44. A list of all the monasteries mentioned in the case.

Documentary evidence for Part II of the case.

45. A register of the Pon-po of Khyung-bu Kar-ru (in Dza-de) showing the number of houses under him.
46. Register of houses of the Khyung-bu Ser-tsak tribes.
47. A register of the houses of the Kar, Ser, Zer-kar and Nye-dzin.
48. A register of houses in Khyung-bu Nag-ru under the jurisdiction of Yam-jong.
49. A register of the official records and furniture in Khyung-bu Ling-jong.
50. A register of houses in the monastery lands of Nag-shö.

51. A copy of an order issued to Be-ku Chi-kyab (Commissioner) of the Tso-pa-So-gu (39 tribes or Dza-de).
52. A copy of an order to Nag-shö Gom-tod Be-jang.
53. A copy of a bond submitted by the people of upper and lower Khyung-bu Kar-ru promising to pay in cash in lieu of transport animals to the Sho-ba-do Jong.
54. A copy of a bond submitted by the Chi-kyabs of Tso-pa So-gu promising to pay in cash in lieu of supplying transport animals to the Sho-ba-do Jong.
55. A copy of a Sanad or Warrant granted (by the Dalai Lama) to the monasteries in Khyung-bu lands.
56. Copy of an order issued to the Bo Pen-pa.
57. An extract from Go-shri's history.

Documents for Part III of the case.

58. An extract from the Pho-lha Te-ji's biography, showing what taxes used to be realised from ancient times.
59. Copy of an order issued to Kum-bum Jam-ling.
60. Copy of an order issued to Tso-ngon-pu (Ko-konor) Orod Tso-zhi (4 tribes of Orods).

Documents to prove claims made in Part IV of the case.

61. The bond of allegiance submitted on oath by the Hor-ser tribes and Der-ge, marked as "Ka" of Part IV.
62. Original sealed despatch from the Amban, restoring Nyarong to Tibet, marked as "Kha" of Part IV.

Documents to prove claims made in Part V of the case.

63. A register showing the revenue, pay of soldiers and number of soldiers to be supplied to Nyarong by Der-ge and the Hor-ser tribes, marked "Ka" of Part IV.
64. A list of important cases settled by the Nyarong Chi-kyab in the Hor-ser and the Der-ge States, marked as "Kha" of Part V.

Documents to prove the claims set forth in Part VI of the case.

(The bond of allegiance submitted on oath by the Hor-ser tribes and Der-ge, mentioned in Serial No. 61 above, will also prove the claims on Nyarong.)

65. Bond submitted by the Der-ge chief and his younger brother to Nyarong Chik-yab Hor-kang on the occasion of their disagreement.

Documents to prove the claim set forth in Part VII of the case.

66. A list or inventory of articles in the Markham Garjong Tashi Rab-den jongs, and a register of revenue of Ka-lung, Tsang-rong, and Kung-kpit.
67. A register showing the annual revenue and private income in the Markham estates.
68. A register of houses in Markham.
69. A register showing the Royal New Year collection and the income from Sok-de.
70. A register showing the number of houses in Goji.
71. A register showing the number of doorsteps in Goji.
72. A register showing the number of monasteries in Goji.
73. A register showing the income from Jo-jang marked as "Kha" of Part VII.
74. A register showing the number of houses in Pang-da Tem-do and Jo-gang.
75. A list of monasteries in Pang-da Tem-do and Jo-gang.
76. A register of houses in Sanga Cho-jong and the land below Washo and above Drag-ma Ling-zhi and of Tsarong which are all under Sanga Che-jong.
77. A register showing the number of houses in the places under and adjoining Sanga Cho-jong, Menchong and other places.
78. A list of monasteries in Sang-ga Cho-jong.
79. Register of houses in Pabi under Traya, marked as "GA" of Part VII.
80. A register of houses on the sunny side of the La-chu Valley.
81. A register of houses in Traya Chamdun, which is under Gaden Sha-drup Cho-khor.
82. A register showing the increase and decrease of income from Upper and Lower Traya.

83. A register of the houses in the Chamdo monastery estate (under the direct management of the Chamdo Labrang), marked as "Nga" of Part VII.
84. A register of houses in the Upper and Lower Chamdo country.
85. A register of the houses in the monastery estates under the management of the Chamdo Tra-tsang (monastic College).
86. A register of houses in the Po country (marked "Cha" of Part VII).
87. Two registers of the houses in Riwoche (marked "Cha" of Part VII).
88. A register of cases tried and fines imposed and punishments inflicted by Lhabag Drelpo (the Special officer deputed by the Tibetan Government in Kham), marked as "Chha" of Part VII.
89. A list of titles, appointments and rank of Tibetan Government officials in Kham, including the Nyarong Chi-kyab the Jongpons in Kongbu Po country, and Nagchukha.
90. A register showing clearly that Chamdo is under the jurisdiction of Lho-jong.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

English Translation of the Tibetan Rendering of the Chinese Inscription on the Do-ring (as they are).

From the Tibetan translation of the Chinese text from the Do-ring inscription, showing the breaks and the missing letters.

The Emperor of Da Tang of both the Civil and the Martial named Hawate . . . after due consultation, about kingdoms or realms . . . for a long time . . . made the entire body of men and Gods witnesses, for many generations . . . sworn treaty and Emperor Hawate . . . the present . . . ease and trouble . . . pervaded all by his kindness without outer or inner have negotiated and considered how to perpetuate a long peace . . . having agreed for a long time . . . the two kingdoms of Tibet and China . . . great Tibetan territory will not regard each other as enemies, and will not encroach each other's territory. Should there be any cause of suspicion needing detention, such should be caught alive, . . . inquired . . . provided with food and sent back . . . for the present the realms . . . usual travels . . . Eastward of the outpost or depot where the Chang-juns exchange ponies (or literally—give over charge of their ponies) up to Chen-rhui-shan, the Da Tang (Chinese) undertake to provide from that place westward Great Tibetan undertakes to provide. Customary civilities or behaviour of the kinship of the nephew and maternal uncle . . . between the two boundaries . . . the faith and realms shall be at peace . . . over those directions where the sun and the moon shine. Tibetans shall rest secure in Tibet and the Chinese shall rest secure in China. Regarding this sworn treaty . . . unchanging . . . the three Rare Ones and all the gods, the sun and moon, the plants and stars . . . Should any disregard this treaty, (be he) Tibetan (or) Chinese . . . Again . . . and secret intrigue, will not be breach of the sworn treaty, the Tibetan and Chinese Sovereigns and ministers . . . must pay minute attention to the letters. . . .

Translation of No. 5.

The great king of Tibet (the supernatural and powerful god Tsanpo) (Trul-gyilha Tsan-po—Powerful King), and the great Sovereign of the Chinese—Hwangte, being maternal uncle and nephew, having conferred with each other about a treaty of close and intimate alliance between their two realms, convened a friendly interview in great State and having sworn peace and friendship concluded the following solemn treaty, which shall never be changed. Gods and men bearing witness to this, and so that it may continue from generation to ten thousands of generations in the same way this treaty has been inscribed clause by clause, on this pillar.

The powerful and supernatural God (king) Tri-de Tsan, having conferred with the Chinese sovereign, Shünshu-Hewatic-Hwangte, who are related to each other as maternal uncle and nephew, taking into their kind and gracious consideration the mutual interest and welfare of the people of both their respective realms, without any partiality (literally—internal or external) and wishing to promote the peace and friendship of their many subjects for long, long time to come, renewed their old relationship and thereby strengthened the friendly feelings of neighbourly regard. They held this great grand interview and concluded this great treaty. The boundary and limits of Tibet China shall be as at present, the country of Mra Nga-wan. All places east of that shall be China, and west of that shall be absolutely great Tibet. Neither shall wage war on

the other, nor regard each other as enemies. If any one incurs suspicion, the person may be arrested, questioned and sent back provided with gifts (of food and clothing). Henceforth the territories and the subjects are as one people having made this great Treaty, and it is necessary to keep up communication with each other by interchange of mutual regard and respects by sending messengers to and fro, to keep up the relationship of maternal uncle and nephew. The messengers sent to and fro will be sent by the old way. And as usual they shall exchange horses between Tibet and China at the Tsang-kun-yog, and when they meet the Chinese at Tse-shung-chek, the Chinese will serve the messenger or envoy (or mission) from there downward; on the other hand, when the Chinese messenger (or mission) meets the Tibetan at Tseng-shu-gyen, the Tibetan will serve the messenger (or mission) from there upward. The treatment shall be full of civility, respectful and courteous, appropriate to the rank and position of each and consistent with the Kinship of the two sovereigns, who are uncle and nephew. Not a speck of smoke should be seen between the two countries. Should any rise suddenly by mischance they shall not call each other enemies. Even the patrols guarding the boundaries shall have no dread or suspicion but shall keep within their own lands and beds in peace and security. They shall dwell in peace for the space of ten thousand generations. The sweet fame of their harmonious goodwill shall spread wherever the sun and the moon shines over. The Tibetans shall be happy in Tibet, and the Chinese shall be happy in China. This greatly auspicious State duty has been done, and the solemn oath has been taken, which will never be changed. The three precious ones (the Buddhist Trinity) the holy ones, the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars have been invoked to bear witness to this act.

The doubts too have been implied and expressed animals have been sacrificed (for this ceremony) the oaths have been sworn and (the text) ratified. Should they not act according to these words of the sworn treaty, or should any one break it, be he Tibetan or Chinese whoever does it, may the weight of sin and calamity fall on him.

But anything done in the way of retaliation will not be counted as a breach of this treaty. Both the Tibetan and the Chinese Sovereigns and their ministers have solemnly sworn this and have carefully put this treaty down in writing. Both the great Kings have put the impress of their hands to this and their ministers who hold the treaty have signed their name in their own hand writing. And a copy of this sworn treaty is kept in each of their hands (the original word here is "Pyaggya-tu" which at present would mean "under seal" or "in their hand and seal").

Translation of the Chinese version of the Doring Inscription.

