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E. T. WILLIAMS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS

BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Volume 3, No. 2, pp. 99-140

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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EDITORS: FRANK M. RUSSELL, DAVID P. BARROWS, EDWIN D. DICKINSON

Volume 3, No. 2, pp. 99-140

Issued July 19, 1937

Price, 50 cents

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON, ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

THREE GREAT NATIONS with territorial possessions bordering on Tibet have been rivals for the control of that little state. They are China, Great Britain, and Russia. Why do the governments of these three nations covet the snow-capped mountains and the bleak, inhospitable regions of the so-called "roof of the world"?

Each of the three has its own particular interest, but added to that is one dominant reason. It is the known fact that Tibet is rich in valuable minerals, particularly in gold. The people appear to be poverty-stricken, but the country is a storehouse of wealth.

Holdich says: "Tibet is rich in gold and it is impossible to suppose that the exceptional position which the great highland country occupies in this 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 word; she must be enormously rich, possibly richer than any other country in the world. For thousands of years gold has been washed out of her surface soil by the very crudest of all crude processes and distributed abroad. . . . From every river which has its source in the Tibetan plateau, gold is washed. Every traveler who records his experience 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."

The Handbook of the British Foreign Office, *Tibet*, also says: "The most important mineral found in Tibet is gold." It adds that the export of this metal to China alone amounts to about £40,000

¹ Holdich, *Tibet the Mysterious*, p. 329.

sterling a year. The official history of the T'ang Dynasty (*Chiu T'ang Shu*) mentions, as other ores, silver, copper, and tin.²

Boundaries.—The boundaries of the country which today we know as Tibet are not so extended as those given in the maps of a few years ago. The boundaries are, in fact, in dispute. The vast extent of territory claimed for Tibet by the Tibetan and British commissioners at the Simla conference in 1913 was not allowed by China and it was this in great part that kept China from signing the proposed treaty. Richard's *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire* gives Tibet's greatest length east and west as 1240 miles and its greatest breadth, north and south, as 740 miles. The area is given as 463,320 square miles. The handbook, *Tibet*, already mentioned as issued by the British Foreign Office, gives the length, east and west, as 1370 miles; the width, north and south, as 820 miles. It states that the estimates of the area vary from 463,320 to more than 1,000,000 square miles. The larger estimates are based upon the belief that certain regions claimed by China should go to Tibet. At the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912 the northeastern part of Tibet had already become known as Ch'ing Hai or Koko Nor and was given representation in parliament as a province. This took away about one-third of the area which formerly had been included in Tibet. In 1911 it was proposed by Chinese officials to organize eastern Tibet into a new province, including Tachienlu, which had often been included in maps of the province of Szechuen. This new province was called Hsikang. This cut off about one-fourth of what remained after the excision of Koko Nor. The boundaries of Hsikang were to be, north by Koko Nor, south by Yünnan, east by Szechuen, and west by Tibet. This was not very definite, seeing that the boundaries of Szechuen and Tibet were both in dispute. These two new provinces were not given properly organized provincial governments until after the Nationalist government at Nanking was established in 1928. Four other new provinces were carved out of Inner Mongolia at the same time.

The annexation by China of Koko Nor and Hsikang reduced Tibet to an area of about 300,000 square miles, extending from 78° to 96° E Long. and from about 27° to 35° N Lat. The greatest length is about 700 miles east and west and the greatest width some

² *Chiu T'ang Shu*, Bk. 196A, p. 1b.

500 miles north and south. It is to be remembered, however, that Tibet has never agreed to the surrender of the territories Hsikang and Koko Nor. Since she did agree in the Simla convention to the division of Tibet for administrative purposes, as we shall see, there is some justification for the steps taken by China to give better local government to the annexed regions. It will of course be objected by Tibet that China, not having signed that convention, cannot take advantage of its provisions. That need not concern us now. One other fact is to be noted. The whole territory that once belonged to Tibet, that is, the vast region known as Tibet in antiquity, including the two provinces of Koko Nor and Hsikang and portions of the province of Szechuen, is still inhabited in large part by Tibetan tribes.

Geographical features.—Present-day Tibet, then, within the restricted boundaries mentioned, forms a great mountain mass, the highest in the world, the elevation varying from 9000 to 29,000 feet above sea level. There are tablelands where rivers flow into lakes that have no outlet, and in some regions there are deep valleys where irrigation brings luxuriant vegetation. The loftiest peaks, of course, are covered with ice and snow throughout the year. All the great rivers of China and India take their rise in Tibet. The climate is moist in the south and rather dry in the north and west.

Population.—There is no reliable estimate of the population of Tibet. The Chinese government in 1907 reported it as 6,430,000, but this included the inhabitants of Koko Nor and Hsikang. The *China Year Book* for 1922 estimated the population of all Tibet, that is, including Koko Nor and Hsikang, as no more than 1,500,000. That gives us a margin of nearly 5,000,000 between the lowest and highest estimates. It is pretty certain that the population is sparse. The birth rate is kept down by the practice of polyandry. Agriculture does not produce enough grain to feed the people; rice is imported from India.

Produce and trade.—The official history of the T'ang Dynasty, from which I have already quoted, describing the country, says, "The people do not cultivate rice." They raise "oats (or barley), beans, wheat, buckwheat, and millet." "They use cattle for plowing, and they have also swine, dogs, sheep, and horses." The historian

adds the interesting information that "they have a curious animal like a bird, called 'the sky rat,' large as a cat, whose skin is used for clothing." This refers probably to the flying lemur. The skins in all likelihood are those sold in China as "monkey skins."

Rockhill says that the chief exports, in addition to gold, are medicines, wool, skins and hides, and carpets and rugs. The principal imports are tea, rice, cotton, woolen cloth, and silk.³

The T'ang historian mentions the existence of walled towns and calls the capital of the country Lo-hsieh (Lhasa). The houses are said to be flat roofed and several *chang* in height. (A *chang* is ten feet Chinese.)

Religion.—The established religion of the Tibetans is Lamaism, a corrupt form of Buddhism. There are two sects, known as the "Red" and the "Yellow," distinguished by the color of the robes worn by the lamas. The Red is the older sect. The Yellow is the sect now in power. According to estimates of travelers, there are not fewer than 300,000 lamas in the country.

Government.—Today, and for some centuries past, the government of Tibet has been theocratic in character, but until the seventeenth century of the Christian Era it was ruled by a king.⁴ In the seventeenth century there was a religious war between the Red and the Yellow sects. The Yellow was triumphant and, as a result, the Dalai Lama, one of the two Grand Lamas, seized the royal power and became the civil ruler of the country.⁵ The title "Dalai Lama" was first conferred by the Prince of Tumed in A.D. 1576. The Yellow Sect was founded by Tson-k'a-pa, a reformer, who appeared near the close of the fourteenth century. Tibetan Buddhism spread among the Mongols as early as the twelfth century. After the Yellow Sect had triumphed over the Red, the Mongols resisted the change, but were gradually won to the support of the victors. A Dalai Lama died at Kueihua Ch'eng (a Mongol city in Shansi) in 1587 and was reincarnated there, as Mongols and Tibetans believed, and this strengthened the ties between the two peoples.

³ Rockhill, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XI, 1910.

⁴ For a lucid description of the present government of Tibet, see William Frederick Mayers, *The Chinese Government* (3d ed.; Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1897), Part XII. In reading it one must bear in mind that at the time it was published, China was ruled by an emperor.

⁵ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN TIBET AND CHINA

Chinese acquaintance with Tibet appears in the history of the Early Han Dynasty, but it was confined to the tribes around Koko Nor. In 62 B.C. the Ch'iang Tribes (Tibetan) raided the Chinese frontier.⁶ These raids continued through many centuries, while the Chinese, to protect themselves, extended their borders, organized new prefectures in the conquered Tibetan territories, and placed strong garrisons there for defense. Border warfare has continued down to our own day.

In the seventh century Tibet was a powerful state, invaded India, Central Asia, and China, and for a time was an ally of the Caliphs of Baghdad.⁷ In A.D. 634 the King of Tibet sent an embassy to China with presents which the Chinese called tribute.⁸ It is important to remember that in very many instances the so-called tribute was nothing more than a gift to placate the Chinese court and to obtain the coveted privilege of trade with China. For instance, the British government in 1792 sent a diplomatic mission to Peking under the Earl of Macartney. This mission carried 600 cases of choice presents, which the Chinese government announced to be "tribute from Great England." When Tibet sent "tribute" in A.D. 634, it was not merely the right to trade that the King of Tibet wanted; he asked the hand of a Chinese princess in marriage. The Tibetans protested that the princess had been promised to them, but the Chinese were at that time arranging for a marriage for her with a Turcoman prince. Tibet made war upon the Turcoman and defeated him, after which the T'ang Emperor, T'ai Tsung, was willing to send the princess to Tibet.¹⁰ She was the princess celebrated in history as having induced her husband to issue an edict against the face-painting practiced by the women of Tibet. This custom was said to be a disfiguration of the ladies' faces by the use of blue paint, and the custom was attributed to a desire to lessen the attractiveness of women for the men of Tibet.

