

to use in regard to Russian encroachments in Manchuria, Turkestan, and Persia.

Count Benckendorff asked him whether he had any objection to his saying that Government had approved of the advance into Tibetan territory with reluctance, and only because circumstances had made it inevitable, and that our sole object was to obtain satisfaction for the affronts we had received from the Tibetans; and Lord Lansdowne said that he had no objection to his making such a statement.

Despite Russian and Chinese protests, the advance to Gyantse was now irrevocably decided on, and once again we have now to ask, Was the Mission justified in advancing into Tibet? I have given all the reasons for thinking that the despatch of the Mission to Khamba Jong was justified. Was this further advance into the Chumbi Valley and to Gyantse equally necessary? Perhaps, if we had shown yet more patience and yet more forbearance, we might have effected our object without advancing by force into the country. Was this so?

What eventually occurred showed that there were no possible grounds for such a belief. Even when the Chinese Central Government were aroused, and had ordered the Resident to proceed to the frontier to settle matters, he was unable to get there. The Tibetans refused him transport, and when we reached Lhasa, in August of the following year, we found him to be practically a prisoner, and almost without enough to eat, as the Tibetans had prevented supplies of money from reaching him, and he had actually to borrow money from us. But it was with the Tibetans that we really wished to negotiate. Perhaps they would have come to terms with us if we had been a little less impatient and remained on the frontier? Perhaps they would have sent a Councillor, as we had asked, and negotiated a treaty? On this point, too, our later experience showed that we could not have relied. When we at length reached Lhasa I had to negotiate, not with one Councillor only, but with the whole