### FROM

# PEKING JO PETERSBURG

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### ARNOT REID

WITH FRONTISPIECE AND MAP

LONDON
EDWARD ARNOLD
Publisher to the Andia Office
37 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND
1899

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To

### MY WIFE.

For spur I had one constant thought,

A pleasant thought to me:

That every step the nearer chought

My wand ring feet to thee.

And though the world be fair and wide,

Yet home and love are sweet;

I wrote this story by thy side,

I lat it at thy feet.

### PREFACE.

The record of this journey through Asia does not claim to be a tale of adventure. Although I have travelled a good deal, I am no explorer. I am the average indoors man, and for that reason the story of my journey may correct some misapprehensions. There are many to be corrected. Thus, when I arranged to travel through the continent of Asia, from Peking to St. Petersburg, and told my friends of what I proposed to do, they said I should leave that kind of thing to explorers. People thought that I was about to enter on a difficult and hazardous undertaking, and no one quite believed me when I predicted that the journey would involve no risk and little hardship.

The provocative cause of this journey was a very matter-of-fact one. I was at Singapore, midway between India and China, and I had already travelled from Singapore to London by way of Japan and America, and by way of the Suez Canal. Desiring to travel homewards again, I wished to do so by a different route. That was the initial reason, but also, as one deeply interested in the political outlook in Asia, I wished to traverse the old routes of overland trade, and to judge of the uses and possibilities of the new Trans-Siberian Railway.

I made my journey with rase and in the time that I allowed myself. From reking to Petersburg took fifty days. With a little preparation in advance, and with much labour, it could be done in thirty days; but in my case such speed was impracticable. And now I seek to bring to the notice of the public a route that is little known, that is full of interest, and that leads one through parts of the world that are much in the public mind.

Let me add that in dealing with the people and the incidents, and in drawing the lessons, of this journey, I had the advantage of having travelled previously in many parts of Asia, and of having had ample opportunity to know something of the Chinese race. Thus, I did not enter on the journey unprepared for the incidents of Asiatic travel; and I did enter on it in the firm belief that one could penetrate China, could cross 'the dread Desert of Gobi,' and could travel through Siberia, with no greater hardship than might suffice to sharpen one's appetite for dinner, and with less risk than might attend a foreigner in some parts of London. It support of that theory I offer the simple story of my travels.

ARNOT REID.

WESTMINSTPR, LONDON, January, 1899.

Two chapters of this book consist, in part, of articles that were written for, and were published in, the *Times*. Five chapters consist, in part, of articles that were written or the *Straits Times*, and were simultaneously published in that newspaper, in the *Queen*, and in some other journals of Britain and of Asia.

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## FROM PEKING TO PETERSBURG

### CHAPTER I.

#### AT PEKING.

Peking is a great city, much in want of repair. You can see at once that it is a city that has been founded—as in contradistinction to one that has grown. Further, you can see that the men who laid out—Peking were men of generous ideas—generous after the fashion of their day and generation. Inevitably the European who rides through Peking for the first time contrasts it with any other great Chinese city he has known—in my case Canton. The difference is great. Canton is a specimen of a city that has grown in answer to mercantile needs. Consequently it has not one spacious street, and not one 'lung.' It is merely an accumulation of lane added to lane.

Peking, on the other hand, is a city built four-square, approached and traversed by several roads that were meant to be great highways. In the

centre is the Imperial City, some part of which you may visit, skirting the great wall of the inner centre, the Forbidden City, the Palace, where the helpless Emperor reigns but does not rule. Outside of and surrounding the Imperial City is the Manchu City, originally occupied exclusively by the ruling classes and their dependents. Beyond, again, is the Chinese City—the city of the trader.

Each of these cities is complete within its own walls. In the centre is the Forbidden City, walled and moated; next the Imperial City, also walled; next the Manchu City, also walled; and beyond is the Chinese City, with the Great Wall enclosing it and, so to speak, re-enclosing all the other

The chief effect of the walls nowadays is to impede the circulation of air. If these walls were destroyed, and part of their stonework were used to macadamize the roads, Beking might become the healthy capital of a vigorous empire. Such a change would symbolize everything else. But, even as things are, there is little doubt that the Forbidden City, with its spacious lawns and lakes, is the saving condition in the health of Peking, just as the same Forbidden City, with its ancient glamour, is the cement that holds together the Chinese Empire.