⁶ *Ch'ien Han Shu*.

⁷ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁸ *Chiu T'ang Shu*, Bk. 196A, p. 1b.

⁹ Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I, p. 54; also Macartney, *Embassy to China*, Vol. II, p. 161, and, for character of presents, pp. 124-134.

¹⁰ *Chiu T'ang Shu*, Bk. 196A, p. 1b.

Like all edicts that interfere with women's fashions, it failed of its object. The custom was described as still in existence at the time of the Abbé Huc's visit in 1846, Rockhill's visit in 1889, and Landon's visit with the British forces in 1904. It was in the year A.D. 641 that the Chinese princess was sent with an imposing escort to be married to the Tibetan ruler, Lung-ts'an.

In the meantime, in A.D. 636, a Buddhist monk, Hsüan Chuang, left China for India and returned in A.D. 648 with more than 600 important treatises in Sanscrit,—chiefly Buddhist works, but also treatises on logic, grammar, and mathematics.¹¹ He brought news of Tibet as well as of India.

At that time India was divided into five states. The capital of the Central Kingdom was Magadha. In A.D. 641 the king of that state sent an envoy with tribute to China. T'ai Tsung treated him with great courtesy and sent an official to accompany him on his return. The king sent an escort to receive him in the suburb. The city was full of incense and the streets crowded. The king directed an official to make obeisance toward the east, that is, toward China. The Indian king received the envoy's credentials and sent back by him a burning glass, some rare incense (Yu-chin-hsiang), and a *pipul* tree. This king of the Central State died and a minister attempted to seize the throne. He sent foreign troops to resist the Chinese envoy, who was still in India. The envoy with thirty followers was unequal to a fight with the usurper and fled to Tibet. From that land he returned with 1200 Tibetans and more than 7000 Nepalese, and after a three days' battle he captured Magadha and is said to have cut off more than 3000 heads; 10,000 more persons lost their lives by drowning while trying to escape. The historian adds that he returned to China in A.D. 648 and that the emperor was greatly pleased.¹² Allowing for the usual amount of exaggeration in this account, it would seem nevertheless that the marriage of a Chinese princess to the Tibetan heir had really drawn the two nations into closer relationship, else the Chinese general who was envoy to India could not have induced 1200 Tibetans to join him in an invasion of India. It may in short be true,

¹¹ *Chiu T'ang Shu*, Bk. 198, p. 9a.

¹² This account is a condensation of the passage relating to the affair found in Bk. 198 of the *Chiu T'ang Shu*.

as asserted by the Chinese, that at the period mentioned Tibet was already, in its relationship with China, a state tributary to its suzerain.

After the Dalai Lama usurped the powers of the king in the seventeenth century, Tibet seems to have lost much of its military prowess, but its religious influence increased among the Mongols. As already said, Tibetan Buddhism was introduced into Mongolia in the twelfth century, near its close. At that time the father of Genghis Khan died (A.D. 1187) and the boy of thirteen was proclaimed his successor. He began a career of conquest that carried him over a great part of Asia and far into Europe. He died in 1227, leaving behind him the largest empire the world had ever known up to that time. In 1260 Kublai Khan ascended the throne of China and was acknowledged as Grand Khan of a larger empire even than that of his grandfather, but outside of China (including Mongolia) his rule was merely nominal. Four years after he reached the throne, the Polo brothers arrived at his capital. He became greatly interested in their accounts of the Western world, and, being desirous of improving the condition of the Mongol people, he requested them to return to Europe as his envoys and ask the Pope to send him one hundred missionaries to Christianize his people. Kublai's interest in religion was merely that of a statesman who saw in it an instrument of enlightenment and social improvement. The two Polos executed their commission, but were unable to persuade the Papal Court to send more than two missionaries. They started with the Polos, who were then joined by Marco, on the second journey to China, but the missionaries lost heart and returned to Europe. The three Polos arrived again at the court of Kublai in A.D. 1275. Having failed in his endeavor to obtain the assistance of a large body of Christian missionaries, Kublai turned his attention to the lamas of Tibet,¹³ who were already spreading their cult among the Mongols. It was the Tibetan king, Lung-ts'an, that married a Chinese princess, who was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Both his Chinese wife and an earlier consort from Nepal were Buddhists and influenced their lord to modify the demon-worship of the people by a better form

¹³ See Yule's *Marco Polo* rev. by Cordier, Vol. I, p. 13, and L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 37.

of religion.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the Buddhism that was introduced had already become corrupted by magical practices and was not improved by an admixture of Tibetan superstition. To quote an authority upon Tibetan Lamaism: "Primitive Lamaism may therefore be defined as a priestly mixture of Sivaite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry, overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism."¹⁵ This was the religion of the Red Sect that was prevalent in Tibet when Kublai asked for missionaries to civilize the Mongols. A century later the reformer, Tson-k'a-pa, founded the Yellow Sect, which today holds the supreme authority in the established religion of Tibet and Mongolia. It is represented also in North China. Although a "reformation," it does not seem to be a great improvement upon the superstitions of the Red Sect.

Kublai recognized P'agspa as head of the Buddhists and conferred upon him the title, "Great Precious Prince of the Faith."¹⁶ Rockhill asserts that this act is the only foundation for the Chinese claim that Kublai exercised a suzerainty over Tibet. However that may be, Kublai was a Mongol and Lamaism was the religion of his people, and so we may assume that the relationship between Tibet and the Chinese Court was somewhat intimate. It was not until after Kublai's time that the Yellow Sect adopted the doctrine of the older church, that its ecclesiastic chiefs were reincarnations of their predecessors. Subsequently, particularly during the Manchu period, this doctrine was utilized by the Chinese to further their influence in Tibet. While search was being made for the child in whom the deceased ecclesiastic had been reincarnated, it was possible for the Chinese representative at Lhasa to bring about the selection of a child who could be kept under Chinese influence.¹⁷

During the Ming Dynasty, which followed that of the Mongols, the relations between Tibet and China appear to have remained unchanged. Ernest Ludwig, quoting from the *Sheng Wu Chi*, tells us that in 1628 the Ming Emperor Ch'engt'e was asked by two Mongol princes to defray the expenses of a visit to Peking by the Dalai Lama. Owing to the disturbed condition of the empire the Dalai

¹⁴ Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 2.

¹⁷ See Mayers, *op. cit.*, p. 109; also Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

Lama was unable to start upon this journey until 1652, that is, after the Manchus had taken possession of Peking."

TIBET AND THE MANCHUS

Manchu relations with Lhasa were established, however, before that date, in 1640, while the Manchu kingdom was still a dependency of the Ming empire. The western Mongols were instrumental in bringing about this relationship. They early acquired influence in Tibet and brought about the revolution there that established the temporal power of the Dalai Lama. That ruler, having failed to visit the Ming emperor, as planned in 1628, sent an embassy to Mukden in 1640, to establish relations with the power that was soon to replace the Mings.¹⁸ The Manchus say the Tibetans tendered their allegiance, but there is reason to doubt this. In 1644 a return mission was sent by the Manchus to Lhasa. This was the very year in which the Manchus, aided by a Chinese army and by Mongol forces, overthrew the rebel, Li Tzu-ch'eng, who had driven the Ming emperor to suicide. A Manchu boy was then placed upon the Chinese throne. It was to his court that the Dalai Lama came in 1652 as stated above. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Kalmucks set up a new state, north of Tibet, called Sungaria. They invaded Tibet and interfered with the arrangements made by K'anghsi for the administration of the country. K'anghsi made war upon the Kalmucks, and the Emperor Ch'ienlung completed the overthrow of Sungaria. Several modifications in the administration of the Tibetan government followed the expulsion of the Sungars, and in 1750 it was placed in the hands of the two grand lamas, the Dalai and the Panshen, aided by four Councilors. This form of administration has continued down to our own times. The Chinese government was represented by a Resident or "Amban" who sought to protect China's interests and to keep the Chinese throne advised of all important events.

The Manchu emperors, throughout their history, continued to support the Lamaist religion, the influence of which strengthened their hold upon Mongolia as well as upon Tibet. They established a summer capital at Ch'eng-te in Jehol, where they erected a replica

¹⁸ "The Visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking" (Peking, 1904).

¹⁹ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Mayers says it was in 1642.

of the celebrated Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. They built also a lamasery, one of the pavilions of which, a beautiful example of Chinese architecture, was reproduced for the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago a few years ago.

The once warlike Tibetans, enfeebled by Lamaism, gradually lost much of their courage and independence. They submitted to Chinese overlordship, but they do not seem to have been happy in that relationship.