The Emperor Hawati of Da-tang (China) of both civil and martial, and the powerful King of great Tibet (Lha-tsanpo), allied as nephew and uncle, having both negotiated a friendly treaty of making their realms like one people, which should remain unchanged for a long time, made all the gods and men their witness. That the sworn treaty may be regarded with due faith and respect by future generations, the wordings of the sworn treaty have been inscribed upon the stone pillar. The Civil and Martial Emperor Hawati and Lha-tsanpo, both thinking of present and future peace and trouble, out of gracious compassion for all, without partiality (inner and outer) and wishing that this peace and happiness should continue for a very long time have reconnected the bonds of friendship and strengthened this friendly, parental, neighbourly feeling, by concluding this great peace. The present territories which constitute the two Kingdoms of Tibet and of China are east of the Touming State is Chinese Boundary, all west of that is Tibetan territory. They shall not regard each other as enemies nor wage war, nor encroach upon each other's territories (literally) gradually make new boundaries. Should there be any ground for detention and suspicion the person should be captured alive, examined and questioned, after which food and clothes should be given and sent back. Now the realms of the two Kings have been made like one people, yet to keep up the due mutual regard and love as befitting uncle and nephew, there must be constant communication. They shall rely upon each other, and send envoys constantly to and fro by the two routes. Between China and Tibet east of where the Chag-jöns (envoys) exchange horses up to Chin-rhui-shan eastwards, the Chinese undertake to serve. Westward from that Great Tibet undertake to do so. The reception ceremony shall be according to the near relationship of the two sovereigns who are uncle and nephew, so that not a dust shall arise between the two borders; they shall not call each other enemies, no dread or fear, nor suspicion shall be entertained. The frontier guards, as well as the people of the two realms, shall enjoy perfect peace and in consequence of this

joyful event. The blessings of this happy event shall be handed down to 10,000 generations in strains of grateful praise and extend wherever the sun and the moon shine. Tibetans shall rest secure in Tibet, Chinese shall rest in peaceful security in China and henceforth this shall be a sign of great prosperity. They shall ever keep this sworn oath without changing. The precious Trinity (Buddhist) and all the gods, the sun and the moon, the planets and stars are invoked as witness. A sworn treaty like this has been written by both parties, animals sacrificed, and kept by both. Should either Tibetan or Chinese commit any breach of this sworn treaty, may the sin alight on him as misfortunes and calamities. But any retractions, conspiracies and intrigues occur, those among the Chinese and the Tibetan kings and ministers who have not committed perjury, shall consider this sworn treaty minutely and write down these carefully. The two sovereigns have carefully considered these and noted down the names of the ministers. They have affixed their hand impression on the spot where the treaty was concluded. This same sworn treaty is preserved in the capitals of the sovereigns.

[Enclosure No. 8—Translation.]

On the back page of the 43rd leaf of the printed copy of the authentic history of Tibet, called *Dzog-dan-zhon-nui Gah-tön* compiled by the 5th Dalai Lama of Tibet, from selected authentic records available at the time, it is said that in the time of King Tri-ral of Tibet, a difference arose between Tibet and China. Tri-ral assembled a large army of fierce warriors, invaded China and overran several places in China. After a great slaughter of leaders and heroic youths, the Chinese were defeated. At this state, some Chinese Hoshangs (Chinese Buddhists) and Tibetan Lopans (Panditas and translators) acted as mediators and by their influence succeeded in concluding a treaty between the two powers (who were uncle and nephew). They set up a long stone pillar at Gu-gu Me-ru of China as the boundary between Tibet and China. Both powers undertook not to encroach beyond the above boundary nor invade each other's territory. They swore eternal friendship and alliance between [sic] invoking the powerful gods and spiritual beings to bear witness to their solemn deed. Then they inscribed the treaty on the pillars at Lhasa, at the palace of the Chinese Sovereign, and at Meru. The treaty was a very good thing for Tibet and China.

[Enclosure No. 9—Translation.]

Again on the 67th leaf of the index to the book *Serdong Dzam-ling Gyen-chog*, compiled and published by De-si Sangyay Gyamtso in the time of the 5th Dalai Lama of Tibet, it is said: In Do-med, there is one Kham called Med-kham, another Kham Yarmo-thang, a third Kham called Tsong Kha-la Chhi-thiang; these three make the three Khams. Subsequently these have been called Do-Kham Gang-truk, the six Gungs or ranges of Do-Kham, they are: (1) Tulja Zemo-gang, (2) Tswa-gang, (3) Markham-gang, (4) Pobor-gang, (5) Mardza-gang, and (6) Mimjak-rab-gang. These constitute the Do-kham Gang-truk, which are territories of the great Tibetan nation.

In the intervening time Tibet consisted of the three Chös-kha—divisions made according to religious influence. They were: (1) Töd Nga-ri Gung-tang up to Sok-la Kya-wo was said to be U-tsang tampa Chös-kyi Chsö-kha, (2) from Sok-la Kya-wo to the bend of the Ma-chu, was said to be Do-töd Go-nak Mi-gi Chök-ka, and (3) from the bend of the Ma-chu to the white Stupa in China (Chorten-karpo) it was called the Do-med Cho-kha of horses. These three are thus clearly mentioned as being Tibetan territory.

[Enclosure No. 65.]

(Written outside)

The Sa-chöt-pa (landlord) of Derge, having obtained at his own request the Warrant sealed with the State Seal called Gong-dam She-bam Chemo, conferring upon him by His Holiness the Dalai Lama the title of "The Ruler of Derge" herein submits, in this Chu-tag (Water-tiger) year (1902-03) this bond of allegiance, signed and sealed by himself, his subordinate officials and Ministers of the Derge State, promising full compliance with the statement of the nature of services required of him.

Dated the 12th day of the 12th month of the Chu-tag (Water-tiger) year (1902-03).

In the presence of the crown jewel of the gods and men and the lotus throne of the two-fold judge, who is the source from which all happiness and benefits flow, we, the undersigned do faithfully undertake to fulfill the terms contained in this bond which we respectfully tender.

It is well known that it is the gracious Government alone who delivered all the Do-med Tu-sis and particularly myself, the lineal ruler of Derge, my mother, and the members of the Derge ruling family from the grasp of the Niarong Chief and released my State from the yoke of Niarong after a most tedious war, which restored peace to the land. We do hereby jointly offer our humble allegiance and solemn words promising full compliance with the wording in the bond as to the services required of us by the Tibet Government.

Shape Phulung, who came as Commandant of the troops in Niarong, and later on Chi-kyab Po-pön Pun-rab of Niarong kindly favoured us with a constitution regarding the future management of the Derge State.

Again in the Me-tre (Fire-monkey) year (1896-97), when we two brothers were young and inexperienced, our parents having died in China owing to the doings of the Chinese, the parental Government most graciously assisted us by deputing the Horkang Dza-sak to advise us in the management of the State affairs and to superintend our marriage. The favourable action of the gracious Government, which were all meant for the welfare of our State, and the wise instructions given us from time to time have been appreciated and acknowledged by us in due form, as is well-known to the Tibet Government. Moreover, when I, the Sa-Chöt-pa (landlord) went to Lhasa, His Holiness the Omniscient Dalai Lama heaped favours upon me in various ways, and at my own request, conferred on me the Warrant or title deeds bearing the stamp of the great State Seal of the Tibet Government called the Gong-dam She-bam Che-mo.

Intending that we should not misunderstand the instructions that were issued to us and that I and my nobles might always abide by them, it was ordered that the great Chi-je (Niarong Che-kyab) should explain to me and all the officers of the State the necessity of abiding faithfully by the commands of the Government and maintaining the efficient performance of the duties entrusted to us.

I, the Sa-chot-pa Dorje Sing-ge alias Ngag-wang Lo-se, on whom the weight and responsibility of the gracious favours and honour devolve, because of my holding the rank of Sa-chot-pa and the title of Tu-si from the Chinese Emperor, by right of lineal descent from father to son, do hereby promise full obedience to the orders. I will not prove unworthy of my name and the responsibility of the rank I hold, and will not fail in my duties as required by the solemn oath of fealty and allegiance, signed and sworn to by my parents, which I do hereby promise again to obey willingly and loyally on my faith in the Spiritual Teacher, whom I regard reverently as my precious Trinity in whom I take refuge.

I. I will practice the white (righteous) deeds and avoid the black (unrighteous) ones, as becomes the righteous and noble ones without any stain on my conduct and will set myself to maintain the Buddhist monasteries in my State either by supporting the existing ones, or by establishing new or repairing the old and ruined ones.

II. I will levy just, reasonable and proportionate taxes on the subjects in the Northern and Southern countries and pasturages of my State. I will enforce the laws without flinching, lenity or carelessness and will not be cruelly exorbitant and oppressive, but will be always intent on maintaining justice and uprightness in my dealings with my subjects.

III. I will treat the prince Baba with constant fraternal affection and love.

IV. As regards the two Ranis, they shall be treated with equal affection, love and respect as becomes their dignity and position as noble ladies, according to the proper line of conduct and etiquette that have ever been paid to the ladies of their rank since the time of my honored ancestors.

V. On my part, I, the younger son, commonly known as Baba Sonam Chö-kyong, do hereby undertake to adhere to the religious career to which I have been destined by the prophecy of the Spiritual Teachers. As according to the law existing in China and Tibet my elder brother has been created and installed as Sa-cho-pa and Tu-si, I promise that I will not in any way dispute his lawful claim and position. I will not only refrain from any religious plots and conspiracies but will altogether hold myself aloof from anything that will jeopardize the purity of our fraternal feelings.

VI. We, the two Ranis, who are sisters—daughters of the Gya-drong Nang-so family—do hereby promise to be perfectly modest, faithful and constant to our husbands, patient, liberal and deep in our respect towards the Sachöt-pa; studious in gaining the good will and devotion of our retainers and subjects by our honest and upright conduct in studying their welfare and amiable in our behaviour towards our husbands, the two brothers. We shall ever strive our utmost to cement the good wish and fellow-feeling between the chieftains and the

clansmen by every straightforward and honourable means, which lie within our sphere as exemplary housewives should do. We shall do nothing contrary to the above, either directly or indirectly.

VII. We, the officers, such as Nyer-pa (stewards), Chan-dzö (treasurers), Trung-yigs (clerks), etc., do hereby promise to yield implicit obedience to the Sochöt-pa. We do hereby add that in the performance of the State duties we will perform them in a spirit of loyal faith and honour, keeping in view the permanent welfare and interest of the Derge State, and will not allow ourselves to be diverted from our duties by consideration of selfish interests, carelessness and dishonesty of any kind. We shall ever be full of respect to the Sa-chöt-pa's own venerable person as well as to those of the members of his family. We do hereby promise to see that justice is done according to the enacted laws and regulations, to the best of our abilities and knowledge, so as to be worthy of the honour and responsibility of being ministers who stand in the presence of the ruler, as regards such duties as increments of subsidies to monasteries, allowances, remunerations, and salaries to followers and servants, the maintenance of the staff in the establishment that may appear to be necessary from time to time and also in the administration of justice to the subjects under the State's jurisdictions. We will not act against the smooth and peaceful working of the State. With regard to the terms of each officer's services, every one will hold it if possible to the natural term of one's own life, but if that be found impossible they shall hold it at least for seven years, if their services are without any blemish or censure. We will not try to shirk our responsibility by shifting blame from one to another and by applying for leave very often. Again when any question of the appointment of a new Nyer-pa or Chan-dzo has to be considered, such incumbents will be selected for their ability and loyalty and not by chance or as a matter of convenience. We will not prevent the apt and the likely persons from applying for posts nor prevent them from being appointed. We do hereby promise to adhere fully to this bond which embodies the rules and regulations framed for our guidance, and those instructions and commands contained in the Warrant deeds issued by Their Holinesses the successive Dalai Lamas, stamped with the State Seal called Gong-dam She-bam Che-mo. This bond is based on the joint bond presenting the oath of allegiance submitted by the people of the whole of Do-med province. It also contains the instructions given by Sa-wang Sha-pe Phulung-pa, and the Niarong Chikyab Po-pön Punrab, and the substance of the subsequent bond presented by us in compliance with the requisition of the Dza-sak De-pön Hor-kang. We hereby again promise to act in perfect accordance with all the above, keeping in view the laws of the Chinese and the Tibetan Governments, the spiritual results of this and the future lives and our permanent interest and risks and the consequent weal and woe. All the above points will be taken into consideration in faithfully keeping our own words and promises. We will never go against these. Should any of us, however, retract or change our words or think of doing so ourselves, or influence others to do so or falsely shirk responsibility on others, or seek to pervert in any way the words, sense or purport of this bond, we undertake to forfeit 200¹ Srangs of gold to the court and be liable to pay up the forfeits mentioned in the previous and subsequent bonds.