It may be convenient to explain here how one gets to Peking. I do not address that explanation to the quiet family man at home, for he is not likely suddenly to say to his wife: 'My dear, let us go to

Peking this year.' But the earth is being girdled yearly by thousands of 'globe-trotters,' who buy a ticket that takes them from London or New York right round the world. And yet few of them see Peking. Indeed, very few of those who live in the East ever see Peking. Yet Peking is worth seeing, and can easily be seen, assuming always that the would-be visitor is already in the Far East.

That being assumed, let us also assume that he (or she) is already at Shanghai, the terminal port of the P. and O. Company, and in close connection with the routes of the Pacific steamer lines. From Shanghai you take a local English-managed steamship, and, if you select it with good local advice, you will get food, liquor, and accommodation nearly as good as on the best mail lines. That steamer will take you north, along the Chinese coast, past Kiaochau, round the jutting-out corner of the Shantung promontory, and into the Gulf of Pethi-li. It may probably give you a few hours at Wei-hai-wei and Chifu. It will then carry you on to Taku, at the mouth of the Pei-ho River, the time from Shanghai being about four days. A railway will then take you in an hour and a half to Tientsin, where you can stay awhile, or you may simply change carriages for Peking.

The journey from Tientsin to Peking takes three and a half hours by express train, and you may make it in the mail car run by the Imperial Customs

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—a car as comfortable as any Pullman or Wagner car in America or England. But, if so, avoid buying a railway ticket, for the Customs Department collects its money aboard its own car, and declines to recognise or allow for any money you have paid to the railway company. The railway, as yet, does not take you to Peking walls, but only delivers you on a sandy plain four miles short of the city. There you mount a pony, mule, or donkey, and ride into and through the city until you are delivered at the door of your friends (if you have any), or at the Hôtel de Peking.

Everything in the journey is easy if you procure at Shanghai or Tientsin a servant who speaks English and Pekingese Chinese. With that provision made, the 'globe trotter' may get to Peking easily, even if he have with him a wife and daughter and an English maid. Without a servant you can also go quite easily, provided you are able to give orders without words.

Thus in five or six days from Shanghai you are in a city that is perhaps more talked of and less known than any other great capital.

I saw a great deal of Peking—more than I intended, save for certain reasons that enforced a longer stay. Temples and tombs, observatories and pagodas, one becomes wearied of. Always one is sickened by the same signs of decay. You go to a great structure of solid stone, white marble, and

curious bronze, beautifully designed, richly carved, a magnificent memory of the days when China was governed by men; but all this work, so rich and rare, is in decay, and often in filth. That is not for want of custodians. There are custodians in plenty. They are not unenergetic, either, when tips are in view; but to sweep, or clean, not to speak of repairing, is beyond their ideas. The public buildings of Peking are characteristic of the Chinese Empire. The whole is falling to decay for lack of public spirit.

The period of my visit, the latter half of August, is not the best period to visit Peking. I selected that time because Peking was to me only the starting-point for my journey through Mongolia and Siberia; and for that journey it was necessary to start from Peking in August if one sought, when travelling, the autumnal coolness, yet not the winter cold.

But Peking in August is a much pleasanter place than I was led to suppose. During the time I stayed in Peking the shade temperature in my bedroom ranged from 70° Fahr. in the early morning to 85° in the afternoon. Having regard to the site and the plan of the Hôtel de Peking, I assume that in a spacious room in one of the legations the temperature would be rather less. The heat, further, is a dry heat, and is consequently much less fatiguing than the heat that the traveller will

experience when approaching Peking in summer, whether by way of Singapore and Shanghai or of Japan. But, in any case, the traveller who desires to visit Peking in the most comfortable conditions should rather choose September or October for his stay.

The dust of the streets of Peking, or, as it may be, the mud, is pretty bad, but, like most things, it is not so bad as one is told. As for odours—well, there are odours, but the wonder is that the odours are so few when one recollects that the city is practically without municipal regulations. Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, are governed with all the machinery of English administration, and you smell them in the by-streets pretty much as you do Peking—that is to say, you small a bad odour occasionally. But, as compared with the customary Chinese town—as compared with Cantor, as compared with the native city at Shanghai—Peking is clean. Knock down the walls, pave the roads, remove the refuse, and you would make it a fine city.