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN TIBET AND GREAT BRITAIN

British official relations with Tibet began in 1774 when Warren Hastings was in charge of the British East India Company. The Bhutanese raided the territory of one of their neighbors, who applied to the British for assistance. The British responded and punished the Bhutanese, who were subjects of Tibet. The Panshen Lama interceded in behalf of the ruler of Bhutan. This induced Hastings to send Bogle to establish friendly relations with Bhutan and Tibet. Bogle was well received but met with some opposition from the Nepaulese, so that trade relations were not opened up as had been hoped. After Bogle's return, Hastings in 1783 sent a relative named Turner to Tibet. He also was well received, especially since he carried the condolences of the British upon the death of the Panshen Lama and their congratulations upon his reincarnation in the infant who was to succeed him. Turner obtained trading privileges for natives of India only. The European was still dreaded, or it may be that the Chinese Resident opposed trade with Europeans.

Turner says that the Chinese Resident discouraged his coming, and, referring to Tibet's relations with China, says: "In the recital of their embarrassments, though they were averse to own any dependence upon the Chinese, I could plainly trace the greatest awe of the Chinese Emperor."²⁰

THE VISIT OF THE PANSHEN LAMA TO PEKING

The Panshen Lama whose death and reincarnation were the occasion of Turner's visit was the ecclesiastic who visited Peking in 1779, and died there of small pox. Visitors to Peking will remem-

²⁰ Turner, *Embassy to the Court of the Tashi Lama* (London: 1806), p. 245. See also Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 29.

ber the beautiful monument of white marble, in the grounds of the Yellow Temple,—a tope around whose eight-sided base are carved in low relief scenes from the life of the Buddha. This monument was erected in commemoration of the Panshen Lama to whose visit I refer. Turner relates that this Grand Lama had previously fled from his monastery at Tashilhunpo to escape an epidemic of small pox and that the monastery remained unoccupied for three years.²¹ Fatalists are likely to see in this a confirmation of their belief that one's end is predestined and inescapable.

The visit of this Panshen Lama to Peking is that described by Ludwig in his pamphlet, "The Visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking."²² Some writers attribute the death of this Panshen Lama to poison provided by the Emperor Ch'ienlung, who is said to have feared an intrigue with Warren Hastings looking toward a British protectorate. This suspicion appears to be without foundation. At any rate, the emperor showed the visitor great honor and, besides building the marble tope, erected also a tablet upon the back of a tortoise bearing a eulogistic inscription, telling of the visit and the untimely death and praising the character of the Grand Lama.

The marble tope has never contained the ashes of the dead ecclesiastic, but only some of his garments and his prayers. His ashes were sent back to Tashilhunpo.

CHINA'S ATTEMPTS AT DEPOSING THE DALAI LAMA

In the early years of the Manchu Dynasty the relationship between Lhasa and Peking was one of great friendliness. In 1652, when the Dalai Lama visited Peking, the Huang Ssu, commonly known as the "Yellow Temple," was built for his entertainment. Rockhill says: "The Dalai Lama was treated with all the ceremony that could have been accorded to an independent monarch."²³ In later years, however, the Chinese attitude was consistently that of an overlord. At least three times the Chinese government has attempted to depose a Dalai Lama, but the depositions have never had effect because the Tibetans have disregarded them. In 1701 the

²¹ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²² Published in Peking in 1904, an excellent account with the text of Ch'ienlung's inscription in the original.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

Dalai Lama was notoriously worldly-minded, given over almost entirely to pleasure-seeking. The Chinese attempted to depose him. In 1706 he was invited to Peking, but died on the way; the Tibetans say he was murdered.²⁴ In more recent times, after the British occupation of Lhasa in 1904, the Dalai Lama fled to the protection of the Hutukhtu of Urga, the third in rank in the Lamaist hierarchy. The Peking government proclaimed his deposition, but the Tibetans paid no attention to this distant pronouncement. In 1910 he fled again, this time to the protection of British India, and was again deposed. But after two years he returned to his palace in Lhasa and maintained his authority there until his death on December 17, 1933.

However much the Tibetans may have disliked the assumption by China of a suzerainty over their country, they profited by that relationship in the eighteenth century. The attempts at commercial intercourse already mentioned might perhaps have led to something more substantial, but in 1792 the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet, looted the monasteries, and carried off much booty.²⁵ 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 passes of Tibet and subdued the invader.²⁶ This was followed by the establishment of stringent regulations forbidding Tibetan intercourse with the outside.

BRITISH SUCCESS

During the nineteenth century the visits of travelers and the researches of students made the Western world better acquainted than in earlier times with Tibet. European states with territorial possessions bordering Tibet became increasingly eager to establish political relations with Lhasa and to obtain influence there. Great Britain in India and Russia in central Asia were the rivals in this struggle.

Besides invading Tibet, the Gurkhas had overrun Sikkim, also, and had conquered it. After their defeat by China, they became engaged in a war with British India in which they were again

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 34.

²⁶ Younghusband, *op. cit.*, p. 30. ²⁵ Holdich, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-109.

defeated. In 1817 the British restored the Sikkim rajah to his throne, and in 1859 the rajah ceded Darjeeling to Britain as a summer resort for British officials. The treaty of 1859, moreover, provided that the rajah would refer to the British government as arbitrator any differences 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 whenever British troops were employed in the hills and in general afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power. The rajah was further bound not to allow any British subjects nor the subject of any European or American state to reside in his territories without the permission of the British government.²⁷

As a result of the war with Sikkim a treaty with Nepal was made which secured to Britain the cession of a large territory and bound Nepal to refrain from molesting Sikkim and not to take any British subject or the subject of any European or American state into its service without the consent of the British government. Nepal was further pledged to refer to the British government for arbitration any difficulties Nepal might have with Sikkim.²⁸ In this manner, making peace between these petty Indian rulers, Great Britain gradually brought one state after another into a relationship of subordination to herself. The three states just mentioned, nominally a part of Tibet and dependencies of China, were thus made dependent upon Britain.

In 1849, owing to the hostility of the new rajah of Sikkim, more territory was taken by Britain from the little state and in 1890 China by treaty recognized Sikkim as a protectorate of Great Britain. This treaty defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. A later treaty between Great Britain and China provided for the opening of Yatung to foreign trade. Yatung is on the Tibetan side of the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet.

These two treaties of 1890 and 1893 the Tibetans refused to recognize as of force because they were not represented in the negotiations. This was one of the causes of British invasion of Tibet in 1904, which will be considered later. Before doing so I must mention Russia's intrigues.

²⁷ *British State Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 262.

²⁸ *British State Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 255-257.

RUSSIAN INTRIGUE

In 1880 a Russian subject, named Dordjief, but a Buriat and a lama, living near Lake Baikal, made a visit to Tibet. Being a lama, he had no difficulty in entering Tibet. He spent some years in Lhasa and vicinity and in 1898 he was sent back to Siberia and into European Russia to solicit contributions for the support of his religion. There are many Buddhists in Russia, where Dordjief apparently met with some success in his mission. These Buddhists, chiefly of the Lamaist sect, are found in groups in the European Caucasus, along the Volga, and across Siberia as far as Kamchatka.²⁰ As Dordjief traveled about among his coreligionists, the Russian government became informed of his mission and seized upon the opportunity thus afforded to persuade him to serve as Russian Agent in Lhasa. Upon his return to that capital, he urged the Dalai Lama to seek the protection of Russia, which, he said, was the most powerful nation in the world. Great Britain, he assured the Dalai Lama, was a grasping nation, and China, Tibet's suzerain, was too weak to give protection; the proper thing to do was to trust Russia. The Dalai Lama was convinced; he declared that he would go in person to see the Great White Tsar. He sent in advance the holy cushion upon which he was to sit and with it some of the sacred scriptures of his religion. But the Tibetan Grand Council opposed the project, saying that they needed no protector. The Dalai Lama, however, was stubborn; he sent Dordjief back to Russia and Russia asked the Dalai Lama to send another envoy to negotiate. The Dalai Lama did so.

The arrival of the envoy with his attendants on June 25, 1901, created great interest. The *Novoe Vremya* of June 30 said:

The reappearance of the Tibetan mission in Russia proves that the favorable impression carried back by Dordjief after his former visit has confirmed the Dalai Lama in his intention to contract 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 (notoriously slow), and therefore it cannot be wondered at that the news of the events of Pechili, the capture of the Taku forts, Tientsin, and Peking, the Russian victories in Manchuria, the taking of Mukden, etc., has penetrated to the Lama of Tibet.

²⁰ Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[These were events of 1900-01 following the Boxer rising.] 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 been so long 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.³⁰

The Tibetan mission returned to Lhasa 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 its representative at Lhasa. The Chinese Amban learned of this and, together with the Grand Council, strongly opposed the proposed treaty. Dordjjeff then deliberately set to work to alarm the British Indian government and cause an invasion of Tibet in the hope that Russia would come to Tibet's assistance. Russian rifles were sent into Tibet and Dordjjeff boasted that he would have Russian soldiers in Lhasa by the spring of 1903. He allowed these reports to reach the Indian government, which began at once to plan a countermove.³¹

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 Dordjjeff 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.