I do hereby reiterate my promise to fulfill and abide by the above, in token of which I, the real Sachöt-pa, do affix my seal hereunto—

(Seal of the Sa-chöt-pa.)

Seal of Prince Baba Sonam Chöyong.

Joint seal of the two Ranis, Sonam Tso-mo and of Karma Chö-kyit.

Seal of Yar-go Trashi Namgyal (Nyer-pa).

Seal of Nyer-pa Gyang Khang De-tsen Norbu.

Seal of Trumo Trashi Dorje.

Seal of Nyer-pa Kalzang puntso.

Seal of Chan-dzö Yishe Gyam-tso.

Seal of Trung-pön Gyal-khar Sonam Pal-drup.

No. 61.]

Dated the 15th day of the 11th month of Shing-lang (Water-bull) year (1865).

Invoking the Protecting Wisdom (the four-armed and the six-armed Yi-she Gön-po), the truthful guardian of the Faith, Dharma Raja of Yamaloka, and the Goddess Remati (the protecting deity of the sensual paradises), the embodiment of the rays of the five Dhyani B'ud-

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dhas—the five manifestations of the five incarnate righteous King, the twelve protecting female deities called Tenmas of Tibet, and the tutelar and guardian deities of each person according to his own case, his war or battle god and birthplace, to bear witness to this deed, we hereby present it unto the feet of the precious twofold judge, who is the source of benefits and happiness:

Most humbly submitteth.

That the undersigned persons present this bond with the oaths of unchanging and pure intentions, of keeping within its limits (performing faithfully all that is undertaken herein).

Whereas the arch-enemy of all the common people and of monasteries existing in Do-med, known as Nyang-ke'd Gompa Namgyal, had ever since his ancestors, Pal-gon and Norbu Tseringchan, broken out into repeated rebellious acts in the reigns of Chenlung and Chan-chin which were quelled by the celestial troops. But these bandits only fled away into the hills, and could not be exterminated. Again the traitorous father and sons rose up in rebellion and ravaged all the adjoining provinces in Do-med causing infinite cruelties and harms to the land and the people thereof. In the 28th year of the Emperor Dah-kong, a memorial was addressed to him through the Dahshen of Szechuan, and the Chi Tsung-thu came in person at the head of a body of Chinese troops and dispersed the rebels, for which thanks are due. Yet finding it inexpedient to exterminate them, he satisfied himself by taking a bond for future good behaviour and returned back. As soon as the Tsung-thu had gone away, the traitorous rebel chief of Niarong, Gompu Namgyal, emboldened by the retreat of the Chinese, at once attacked the five districts of the Do-med province including our district of the Hoser Tu-si, and did great injury to us. It became so unendurable that we sent deputation after deputation to Ta-t sien-lu and to Sze-chuan, invoking aid and justice from the Chinese civil and military authorities there. Many of these people persevered until their death in trying by all means in their power to obtain redress. But medicine was not to hand when the patient was ill, nor were there any to help when it was most needed. Thus it remained without anyone to take notice of us from 8th or 9th year of the Shanhong's reign to the 1st year of the Emperor Thung-dri's reign, and in the meanwhile the undernoted Tu-sis of Drag-go named Wangchen Dram-dul with his whole family, the Tu-si of Khang-sar Ngo-drup Puntso with his brothers and sisters, Jayzang Lakho of Draggo with his family, and Mazur She-nyen Shu-gu Trashi with his family lending over 400 families or houses of followers, all came to Tibet to ask for help, refuge and protection, as well as for some pecuniary support for themselves from the Tibet Government. The Tibet Government, after thorough enquiry and careful consideration, resolved upon taking the necessary step to uphold the dignity of the State and the faith and granted them dwelling places, allowed them food and clothing, according to their respective ranks and positions as long as they stayed.

The Tibet Government sent down Kalon Pulung, after informing the Chinese Government of it, charged with full power to treat for peace or for war, with a Tibetan army, into the Do-med provinces. The Tibet Government generously defrayed all the expenses of the war since the Chu-kyi (Water-dog) year (1862), gathered up over 10,000 troops from the Government's own side, provided officers to lead them and guide their movements. The Government also provided the body of about 200 efficient men which we, the chiefs, mustered from our clansmen and followers. Our men were kept separately and given ammunitions, transport and riding ponies, pay and rations, and even grain and fodder for the ponies. In these latter, too, we were favoured with far better arms and higher pay and better provision than those given to the general body of the Kahmba and Tibetan troops. Those who had no arms, offensive or defensive, were given armours and armour. The family members who were left behind in Tibet were also similarly provided with pay and rations. The general kindness and obligations heaped upon us by the Tibet Government surpasses thought and the power of speech. These were our own interest, and we are bound to serve the Government loyally and willingly which we will surely do. The Great Government (Tibet) has, for the sake of the security and peace of its subjects, the people of the Do-med provinces, waged a war lasting four years, and at last completely routed the traitorous common enemy (the Niarong Chief). The whole rebellious brood of the traitor Gompu Namgyal and his sons have been exterminated. This act in itself has been like giving a new lease of life to the dying subjects of Do-med, both the lay of the villages and the Lamas of the monasteries. This is the chief blessing conferred on us. Then the restoration of the houses and properties to the rightful owners, which they had been deprived of by the traitorous usurper, have now been wrested back from his hand, by the might of the Government army. This is an inestimable boon which we shall never be able to repay. Neither the chiefs nor the clansmen, nor their descendants for generations, will be able to repay the generous kindness of the Government for these boons. But to prove our gratitude to the

Government to the best of our ability we bind ourselves by these presents to carry out the duties mentioned hereunder faithfully:

(a) We do hereby promise and undertake to render every possible aid and service required of us, by the Government, to any person, be he officer or traveller, should he come provided with a special order from the Government at any time, in accordance with the dictates of the three-fold duties.

(b) That upper, lower and the middle Niarong will be held under the direct possession of the Tibet Government, of course with the consent of the Chinese Emperor, and be administered by the Niarong Chi-kyab, and we all bind ourselves to carry out any orders which the said Chi-kyab may have to issue for putting down any sign of insubordination or mutiny in any of the three above-mentioned places; we shall never disobey his orders nor show ourselves ungrateful, or in any way prove unworthy of the favours heaped on us.

(c) Everyone of us promises that we shall live in peace as law-abiding people, content with our own possessions and properties. We will never covet each other's property, nor wrangle over anybody's possessions.

(d) Should, however, any disputes occur between two parties (which is natural in a community), they shall not, as has been done hitherto, fall on each other with arms to decide such, but go to law, either Tibetan or Chinese.

(e) Regarding the subjects under each separate State, unless transfer be rendered unavoidable by the changes brought about during the time of Niarong's usurpation, no other compulsory and unlawful oppressions or extortions should be practised.

(f) The Pon-po or Go-ba of each State will protect wayfarers en route from China to Tibet and vice versa from being assaulted, robbed or ill-treated by the people of the State.

(g) Should any case of murder, robbery or complaint occur casually we undertake that proper punishment, according to the Chinese or the Tibetan law, whether the criminal should deserve imprisonment, death, fines or indemnity for shedding blood or homicide, shall be meted out to the culprit. The end of justice shall not be prostituted to suit one's corrupt desires.

(h) With regard to the posting and maintenance of the stipulated body of troops to guard the Niarong State, it shall be carried out and continued faithfully and willingly until the land and people are settled down peacefully and permanently in conformance with the orders of the Government officers, be he a Lama or a Pon-po (secular officer). None of these duties shall ever be regarded as taxation, or be shirked or performed carelessly, as long as the precious church and faith of the Lord Buddha continues in force for the benefit of the universe. No one shall act directly against the above. Should any one, however, act against these, or say "Not I, it is he" (that is, shift blame on each other), entertain thoughts of duplicity and change our good faith, or say "on such day or event, etc." (prevaricating), or in any way not mentioned herein, but which will be going against the tenor of this bond in the least degree and thus become a most ungrateful thing (literally, repaying kindness by evil) on that person or persons, we do hereby invoke the awful divine wrath of all the above-mentioned deities. May they cut off the ringleader's life and exterminate his descendants, and in the next world too may he fall into Hell and not be able to get out of it for many Kalpas together. Let his own person, and those of his descendants be forfeited to the feet of the twofold judge, who will then mete out such punishment as appears just on the person of each ringleader, which they shall justly deserve. Then again they will be compelled to abide by the tenor of this bond. And to those who faithfully adhere to the purport of this bond, may the unchanging good Karmic result of true faith bless him; may the protecting and guiding deities prolong his life, and increase his luck and prosperity and shower spiritual boons of piety, goodness and meritorious deeds on him. To testify to my unalterable and sincere intention to abide by the meaning and purport of this bond, I Mazur Tu-si Sonam Wangyal, do affix my seal on this—

Seal of Minister Jayzang Shenyen Tenzin-Khangsar.

Seal of Tu-si Ngo-drup Puntso.

Seal of Minister Jayzang Nyerpa Tragay.

Seal of Behu Tu-si Gon-po Ngo-drup.

Seal of Minister Jayzang Nyerpa Rapten.

Seal of Draggo Tu-si Droje Gyur-Med.

Seal of Minister Jayzang La-kho.

Seal of Dre-wo Tu-si Sonam Tobden Gönpl.

Seal of Minister Jayzang Phellu.

Half-seal of Wangchen Dram-dul.

Seal of Minister Mayzang Pella.

Joint seal of Tong-kor Tulku and Pön-mo Yüton Lahmu.

Seal of Gyeshe Tu-si Kunzang Gyaltzen.

For myself in particular, I undertake to conform to the above bond, in general with the other body of Tu-sis and add further, we the Government's humble clients of Derge were specially victimised by the common enemy Niarong (Nia-ked), who attacked and captured all of us, mother and sons, and enslaved all our subjects and deprived us of our lands and properties. Moreover, we were held as hostages in captivity, where we suffered the pangs of Hell on earth. The Chag-la chief ought to have rendered every aid in the matter of guiding the Tu-si while in trouble and ought to have taken steps to prevent them from coming to this plight as he is actually maternal uncle of the Tu-si. But instead of helping, which would have been proper in him, but which he did not do at all, he obstructed the Derge State merchant and laid various needless restrictions on the private and also the monastery traders of Derge. He acted both directly and indirectly in this mean way. Again when the Lhasa Government troops came, and all the horde were mustering to the call to wrest back the usurped States the Chag-la State did not put forth an equal force nor took a keen interest in the movement, but committed the serious blunder of standing aloof, all of which facts have been reported. I promise that I will fulfill and act up to the purport of that prayer I have submitted before. Especially for me, the Derge chief, myself, and all the subjects of Derge, including monasteries and lay people, rely wholly for the present and future on the Ganden Phodang Government—i. e., Lhasa Government—whom we regard as our liege lord, having power of life and death, wealth and property, to give or to take, and I promise solemnly that I shall never prove ungrateful, but willingly and faithfully perform everything mentioned in the above bond. Since the Government has kindly intended to provide me, the Tu-si, with a suitable wife, of its choice, I promise that I shall love and regard her with fondness and be grateful to the Government. Then with regard to the appointment of Nyerpas, Chan-dzo and other officers, the whole of the staff require to be entirely a new set, which of course will be appointed by the Government. I will attend minutely to the duties of making the fallen and polluted ones again of use, and amenable to order. I again promise to act according to the sense and wordings of the rules and regulations laid down in the credentials granted. I will ever consider it my chief duty to abide by the above, which I will never act against nor will fail therein, in my duty towards the chief twofold liege lord.