It has much the same advantages that London has obtained from being a city of royal residence. The Forbidden City has its parallel in the open spaces that begin in Kensington Gardens and extend to Charing Cross by way of Hyde Park, St. James's and the Mall Enclose these parks with a high wall, and you would make the West End of London topographically like the Manchu

district of Peking." Make the Forbidden City into public parks, and you convert the Manchu district of Peking into a new 'West End.' Somebody will do it some day. The question is whether that semebody will be Mongolian, Anglo? Saxon, or Slavonic.

Reking is not one of the large cities of the world. At one time it was supposed to be so. Travellers talked of two millions of people; then they spoke of a million; then the estimates were cut down to three-quarters of a million, or less. Personally, I do not believe Peking contains half a million. Apart from such great open spaces as those of the Forbidden Lity, most of the Manchu City is a city of small open spaces. There is no close building, and there is no high building. Each house has its courtyard. The great houses have many courtyards. At Li Hung Chang's house I went through half a dozen different courtyards before I arrived at His Excellency's reception-room. It was the same, in differing degree, with other Chinese-built houses that I visited; while, in riding through the streets with a guide, one ascertained that some huge stretch of blank wall enclosed but one man's house. He might, it is true, have many wives, concubines, and servants; but, after all, that could only mean a few hundred people within a space that might house many thousands.

Peking is not a populous city. It is a city designed

as the seat of a great government; a city designed with a liberal hand and a generous mind; a city that has been decaying ever since it was built, and yet a city that could easily be repaired. Of all the capital cities of the world, it is the most typical of the land that it professes to govern, and of the reason why it fails to govern. Within the walls of Peking, and without books, you can read the past and gauge the future of China. It turns on one point. Who is to repair Peking, and all that Peking typifies?

In journeying through and around Peking you may ride a pony, a mule, or a donkey; or you may sit in a springiess two-wheeled covered cart. That vehicle I did not try save for a few minutes; but it is not uncomfortable, for although the cart has no springs there are springs to the seat. Chierly one rides a mule or a pony. That also is the approved conveyance for outside excursions; such as to the hills where the legations have summer quarters, or to the famous Ming tombs. The latter is a three days' excursion of hard riding all the time; but no doubt it could be done with greater ease in a longer time. In all such near excursions the custom is that your baggage and food are carried in carts or on mules, and that you sleep at wayside inns that provide space and shelter only. It is, therefore, a great matter to choose a personal servant who can cook, and who will bustle things.

Many of the temples with which Peking abounds are not kept chiefly for worship, for for the accommodation of the priesthood. Some, indeed, are so maintained, and to one or two of these access is difficult. But the average temple is also let for the accommodation of visitors. Li-Hung-Chang, for instance, has no Peking house. \*He hires the chief part of a temple. It was there he received me. The statesman's household seemed pretty well scattered throughout the numerous courtyards and buildings of the temple. Waiting-rooms and reception-rooms were quaintly and incongruously furnished with Chinese objects of art, mingled with presents received by Li on his round-the-world tour. Here was an oil-painting showing Li himself seated in a Belgian park, watching the trial of quick-firing artillery. There was a scroll, hand-written by the Empress-Dowager, setting forth her recognition of Li's virtues, and her wishes for his long life and prosperity.

It was about half-past five in the afternoon, and His Excellency, who had just come in from his day's work at the Tsung-li-Yamen, explained that first he must be excused if he at once proceeded to take some extract of beef. He lived on that, he said. Simultaneously tea and cigarettes were served, and conversation proceeded through the medium of his secretary.

It may perhaps be proper to flote here that away

previously I had had much interesting talk with the secretary, who is known as an accomplished scholar and a most upright man; and it may, therefore, be assimed that His Excellency's polite recognition of the individuality of his visitor was not entirely spontaneous. But the use of such secretarial prompting is part of the machinery of statecraft. It is in the game; and Li was playing it very courteously when he remembered to have met me.

Li-Hung-Chang then, according to his wellknown custom, proceeded to a series of pointed questions. Age, birthplace, means of livelihood, why I came to Peking, and what I hoped to gain thereby, were included in the examination. The comments on the answers were shrewd, and were, no doubt, justified by the age of the speaker.