In 1903, however, Japan entered the picture. Russian and Japanese intrigues in Korea had come into conflict. Japan had no desire

³⁰ British *Parliamentary Papers*, 1920, Tibet, p. 115.

³¹ Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*, pp. 23-26.

to have Russia as a near neighbor. Russia pooh-poohed Japan's ambitions, which was a mistake. Laotzu said, long ago, "There is no greater misfortune than making light of the enemy." Japan not only wanted Russia out of Korea; she insisted that Russia should keep her promise to evacuate Manchuria. Thus in 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out. This gave Great Britain her opportunity; Russia's hands were tied.

The British government had inquired at Petersburg in 1901 about the mission of Dordjieff and had been told that it was purely a religious one similar to those sometimes sent by the Pope to the faithful in foreign lands. The Russian government assured Great Britain that the mission had no political or diplomatic character.³² 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 seven hundred years had been a part of China. Both Russia and Great Britain had been advancing in Asia by much the same methods; the jealousy of the lion and the bear had been shown in Turkey, in Persia, in Afghanistan, in Tibet, and in China. The loftiest mountains in the world, as a barrier between them, were not high enough to dissipate their fears one of the other.

BRITISH INVASION

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, was not slow to take action. There was not lacking a reasonable excuse for military movement. The Tibetans, as I have said, had never recognized the treaties of 1890 and 1893 between Great Britain and China, because they, the Tibetans, had never been consulted and these treaties had disposed of Tibetan territory and Tibetan rights. The Tibetans had therefore thrown down the boundary stones on the Sikkim frontier and built a wall across the road to Yatung which these treaties had declared open to foreign trade. Moreover, the Tibetan government had established a customs station at Giaogong, fifteen miles on the Indian side of the proposed boundary.³³

In the spring of 1903, Lord Curzon asked for 1200 rifles and permission to advance immediately to Lhasa. The British govern-

³² *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1920, Tibet, p. 117.

³³ Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

ment was not convinced of the necessity for such action ; it granted permission merely for a small escort to accompany Major Younghusband to Kamba Jong, fifteen miles north of the alleged frontier. China had agreed that a Chinese official and a representative of the Dalai Lama should meet the British at the frontier to discuss the situation. Major Younghusband went, but the Chinese official did not appear and the Tibetan refused to negotiate unless the British returned to Giaogong.³⁴ Younghusband admitted that the crossing of the frontier in the face of protests seemed to be a rather high-handed action and acknowledged that the Tibetan argument appeared to have some force, that discussion ought to take place at Giaogong.³⁵ But he was not without justification for his action, since the Chinese government had agreed to Kamba Jong as the place of meeting. Apparently the Chinese officials concerned did not know that Kamba Jong was on the Tibetan side of the frontier.³⁶ 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. They were unable, however, to persuade the Tibetan government to undertake negotiations at Kamba Jong ; the Tibetan authorities continued to demand that the British return to their own side of the frontier. At last, in November, 1903, the British government, upon the appeal of the Indian government, granted permission to Younghusband to advance to Gyantse, about a hundred 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.³⁷

The British forces were increased by the arrival of troops from Darjeeling which had started in December, 1903, and by January 8, 1904, had reached Tuna on the way to Gyantse. Up to that date the British had met with no armed resistance, but with protests only. When, however, on March 31, 1904, they attempted to move beyond Tuna, they found the road blocked by a force of Tibetan

³⁴ Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ; also Younghusband, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 110, 115.

³⁵ Younghusband, *op. cit.*, p. 115. ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

soldiers. Apparently these Tibetan troops 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 more serious struggle at Gyantse fort. Armed opposition, of course, strengthened the determination of the British to go forward. They reached Lhasa, the capital, on August 3. The Dalai Lama had fled, taking Dordjieff with him. They made their way to Mongolia and took refuge with the Hutukhtu at Urga, capital of Outer Mongolia.

The capture of Lhasa disclosed the reason for the Chinese Resident's failure to get to Kamba Jong as agreed upon. The Dalai Lama would not consent to his going and the Resident had no force with which to overpower the opposition. He had been kept virtually a prisoner at Lhasa.

TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN

The Dalai Lama having fled, the Regent, National Council, and Assembly entered into negotiations with the British which resulted in a convention between Britain and Tibet, signed on September 7, 1904.³⁸ China was not a party to the treaty. It levied an indemnity of £500,000 sterling upon Tibet, that is, 75 lakhs of rupees, afterward reduced to 25 lakhs. China subsequently assumed the debt and paid it.

The most important article in the treaty was Article Nine, 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.

³⁸ For the text of this Convention see MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements*, Vol. I, pp. 577-580.

These provisions were a violation of the policy of the Open Door, to which Great Britain had subscribed. Moreover, direct negotiation with Tibet instead of with the suzerain power was, of course, offensive to China.

This called for action by the Chinese government, which on September 27 appointed Mr. Tong Shao-yi High Commissioner Plenipotentiary to proceed to India and negotiate with the British government in regard to Tibetan affairs.

THE ANGLO-CHINESE TREATY OF 1906

The resulting Anglo-Chinese treaty was signed on April 27, 1906. This treaty confirms with certain modifications the Anglo-Tibetan convention of 1904.

Clause (d) of Article Nine of the convention of 1904 was amended by Article Three of the treaty of 1906, which declares :

The concessions mentioned in Article Nine (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7, 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any state or the subject of any state other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the Trade Marts, specified in Article Two of the aforesaid Convention, Great Britain shall be allowed to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India.

The rest of Article Nine of the convention of 1904 appears to be still in force.³⁹

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION OF 1907

Russia in 1904 and 1905 was too busily occupied in Manchuria to attempt to check British activity in Tibet. There were other issues between Great Britain and Russia requiring adjustment, in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. A satisfactory settlement of these questions was made in the Anglo-Russian convention of August 31, 1907. The two Powers agreed that neither would enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the Chinese government and that neither would send representatives to reside in Lhasa.⁴⁰

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

DEPOSITION OF THE DALAI LAMA

On September 10, 1904, the Imperial Resident posted a notice, authorized by an edict of the Emperor issued August 28, 1904,

³⁹ For text see MacMurray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 576.

⁴⁰ MacMurray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 674.

which temporarily vacated the office of the Dalai Lama and appointed the Panshen Lama of Tashilhunpo to discharge the political duties of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama remained in Uрга until 1907. In November of that year he arrived in Koko Nor on his way back to Tibet.

THE VISIT OF THE DALAI LAMA TO PEKING

The Chinese Emperor sent him an invitation to visit Peking. He accepted, and arrived in Peking on September 28, 1908. On October 14 he had audience of the Emperor. 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, which he did not at all like, since it made clear his subordination to the Chinese Emperor. His dislike for the Chinese was intensified. The American Minister, Rockhill, was well known to the Dalai Lama and had several interviews with him. At that time the writer was American Consul General at Tientsin. Mr. Rockhill invited me to accompany him at one of these interviews, but there were important matters requiring attention at Tientsin and I declined. Many times since I have regretted that I did not accept the invitation.

Mr. Rockhill wrote to the President a very interesting report of the visit, in which he said: "The Dalai Lama will probably start on his journey back to Lhasa about the end of this month (November, 1908) 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 he will not coöperate 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 twenty 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."¹

Among the things that hurt the Dalai Lama's pride was the demand that at the audience granted to him by the Emperor and the

¹ Dated at Peking, November 10, 1908. Files of the Department of State.

Empress Dowager he should kotow. To submit meant that he was not recognized as an independent monarch. That China was suzerain in Tibet has been made plain by events already related, but the Dalai Lama would have denied it if that were possible. The Chinese government was not tactful; it could have obtained more hearty coöperation from the Dalai Lama had it given more consideration to his feelings.

During his stay in Peking he was of course treated with honor; he was feted and feasted, and all his movements were published in the *Gazette* and reported in the daily press. He was lodged in state in the Yellow Temple, which had been put in repair for that purpose, but he did not confine himself to those quarters. He visited places of interest in the capital and requested permission to take up temporary residence in the Yung Ho Kung, commonly called "the Lama Temple." His request was granted, but his stay there was limited to three days.

During his visit to Peking he engaged a Chinese, familiar with the Tibetan language, to assist him in improving his knowledge of Chinese, and he was reported to be very earnest and diligent in his study of the language. He also manifested a great desire to acquaint himself with events of the Western world.

But the matter that more than all else disturbed his serenity and hurt his pride was the proposal made by the Chinese government to reduce Tibet to the status of a Chinese province. The matter was discussed repeatedly during the autumn of 1908. The Dalai Lama expressed willingness that the government should be reformed to a desirable extent, to guard against foreign aggression. The Chinese proposed that Tibet be divided into a number of provinces. The Dalai Lama, while hostile to this proposal, did finally say that Tibet might be divided into two parts. In connection with the discussion the question of the indemnity required by Great Britain after her Tibetan expedition was mentioned and it was discovered that the 25,000 lakhs of rupees, for which China had made herself responsible, had not been paid in full. For a time it was thought that a foreign loan would be necessary.

