

~~Last~~ In the office of Liddell ^{at Tientsin,} Brock I met Mr V. G. Gabrick, a White Russian, & had a talk w. him. He says in effect: —

"I was an officer in the Russian army under the old regime, retiring before the war. I joined the Consular Service, & was appointed Russian Consul in Urga, & was there when Baron Ungern - Sternberg (spelling?) captured Urga w. a force of only four hundred men, composed of Russian Cossacks, Mongols, & Tibetans, defeating eight thousand Chinese troops.

"After the Russian Revolution the Chinese had regained control in Mongolia, and at once began to take away ~~them~~ from the Mongols the independence that Russia had won for them before the war. It was these Chinese troops that the Baron defeated.

"I could see the Chinese troops fighting from my window. They sheltered in ravines, but when they fired, would not raise their heads above the bank to take aim for fear of being ~~hit~~ shot by the enemy. They thus lifted the rifle above the bank & fired without aiming.

"I joined Sternberg's troops when they arrived. He split us up into a number of small detachments, which was a mistake. And ~~we~~ we had no means of replenishing our ammunition. So we had to When the Red Russians came, well armed & well equipped, we had to retire before them."

Present conditions in Outer Mongolia.

~~Yes~~ "Yes; the Soviet do some good there."

"They have ~~to~~ ^{been} away the ~~house~~ from the lamas, who were nothing but parasites on the people.

"They have turned the former ~~grand~~ lama's palace at Urga into a hospital, & have placed doctors in different parts of the country.

"They have opened schools, & sent promising pupils to ~~Russ~~ European Russia & to Germany for higher education.

"They have trained a number of Mongols to be soldiers. I ~~will~~ estimate the number of these soldiers to be between six & eight thousand. There are not many Russian soldiers now in Mongolia, but of course they could send them quickly via Kiakhta. They will probably soon make a railway from Kiakhta to Urga.

"Yes; the Soviet ^{Union} have done a lot for the Mongols, but the latter, on the whole, do not like their present lot. The boys educated at school become afterwards discontented w. the life of a herdsman. And collectivized methods of living & working, while possibly adaptable to agriculture, cannot be adapted to the management of flocks & herds, ^{or} to the nomadic life.

"The monopoly of trading in Mongolia is in the hands of a firm called Vostwag. It is composed of Russians, Mongolians, & Germans, & has agents throughout the world."

18/5/35

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At Peiping. The Director of the Peiping Office of the P.R. (Panchan Rimpoché), named Lubsang Tsultrim, called on me. He says, in effect: —

"The P.R. arrived at Kün-gum Monastery from Si-ning the day before yesterday. His dispute in the Shagan foot is not yet decided. I have a letter for you from him."

"D.d.s are usually ~~born~~ reborn nine or ten months after going to the Field, and discovered two or three years after the rebirth. The ~~mong~~

"The Mongols of Inner Mongolia are divided as to whether they prefer China or Japan. Most prefer China, but all recognize that the Japanese have the power, therefore it is of no use to rely on the Chinese."

I, "But have not the Chin. taken away a lot of their land in past times?"

He, "The land was empty land; it was not of much use to the Mongols. [It was their sole livelihood. ~~cas~~] The Chin. offered money to the Mong. Chiefs in exchange for it, & they accepted the money." [Note most of the P.R. representatives in China are pro-Chin; they have received salaries, presents, etc. from China.]

I tell the ~~B~~ Agent that the British Foot have written ~~Perdatt~~ to me objecting to my discussing political matters w. Tibns. they wish every thing to be done through the Political Officer ^{at Lhasa, to be}. ^{"So it will be better"} He ~~shrink~~ ^{says} ~~so please~~ "I say 'in future to discuss all matters with the Political Officer'" He ~~shrinks back~~ ^{shrinks back} as though I had struck him; ~~who is the~~ He asks me whether I can tell him where O'Connor is at present. asks who the present

Political Officer is, though I think he must really know this, & ends by asking where O'Connor is at present. He is deeply annoyed, & for the ^{remainder} of the interview, & ~~my~~ ^{our} next interview w. me, ~~he~~ ^{it} shows his annoyance by discourtesy in language & attitude, something new for me to receive from a Tibetan.

Per Lattimore, 25/5/35. He says in effect:—

"The Outer Mongols look on the Inner Mongols as soft. A Khalka, who fled from Outer to Inner Mongolia, told the Inner Mong. that they could never have ~~stood~~ endured the hard time that the Outer Mong. have under the Soviet system.