I will ever study the welfare and interests of my subjects and strive to afford protection, prosperity and security emulating the righteous deeds of my noble ancestors and parents. I will not let things go to rack and ruin. As for my future bride, the Lady Chaksama, I will go to Lhasa not later than the 10th of the 5th month, as I have been ordered by the Government, composed of Lamas and secular officers, and shall remain there as long as the Government sees fit to allow her to come down. I will not fail in nor abate even a til-seed in the usual services due from me as chief official towards the Chinese and the Tibetan Governments; e. g., paying respects in person to the high officers of the two Governments.

Should we act directly or indirectly against this bond, I invoke the above-named just deities to visit the deserved with their awful wrath, and I promise to submit to any kind of retribution which the Chinese and the Tibetan officials might think proper to mete out on our body, life and wealth. To witness the above, I, Derge Tu-si Paldan Tsewang Namgyal do affix my seal hereunto.

Seal of Derge Tu-si Paldan Tsewang Namgyal.

Joint seal of Nyer-chen Khang Pal-drup, Nyer-chen Pema Lay-drup and Nyerchen Yishe Targye.

Seal of Tung-pön Tsering Ton-trup.

Seal of Chan-dzo Sonam Tobgye.

Promising full abidance of the above bond.

When the arch-enemy Niarong Gompu Namgyal ravaged all the adjoining States of Hor and dispersed the ruling families of this States, we the Hosers, being unable to stay in our own homes, were compelled to take refuge in Lhasa and seek redress from the Tibet Government. I, the Drag-go Tu-si Wangchen Dram-dul, the Khang-sar, with his mother and brother the Drag-go Minister Jayzang Lha-ko, the Ma-zur Shenyen Shu-gu Tashi, all served in the field. Such of those who had to remain at home, on their respective States and property, have already signed above on this solemn bond. But we, the Drag-go Tu-si, with my followers, who have

been permitted to return home now, have already submitted a separate bond in which we have been given full instructions as regards our duty. Besides that now we have heard the above great and solemn bond read out and thoroughly explained to us here and we do hereby promise that we shall conform in everlasting gratitude in all respects to the above, and render such services for peace or for war, for running or for fighting as are required of us by the officers of the Great Governments, China and Tibet.

We invoke the divine deities to bear witness to these, that I, Drag-go Tu-si Wangchen Dram-dul, do affix my seal hereunto, that I will ever be faithful and true to this.

Seal of Drag-go Tu-sia Wangchen Dram-dul.

Signature of the Khangsar Dzō-pa Zōn-pa Gyam-tso.

Seal of the Mazur She-nyen Shu-gu Tashi.

Seal of the Kala Labrang Dzō-pa Sonam Zang-po.

No. 62.

Translation.

From Shun Amban of Tibet, holding the rank of Futu-tung by Imperial order, and Lu-wu Amban, Assistant Amban of Tibet, also holding the rank of Futu-tung by Imperial order, jointly. The purport of submitting this is:

Recently a letter was received from the Mongol Jor-khang (the office which deals with the Mongolian affairs), which stated that an Imperial order was received dated the 9th day of the 11th month of the 23rd year of Kwang-su's (1897-98) reign, through the Inner Chamber to the following effect: "That in the previous year the Tibetan officer in Niarong had encroached beyond the boundaries of the district, and caused trouble. At that time if Lu-woo Trōn-lin had performed the enquiries he was ordered to make in a just, tactful and upright manner, the trouble would have ended. But the Tibetan officers having shown a defiant and aggressive attitude, Lu-woo Trōn-lin employed armed force, and submitted a report asking that the lands may be taken back. Though these were matters which would not have failed to bring about the inevitable result, yet as the Imperial Government has ever been generous and kind to the Lamaistic Community of Tibet, the Government believes that it is impossible that they should be lacking or backward in their thoughts, and that Lu-woo Trōn-lin must have been too imperious and bullying in his assertion of powers and general behaviour with them. Considering that his continued office would give offence to them, the said Lu-woo Trōn-lin has been withdrawn from his post, and Kung-trao has been appointed acting Tsung-thu (Governor). He has been ordered to act in an upright and straight-forward manner. The recent report received by the Imperial Government stated that Lu-woo Trōn-lin, having appeared with a large force, the Tibetan officials, who had not the least intention of fighting against them, discreetly shut themselves up in a castle and stood on the defensive, fearing that they might be attacked, and were not able to come to the Court-house. But Lu-woo Trōn-lin allowed himself to be prejudiced by giving too much ear to the one-sided representation of the party of chiefs, who were persuading him to attack the Tibetan officials as rebels and had therefore proceeded to take back the lands out of their hands, forcibly. But they were not rebels at all. Taking the above fact into consideration and also the fact that the Dalai Lama had some time ago begged for the restoration of the lands and people back to him, through the Mongol Jor-khang, the Imperial Government thinks that it would not be fair to take away the land in a summary manner from the Lamaistic Community of Tibet, on mere suspicion. Therefore the Imperial Government has been pleased to give back to the Dalai Lama the upper, lower and middle districts of Niarong—the lands and the people thereon, wherefore let him take charge of them. There is no need to take the lands or change the administration there. The Dalai Lama is expected to be gratefully sensible of the great favor shown him by the Imperial Government. He must not appoint anyone who offers as officers to manage the State as has been done before, but select them for their loyalty and ability. The officer must not be one who will oppress or practice extortion on the people of Niarong. If he does so he shall be punished heavily. And you, Kung-trao, must settle the affairs there in a definite manner in such a way that there shall be permanent peace, and, above all, you, the acting Tsung-thu, must again settle matters regarding Derge, Tre-hor, Drag-go, Ba, and Litang in a spirit of sincere loyalty and zealous devotion, and in such a way that there shall be a total cessation of all troubles in future.

Again in a separate paper it is reported that there is a rivalry in the heredity of the Tu-si of Ngao-ketri. You, the acting Tsung-thu, are directed to release the Tu-si's wife, and to

appoint the officers or chiefs. The despatching of the officer to make inquiries into the Mon-kung lands has been well done, and it is approved; now a speedy termination is desired and further delays and procrastination must be avoided. These were the orders received, from which a copy was forwarded to the Jor-khang (Mongol Office). A copy of this order is forwarded to the Amban in Tibet with instructions to communicate these orders to His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet and to ask him to pay due respect to these orders, by issuing orders (upon his Officers) to abide by these commands. This is sent on the 10th day of the 2nd month of the Sa-khyi (Earth-dog) year (1898), the 24th year of Kwangsu's reign.

Translated by Trungakl and Söd.

Seal of the Chinese Amban.

No. 52.

Kashog or Sanad granted to Agye, son of Pe-chang Guru Tse-gyet of Upper Gom in Gag-sho (in Dza-de).

Be it known to the Pe-gu, Pe-chang, Headmen and Raiyats at Nag-shö.

It appears that the headmanship of Gur-sum belongs to Agye, son of Pe-chang Guru Ts-gyet of Upper Gom (in Dza-de) in our jurisdiction. No one, whether high or low, should molest him in the least but should allow him to live in peace. He himself should serve the Government faithfully and look after the interests of the people well as usual.

Dated the 6th day of the 8th month of the Fire-rat year (38 years ago). This order is issued through Tsang-gyag La-bi.

BRITISH STATEMENT ON THE LIMITS OF TIBET.

[Communicated by Sir Henry McMahon at the Meeting of February 17, 1914.]

At the meeting of the Conference held on the 12th of January my Honourable Colleagues laid upon the table statements of their evidence in regard to the respective frontiers claimed by them, and requested that I would consider their claims and communicate my decision.

These voluminous documents, together with other public records which have reached me from various sources, have been perused with the greatest care and the following points appear to merit special consideration in the settlement of the Tibetan question now at issue:

A. Well-authenticated records both Chinese and Tibetan, including the China-Tibet Treaty of 822 A. D. and the Chinese maps of the Tang Dynasty, indicate historic Tibetan frontier such as are shown by the red line on the skeleton map which I now lay upon the table. My Tibetan Colleague has produced evidence of Tibetan rights and privileges, of varying degree throughout the whole of the territory shown within this red line. The line appears, indeed, to outline the frontiers of Tibet as a geographical and political unit.

B. The Edicts of the Emperors Kang-hsi and Chien-lung provide evidence of changes in the political status of certain portions of Tibet, and it is clear that a measure of Chinese control was established during the 18th Century. At that period a pillar was erected in the neighbourhood of Batang, and it is clear that that pillar, together with the watershed on which it stands, then marked, and has generally continued to mark, a well-defined line between the sphere of periodical Chinese intervention in Tibet, and the sphere in which Chinese dictation was of a purely nominal nature. These two spheres are divided by the blue line on the map, and I propose that they be designated as the zones of Inner and Outer Tibet. It is clear that these zones are on different political bases and that they require separate treatment.

C. The campaigns of various Chinese officials during the last half century considerably modified the historic status of Inner Tibet; at various times semi-independent States, which had come under the more direct control of China, reverted to the Lhasa Government; other States again were the scenes of Chinese military operations and temporarily lost their independence; lastly the inhabitants rose and drove out the Chinese not only from the outer zone but from the whole of Tibet.

D. Such was the state of affairs when this Conference was summoned. The historic limits of Tibet had not been respected by the Chinese, and the historic rights of the Chinese had in consequence been ignored by the Tibetans. A state of war existed which proved a burden to the people of the country and a menace to the neighbouring frontiers. It is my most earnest desire to assist my Honourable Colleagues in making an end to these troubles and in finding some settlement which will restore to the whole of Tibet continued prosperity and peace.

E. My Chinese Colleague has requested that, in defining the geographical limits of Tibet, I should suggest also some solution of the political difficulty. The blue and red lines indicated on

the map demonstrate the solution which I propose for the geographical problem. As regards the political difficulty, I am of opinion that it will be best met by recognizing the established autonomy of Outer Tibet, whilst recognizing also the right of the Chinese to re-establish such a measure of control in Inner Tibet as will restore and safeguard their historic position there, without in any way infringing the integrity of Tibet as a geographical and political entity.

PROPOSED TRIPARTITE CONVENTION

(Omitted.)

AIDE-MEMOIRE

In continuation of my last communication, I am to state that the Chinese troops have ambushed and slain the high Tibetan high official named Jimba (a Depon) and his servants attached to the Tibetan boundary guards on the 5th of the 11th month.