In response to the Chinese proposals the Dalai Lama submitted his views, which were embodied in six suggestions: (1) Tibet's religious laws and regulations should be promulgated. (The Gov-

ernment of Tibet was theocratic.) (2) The boundary between Tibet and India should be clearly defined and, to ensure peace, the matter ought to be managed by the Lhasa government. (The trouble between Tibet and India had been due to China's neglect to consult Tibet when negotiating the boundary treaty with Great Britain.) (3) Arrangement should be made for the gradual opening of mines. (4) Schools of all grades ought to be established. (5) A satisfactory plan for the administration of Tibet should be agreed upon. (6) There ought to be regulations concerning missionary propaganda. These suggestions indicate that the Dalai Lama was not wanting in an understanding of the situation.

THE DEATHS OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR AND THE EMPRESS DOWAGER

November 3, 1908, was the birthday of the Empress Dowager, and on the preceding day the Dalai Lama sent valuable presents to her. Among them, according to the Peking daily papers, were three Buddhist images: one decorated with kingfisher feathers, one set with diamonds, and a third set with pearls. In that same month both the Emperor and the Empress Dowager died, one on the 14th, the other on the 15th. These deaths undoubtedly brought to an end all plans for the further entertainment of the Dalai Lama, and hastened his departure. For the same reason the matter of reforming the government of Tibet was indefinitely postponed.

CHINA'S HOLD ON TIBET STRENGTHENED

During the period of the Dalai Lama's exile in Mongolia, China had been taking measures to strengthen her hold upon eastern Tibet. In 1904 an additional Resident had been appointed for Chamdo (eastern Tibet); and Tach'ienlu, which the Tibetans claimed as marking the eastern boundary of Tibet, was converted into a *hsien* city (i.e., made capital of a county). The Resident for eastern Tibet (Chamdo) made himself very obnoxious to the lamas of Batang, so that in April, 1905, a revolt broke out there and the Chinese Resident was killed. The disorders spread through south-western Szechuen and northwestern Yünnan, where several large monasteries were involved. Besides attacks upon Chinese there were assaults upon Roman Catholic missionaries as well.

General Ma restored order in Batang in the summer of 1905 and signalized his triumph by destroying the great lamasery there. The Viceroy of Szechuen then appointed Chao Erh-feng to subdue the so-called Tibetan rebels throughout the frontier districts. His methods were thoroughgoing, not to say cruel. The survivors of the various risings in Yünnan and Szechuen gathered in a large lamasery in a region known as Hsiang-ch'eng, to which Chao laid siege. In 1906 he forced an entrance and put the lamas to the sword and utterly destroyed the lamasery. This made him the most hated man in that region. He also deprived the lamas in Batang of their temporal power and appointed a Chinese Magistrate to administer the government of the district. In November, 1906, he was made Frontier Commissioner with the rank of Resident. His drastic methods during the four years following brought a temporary peace to eastern Tibet and in January, 1910, Chao with 2000 troops marched into Lhasa after crossing, in wintry weather, mountain ranges 14,000 to 16,000 feet in height. For a time his vigorous administration gave China effective control of Tibet.⁴²

The Dalai Lama had returned to Lhasa a few weeks earlier, in December, 1909. The report that Chao was bringing troops with him created consternation in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama fled to India upon the arrival of the Chinese force, and the Tibetans appealed to Great Britain to use her good offices in their behalf. The British government sent a note to China on February 26, 1910, protesting against China's action, complaining that China had not informed them of her intention to send troops into Lhasa. The Chinese replied that they had done no more than they had the right to do, that they had always exercised the right to send troops into Tibet when necessary. China stated, moreover, that it was the Dalai Lama who had created the trouble and that he was wholly unreliable.⁴³

The presence of Chinese troops in Lhasa naturally led to rioting on the part of the Tibetans, whose hatred of the Chinese was bitter.

The Dalai Lama in his flight, as just said, turned toward India. During his visit in Peking he had become acquainted with the Brit-

⁴² A detailed account of these events is given in Eric Teichman, *Travels in Eastern Tibet*. See also *British Parliamentary Papers*, 5217, Tibet, p. 215.

⁴³ *British Parliamentary Papers*, 5217, Tibet, pp. 195, 196, 203, 209.

ish Minister and had learned something of British fair-mindedness. He lost the feeling of hostility that had earlier led him to intrigue with Russia.

When the Peking government learned of his flight to India, they again deposed him. This was on February 25, 1910.⁴⁴ The very next day the Viceroy of India 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 the British Indian government was sending a representative to Darjeeling that night to inquire after the health of His Holiness. It was a shrewd move and naturally won the favor of the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama remained in India some two years. He was treated with great honor and became friendly with British officials. Responding to the call of his people, he returned to Lhasa June 24, 1912.

Chao Erh-feng in 1911 had returned to Szechuen, where he had been appointed Viceroy. There his repressive measures directed against the Szechuen Railway Company precipitated the Chinese revolution that overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. His troops declared for the revolution and he was murdered. The Chinese troops in Lhasa also cast in their lot with the revolutionists, but this did not save them from attack by the Tibetans, who seized upon the opportunity to try to drive out the Chinese.

Further disorders occurred also in eastern Tibet and on the Szechuen border. The Provisional Government was in control at Peking. The Republic had been proclaimed although not yet recognized. All races were declared to be on a footing of equality in the Republic and a new national banner had been designed, consisting of five horizontal stripes, representing the five principal races of China: Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turcomans, and Tibetans. The Constitution made provision for representation of Tibet in the National Parliament. But this did not please the Tibetans, who at that time had no desire to remain tied to China.

The attack upon the Chinese troops in Lhasa in June, 1912, caused anxiety in Peking. The authorities of the Provisional Government consulted and had about determined to send a force to rescue Chinese residents of Lhasa, both civilian and military.

⁴⁴ American Legation, Peking, to the Department of State. Files of the Department of State.

In August, 1912, I was in charge of the American Legation in Peking, during the absence of the Minister. There was gossip in diplomatic circles concerning a memorandum said to have been presented to China by the British Minister on August 17. On August 31 I called by appointment upon the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was about ten o'clock at night, a warm starlight night. We sat in the courtyard of the Foreign Office, and as we smoked we talked of the situation. In reply to my inquiry, the Minister told me of Sir John Jordan's protest against Chinese military action in Tibet and of Sir John's conversation with President Yüan Shih-k'ai. The following account is condensed from my diary:

CHINA RESTRAINED BY GREAT BRITAIN

Dr. W. W. Yen, the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that when disorders broke out in June on the Tibetan border of Szechuen, the Chinese government was preparing to send troops to restore order. The British Minister had called at the Foreign Office and had asked to be kept informed, particularly if any troops were to be sent into Tibet. The Chinese troops were sent, and retook Patang and Litang from the Tibetans. Later they received an urgent call for assistance from the Chinese shut up in Lhasa. It was decided to send a relief expedition and, in accordance with the promise to Sir John Jordan, they informed him of this intention. He called at the Foreign Office and made objection. On August 15 he had called upon President Yüan Shih-k'ai, and had said to him that the Government of Great Britain could not consent to any military operations by China in Tibet. The President had asked how then could the Chinese in Lhasa be rescued. The Minister had replied that it could easily be arranged to send them out through India. The President had insisted that China had the right to send troops into Tibet. Sir John had replied that Great Britain recognized China's suzerainty but not her sovereignty in Tibet. He had affirmed that China had a right to send a Resident to Tibet to direct foreign policy, but not to interfere in internal administration. The Resident could take with him a small escort, but no large force, since any such military demonstration would create disorder and disturb the Indian frontier. For any such result

Great Britain would hold China responsible. The British Minister had said further that his Government were much displeased by Chinese activity in Tibet during the three years just preceding. He felt that such activity was a violation of the spirit if not of the letter of the treaties.

It has already been pointed out that the treaty of 1904 was an agreement between Great Britain and Tibet which ignored Tibet's relation to China. The treaty of 1906 between Great Britain and China provided for the enforcement with slight modification of that of 1904, and thus gave recognition to Tibet's treaty-making power while at the same time fixing Tibet's status as a vassal state of China. This treaty of 1906 also stipulated that Great Britain should not interfere in the internal administration of Tibet. It also pledged China not to allow any other foreign nation to interfere.⁴⁶ This would seem to recognize China's right to supervise Tibet's internal administration.

The British Minister, furthermore, in the interview under consideration, had taken exception to the President's proclamation, which asserted the equality of Tibetans with Chinese in the Republic of China and which also declared that Tibet was to be represented in the national Parliament. He had objected, too, to the reported plans for organizing a provincial government in Tibet, and had demanded the preservation of the *status quo*. The President had agreed for the immediate present not to send troops into Tibet.