"Moscow will not grant a visa, ~~or take~~ to a foreigner in respect of Outer Mongolia. They tell the foreigner to apply to Urga. The Russian military officers in Urga are training officers only; the commanding officers, generals, colonels etc are Mongols. In fact Russia takes up the position that Outer Mongolia is an independent country within certain limits. This is where Russia is so much more successful than Japan. She trusts the Mongols; & the latter are loyal in proportion as they are trusted.

"Also the Russians help the Mongols w. schools, veterinary & other doctors etc.

"Inner Mongolia is having difficulty in ~~having~~ raising revenue. The Chin. Provincial foot levies taxes, wh. are spent on roads, schools etc in the parts settled by Chinese.

"The Inner Mong. are at present asking only that they should not be divided among different provinces, but should be kept together as one province & given provincial autonomy on the same footing as other provinces in China!"

Lattimore tells me that when in ~~the~~ Mongolia he seldom drinks water, but drinks tea as his staple drink.

27/5/35

The Head of the Bureau of Mong. & Tibet Affairs in Peiping calls on me. He was a Prince (wang) of the Harshen tribe in Manchuria. He was deposed by the Jap. & came here. He says in effect: —

"The Jap. in Manchukuo have not increased the taxation on the Mong. but may do so later. They have not given the Mong. self-govt. There are too many Jap. about, telling them what to do & what not to do!"

I "Have they not started schools for the Mongols?"

He "The Chin. ^{also} had schools."

He continues, "The Mong. in Inner Mongolia have their own Council. It works directly under the Prime Minister in Nanking."

"The Mong. in Outer Mongolia have self-govt. of a sort. The poor people have the power, wh. is taken from lamas & officials (pön-po). There are not many Russians in Outer Mongolia; the Red Mong. govern their own country, but on the above lines."

The P. R.'s representative in Peking lives in the city in ~~an~~ a Mong. monastery, wh. has been given to the P. R. The monks ~~do~~ do not live there now. He says that the Mong. of Inner Mongolia, recognizing that the Chin. have no power, but the Jap. have, are inclined to join the latter, in order to protect themselves against the Russians, who destroy the religion & the officers (pön-po).

The Rev. Theo Sorensen, of the China Inland Mission called. He is an old man now, & spends his time on Tibu literary work. He tells me that he had an interview w. the P. R., & asked him questions on religious matters. He says, "I found ~~the~~ Panchen Lama him (the P. R.) only moderately well informed on matters of doctrine, less so than several lamas of much lower position."

31/5/35

Jeannie Fernie took me to see the Wan Shan Hall. There is a series of buildings, a hall, chapel etc. In the hall are statues of the eighteen Lohan, nine on each side. They are gloriously painted in their robes, with rich, enduring colours.

A beautiful quiet retreat. Only one other person, a Chinese, was in the precincts, & he for only a short part of our time there. Apparently the Professors of the Hankin College used to meet here.

~~The~~ I want to visit Inner Mongolia w. Rongye & Capt. Scott, a Language Officer in the British Embassy. But the Chinese authorities, while granting Scott a permit, have refused one to me. The Chin. newspapers write a great deal about me, so severe & are suspicious of me, so several people tell me. They say that I did a great deal in Tibet, & have now come to see China & Mongolia, & ought to be watched. I have informed the British Embassy here (in letter to Sir Eric Teichman) that I ought not to be penalized for carrying out my ~~foot~~ governmental duties faithfully, when Political Officer in Sikkim. I look to the Embassy to support me in this matter. The Chinese papers have published widely my wish to go to Mongolia. If the Chinese ~~foot~~ succeed in preventing me, all will know it, & it will be a blow not only to me, but to our Government also.

7/6/35.

The ~~Ted~~ Dilowa (Telopa as per Wangyal) Hutuktu called. He ~~came~~ ^{as he had been} from Outer Mongolia, from his monastery at Dzapkin, a little south of Uliassutai, five years ago. He says that about four years ago there was a revolt against Soviet rule in Outer Mongolia. But those who rose in revolt ~~had~~ ^{hardly any} arms, ~~and~~ & twenty to thirty thousand of them were killed. However, since then the rule in Soviet system in Outer Mongolia has been eased, The people are now allowed to

7/6/35. Mr Arthur L. Scott, Chinese Secretary, British Embassy, tells me that Mr S. G. Cheng, Special Delegate of Foreign Affairs in Peiping, gave two letters of introduction for myself ^{Capt.} & Scott. One to be given to Mr Yüeh, Mr Cheng's colleague, when we go to see him in Kalgan, the other at Singuan, if we want any thing done for us on our return through there. But the permit to go to Mongolia has apparently to be obtained from the Municipal Government in Peiping, & this latter has been instructed by Nanking not to grant my permit until unless authorized by them (Nanking).