Again, on the 16th, of the same month, about morning, they made another attack on the Tibetan Frontier guards. After that the Commandant of the Chinese troops in the fort led forth his troops on the 4th of the 12th month at about forenoon and bombarded the Tibetan Frontier guards and surrounded their position, and placing cannons at two points, began to bombard the place hotly, burning many houses and destroying them.

Although the Chinese have without any reason taken up arms and notwithstanding that there are several Tibetan officers and troops all along the northern and southern routes, yet considering that we are negotiating a peace and acting according to the advice of the British Government, the Tibet Government has not yet ordered their troops to retaliate. The Chinese Commandant Pang, acting regardless of all considerations and orders, has advanced about nine days' journey above Riwoche. If the Chinese continue their aggressive policy in this manner, then it is clear that the negotiations will be interrupted and rendered abortive and I would beg you to take this into your consideration.

Communicated March 7, 1914.

Handed to Mr. Ivan Chen March 9, 1914.

NOTE ON AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. IVAN CHEN AND MR. ROSE ON 15TH APRIL, 1914.

Mr. Chen called at the Foreign Office this morning to discuss the draft Convention. I explained to him, before commencing our discussion, that I was not in a position to give him a definite promise on any point which might be raised; that you would, however, give sympathetic consideration to his representations, and that he must accept my assurance that any views I expressed today would represent the maximum which His Majesty's Government would be willing to concede. He asked me if it would be possible to reconsider any point under discussion before the meeting of 22nd April. I replied in the affirmative, explaining, however, that I was convinced that no further concessions could be hoped for, as the draft under consideration represented the considered views of His Majesty's Government after weighing carefully both the Chinese and Tibetan claims.

Preamble: Mr. Chen strongly objected to the status of equality given by Tibet vis-à-vis China and Great Britain.

I referred Mr. Chen to the despatch from His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Peking to the Wai Chiao Pu, dated 25th August, 1913, and told him that the question of status could not be reopened.

Mr. Chen said that the arrangement made in Peking referred only to the course of the Conference; that the Convention would be signed only after the Conference was completed and that the recognition of equality between China and Tibet was out of the question.

I replied that the Convention would necessarily be part of the Conference, and that, until the seal of the Tibetan Plenipotentiary had actually been affixed to an agreement such as was now under consideration, the status of Tibet was that of an independent nation recognising no allegiance to China.

Article I. Accepted.

Article II, paragraph I. Mr. Chen requested the omission of the words "but not the sovereignty."

I promised that his views on this point should receive consideration.

He also requested the addition of a clause recognising Tibet as a portion of Chinese territory.

I suggested the insertion of this clause in the form of a separate note (draft attached as Note 1).

The Chinese Government was anxious, he said, that the limits (political, not geographical) of suzerainty should be defined in a separate Agreement.

I reminded Mr. Chen of the vagueness of this term, and the diffidence shown by all authorities on International Law in putting forward any definition of suzerainty. I was convinced that this suggestion could not be entertained.

With regard to the bracketed portion of the paragraph, we agreed that a more suitable wording would be "including the selection and installation of the Dalai Lama."

Mr. Chen was anxious for the recognition of some formal investiture of the Dalai Lama by the Chinese Government, and we agreed on the draft Notes II and III attached. With reference to Note II, I reminded him that in recent years titles had been conferred which were not consistent with the dignity of the Dalai Lama. As far as I remembered, the titles "Sincerely obedient, Reincarnation-helping" had been added to those expressing "Most excellent, Self-existent Buddha of the West." I said that we should look to the Chinese Government for a loyal adherence to the principle indicated in Note II. The insertion of Note III was desired by the Tibetan Plenipotentiary, and I thought it only fair to meet him on this point if the Chinese required a specific assurance in regard to their right to confer title of the Dalai Lama.

Paragraph II. Mr. Chen requested the deletion of the clause referring to the representation of Tibet in the Chinese Parliament.

I explained to him that, in view of the action of the Peking Government in gazetting Tibetan members of Parliament immediately after assurances had been given that Tibet would not be converted into a Chinese Province, I was sure that His Majesty's Government would not consent to waive this point. I would however submit for consideration the draft Note IV as a substitute for this clause.

Article III. Mr. Chen requested the deletion of the first clause, as far as "adjoining States."

I told him that it was useless to suggest this, as Chinese action in Tibet during the last eight years had rendered it imperative that the interests of Great Britain should be clearly recognised along the North-East Frontier of India.

Mr. Chen requested that the word "colonists" in paragraph I should be omitted, in view of the impracticability of carrying out the proposal: he thought it would be advisable also to extend the period within which withdrawals should be made from one month to three months. I promised to support these recommendations.

Mr. Chen then asked for an assurance that *bona fide* traders, merchants and priests would not be considered colonists.

I told him that I felt able to reassure him on this point, but that it was scarcely necessary to insert such a provision in the Convention. In reply to his request for an assurance that we would not establish colonies of native subjects of British India, or of the adjoining Native States, I said that the same remarks would apply.

Article IV. Mr. Chen agreed to the following wording of this Article and of Note V attached:

"The foregoing Article shall not be held to preclude the continuance of the arrangement by which, in the past, a high official with suitable escort has been maintained at Lhasa by the Chinese Government, but it is hereby provided that the said escort shall in no circumstances exceed 300 men."

The Chinese Government was anxious, Mr. Chen said, that a clause should be inserted in the Convention providing that the above-mentioned high official should receive the respect and consideration due to his rank.

I assured him that the views of His Majesty's Government would certainly accord with those of his Government on this point, but that it could scarcely be inserted with dignity in a public document.

I told Mr. Chen that the Tibetans were anxious for some undertaking that the Chinese Representative and his escort would pay for supplies and transport at market rates.

He replied that he believed that this had always been done since the receipt by the Central Government of a Memorial from Amban Lien on the subject.

I said that, if he would record his assurance on this point, it would be unnecessary to insert any reference to the subject in the Convention.

Mr. Chen said that his Government attached great importance to the addition of a clause in this Article, recognising the right of the Amban to guide the Tibetans in their foreign policy.

I told him that the Article as now drafted represented the most favourable terms which could possibly be expected from His Majesty's Government. The Article recognised the traditional position of the Chinese representative, and it was unnecessary to attempt any definition of that position.

Mr. Chen brought forward very strongly the desire of his Government for the appointment of officers to watch Chinese commercial interests in Tibet.

I informed him that our past experience of Chinese officers who had been charged with such duties had been so unfortunate that there was no chance that such a request would be considered.

Article V. Mr. Chen raised objections to this Article and proposed to modify it by substituting the words "The High Contracting Parties" for the words "The Governments of China and Tibet." He thought that a self-denying ordinance of this nature should be equally binding on all parties to the Agreement.

I expressed a fear that any re-drafting of the Article would lead to much confusion; it recognised existing conditions, and the interests of all three contracting parties were carefully safeguarded by the concluding clause.

Article VI. Accepted.

Article VII (b). Mr. Chen proposed that the words "for Outer Tibet" should be inserted after "New Trade Regulations" in paragraph (b).

I promised to recommend the acceptance of this proposal.

He wished to secure the insertion of a clause to the effect that the new regulations should in any way affect any commercial rights or interests which the Chinese enjoyed under the Regulations of 1893 and 1908, without the previous consent of the Chinese Government.

I replied that the earlier Trade Regulations were based on a recognition of Chinese administrative control in Tibet, which had now ceased to exist, and that it would not be possible to insert any such reference.

(c) Mr. Chen said that his Government could not consent to paragraph (c), as it covered a political issue which was not dependent upon any recognition of Tibetan autonomy.

I replied that we could not expect China to accept any responsibility on the Sikkim frontier now that she maintained no garrisons in Tibet. The utmost I could hope to arrange would be the deletion of this paragraph from Article 7 and its insertion as Note VI.

After much discussion Mr. Chen promised to telegraph this to his Government.

Article VIII. The Chinese Government was opposed, Mr. Chen said, to the discussion at Lhasa of any questions of a political, territorial or international character by the British Agent. His activities should be confined entirely to commercial matters.

I said that this Article specifically limited the discussions to such questions as were covered by the Convention of 1904—a document to which the Chinese Government has expressed its adherence; I could not even suggest any modifying clause.

Mr. Chen asked if you would be willing to limit the right to proceed to Lhasa to the British Agent stationed at Gyantse; he thought it might lead to misunderstanding if the permission were extended generally to any Agent.

I promised to do my best to ensure the acceptance of this proposal. I thought we should be quite willing to limit the right to the officer who was stationed nearest to Lhasa.

He was very anxious also that the travelling escort of the Agent should be limited in number.

I recalled the incidents of 1912, when a substantial British escort might have saved the situation for the Chinese Representative. I thought it unlikely that any British official would wish to travel about with a large escort, except in case of urgent need. It would be most inadvisable, however, to impose a limit which would destroy the practical utility of the escort.

Article IX. Mr. Chen again made the most urgent representations in regard to the frontier lines indicated on the map of 17th February. He was not in a position to bring forward any definite suggestions, but he was extremely anxious to ascertain the final attitude of His Majesty's Government.

I told him that the lines on the map represented your view of an equitable settlement. I added, however, that you had been led to believe by a communication from London that

the Chinese Government attached special importance to certain places, notably to Kokonor, Chin-chuan, Tachienlu and Atuntze; that, so far as was consistent with the maintenance of the general principles laid down on 17th February, you would endeavour to meet the Chinese in these questions of detail. I once more indicated on the map the most favorable terms to which you could possibly agree, having regard to all the interests concerned. I pointed out the advantage of the watersheds which had been utilized in defining the frontier lines, and repeated your earnest desire that the watersheds should be used as frontier limits wherever possible, as they were permanent and intelligible to the mind of the local tribesmen, whilst they avoided the necessity for elaborate frontier commissions.

Mr. Chen said that he quite appreciated these facts; he suggested, however, that the policy of a watershed frontier would be more consistently followed if the line between Inner and Outer Tibet followed the mountain range on the west of the Yangtze leaving Derge and Nyarong in Inner Tibet.

I said that Derge and Nyarong were the two richest districts in the border county; that the Tibetans had brought forward very strong evidence in support of their claim to them; and that it would be extremely difficult to obtain Tibetan assent to any realignment of the frontier at this point. I told Mr. Chen, however, that I would report to you his remarks in regard to the watershed and that I was sure that his views would receive consideration.

He then asked me if there was any chance of the cancellation of the two zones; his Government appeared to dislike the idea very much.

I told him that, on the basis which we were now considering, such a suggestion could not be entertained for a moment.

He said that the last three lines of paragraph 2 of this Article appeared to him to indicate that the Tibetan Government would retain all administrative control in Inner as well as in Outer Tibet, and that such an arrangement could only result in the continuation of the present disturbances. He could not understand the zone theory at all, and he could only suppose that we were bent on ignoring the position which the Chinese had made and still held in the districts of Inner Tibet.