But Li was more interesting when he ceased from questioning, and proceeded to discussion, chiefly of his own age and prospects of life. He put it most plainly that he had been much distressed at the death of 'my friends, Mr. Gladstone and Prince Bismarck,' and that these two deaths had warned him that his own end must be drawing near. I naturally pointed out that he was a good bit younger than the other two statesmen, and His Excellency assented to that very promptly, giving the precise number of years by which he was junior. The conversation, which proceeded for some time on such lines, made it, at all events, abundantly

clear that Li-Hung-Chang is desirous to live as long as he can, and to be fit for work all the time. Enough was said to make it clear that His Excellency Li-Hung-Chang is as eager to cling to power as ever were Mr. Gladstone and Prince Bismarck.

### CHAPTER II.

### FOREIGNERS AT PEKING.

THE society of the foreign community in Peking is a small but interesting one. First in point of precedence, as in point of importance, we have the foreign ministers, with their wives, secretaries and assistants. These ministers, naturally, have the best of what Peking affords. The legations are handsome and commodious houses, situated, almost invariably, in spacious grounds. Very frequently the substantial part of the legation house is an old temple. It is so, for instance, at the British and at the Russian legations, and in both cases some ingenuity has been exercised in converting the temples of Chinese gods to the domestic uses of the foreigners. At the British legation all the dominant features of Chinese temple architecture have been retained untouched, so that you approach the presence of the British Minister through a hall that might be, and that was, the entrance to a Buddhist shrine. Around the main body of the temple, in the spacious and wooded grounds

of the legation, various minor and modern buildings have been erected; for the population attached to the legation is now large. The legation was, so to speak, the seat of a village, even when I was in Peking, and yet there were expected to arrive after I had left Peking no less than nineteen young gentlemen who were to study Chinese, in order to qualify for posts in the British consular service. Accommodation was to be found somewhere for these nineteen young men, while, as my later information tells me, this considerable legation population was going to be increased after a few weeks by the arrival of a detachment of British marines.

The Russian legation is an equally handsome building in equally spacious grounds, and if the Russian population of civil servants proper was somewhat smaller than the British, the quantity of guards, servants, and the like, at the time of my visit, was greater. And a few weeks afterwards, as we all know, a number of Cossacks arrived to swell the Russian strength. At the legations, other than the British, Russian, and American, I was not a visitor; but one could not go about the town without seeing these houses much in evidence, nor could one frequent the Peking Club without having the pleasure to meet diplomatists and their wives, sisters, cousins and aunts. The diplomatic body, in a word, is necessarily the life, the soul, and the heart of Peking foreign society. It is probably the most

purely diplomatic society of any great city in the world.

Second only in importance to the diplomatists we have Sir Robert Hart and the principal men of his customs service. Of Sir Robert Hart, who was absent from Peking at the time of my visit, it is unnecessary to speak in terms of praise, since he is one of those whom all men delight to honour. It may, however, be relevant to notice, as an impression gathered from conversation in Peking, that Sir Robert tends to display that defect of character which, unless it be guarded against, is too apt to show itself in very strong and very self-contained men. His fule, having regard to his advancing age and to the possibilities of life and death, is too, much a one-man rule. It was, as I have said, my misfortune to find that Sir Robert Hart was absent from Peking; but for a number of years previously it was said that he never passed the city walls, and during the whole of that time he was, of course, at work day by day, himself directing and deciding everything. That, of course, is a dangerous situation in which to place the customs service. With all deference to Sir Robert's great ability and force of character, the impression left on my mind by conversation in Peking is that one of the best services Sir Robert could do would be to take a holiday trip home, and to discover on his return to China how far the custons service coula or could not do without him.