18/6/35 The Chinese govt now agree to my going to Mongolia, provided that I go only to Larson's ranch, & thence on to Peiling Miao, & that Capt. Scott comes with me. I have, of necessity, agreed to these limitations, though I may find when I go to Larson's, that there are two or three other places that I want to see, eg. Dolon Nor, East Sunit. De Wang's palace I shall presumably see on the way to Peiling Miao. For the present an illness detains me from starting.

1/6/35.

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Lunched w. Major Constant, Assistant American ^{military} Attaché. The Mongolian Prince, Tê Wang, was there w. Boi Chan & another of his assistants. The Prince spoke hardly at all.

After lunch, when the Prince had left, we bombarded Lattimore w. questions. He said ~~in effect~~ ^{in effect} that the Japanese have demanded of Tê Wang that

(1) He should remove the seat of government in Inner Mongolia from Peiling Miao to a place near Doboubo which is close to the Mongolia-Manchukuo border

(2) Hsingán Province ^{would} be removed from Manchukuo, & then it with Inner Mongolia would constitute 'Mongolkuo', the independent State of Mongolia, which would be granted full self govt under Jap. suzerainty.

Lattimore thinks that "the Jap. promises, if kept, would ~~be~~ fully satisfy Mongolia. But the Jap. have small hearts; they will not keep these promises, will not give autonomy, but will pour Jap. advisers into Inner Mongolia, who will interfere w. the Mongol govt. And these advisers will not understand the Mongols, because very few Jap. speak Mongol. And the Jap. cannot help interfering; they cannot bring themselves to trust people. And they are by nature bureaucrats, ~~do~~ not trusting their own people on the spot.

"The Soviet Union on the other hand have given the Mongols of Outer Mongolia a great measure of independence, ^{and} though they have forced great social changes on them, have made the change as easy as possible. They have killed

only a few of the lamas, those in key positions; they have said that lamas must be educated, & this education takes the form of teaching in Sovietized schools. But they have brought in veterinary surgeons, who look after the Mongol animals. They do not insist on their learning Russian, as the Japs. ~~do~~ insist on Japanese in Manchukuo. Rather they make them learn Mongol to begin with, & only those who are clever beyond the ordinary are allowed to learn Russian. So that those who are taught Russian are the cleverest, & the learning of Russian ~~has~~ is looked on as a prize. The Russianized Mongols are therefore the cleverest, ^{as well} ~~and~~ the keenest on the Russian connection.

"The Mongols of Inner Mongolia ~~will~~ prefer China to Japan if only ~~so~~ China ~~will~~ grant them provincial autonomy, giving Inner Mongolia the status of a Chinese province. But they have been bargaining w/ China for two years, & still China ~~will~~ comes to no agreement; a fact wh. the Japanese point out to them, & wh. may turn them to Japan."

"It is true that the ~~the~~ Soviet Union made the Mongols poor, ^(Bell) but not as you ^{heard} from Mongols in Tibet —, but the Mongols are better off now. And in any case the Soviet did not impoverish them as much as the Chinese used to do, for the Chinese lent them money at high rates of interest, & so caused them to fall into ~~hopeless debt~~ very heavy debt. When the Russians came, they settled this by repudiating the debts wholesale!"

On 3/6/35 the Pan-chan Lama's Agent called again. He thinks the Mongols on the whole like the Chinese better than the Japanese, but the P.R.'s subordinates are generally pro-Chinese, having received from the Chinese many presents. Still Wangil has expressed the same opinion.

As regards the Chin. officials in Tibet, he says that some are really wicked, but many are good, & several are very good indeed.

He thinks the Jap. will take China as far south as the Yellow River, put the Emperor of Manchukuo on the throne at Peking, & the Emperor in return will give Manchuria to Japan. He thinks that many in North China wd welcome the Emperor being put there on the throne. "Why do not Britain, France & America prevent Japan from doing all these things to China?" he says.

"When you were P.O. in Sikkim," he says, "the British Govt told the Tibet Govt (it was really I who gave them this as my personal advice when I was in the D. L. in ^{Darjeeling} ~~Darjeeling~~ ^{Katimpong} ~~1910-12~~ during 9-10-12) to keep on good terms with the P.R. That was ~~a~~ very good; for several years they did not venture to treat us badly. But gradually they began again to do so. ~~Then~~ Therefore, in the time of your successor, we appealed again to the ~~British~~ ^{British} Govt. But your successor did not represent the matter properly, & we were informed that the ~~the~~ British Govt could not do anything, as the matter was one of internal administration. So the P.R. had to go leave Tibet, & go, not to India, but to China."

5/6/35

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Pao Chan, Agent of Mongolian Council, called on me. He says in effect: _____

"The condition of Inner Mongolia is not very good. We Mongols are simple people, not clever. We ~~do~~ do not want to be the servants of China or Japan; we want to stand on our own feet, & govern ourselves.