I pointed out to him that Outer Tibet was far nearer to the great cities of India and to our centers of military strength than was Inner Tibet to corresponding centres in China. We were exercising a very self-denying attitude in regard to Tibet and were justified in thinking that China should recognize the fact. At the same time I promised that I would do my best to secure the deletion of the words "to issue appointment orders to chiefs and local officers, and to collect all customary rents and taxes."

He asked me if this meant that China would be given a free hand for the consolidation of her position in Inner Tibet.

I replied in the affirmative, with the proviso that such consolidation did not infringe the integrity of Tibet as a geographical and political entity.

Article X. Mr. Chen said that he could not consent to the inclusion of this compensation clause in any form, even as a note.

I expressed the greatest surprise and feared that it would be impossible to conclude any agreement if the Chinese adopted so unreasonable an attitude. I told him that the claims had been most carefully assessed, that they were undoubtedly the direct result of Chinese action in Tibet, and that they would have to be met in one way or another. If China did not pay, India would be bound to compensate the traders, an arrangement which was obviously unfair. He was very firm on the point, and said that China was not in a financial position to recognise claims of this indirect nature. He refused to accept any responsibility for payment, and he was sure that His Majesty's Government would regard his refusal with understanding and not as an obstructive move.

I reluctantly consented to lay the proposal before you, but could hold out no hope of its acceptance.

Article XI. Mr. Chen thought it might be advisable to make some provision for ratification.

I explained that this was a minor point which could be settled later by mutual agreement.

Additional Article. I told Mr. Chen that the Tibetan Government was anxious for the inclusion of some provisions for arbitration. Mr. Chen read a proposed Article and suggested slight verbal alterations; it then read as follows:

"In cases of differences between the Governments of China and Tibet in regard to questions arising out of this Convention, the aforesaid Governments engage to refer them to the British Government for equitable adjustment."

Mr. Chen said that, if Article X were deleted, he would be willing to recommend this new Article to the favorable consideration of his Government. It might, indeed, be inserted in place of Article X.

He added that, should this additional Article be inserted, he thought it would be superfluous to make any provision that the English text would be authoritative.

I replied that such a provision was useful, in that an expert opinion on an English text could be readily obtained in any cosmopolitan communities, whereas experts in Chinese and Tibetan were somewhat limited.

Mr. Chen pointed out that the deletion of the clause would not affect this in view of the arbitration proposal.

I replied that I quite understood his point and would certainly recommend it to your consideration.

In conclusion, Mr. Chen enquired whether the present embargo on the entry of accredited representatives of the Chinese Government into Tibet by way of India would be cancelled on the conclusion of an agreement such as that now under discussion.

I told him that, in the event of this Convention being signed, I was convinced that the embargo would automatically cease.

Before Mr. Chen left I reminded him that the purpose of the postponed meeting, to be held on 22nd April, was to withdraw our present proposals. I explained that the only way of avoiding this was the *unconditional* acceptance of the terms which had been urged so long and so patiently without any reasonable response from the Chinese Government. I would do my best to secure the acceptance of such modifications as I had promised to support at this interview, but I could hold out no promises, and it would be well for him not to count too much on their acceptance. I begged him to make the situation absolutely clear to his Government and to leave them no loop-hole for misunderstanding our attitude.

Mr. Chen replied that he understood that his request for the postponement of the Meeting of 15th April had been agreed to only on the understanding that he would place before his Government the final nature of the present interview. He would telegraph to Peking as explicitly as possible in order to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of his Government.

I attach a list of six notes drafted during the interview in cooperation with Mr. Chen; they are merely of an explanatory nature.

A. ROSE.

15th April, 1914.

APPENDIX TO INTERVIEW OF 15TH APRIL, 1914.

Draft of notes to be exchanged in connection with Convention:

I. It is understood by the Contracting Parties that Tibet forms part of Chinese Territory.

II. After the selection and installation of the Dalai Lama by the Tibetan Government the latter will notify the installation to the Chinese Government, whose representative at Lhasa will then formally communicate to His Holiness the titles consistent with his dignity which have been conferred by the Chinese Government.

III. It is also understood that the selection and appointment of all officers in Outer Tibet will rest with the Tibetan Government.

IV. Tibet shall not be represented in the Chinese Parliament or any other similar body.

V. It is understood that the escorts attached to the British Trade Agencies in Tibet shall not exceed seventy-five per cent. of the escort of the Chinese Representative of Lhasa.

VI. The Government of China is hereby released from its engagements under Article III of the Convention of 1890 between Great Britain and China to prevent acts of aggression from the Tibetan side of the Tibet-Sikkim frontier.

A. ROSE.

15th April 1914.

Dated Simla, the 16th of April, 1914.

From A. Rose, Esquire, C. I. E., Assistant to the British Plenipotentiary.

To Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary.

I am sending you copies of the notes of yesterday's interview in regard to the draft Convention. Would you kindly look through them, and let me know if you think that they convey a faithful impression of our conversation.

Dated Simla, the 16th April 1914.

From Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary.

To A. Rose, Esquire, C. I. E. Assistant to the British Plenipotentiary.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date enclosing copies of the notes of the interview of the 15th instant and having carefully read them to inform you that they are found correct.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 7TH MEETING OF THE TIBET CONFERENCE HELD AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE, SIMLA, ON THE 22ND AND 27TH APRIL, 1914.

Present: Sir Henry McMahon, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., British Plenipotentiary, and staff; Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary, and staff; Kusho Lonchen Shatra, Tibetan Plenipotentiary, and staff.

The Plenipotentiaries took their seats at noon.

The British Plenipotentiary said that, as his Colleagues were aware, this meeting had been called for a definite and serious purpose—for the initialing of a draft Convention, (Appendix I) which represented the work of the Conference during the last six months and which embodied the conclusions that had been arrived at after an exhaustive study of the conflicting claims. He asked if either of his Colleagues desired to make any statement in relation to the business before the meeting.

Mr. Ivan Chen said that he had communicated a telegraphic message from his Government the previous evening, immediately on its receipt from Peking, and that he would be glad to hear Sir Henry's views as to the five points which he had been instructed to lay before the meeting.

Sir Henry said that the message (Appendix II) from Peking, which he now placed upon the table, had unfortunately arrived too late for him to communicate it to their Tibetan Colleague; that it would be undesirable to discuss it in detail at the present moment in view of the fact that Lonchen Shatra had had no opportunity of studying it; but that he had given the closest consideration to the five proposals, and that in his opinion they were unacceptable, in that they were entirely inimical to the principles on which the draft agreement had been based.

Mr. Chen urged that the points of difference were gradually decreasing in number; they were now reduced to five, and he thought that with patience and care they could be rendered less and less, until a point would at last be reached when all differences would disappear.

Sir Henry replied that, although the divergencies of opinion might be actually fewer in number, they appeared to be more serious in character. The boundary proposals, for instance, ignored the results of previous discussions and the evidence which had been under their consideration. To reopen discussions on the basis of these new proposals would be tantamount to cancelling the entire results of their previous work, and to throw back the Conference to the position from which they had commenced their labours six months ago. Every point now raised by Mr. Chen had already been carefully weighed, discussed and decided at previous meetings; he could not enter upon such a rediscussion, and it now remained to take the opinion of the meeting on the present draft, the text of which had been submitted to his Colleagues for their private consideration.

Mr. Chen regretted that his last instructions from Peking made it impossible for him to initial the Convention.

Sir Henry then asked the Tibetan Plenipotentiary if he desired to make any statement.

Lonchen Shatra said that he had listened with interest to the views expressed by his Colleagues. His Government was desirous of effecting an agreement, but they felt that the draft now under consideration demanded from them a very serious sacrifice. He did not propose to burden the proceedings with every point which his Government felt justified in demanding, as the necessity for a reasonable compromise was fully realized, but he felt bound to state that any draft which provided for the reinstatement of a Chinese Representative at Lhasa, and for the inclusion of Niarong and Derge in Inner Tibet, would be unacceptable at Lhasa. In the circumstances he must withhold his consent to the Convention.

Sir Henry said that he was unable to conceal his disappointment at the attitude of his Colleagues. This meeting, which must necessarily be of a conclusive nature, had already been postponed for some days at the urgent request of the Chinese Plenipotentiary, but the postponement had apparently served no useful purpose. There was therefore no alternative but to withdraw the draft.

At this point the draft Convention and the accompanying map were formally withdrawn and removed from the table.

Sir Henry then once more addressed the meeting. He said that his two Colleagues had at the eleventh hour presented points of difference; he did not wish to hurry their decision, and he was anxious that the question at issue should have the fullest consideration on every side; he was still convinced, however, that to draft Convention in its present form offered the only hope of a settlement which would meet the legitimate demands both of China and Tibet, and which could be honourably accepted by both countries in a spirit of compromise and good accord. The time for any re-discussion had now passed and the conclusive nature of the meeting remained unchanged; he would consent, however, to a temporary adjournment, say until 5 o'clock the next afternoon, on the understanding that the continuity of the meeting would be unbroken and that the withdrawal of the draft and map would not be absolute until the termination of the meeting.

The proposal of the British Plenipotentiary was welcomed by both his Colleagues. Mr. Chen requested, however, that the adjournment should be sufficiently long to enable him once more to consult his Government, and it was arranged, after some discussion, that the meeting should not be held to have terminated until noon on Monday, 27th April.

The meeting then adjourned.

27th April.—The meeting resumed its sitting at 11 a. m.

Sir Henry McMahon said that during the period of adjournment his Chinese Colleague had presented on behalf of his Government a further claim, which he now laid (Appendix III) upon the table. In doing so, however, he felt bound to repeat the opinion, which he had expressed before the adjournment of the meeting, that the time for re-discussion had already passed. Mr. Chen was now urging upon them that further concessions should be made in favour of his country, but the fact must be borne in mind that the Conference was not confined to the discussion of the interests of two countries only; had there been but two parties to the Conference some solution might have been found, by a process of mutual concession, for a difficulty such as now confronted them. This Conference, however, was tripartite in its nature, and the interests of all parties had been so delicately weighed that any sudden readjustment might destroy the whole foundation on which the agreement had been based. It was clear that no one party could hope to obtain everything that it desired, for, had such a consummation been possible, there would have been no need to convene the Conference at all.

Sir Henry was sure his Colleagues would agree that the Conference had not been convened without urgent need. A state of war existed which was threatening the peace of the frontiers and inflicting loss and hardships on the subjects of all three countries concerned. It had been the first aim of the Conference to put an end to that state of war—an object which had been temporarily achieved—and then to conclude an agreement which would prevent any recrudescence of hostilities. He went so far as to believe that the agreement now before the Conference would achieve this object. It demanded certain sacrifices from all, but it demanded no sacrifices which would be inconsistent with the national honour of any party to the Convention. On the other hand it held promise of a very real gain to all concerned; it contemplated the re-establishment of Chinese suzerainty over a vast tract which had seceded from the Republic, and the formation of an effective buffer state to the provinces of China proper; it formally recognized the autonomy of the territory under the control of the Lhasa Government; and it would inaugurate such a status for the whole of the Tibetan territories, as would offer the best hope of a restitution of peace and prosperity to the inhabitants of an extensive area adjoining the frontiers of China and British India. The draft had been drawn up in a spirit of compromise and mutual loyalty, and Sir Henry commended it once more to his Colleagues for their consideration in the firm belief that no readjustment was possible on the present basis, and that the rejection of the draft would necessitate a settlement on lines which could not afford equally favourable conditions to the party which withheld its assent.