After the diplomatists and the customs men, the most notable of the foreign permanent residents of Peking are obviously the managers of the two banks. .The branch of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation is under the charge of Mr. Hillier, who has been there for many years, and who is universally regarded as perhaps the chief expert in the financial and business ways of the Chinese Government and its officials. No doubt the more important business of the bank at Peking, the negotiation of great loans and the like, is under the initiative of Mr. Jackson, the chief manager at Hong Kong. That goes' without saying, for no bank lends £8,000,000 in a lump sum save by the personal intervention of the chief manager. But, equally truly, all the negotiations for such business, and other business of the same class, must necessarily pass through the hands of the Peking agent; and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank is exceedingly fortunate in being so well represented. Mr. Hillier is a persona grata to everyone in Peking, even to those who are his business antagonists. A newer arrival in the arena in Peking is Mr. Pokotiloff, the Peking manager of the Russo-Chinese Bank. Of him I can only say that I found him an agreeable, charming, and helpful man, and that in discussing international subjects he spoke in the nicest way of everybody and everything, except of the Times and of the Times' Peking correspondent. In dealing with

these two subjects Mr. Pokotiloff's tone \*truck me as bitter, to the point of acute personal annoyance. Perhaps the *Times* will accept that as a compliment, but Mr. Pokotiloff did not intend it so.

Of the present European community of Peking, not being really residents there, the most notable during my visit was the correspondent of the Times. He was the first man I saw in Peking, partly because he and I are members of the same calling, and partly for other reasons. And, since the Times' correspondent at Peking has been so much in the eye of the world during the year 1898, since he has been, indeed, a considerable political force—since by the excellence and accuracy of his information he has won the attention of the whole world-it may be well to say something of his personality. Morrison is a young man-not much, I think, above thirty years of age-and be was not by training a journalist. He is by birth an Australian, by profession a doctor of medicine, and-by inclination a traveller in unknown lands. He seems to be in that respect much the same kind of man as Dr. Sven Hedin, whose explorations in Asia have won for him the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

It was, as it seems to me, through certain almost accidental connections, followed by the wise judgment of the management of the Times, that Dr. Morrison—then travelling in the hinterland of Siam

—was sent to Peking, where he has been the most noted success of 1898 journalism. He is a quiet and very modest man, of whom you would not imagine that he was so eminently suited to fulfil the work of gathering news in a community where news is difficult to gather. But the results speak for him. Nor did he buy his news. Assuming, as I think everyone assumed, that some of the *Times*' exclusive information must have been obtained for money, I said so, not as one asking a question, not as one seeking information, but as one conversationally mentioning an obvious inference.

Dr. Morrison was prompt to contradict me. Speaking, as one may say, in the fashion of a man whose feelings had been somewhat hurt—speaking most earnestly, and, as I am sure, speaking with the most absolute truthfulness—he said:

During all the time I have been in Peking I have not spent one dollar in buying news, nor would I do so.'

Accepting that statement, a statement to the credit alike of the speaker and of the newspaper which he represents. I can only add, as a journalist, that Dr. Morrison's success as a correspondent is still more phenomenal. There were other newspaper correspondents in Peking, doing their work zealously and earnestly, calling at the legations each morning, eagerly enxious to do their best; but I do not know that any of them have succeeded in gaining

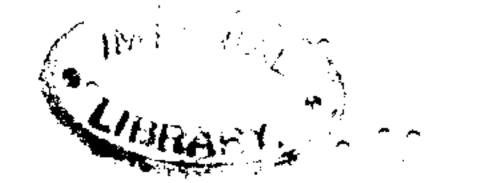
the public ear. It may be added, perhaps, as a final note on the good qualities of the Times man, that, though he must have been a sore thorn in the flesh of the British Legation, he was nevertheless on perfectly friendly terms there. At the time of my visit he was acting temporarily and, of course, in an honorary capacity as physician to the legation, and was attending with zealous and unremitting devotion, night after night, to the British military attaché, who was seriously ill.

Turning from newspaper men to the great body of concessionaires or concession-hunters, the most notable of these were two members of Parliament, Mr. Pritchard Morgan and Mr. Macdona. former, who had been in Peking for many months, engaged, I believe, on mining business, had settled himself in a house near the Club; and the latter, who was engaged on railway matters, was staying in the same hotel as myself. I am sure that both these gentlemen were at Peking in the honest desire to promote the interests of British trade; but some of us would be better pleased if members of Parliament did not go to Peking for such purposes. Clearly there is nothing wrong in an English capitalist sitting down at Pelaing to watch over the interests of railway or mining concessions; but many of us would prefer that the persons who do so should not be members of our Parliament. It is difficult to explain all the reasons for that view, but there are reasons.