On August 17 the Foreign Office received a memorandum of this conversation which also stated Great Britain's demands in five articles. The memorandum declared that until these demands were agreed to, Great Britain would not recognize the Republic of China, and would not allow any communication of China with Tibet through India. This latter would prevent telegraphic communication between Peking and Lhasa. The Chinese Foreign Office did not send a written acknowledgment of the memorandum, but sent a secretary to the Legation to protest the interruption of Chinese telegraphic communication with Tibet as an unfriendly act. After further conference, the British Minister expressed himself satisfied with the promise not to send troops into Tibet and warned

⁴⁶ MacMurray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 577, Art. II.

China that any military operations there would bring their two governments into conflict.

The action of the British Minister hastened the restoration of peace between China and Tibet, and all Chinese in Lhasa, over and above the ordinary escort of the Resident, left their arms in Lhasa and were sent out of Tibet and back to China by way of India.⁴⁸

Three days after my interview with the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, the local papers published a Reuter's telegram, purporting to come from Washington, saying that the American Government had been consulted by Great Britain in regard to the action being taken in Tibet and that it would not oppose that action. This telegram seemed silly, since the United States had no interest in Tibet, but I reported it to the Department and received a reply saying that the Reuter's telegram was wholly gratuitous and that the Department had not authorized the publication of any comment whatsoever.

TIBET AND OUTER MONGOLIA

While the Dalai Lama was a voluntary exile in India, his colleague, the Hutukhtu of Outer Mongolia, led a revolt from China of that dependency, which declared itself an independent empire and elected the Hutukhtu emperor. The coronation took place on December 28, 1911. Upon the return of the Dalai Lama to Lhasa, he sent Dordjieff in July, 1912, to Urga to negotiate a treaty of friendship and a defensive alliance with Outer Mongolia. The treaty was signed on December 29, 1912 (according to the chronology of the Mongolians, "on the 4th Day of the Twelfth Moon of the Second Year of Him who is exalted by All," and according to the chronology of Tibet, "in the Year of the Water-mouse, same Moon and Day"). In the First Article the Dalai Lama recognizes the formation of an independent Mongolian State, and in the Second the Emperor of Outer Mongolia recognizes the formation of an independent state in Tibet. In Article Three both states promise to take measures for the protection of the Buddhist faith and in Article Four mutual assistance against internal and external dangers is promised.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Peking telegram, August 31, 1912. Files of the Department of State.

⁴⁹ Perry-Ayscough and Otter-Barry, *With the Russians in Mongolia*, pp. 10-13.

THE SIMLA CONVENTION

This treaty, however, contributed nothing toward the removal of the ill feeling between Tibetans and Chinese. It merely shows how strong a bond a common religious faith may become in the presence of danger to a fellow religionist. In the next year, in October, 1913, a much more important movement was made to adjust relations between China, Tibet, and Great Britain. A tripartite conference was held in Simla at which all three governments were represented. This resulted in the drafting of a convention which was initialed by representatives of the three states, but the Chinese government repudiated the action of its commissioner and has never signed the agreement. It was signed, however, by the British and Tibetan representatives, on July 3, 1914.

The convention provided for a division of Tibet for administrative purposes into two sections, Inner and Outer Tibet, following the well-known division of Mongolia. Inner Tibet was to be the part nearer to China.

This Convention recognized Tibet as forming a part of China and as being under Chinese suzerainty. But the ratification of the convention would make Outer Tibet autonomous while Inner Tibet was to be administered by China. Both Great Britain and China were to abstain from all interference in the administration of Outer Tibet. China was to agree, moreover, not to attempt to convert it into a Chinese province (as attempted in 1911) and was not to have it represented in the Chinese parliament. China was to agree, also, not to station troops in Outer Tibet nor to appoint civil or military officials there except that a Chinese Resident was to be permitted as in earlier times and he was to be allowed a guard of three hundred men. No Chinese colonization was to be permitted. The British were to be allowed, if circumstances should so require, to send their Gyantse Agent to Lhasa with an escort.

Article Three of the Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1906 was to be canceled. This is the article that denied the grant of concessions for roads, railways, telegraphs, mining, or other rights to the subjects of any state other than China. This would seem to leave the provision as originally framed in the Anglo-Tibetan treaty of 1904, which required British consent to such concessions. The convention

further provided that in the event of differences between Tibet and China, Great Britain should be arbiter.

China refused to agree to several provisions. She could not agree that Tibet should never be represented in the national parliament of China or any similar body. She demanded that the escort of the British Agent should never be larger than that allowed the Chinese Resident, and that the Chinese Resident should be permitted to appoint deputies to such places as had British Agents. She required also the right to approve trade regulations agreed upon by Great Britain and Tibet. There were disagreements, too, with respect to the boundaries of Inner and Outer Tibet as stipulated in the convention.

China, having refused to sign the convention, gave formal notice that she would not recognize any agreement that might then or thereafter be signed by Great Britain and Tibet.⁴⁸

In 1914 the British Minister at Peking urged the Chinese government to ratify the Simla convention, stating that it was the only solution of the Tibetan question and that China would be deprived of its advantages if she refused to sign.⁴⁹

It is this convention or treaty to which I referred when saying that there was some justification for China's measures in establishing provincial governments in the annexed regions. These annexations are all in Inner Tibet, as defined at Simla, and by the convention are to be administered by China.

TIBET DURING THE WORLD WAR

The World War began in August, 1914, and for several years but little attention was given to Tibet by the outside world. Sir John Jordan, the British Minister to China, did, however, attempt to reopen negotiations, and in 1915 the Chinese government made some counterproposals. In the meantime conditions upon the Szechuen frontier did not improve. The strong hand of Chao Erh-feng being removed, the peoples of eastern Tibet again became turbulent. The Republic had matters of a more pressing nature demanding attention elsewhere. The troops on the frontier were left unpaid and in 1917 disorder was rife. In 1918 a British consul at-

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Simla convention.

⁴⁹ *Far Eastern Political Science Review*, Vol. II, p. 107.

tempted to use his good offices to restore peace and did bring about a truce between Tibet and China. In 1919 Sir John Jordan brought the situation once more to the attention of President Hsü Shih-ch'ang, who promised that negotiations should be resumed as soon as peace should have been established in Europe. The matter was discussed in August, 1919, but feeling was too strong to permit reasonable action and negotiations were, perforce, indefinitely postponed.⁵⁰

At the Simla conference in 1913 the Tibetans and the Chinese had utterly failed to agree upon the boundary between China and Tibet. Tibet at one time probably did extend as far east as Tachienlu and included districts that for decades have been considered to be within the boundaries of the Chinese province of Szechuen. At one time, no doubt, Tibet included also all Koko Nor. If Koko Nor is to be regarded as a separate province, the natural line of division from Tibet would seem to be the watershed separating the streams that flow north from those that flow south or south-east. This line the Tibetans would seem to be willing to recognize, but the Chinese maps carry the southern boundary of Koko Nor as far south as 32 degrees N Lat., which thus includes in Koko Nor the headwaters of many streams flowing south and southeast.

As for the boundaries of Hsikang, the new province cut off of eastern Tibet, the only one that is well defined is that on the south, where it touched the borders of Burmah and Yünnan. On the north, of course, it reaches the southern boundary of Koko Nor, wherever that may be, but the eastern and western limits of Hsikang are in dispute. At the Simla conference Tibet insisted that her territory extended eastward as far as Tachienlu. On the other hand, China claimed as Chinese territory all the region that had been conquered by Chao Erh-feng between 1906 and 1910. Based upon this claim, the recent map shows Hsikang extending from a region a little east of Tachienlu to a line west of the Salwen, that is to say, to the border of Central Tibet.

The Tibetans, of course, have never agreed to these boundaries. Frequently, in recent years, they have made raids into Hsikang in protest against Chinese claims. The Chinese government up to the present has steadfastly declined to ratify the Simla convention.

⁵⁰ *Far Eastern Political Science Review*, Vol. II, pp. 107-109.