Sir Henry McMahon then asked Mr. Chen whether, in these circumstances, he was in a position to initial the draft Convention and map.

Mr. Chen said that he regretted that he was in no better position than on the 22nd, and he was still without authority from his Government to initial the draft.

Sir Henry said that, in view of the critical nature of the meeting, he was unwilling to take this answer as absolutely final, and he suggested that Mr. Chen should withdraw from the Conference Chamber for a while to think it over. Mr. Chen accordingly rose from the table and, accompanied by his staff and by Mr. Rose, withdrew to the anteroom.

The proceedings up to this point, and the last claim presented by the Chinese, were then fully translated to the Lonchen Shatra, who said that he had already explained the views of his Government. As Mr. Chen would not agree to the draft Convention, however, it was useless for him to say whether he agreed or not.

Sir Henry McMahon then explained to the Lonchen that he was willing to make one more concession to their Chinese Colleague, believing that it would accord with the interests of Lhasa as much as with those of China. The proposal, which was in no way prejudicial to Tibet, was to exclude from Inner Tibet and to include in China proper a tract of country in the neighborhood of the lake of Kokonor, and to confine the prohibition against representation in the Chinese Parliament to inhabitants of Outer Tibet. If the Lonchen agreed, this proposal would be communicated to Mr. Chen, and Sir Henry hoped that their Chinese Colleague would then be able to initial the draft, for their making the concession in regard to Article IX which was indicated in Mr. Chen's final instructions.

After some discussion the Lonchen said that he concurred in Sir Henry's proposal: the amendments suggested were made in the draft Convention¹ and in the map, and the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries then affixed their initials to the two documents. It was realized however that the draft in its present form would be unsuitable should the Chinese Plenipotentiary withhold his initials, and should the meeting conclude without arriving at an agreement on a tripartite basis. It was therefore agreed that, unless Mr. Chen was able to co-operate with them, it might become necessary to eliminate the clause recognising the suzerainty of China and *ipso facto* the privileges appertaining thereto.

In the meanwhile, the Chinese party was deliberating in the ante-room, and the situation was reviewed at great length. Mr. Chen felt that his position was extremely difficult in that, although his Government was aware of the conclusive nature of the meeting, he had received no authority, express or implied, to attach his initials to the draft. The results of the conversation between the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries were eventually communicated to him and he was then asked for his final decision. Mr. Chen then said that in the circumstances he was willing to initial the documents, but on the clear understanding that to initial and to sign them were two separate actions. He also said that he must wait for express instructions from his Government before the formal signature of the Convention. In the meanwhile he would telegraph to his Government what had taken place at the Conference and would communicate their reply to Sir Henry McMahon as soon as he received it from Peking.

The Chinese Plenipotentiary then returned to the Conference Chamber and, after taking his seat at the table, initialled the Convention (Appendix IV) and the map in their amended form in full Conference.

Sir Henry McMahon heartily congratulated his Colleagues on the good work which had been jointly accomplished by the initialling of the draft Convention and map; in view of the long and arduous sitting, he would detain them no longer and he would conclude the meeting with as few words as possible. He felt confident that the task which they had just completed was one which would conduce to the honour, the material welfare and the international interests of their respective countries. Those interests lay in the direction of peaceful, friendly and cordial relations between the three Governments, conditions that had been assured by the settlement at which they had just arrived.

Sir Henry added that, although the Convention had been initialled and any further modifications thus rendered impossible, the fact of settlement should not be disclosed, as the time and circumstances of its publication would rest with their respective Governments. Until that time it was their duty to maintain absolute secrecy in regard to the result of their negotiations. In the meantime much remained to be done in preparing the triple texts for signature, and he hoped that his Colleagues would co-operate with him in concluding their work with the least possible delay.

The Plenipotentiaries then rose, and the seventh meeting of the Conference was declared to have been concluded.

T. G. B. WAUGH,
Acting Secretary to the Conference.
A. H. McMAHON,
British Plenipotentiary.

¹ Annex I.

APPENDIX I.

Convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet.

(See Annex I.)

APPENDIX II.

Telegrams from the Wai Chiao Pu to Monsieur Ivan Chen, dated the 20th April 1914 and received in Simla at 11 o'clock p. m. the same day:

Your two telegrams received. Although the British Plenipotentiary has said that what he has proposed is the final concession he can make, yet the question under discussion is of such importance in relation to our territory and rights of sovereignty that we cannot make any more compromise in order to bring about a settlement.

The following represents the several points on which we will never give in:

1. That we can never agree to the clause that "Tibet shall not be represented in Parliament or other similar body."
2. That the number of the escort of the British Agent shall under no circumstances exceed that of the escort of the Chinese Amban in Lhasa. (Article 4.)
3. That the Chinese Amban shall have the right of appointing deputies to all the places where there are British Trade Agents. (Article 4.)
4. That the new Regulations to be negotiated between Great Britain and Tibet shall be submitted to the Chinese Government for its approval. (Article 7.)
5. That in regard to the frontier question mentioned in Article 9 of the draft Convention it cannot be said that we have not made a number of concessions, but we are further prepared to show our great regard for the wishes of the British Plenipotentiary and will state our points of contention as follows:

(a) All the places north of the Tangla Range, the original limits of Chinghai Atuntzu, Batang, Litang, etc., shall all be administered by the Central Government in the same way as the inland districts.

(b) All the places east of the Salween, together with Darge, Niarong, Chiamdo, Jyade, etc., shall retain the original territorial name of Khamo, but shall be regarded as a special zone where the Central Government shall have the right of doing whatever they think necessary for the consolidation of their position in that country.

With the exception of those districts which China has already instituted no more new districts shall hereafter be created and the religious control which the Dalai Lama has had in the county shall remain as heretofore.

(c) All the places west of the Salween shall be placed within the limits of the autonomy of Tibet, but any question, which may arise there, of political, territorial or international nature shall be discussed between China and Great Britain, while the Tibetans shall participate in the said discussions; a statement to that effect is to be inserted in the proposed Appendix.

Now, during the course of the negotiations, we have made a number of concessions, and if the British Plenipotentiary is not prepared to take that into his favourable consideration, we certainly cannot be held responsible for any blame, if the negotiations so unfortunately come to a premature end.

You are hereby instructed to submit the above to the British Plenipotentiary and telegraph your reply as soon as possible. The above telegram has been repeated to Minister Lew for communication and discussion with the British Foreign Office in London.

WAI CHIAO PU.

APPENDIX III.

Dated Simla, the 29th April 1914.

From Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Sir A. H. McMahon, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., British Plenipotentiary.

With reference to what was passed between us at the Conference on the 22nd instant which was adjourned until noon to-morrow, I have the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a telegram I have received from the Wai Chiao Pu this morning.

I beg leave to recommend the contents of the telegram to your careful and sympathetic consideration, and at the same time to express my fervent hope that I shall receive a favourable reply from you when we meet at the Conference to-morrow noon.

Telegram from the Wai Chiao Pu, dated 25th April, 1914, and received in Simla, the following day at 2.15 a. m.

Your telegrams received. Since the frontier question has been brought up, we have already made a number of concessions in order to show our readiness to do our utmost to bring about a settlement. Certainly the British Plenipotentiary cannot have failed to have a proper appreciation of our friendly disposition towards the matter. We therefore regret extremely to learn that he has imposed a time limit within which he wishes to have a definite answer from us, otherwise he would withdraw absolutely the draft Convention.

Considering that we have had throughout an earnest desire to find an amicable solution for the Tibetan question, we cannot bring ourselves to say that the action which your British Colleague proposes to take is a right one for the attainment of the end which all the parties concerned have in view.

With the exception of Article 9 of the draft Convention, we are prepared to take the main principles embodied in the other articles, into our favourable consideration, which is again a further great concession from us.

As regards the frontier question, you are instructed to state to your British colleague that we made all the concessions we can, and that he should now make further concessions in order that we may continue our friendly negotiations on the matter.

APPENDIX IV.

Convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet.

(See Annex I.)

REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
Monday, April 27, 1914.

The formal meeting of the Tibetan Conference which was supposed, by a diplomatic fiction, to be the continuation of the one which was held at 11 o'clock at the Foreign Office.

Sir Henry McMahon opened the meeting by reading a prepared address in which he outlined the situation of the Conference and said he could not entertain the request contained in the note which his Chinese Colleague communicated to him yesterday, and afterwards he asked Mr. Chen whether he could initial the Draft Convention. To this Mr. Chen replied he could not do so, because he had received no authority from his Government.

After a little while Sir Henry McMahon then asked Mr. Rose to have some talk with Mr. Chen in a separate room where Mr. Rose said that after all these difficult and long negotiations it was becoming very grave and said if Mr. Chen left the Foreign Office without initialling the Draft Convention, Mr. Chen would have nothing more to do with this office. Mr. Rose then asked Mr. Chen to initial unless his Government had given him distinct orders to do otherwise.

Mr. Chen expressed his regret of his inability of initialing anything and said all he could do was to communicate any reply to his Government. He was not authorized to do otherwise and until he was authorized by his Government he could not initial the Draft Convention.

Mr. Rose said there was no such custom as to get an order to sign a Convention. To this Mr. Chen replied by giving an example of the Labour Convention of 1904, the authorities to sign which convention was duly obtained by the former Chinese Minister in London.

Just then a paper was brought in with a sketch Map for Mr. Rose. Mr. Rose then said that came from Sir Henry McMahon and it stated that he had arranged with Lonchen Shatra to delimit a tract of territory in the vicinities of Chinghai to China and to insert the word "Outer" before the sentence "Tibet shall not be represented in Parliament or other similar body." Mr. Rose then went on to say that the Convention had already been initialled by Sir Henry McMahon and Lonchen Shatra and showed their initials, and again urged that if Mr. Chen did not initial the Draft Convention to-day, the Articles II and IV were to be deleted and the Convention was to be concluded to-day without China. Mr. Rose further asked whether the Chinese Government had given authority not to initial the Convention. Mr. Chen replied he had received no authority either express or implied to initial or not to initial it.

Mr. Rose then said to initial only still required confirmation and ratification by his Government otherwise the situation would be a very serious one.

Mr. Chen then replied that he would initial the Draft Convention in order to save the grave situation on the clear understanding that to initial and to sign were two separate actions, and to sign the Draft Convention he must wire to his Government for definite instructions.

To this Mr. Rose fully agreed and said everything required confirmation by the respective Governments, before the signature could be given to the Convention. Under the circumstances Mr. Chen initialled the Draft Convention and Sketch Map in the Conference Room.

During all the time that Mr. Rose was discussing the situation with Mr. Chen Messrs. T. H. Shah and T. C. Wang were present.

No. 351 E. B.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., British Plenipotentiary, Tibet-China Conference.

To Monsieur Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary, Dated Simla, the 29th April 1914.

SIR AND DEAR COLLEAGUE,

I have the honor to forward, for your information, a copy of the minutes of the seventh meeting of the Conference which I trust will be found in order.