Another interesting section of the foreign community was typified by a British military officer from India, who travelled with me on the way to Peking, and who was going to stay there for a time, for the purpose of studying the Chinese language and ways. He was to be reinforced by others intent on the same purpose. The spirit in which these gentlemen are settling themselves temporarily in Peking is greatly to the credit of their professional enterprise. They must be of the Indian Staff Corps, of the Royal Engineers, or of the Indian Medical Service. After passing, in Burmah, a simple preliminary examination in Chinese, they get a year's leave to proceed to Peking, and during that period they get the pay and allowances of their rank, but no allowance for travelling expenses, the pay of teachers, and such-like costs. After nine months' residence in Peking, they will be examined there in colloquial Chinese by the First Secretary at the legation, when each man who 'passes' will get 1,000 rupees and a free passage to and from Burmah, but the man who fails shall get nothing. The object of such officers, however, is clear. They hope that the time will come when a considerable body of northern Chinese will be called into existence as an armed force, under the control of British officers. Naturally, if such an army be created, any British officer who can speak Chinese will obtain a post in preference to an officer who cannot speak

Chinese; and that is why these zealous and enterprising officers are content to spend a furlough in Peking.

Among the other foreign residents whom I met. at Peking, none was more interesting to me than Mr. Pethick, who has been for so many years confidential secretary and translator to the famous Li-Hung-Chang. Mr. Pethick is an American who drifted to Chisa many, many years ago, and who has remained there in Li-Hung-Chang's service. Mr. Pethick is an exceedingly agreeable, well-read, and keen-sighted man, and it is, I fancy, chiefly by his assistance that Li-Hung-Chang has obtained so much reputation as an intelligent student of foreign affairs. Li-Hung-Chang, as we alloknow, can neither read nor speak any language except Chinese, and in all international matters his information comes to him through Mr. Pethick, who, however, for various reasons did not accompany His Excellency on the latter's tour round the world. It was, I suppose, considered that on such an occasion it would be more dignified for Li-Hung-Chang to have a Chinese interpreter. Nevertheless, it remains that Mr. Pethick has been for twenty years or more Li-Hung-Chang's confidential secretary and friend. They have had their quarrels during that time. On the last occasion when they had a difficulty, Mr. Pethick, who lives in a pavilion attached to the temple that Li-Hung-



Chang uses as a Peking residence, removed himself from his residence, and left Li-Hung-Chang's house, as he supposed finally. He did more: he left Peking and went down to Tientsin. It was there that Li-Hung-Chang sent many messengers begging Mr. Pethick to return; but the latter, very sensibly, refused to do so, unless he were brought back in such a fashion as to strengthen his position in Li-Hung-Chang's household Accordingly the chair used by the great man himself was sent to meet the secretary, who was brought back to the house with all due honours, and has remained there ever since. Mr. Pethick is not to be seen much in the general society at Peking. That, I fancy, may partly arise from his own feeling that, in his capacity as the confidential adviser of the Chinese statesman, as one living in a Chinese household, he has to some extent detached himself from the life, aims, and movements of his own race. But although Mr. Pethick is not to be seen much in general society, he is known and respected by all the foreign community. He leads a quiet, studious, useful, and self-contained life, and people who do not know Mr. Pethick scarcely understand all the conditions and circumstances that have governed Li-Hung-Chang's proficiency in foreign affairs.

Having described the foreign society of Peking, it may be as well to add something as to how that society lives, and moves, and meets. The formal social life of the community is, of course, organized at Peking as elsewhere on an interchange of dinners. But there is much informal and agreeable intercourse. Lawn-tennis parties in the legation grounds are very frequent, and everybody meets everybody else at the Peking Club, which is a pleasant little building, with three lawn-tennis courts of beaten earth, and with the usual other club accommodation. Peking society plays tennis, billiards, and whist at the Club every afternoon. Also there is a racecourse some few miles from the town, and although the chief supporters of that are, no doubt, the English community, yet everybody takes a hand in it, and most people keep ponies in training for the appointed race-meetings.

For travellers, as temporary residents, there is the Hôtel de Peking, under French management—a hotel where the cooking is better than one usually gets in an Eastern hotel.

During the very hot weather of the summer all the ministers occupy from time to time their residences—converted temples—on the hills near Peking, varied in more recent years by a residence at the pleasant seaside resort of Pei-tai-ho, about 150 miles northwards on the coast, and readily reached by a railway that at present ends there.