THE AIMS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Imperial Russia, apparently disturbed by internal conditions, seems to have abandoned all its plans for influence in Tibet after its defeat in Manchuria by Japan. In 1917 a revolution removed the Tsar and set up a soviet socialist form of government. The various racial units that made up the empire, each in its own district, established republics on this pattern and Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The new government did not forget the nation's interest in the Far East. It sought to safeguard Russia's possession of Siberia and helped to set up the People's Revolutionary Government in Outer Mongolia. It did not manifest any interest in Tibet. But it did undertake one enterprise that in a degree affected Tibet and one that may affect it still more seriously in the future. It attempted to convert China into a communistic state. In 1922 Canton was in revolt against the recognized government at Peking. The leader of the revolt, Dr. Sun, met the Soviet envoy at Shanghai and entered into a compact with him. In return for Russian assistance with money and military supplies, Dr. Sun agreed to accept Russian military and political advisers. They arrived in 1923. The military advisers proceeded to organize an army. The political advisers organized the artisans and other laborers into unions. They also went into the country and organized peasants' unions. For three years they sowed the seeds of Communism. In 1925 Dr. Sun died. Just before his death he wrote to the Moscow government a letter in which he acknowledged his indebtedness to Russia and promised that his followers would continue to work with the Soviets. In 1926, the new army being ready, General Galen, the Russian commander, led his troops northward to Hankow. The people along the route had already been thoroughly indoctrinated in anticapitalistic and antireligious sentiments and the troops met with no serious opposition. Missionaries were driven out. Wealthy homes were plundered. Men of property who resisted were killed. Lands were seized and apportioned to the peasantry. Local governments, soviet in form, were set up. From Hankow the troops moved down the Yangtze and attacked missions and consulates in Nanking. A number of Europeans and Americans were killed. Great outrages were committed. In the

meantime another army was moving north along the coast under command of Chiang Kai-shek. When he learned of the outrages at Nanking he broke with his Russian allies and compelled them to leave the country. Mrs. Sun Yat-sen protested that this was a violation of her husband's dying pledge. And she went out with the Russians.

General Chiang Kai-shek at once made war upon the Chinese Communists. They were driven out of Kiangsi into Kueichou, from Kueichou into Yünnan, and from Yünnan into Szechuen. Chinese government troops met them in Szechuen and they fled into Hsi-kang, where they were attacked by Tibetans. The Communist forces were reported in April, 1936, to be sacking the great lamaseries in eastern Tibet, and the people as far east as Tachienlu⁶¹ were filled with fear.

The Communist forces took the northern route toward Lhasa and sacked a number of large lamaseries. There were said to be some 4000 lamas (monks) in these institutions, but though they had many rifles and were regarded as fighters, they fled before the invaders. The latter looted the lamaseries and came into possession of food supplies. Turning back, they surrounded and captured the great lamasery at Litang at the end of May, 1936. This was regarded as a very holy spot, having given birth to a Dalai Lama. It is situated about sixty miles west of Tachienlu. The *North China Herald* for July 1, 1936, reports the capture and states that the inmates numbered at times as many as 3000, that they possessed some 1000 rifles, and were considered to be "a tough bunch." The lamasery was rich in stores of food and in large herds of yak. All these supplies helped to replenish the commissariat of the invaders.

Toward the end of the summer the Communist forces moved north, having pretty thoroughly plundered eastern Tibet. In September they were attacking and looting the cities of Kansu Province in northwest China. They were evidently attempting to get within communicating distance of the Russian border where they might expect assistance from their fellow Communists. Russian Central Asia would be the most accessible source of assistance in

⁶¹ Tachienlu is also written Tatsienlu. The Tibetan name is Dartsendo. Its official name today is Kanting, the capital of Hsikang. It lies near the 30th parallel, N Lat., and about 100° 30' E Long.

ordinary circumstances, but they were apparently kept out of Chinese Turkestan by regard for the fighting qualities of its Mohammedan inhabitants. On February 4, 1937, a news dispatch to American papers reported that the Communists had seized Hsian, capital of Shensi Province and, anciently, of China. It was near this city that a few weeks earlier the Chinese General Chiang Kai-shek was said to have been kidnapped by his subordinate, General Chang Hsüeh-liang. General Chang was in command of the forces intended to suppress the Communists. Chang was formerly the governor general of the Manchurian provinces which were seized by Japan in 1931. The commonly received explanation of his action in kidnapping his Chief is that he wanted to persuade him to join with the Communists in making war on Japan. This is not unreasonable, since the Communist forces, soon after the seizure of Manchuria, offered to assist the Nanking government in such a war. But there is something in the kidnapping that is not apparent to the outsider. Some think it only a pretended kidnapping, a ruse with an ulterior purpose. This is perhaps because Chang so readily accepted his superior's invitation to accompany him to Nanking, plead guilty, and get a pardon. At any rate, Chang did plead guilty, was sentenced and, after a few hours' detention, was pardoned. This was a characteristically Chinese method of relieving a tense situation. The result was a truce between the opposing forces.

The Communists that seized Hsian were reported to be demanding the return of Chang to that region, thus supporting the belief that Chang had come to an understanding with them. One can only guess what the outcome of all this will be. General Chiang Kai-shek is not liked by the Russians, who cannot forget Chiang's action in ordering Russian advisers out of China and in making relentless war upon their Chinese followers. Enemies, however, sometimes become reconciled, as recent events in Europe have shown. The German-Japanese alliance against Communism may also affect the situation and may conceivably drive China and Russia into each other's arms.

We must now return to the situation in Tibet, where the death of the Dalai Lama brought about an important change in the relations of that state with its suzerain, China.

THE DISAGREEMENT OF LHASA AND TASHILHUNPO

When the Chinese government deposed the Dalai Lama, in 1905 and again in 1910, the Panshen Lama, whose lamasery is at Tashilhunpo, was appointed to discharge the political functions of the Dalai Lama. When the latter returned to Lhasa, he naturally resumed his authority as ruler of Tibet.

But it is easy to understand that when a man has exercised jurisdiction for a number of years, and thus tasted the sweets of power, he does not readily surrender his position; it is quite possible that the Panshen Lama was reluctant to yield to the Dalai Lama. On the other hand, when an official has vacated his post for a term of years and returns from exile, he is not always grateful for the work done by his substitute, nor does he necessarily approve of it.

Whatever the causes, after the return of the Dalai Lama to Lhasa, in 1912, the relations between the two Grand Lamas gradually became strained, and as the years passed, the rift in their friendship widened to such a degree that the Panshen Lama decided to leave Tibet for a time. In 1924 he went to China, where he was received with honor by the officers of the Republic.

He arrived in China at a critical moment in the affairs of the government. Sun Yat-sen, who had fallen under the influence of Russia, was planning with the aid of his Russian advisers to launch an expedition against the recognized government at Peking. Patriotic men north and south were trying to effect a reconciliation. Dr. Sun was invited to Peking to consult with other leaders as to the advisability of assembling a popular convention that should represent all sections of the Republic, and that should draft a new constitution and organize a new government. Sun Yat-sen arrived in Peking on December 31, 1924. He was already quite ill. He opposed the election of district delegates to the proposed National Convention; he demanded that they be elected by soviets. No convention was held, and Dr. Sun died on March 12, 1925, after sending to Russia a letter expressing his gratitude for Russian assistance and pledging his followers to continued coöperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In 1926 the Russian military advisers to the Canton government started the southern forces on their march to the north. After they had reached the Yangtze Valley, these Russian leaders, as stated above, were expelled from China by General Chiang Kai-shek. When Chiang's army arrived at Tientsin, a compromise was effected with the northern leaders in accordance with which a new government was set up with its capital at Nanking,—a government modeled in part upon the soviet system, but wholly capitalistic in sentiment. The group of young men responsible for this government had many questions pressing for attention, but they did not overlook the importance of the outlying dependencies. Differences of language and social institutions made it necessary to give special attention to the peoples of Mongolia and Tibet.

A conference upon Tibetan and Mongolian affairs was arranged for the beginning of 1930, but was postponed to May of that year. That conference adopted certain resolutions, declaring that these outlying regions were an integral part of the territory of the Republic of China and pointing out that "red" imperialism in Outer Mongolia, "yellow" imperialism in Inner Mongolia, and "white" imperialism in Tibet were seeking to encroach upon China's territory. The inhabitants of these regions were warned against entering into any negotiations with foreign governments. All such negotiations were to be undertaken by the central government only. The defense of those regions, too, was a duty developing upon the government at Nanking. There were eight general meetings of the conference, at which some 125 proposals were adopted.⁶²

The success of the central government in its efforts to retain the support of the Mongol princes was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Panshen Lama as he traveled about among his coreligionists. One of the results was a petition to the central authorities, received by them in March, 1931, urging that every assistance be given to the minority races in the Republic to attain to self-government, and that the welfare of the natives be safeguarded when natural resources were being exploited. The Provisional Constitution also provided that local conditions should have weight in the determining of the kind of local administration to be employed in Tibet and Mongolia.

⁶² *Chinese Affairs*, June 15, 1930.

On July 1, 1931, the Panshen Lama was received with great honor at a public assembly in Nanking, and an honorific title was conferred upon him by the Nationalist government,—“The Great Wise Priest who guards the Nation and spreads Culture.”⁵³ On December 18, 1932, at the second general meeting of the third plenary session of the central executive committee of the Kuo Min Tang, or Nationalist party, the Panshen Lama from Tibet and the Hutukhtu of Koko Nor, as well as a number of Mongolian princes, were present. A resolution extending a hearty welcome to them was adopted. This was but one of many acts of the Nanking government evidencing its appreciation of the services of the Panshen Lama, who during the eight years of his residence in China had labored with great success to bring about a better understanding between the Mongols and the Chinese.