I have, etc.,

A. H. McMAHON.

APRIL 30, 1914.

SIR AND DEAR COLLEAGUE,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date enclosing copies of the minutes of the seventh meeting of the Conference which took place on the 27th instant.

In reply I beg to state that with the exception that all the circumstances attending the discussion which took place between Mr. Rose and myself in the ante-room to the Conference Chamber on the 27th are only briefly touched upon, in the minutes, the rest is found in order.

I have, etc.,

IVAN CHEN,
Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. McMAHON, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E., C. S. I.,
British Plenipotentiary China-Tibet Conference.

At the Conference held on the 17th February, 1914, the British Plenipotentiary handed over his decision on the boundary question between China and Tibet, which aims at restoring peace and security to a great many sentient beings, for which I thank him. In clause "E" of that decision the blue line distinguishes Tibet into Outer and Inner Tibet and Batang and Litang are shown within Inner Tibet. But convincing authentic documentary evidences showing the appointment of the local officers, both ecclesiastical and secular, from the Tibet Government and the collection of rents and taxes, the appointment of hereditary Debas or headmen, have been produced by me to prove our claims. Besides Niarong Gompu Namgyal had, by force of his notorious brigand forces, nearly brought the whole of those lands under his power, the Tibet Government sent down troops and having quelled the rebellious, restored peace, as has been proved by the bond of allegiance. The fact that all these places constitute Tibet must be evident to all from the fact that all these people are up and fighting against the Chinese. So unless these people be included within Outer Tibet, those people will be driven to despair and the other States will lose heart in the good faith of the Government, whose name will be tarnished by such an act and the people will not obey its commands in future. We are constantly receiving petitions to the effect that they may not be left to the mercy of the Chinese. The Hor-ser tribes, too, had been overpowered by Niarong Gompu Mamgyal, who had taken possession of both lands and power, but the Tibet Government, not sparing cost and life, rescued them from the usurper's clutches and they (Hor-ser tribes) out of gratitude submitted the oath of allegiance which I have produced. The Tibetan claim upon the places in question has been proved conclusively. Therefore they should be included within Outer Tibet and not in the Inner. Ever since the time of King Tri-ral of Tibet and the Tang dynasty of China, when the treaty inscribed on the historic stone pillar which constituted also the boundary between Tibet and

China, that the lands falling within that boundary comprised Tibet. Besides, which fact, the people, language and religion geographically and politically constitutes the lands named to be Tibet. Moreover, the dedication of the income accruing therefrom towards religious purposes, the appointment and confirmation of the local headmen or Gobas as hereditary chiefs, the appointment of the high priests of the monastery from the mother lodges, or the chief State Monasteries of Tibet or by the Tibetan officials on the spot, the monastic rules and regulations being formulated in and circulated from the Tibet Government, have all been proved by producing authentic documentary evidences. The relation of the spiritual teacher and of the lay supported between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Emperor for some time necessitated the posting of a few Chinese military outposts and officers at Batang, Litang, Dartsedo. Beyond these their right did not extend to control over religious institutions or over the appointments of secular and ecclesiastical officers or over the administration of the lands which are all carried on by the local authorities which facts are well known to all. The Chinese records on the recent outrages committed by Chao Erh Feng in Kham will, if duly considered, show you clearly the actual position. Except in the three places, viz., Dartsedo, Litang and Batang, in the many places included within Inner Tibet, the Chinese have not only no control whatever of any kind anywhere, but, owing to the inhabitants being exclusively Tibetans the Chinese have not even an officer anywhere. So, unless the present settlement be of such a nature as to definitely exclude all Chinese influence within Tibetan territory, a prolific source of future troubles will be still left; ill-feelings have unfortunately been created and the past outrages of the Chinese still rankle in the hearts of the people, who believe that they will repeat it again. Incessant raids and invasions from the adjoining Chinese provinces upon Tibetan territories will become a source of incessant trouble to the British Government, so, it is desirable to put a stop to this system of two different prices for one article of merchandise which is bound to be a source of trouble in future, but that British Plenipotentiary will in his wisdom see the permanent peace can be secured by once for all declaring that the Chinese should have no power of interfering in Tibetan affairs.

March 6th, 1914.

Handed in Copy transmitted to Mr. Ivan Chen July 3rd, 1914.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH MEETING OF THE TIBET CONFERENCE HELD AT SIMLA ON THE 3RD JULY, 1914.

Present: Sir Henry McMahon, G. C. V. O., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., British Plenipotentiary and Staff; Mr. Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary, and staff; Kusho Lonchen Shatra, Tibetan Plenipotentiary, and staff.

The Plenipotentiaries took their seats at 11.15 p. m.

Sir Henry McMahon said that he had been instructed by his Government to call a final meeting of the Conference in order that conclusive action might be taken in regard to the Tibet Convention, which had been under consideration since the 13th October last. Every detail of evidence which could possibly be procured either from Chinese or Tibetan sources had been collected and carefully weighed, and he believed that the text of the Convention, now before the Conference, embodied the only solution of a very difficult problem which would be fair and honourable to all three countries concerned. It represented, in fact, the settled and considered views of His Majesty's Government as to the status and boundaries of Tibet. The Plenipotentiaries were charged with the task of finding some settlement which would put an end to a state of war and restore peace and prosperity to the inhabitants of a country with which three Governments were all most intimately concerned. He had arranged to delay the opening of the meeting until an unusually late hour in order to afford every opportunity for the receipt of final instructions from their respective Governments, and he sincerely hoped that the plenipotentiaries were all in a position to proceed to signature on a tripartite basis.

Mr. Chen said that with reference to the note, which his British Colleague had communicated to him on the 2nd instant, and the interview which Mr. Rose then had with him, he had lost no time in telegraphing to Peking what Mr. Rose had said, and the telegram was sent to the Telegraph Office about 3.30 p. m. To this telegram he had not yet received a reply, and as a rule it took more than 32 hours for a reply to come from Peking. As to his course of action, he had instructions, recently received from his Government, to follow. They were very explicit and enjoined him not to sign the Tripartite Convention. He was, therefore, unable to do what

his British Colleague asked him to do. Much as the Chinese Government regretted their inability to attach their signatures to the convention, they had, however, no alternative but to refrain from signing, since it had not been found possible to arrive at an agreement among the parties concerned in regard to the proposal which the Chinese Government recently submitted to the British Government as to the only way of finding a solution for the boundary question at issue.

Sir Henry McMahon then asked the Lonchen Shatra whether he was in a position to conclude the Agreement.

The Lonchen replied that he had telegraphed to Lhasa after the meeting of the Conference on the 27th April, and his instructions were that, as he had accepted the convention, he should sign it. His Government did not consider the Convention satisfactory from their point of view, but as it had been accepted there was no alternative but to sign. He was, therefore, prepared to conclude the Agreement.

Sir Henry McMahon said he was also empowered to take conclusive action, and he would proceed to do so in concert with his Tibetan Colleague. Early notice of this meeting and of its conclusive nature had been communicated to the Chinese Government in London and Peking and, if the Chinese Representative was really precluded by his instructions from signing, he would formally conclude the convention, in the form in which it had been communicated to the Chinese Government at Peking, in conjunction with the Lonchen. By this act the document would be placed beyond the limits of discussion, and no alteration would hereafter be possible. It would be necessary, moreover, to sign an additional Declaration safeguarding the interests of Great Britain and Tibet. To this Declaration the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries alone would be parties as representatives of their respective Governments.

Mr. Chen here said that he was further instructed by his Government to declare before the Conference that the Chinese Government would not recognise any treaty or similar document that might now or hereafter be signed between Great Britain and Tibet.

Sir Henry McMahon said that he took note of this.

The Lonchen Shatra said that the Chinese and Tibetans had for years lived together like the members of the same family, but of late years there had been disagreements, and the British Government had very kindly undertaken to act as the mediator, and to bring the disputes to a satisfactory settlement. It would have been well if the efforts of the British Government had been successful in ensuring a permanent peace. He deeply regretted that China was unable to sign the Convention, but he felt bound to take steps to defend the interests of his own country.

Sir Henry McMahon asked Mr. Chen whether he would care to remain in the Conference chamber whilst the documents were being signed or retire.

Mr. Chen replied that, if his presence would not be interpreted as recognition on his part of the conclusion of an agreement between Great Britain and Tibet independently of China, he had no special desire to leave the conference chamber. He, however, retired shortly afterwards.

Sir Henry McMahon and the Lonchen then concluded an agreement, based on the terms of the Tripartite Convention, but providing special safeguards for the interests of Great Britain and Tibet in the event of the Chinese continuing to withhold its adherence.

Mr. Chen returned to the Conference chamber and took his seat at the table at this point.

Sir Henry McMahon said that it was with feelings of the deepest regret and disappointment that he witnessed the abstention of their Chinese Colleague from participation in the conclusion of the convention, to which they had all devoted so much care and thought during the last nine months. He was convinced that the terms of the Tripartite convention represented a settlement which was most favourable to the Republic of China, and their failure to participate was much to be regretted. The Agreements now on the table were conclusive and unalterable. His Tibetan Colleague and he proposed to leave India early next week and to convey them to their respective Governments. It only remained to declare the meeting and the Tripartite Conference finally closed. Before doing so, however, he desired to make one concluding remark, with which the Lonchen associated himself. The work of the Conference had been arduous and trying for them all, but in spite of the fact that their Chinese Colleague had found it necessary to maintain an attitude of opposition and to meet their proposals in an uncompromising spirit, his courtesy throughout had been unflinching, and their personal relations had been unimpaired. They had looked forward with real pleasure to the conclusion of

an agreement in which he would have had a part, and which he would have been able to carry back to his Government as the fruit of his labour in India. They believed that the Agreement would have been of honourable advantage to his country, and that it would have forged a new link of confidence and good accord between the Government of China and the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet. For the moment that hope appeared to have failed, but they were unwilling to abandon it entirely until the moment of separation. Should their Chinese Colleague be in a position to sign the convention, and should he express a desire to reassemble this meeting for that specific purpose before their departure, they would be willing to meet him once more on the 6th of July.

Mr. Chen said that he would at once inform his Government by telegraph of what had taken place and of Sir Henry's remarks. As regards the reassembling of the meeting he had nothing to say, but, if he received any orders from his Government, he would at once communicate with his colleagues. He desired to express his grateful thanks for the great kindness and hospitality extended to him by the British Government and Sir Henry McMahon. His thanks were also due for much kindness to Mr. Bell and Mr. Rose, especially to the latter, for many personal services rendered. He also desired to thank Mr. Waugh, the Secretary of the Conference, for the creditable way in which he had performed his duties.

Sir Henry McMahon thanked Mr. Chen for his kind remarks which he would have great pleasure in placing on record.

The Lonchen Shatra said that his orders were to return at once to Lhasa, but he would stay on a few days more in the hope that his Chinese Colleague would sign the Convention.

The three Plenipotentiaries then rose from the table and the Chinese Representative, accompanied by his staff, retired from the Conference chamber.

T. G. B. WAUGH,
Acting Secretary to the Conference.
A. H. MCMAHON,
British Plenipotentiary.