It will be seen that the Peking community is a sufficiently varied one in its character, while, from the frequent change of ministers, it is also varied in its personality. Of course, in so small a community, and amidst the strain of competing diplomatic interests, it may be admitted that the relations between the various members of the community may sometimes become a little strained. The smooth social life no doubt glosses over many antagonistic attitudes. The little game of diplomatic fence is in practice on the most unexpected occasions, of which I myself had an amusing experience.

I had been led to believe that M. Pavlov, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, would be the best person to obtain for me an order from the Tsung-li-Yamen to the Mongolian headmen to supply me with transport through Mongolia. The reason of that belief is that the Russian overland mail is carried by an arrangement with the Mongol headmen, and of the subsidy which the Tsung-li-Yamen pays to those headmen, one half, I am told, is provided by the Russian Government. M. Pavlov very properly advised me that the formal application to the Tsungli-Yamen should be made through my own minister; but he added the inaccurate (although, as it at first seemed, the amiably intended) information that the application could not be granted even if it were made. He informed me that the form of order that I desired—a very definite and positive order—had not been given to any European, except an official travelling to or from his post. I had no reason to

doubt that that statement was made to me in good faith, although since then I think I have discovered that M. Pavlov ought to have been aware that such an order was obtained by Dr. Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer.

Accepting M. Pavlov's statement as made in good faith, and knowing that if I did not get the order my journey would be much slower than I desired, I naturally proceeded, conversationally, to ask M. Pavlov's advice. That advice, given with an appearance of much diplomatic reluctance, amounted in substance to an informal suggestion that I should invite Sir Claude Macdonald to write a private note to M. Pavlov requesting M. Pavlov to support at the Tsung-li-Yamen the formal application that Sir Claude would make for me. When we got to that point of the conversation, it occurred to me that M. Pavlov was simultaneously underrating my patriotism and Sir Claude Macdonald's intelligence, and I forthwith proceeded to change the conversation to 'the weather and the crops.' Although I told Sir Claude Macdonald of M. Pavlov's remarkable suggestion, I certainly did not have the folly to hint that it should be acted on. On the contrary, I was quite content that my application to the Tsungli-Yamen should be made by the British Minister, and all the explanation that I thought that application needed I myself made in conversation with Li-Hung-Chang. But I thanked M. Pavlov for his

advice, and before I left Peking I had the pleasure to call to thank him again for various letters of introduction to Siberian officials, and to explain how glad I was that it had not been necessary to trouble him further with my little affair.

Before passing from the foreign community of Peking, it may be convenient to say something of the danger that they are supposed to incur from Chinese hatred to foreigners.

While I am writing this book, foreign troops, as we all know, are stationed at the legations in Peking for the protection of the ministers. Now, I am not prepared to suggest that the presence of these foreign troops is unnecessary. Since I left Peking the palace revolution (or shall we call it the Manchu revolution?) has materially changed the situation. But when I was in Peking the foreigner alone in Peking streets at nightfall was as safe as he would be in Piccadilly, and a great deal safer than he would be in some districts of London. I dined out occasionally in Peking, and after dinner, the nights being calm and pleasant, I usually walked home alone, save for the presence of a Chinese boy with a lantern. The boy, it is pretty obvious, was not there as an escort, but merely to show the path, so that one might not tumble into some ditch or mud puddle. Nor did this walking the streets of Peking at night arise from any foolhardiness on my part. Other people were doing the same. No one

dreamt of imagining that there was any danger. The town was considered to be perfectly safe; and it was safe. The feeling of the people was supposed to be quite friendly; and it was friendly. Foreigners moved about with all the ease, freedom, and safety with which they might move in their own native streets.

Thus, with a fairly mixed and pleasant society, with hill and seaside resorts, with some amusements, and with frequent changes of personality, the foreigners of Peking lead their lives. If I am asked whether that life be desirable as a whole, I can, perhaps, best reply by quoting and adapting the words that Sir Edwin Arnold addressed to me years ago.

'I think,' said Sir Edwin, speaking with that fulness of style that used to characterize the Daily Telegraph leaders—'I think that you will not regret having chosen to adopt the journalistic life. It may not always be profitable. It may not always be happy. But it is always interesting.'