In the meantime the Tibetan raids into the territory of Hsikang continued, much to the annoyance of the central government, which tried to induce the Dalai Lama to use his influence to prevent them. The Dalai Lama during the long absence of the Panshen Lama gradually came to regret the rupture of the old-time friendship. He sent a message to the Panshen Lama urging him to return to Tibet. The Panshen Lama reciprocated by sending a member of his entourage, of the rank of Hutukhtu, to Lhasa to consult with the Dalai Lama. The meeting was entirely satisfactory and friendly relations were reestablished, but before the envoy of the Panshen Lama could return to China the Dalai Lama died. This was on December 17, 1933.

A NEW DALAI LAMA

According to the belief of the Lamaists, the high ecclesiastics of their organization are reincarnated in their successors. The infant who is to be the new Dalai Lama may be born at any time within nine months⁵⁴ after the death of his predecessor. A number of children born within the specified time and otherwise having the required evidence of supernatural intervention in their birth, have their names recorded. These names, written on slips of wood, are

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1931.

⁵⁴ *Chinese Affairs*, March 31, 1934, p. 314. This is contradicted by the issue of the same journal for December 31, 1933, where the new Dalai Lama is said to be a boy of three years.

deposited in a golden urn. A high functionary with a pair of chopsticks reaches into the urn and picks one of the names by chance. This is the name of the future Dalai Lama. This ceremony was said to have been observed on December 29, 1933,⁵⁵ but the report was subsequently denied by the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs.

The infant so chosen must wait until he has reached the age of sixteen years before he can be enthroned as Dalai Lama. This means that there must be a long period during which the country is governed by a regency. The official best qualified to fill the post of regent is the Panshen Lama. On the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933, the Panshen Lama was in China and received a multitude of petitions begging him to hasten his return to Tibet. The Nanking government also thought it would be wise for him to return. The Hutukhtu who had been sent to Lhasa by the Panshen Lama to arrange for the latter's return to Tibet, hastened back to China, accompanied by fifty lamas from as many different lamaseries. They traveled by way of India and sailed from Calcutta on April 1, 1934, for Shanghai. Late in that month they reached Nanking and together joined in begging the Panshen Lama to return to Tibet.

In the same month of April, 1934, the Nanking government sent a special ambassador to Lhasa to convey its condolences over the death of the Dalai Lama. The ambassador was General Huang Mung. He went by plane to Hankow and thence by another plane to Ch'engt'u, Szechuen, where he had to resort to primitive methods of travel. He arrived in Lhasa on August 25, 1934, four months after he left Nanking. The length of time consumed on the journey is accounted for by the broken character of the country and the lack of good roads. A glance at the map will show that the province of Hsikang is crossed by six large rivers, all flowing south. If one takes the northern route he finds more numerous streams of smaller size, and a more open country. In the south the rivers flow through deep gorges separated by lofty ranges, the passes through which are from 10,000 to 15,000 feet in elevation. It will be readily understood why the delegation of fifty lamas traveled across India and took the sea route to save time.

⁵⁵ The official journal, *Chinese Affairs*, December 31, 1933.

BETTER RELATIONS

General Huang participated in the memorial service in honor of the late Dalai Lama held at Lhasa on September 23, 1934. Much earlier, in May, 1934, a service in his honor had been held at Nanking attended by the high officials of the Chinese government. The religious exercises at Nanking had been conducted by the Panshen Lama. Subsequently he had attended a Buddhist convention at Hangchow and then taken his departure for Tibet. He chose the sea route by way of Calcutta. The Panshen Lama, while he yet remained in China, was made a Special Frontier Commissioner and did excellent service in winning for the Republic the support of the nomads of Koko Nor and Mongolia. Shortly before he left for Tibet, on February 20, 1934, he was made an officer of the central government, and was sworn in in the presence of more than six hundred officials. He went back to Tibet, not only as regent of that dependency, but also as representing the suzerain. This has tended, no doubt, to bring the two peoples into more friendly relations, and will probably aid in a peaceable solution of their long-standing difficulties.

The writer has been unable to discover the date of the Panshen Lama's arrival in Tibet or what measures he made his first care. Naturally his chief concern was to discover the child who was to become the new Dalai Lama. It was not until the summer of 1936 that a Reuter's telegram from Darjeeling to the *Times* (London) reported that the Panshen Lama had had a vision at the holy lake which indicated that the mother of the favored child was named Kamatso. This woman was later found by the Panshen Lama, at the time of the Carnival of Purification, to be the wife of a man near Jyekundo. She was holding a child of about two years of age, and as the Grand Lama approached, the child stretched out his hand and took hold of the Lama's beard.⁵⁰

Sir Charles Bell, who had lived in Tibet and who was a friend of the Dalai Lama, commented upon the dispatch for the benefit of readers of the *Times*. He described the method of selection of the child who was to become the Dalai Lama. The place mentioned above, Jyekundo, is in southern Koko Nor and was the birthplace

⁵⁰ *North China Herald*, August 5, 1936.

of the founder of the Yellow Sect. But this report did not settle the question. In September last another report was published in which it appeared that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama had taken place in Mongolia. Sir Charles commented upon this report as indicating a possible desire to please the Mongols, who hold to the religion of Tibet. This would not be surprising, since a former Dalai Lama was born in Mongolia in the sixteenth century. But the matter that concerns us is that no official report of the reincarnation has been published. This is not so strange as it seems. On other occasions of reincarnation numerous candidates have appeared, whose mothers have announced miraculous signs attending the births of their children. When sufficient time has elapsed to make certain that all candidates have appeared, the ceremony of drawing lots is held. It may be noted, too, that Nanking reported, in the issue of the *North China Herald* for September 9, 1936, that the representative of the Panshen Lama there stated that the Grand Lama had received another report of an incarnation. Still there was no official recognition of the child as the reincarnate Dalai Lama.

If it should appear that no miraculous signs had attended the birth of any of the child candidates and that the Dalai Lama had, therefore, not reappeared, there would seem to be a fulfillment of the prophecy referred to by Rockhill. Conceivably those interested in such a result might easily and reasonably bring about that fulfillment. The writer, however, has no expectation that so desirable an end will be attained. A people as ignorant and as superstitious as the Tibetans will scarcely abandon the age-old plan of electing their rulers.

DESIRED REFORMS

While General Huang, the envoy to the funeral of the Dalai Lama, was in Lhasa he telegraphed the Nanking government the requests of the Tibetan and Hsikang authorities that early attention be given to the matter of improving relations between these two regions. Among the matters mentioned was that of the determination of the boundary between Tibet and Hsikang. Other questions were the establishment of better postal and telegraph facilities and the construction of highways to connect Lhasa with Szechuen.

These questions received attention at Nanking, where it was decided to establish wireless stations at Chengtu and at Lhasa. Airplane communication also has been extended to Hsikang. The central government, moreover, made public a declaration that it would retain in its hands all matters relating to the defense of Tibet and all questions of international concern, while leaving internal affairs of Tibet entirely to the Tibetan officials. The Nanking government also announced its intention of opening negotiations with Great Britain to fix the boundary between Tibet and India.

Too much must not be expected from the friendliness to Nanking of the Panshen Grand Lama and his desire for reform. It is true that he is the pope of Lamaism and that he has been given political authority as Acting Dalai Lama, but his own post is that of a religious teacher and his political power is greatly restricted by the existence of a state council. This council defeated the late Dalai Lama's plans relating to Russian assistance. How much more would it be likely to oppose the Panshen's plans to modernize Tibet!

Sir Charles Bell, relating his experiences on a recent visit to Tibet, uttered a wise word of warning. He mentions Tibet's "faculty for remaining almost unchanged in a changing world" and adds that the people of Tibet "fear foreign intrusion as they fear very little else. India and China, which between them encompass it on the four sides, help to bar the way in; each, though for different reasons, wishes to keep the foreigner out. Such are the causes which combine to keep Tibet isolated even in these days. Changes must come eventually, but they are not yet. Soviet Russia and Japan will inevitably push further south on the Asiatic continent. Then the time will come."⁵⁷

The modernization of Tibet can be brought about only very gradually. The present Chinese government has done much for the Chinese by extending education, by giving attention to public health, by improving the condition of labor, by the building of highways and the extension of railways. But the government, having left the internal affairs of Tibet to internal administration, cannot extend Chinese reforms into Tibet. The government can and no doubt will endeavor to extend the benefits of education and

⁵⁷ *North China Herald*, July 29, 1936.

social-welfare institutions to the provinces carved out of Tibetan territory,—Koko Nor and Hsikang,—but even such reforms must be introduced cautiously. The Tibetans of eastern Tibet and Koko Nor are scarcely less prejudiced against foreigners and foreign education than the people of central Tibet. The numerous lama-series with their thousands of sturdy monks possessing arms are not unlikely to overawe the peasants and stir up hatred of Western inventions. Progress will be made, but it must be made at a slow pace.