The Jap. are coming into our territory more & more; so De Wang has come here, to Peiping, to consult w. the Chinese on the matter.

"The Mongols in Manchukuo are better off under the Jap, than they were under the Chin. But they are not receiving from the Jap, what they were led to believe that they will receive.

do Sem-pa
~~Sung-pa~~

Outer Mongolia. "~~As~~ The ~~Tsum-ba~~ ^{do Sem-pa} Rim-po-che ~~used~~ came from Outer Mongolia several months ago, visited the Pan-chen Rim-po-che. The ~~Te~~-lo-pa Hutuktu was there at the time. The ~~Tsum-ba~~ ^{Sung-pa do Sem-pa} Rim-po-che said that since the last year or two [i.e. since the Japanese took Manchukuo] new customs have been started in Outer Mongolia. The ~~lamas~~ ^{priests & people} are allowed to practice their religion, & the rich are allowed to enjoy their riches"

I, "Do you think this Rim-po-che is telling the truth?"

Pau, "I asked Te-lo-fa Hutuktu whether the Rim-po-che was saying this out of love for the Reds, & Te-lo-fa replied that the Rim-po-che was telling the truth, & did not like the Reds, though his servants might do so."

I, "Where has the Rim-po-che gone now?"

Pau, "To Lhasa, & he has taken a wife w. him."

I, "That will make a scandal; he had better leave her behind a long way out of Lhasa."

During the conversation Pau ^(Pai Chan) remarks, "As you have a British Passport, surely the Chinese cannot prevent you from coming to Mongolia. The British are a powerful people. You do not need a separate paper from the Chinese; just a small entry by them on your passport is enough."

"I heard from Mr. Lareon three months ago that you were coming to Mongolia. He said you were coming to visit the P.R."

~~Discussing~~ w. Wangyal whether the above Rimpoche is telling the truth about Outer Mongolia, ~~to~~ I say why did we not hear about this at Hailar. Wangyal thinks that the Barka Mongols have no knowledge of what has happened in Outer Mongolia during the last two years. But surely the Russians ~~will~~ ^{would} let news ~~the~~ pass through, when it ~~will~~ ^{would} give them a good name outside.

7/6/35

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The Dilowa (as per Lathmore, & Telopas as per Wangil) Huhukhe called on me today. He came here five years ago from his monastery at Dzapkin in Outer Mongolia, a little south of Uliassutai.

He says ^{in effect} that about four years ago "there was a revolt against Soviet rule in Outer Mongolia. Those who rose in revolt had practically no arms, & twenty to thirty thousand of them were killed."

"However, since then the Soviet system in Outer Mongolia has been eased. The people are now allowed to practice their religion, to ~~do~~ trade, & to own property. But he does not think these concessions will last for very long."

"The boundary between Outer & Inner Mongolia is firmly closed. None is allowed to cross into Outer Mongolia, nor out of it."

"An Incarnation Lama, Lo Sem pa Rim po-che, a Tibetan, came from Urga last year & went to Lhasa. He ~~was~~ is about 30 years old. He obtained ^{leave} five years from his monastery in Tibet, but having taken a woman-companion, dared not return to Lhasa as long as the Dalai Lama lived, & so stayed ^{altogether} for twelve years in Urga. I did not see this Lama myself, but an acquaintance of mine saw him. He came from Outer Mongolia with more than fifty servants & a great deal of property. Red Mongol soldiers escorted him as far as the border of Outer Mongolia."

~~Outer Mongolia is rather under Jap~~

J, "Why was this high Lama allowed to remain all this time in Urga?"

Dilowa Hutuktu, "The campaign against the lamas has not yet been completed in Outer Mongolia. ~~From time to time~~ The lamas have not yet been all disposed of. From time to time the Council of Outer Mongolia discusses further action."

J, "Would the Outer Mongols rather be under Russia, or under Japan?"

Dilowa, "They would rather be under anyone ~~than~~ than under Russia."

J, "Would the Inner Mongols prefer to be under China or under Japan?"

Dilowa, "Under Japan. The Chinese government has no power to protect them; & besides, it is untrustworthy."

Per Wangil, 8/6/35.

"The Buriat military officer at Hailar ranks above the Barka Kung. Yes; it is true that the Barka Kung is a Daghor by race; ~~the~~ ^{many} Daghors are ~~very~~ ^{very} well educated, speak Chinese, & read & write Manchu." A few Barka Mongols are recruited as soldiers under the Manchukuo foot, but not ~~a~~ many. It is mostly Buriats who are recruited round Hailar. Many Daghors are recruited. But, on the