### CHAPTER III.

#### TO THE OUTER WALD.

THE first portion of the great overland journey from • East to West was at once the shortest, the easiest and the slowest. From Peking we set forth as a caravan of three Europeans, one Chinese servant, six Chinese mule-drivers, and thirteen ponies, mu'es and donkeys. That was on August 24, with a shade temperature, in the early morning, of 72° Fahrenheit. Although our personal baggage had been cut down as low as possible, yet it had to be maintained at such a quantity as would, at a later date, permit us to face the volder weather of the Mongolian heights. Further, we carried all the European provisions and liquors that we expected to need until we arrived at Irkutsk, 1,450 miles distant, nor could we expect any change of transport animals till we should reach Kalgan (or Chan-kia-kow), the "City of the Wall," from 130 to 135 miles distant, to the north and west.

To get ahead of our baggage and food-stuffs would have been useless, so that our progress was

measured by that of the loaded mules, conditioned as that was by the state of the roads. The distances covered in miles each day were about twenty for the first day (when we started late), twenty-five for the second day, thirty-three miles each for the third and fourth, and twenty for the half-day on which we finished.

Given a knewledge of the road and of the ways of the people—Teven such a knowledge as I now possess-I would regard four days as the maximum period for that part of the journey, while with a more thorough knowledge of the people and the language, and an extra courier or servant to precede one in the very early morning, the distance could be comfortably covered in three days. But, in noting the time taken by this journey from Peking to Petersburg, it should be observed that neither my travelling companions nor myself had any previous knowledge of the districts in which we were journeying, or of the language of the people, or of the methods of transport; and that from Peking to Kalgan we did not meet, nor did we expect to meet, anyone who spoke any European language. It is only fair to add that neither did we expect to meet so much helpfulness, civility, and general goodnature as we did meet.

For the first two days of our journey we were within the 'tourist belt,' because our road lay towards the Ming tombs and the so-called Great Wall at

Pa-ta-ling—which, however, is only a modern wall built in more recent times, when a decaying dynasty had seen fit to abandon the country between that point and the original Great Wall that runs on the hill-tops north of Kalgan. Therefore, for two days we were not objects of curiosity, save in a moderate degree, an excursion so far being in the programme of most foreigners who visit Peking. • But after that point we passed through a country where Europeans are not frequently seen, and at night, in the native inns, we were much gazed at. But always the people were polite and helpful.

That we found inns everywhere between Peking and Kalgan may be better understood when it is remembered that we were travelling on the great highway, over which passes all the overland trade between Russia and China. That trade is probably not so great as once it was, in so far as the tea trade is now partly conducted by Russian steamers sailing from China ports to Odessa; but it is still very great, there being several Russian firms established at Kalgan for the purpose of examining, repacking and forwarding the tea and other products that come up from the valleys to pass through Mongolia to Siberia by camel caravan.

But much more important than that is the volume of Chinese-Mongolian internal traffic, consisting of the interchange of furs, hides, wool, and hemp for tea, and silk, and manufactured goods both of Chinese and European origin. Of the monetary value of this traffic it is, of course, impossible to get statistics, but there was no day between Peking and Kælgan that we did not meet or pass at least 1,000 loaded mules and donkeys, carrying products carefully packed for long journeys.

Besides these pack animals, there is large traffic in sheep, ponies, mules, and the like; and there is the purely local sbusiness of such cities as Hsuanhua-fu (a centre of local government for the province), and Kalgan, which latter is the distributing centre for the Mongolian trade and the caravan route. Hsuan-hua-fu, for instance, is only twenty miles from Kalgan, and yet each is a city of about 100,000 people.

The inns are the inns of the East—the inns that prevail everywhere in Asia, though the average tourist does not see them. Let me describe one of these Chinese inns. Turning sharp off the main street of the town, and passing through a gateway in a mud wall, you find yourself in a courtyard. One side is occupied by several rooms for guests. At one end of each room, filling about a third of the space, is a matted daïs, raised about two feet high. Built under the daïs is a fireplace of brick. On the daïs is a small table standing about six inches high.

The travellers spread their bedding on the daïs and sleep there, or they squat cross-legged on the

daïs and cat their food from the six-inch-high table that rests there. The larger portion of the room, the space not occupied by the daïs, has a floor of beaten earth, and it may contain a table or a couple of chairs, or it may contain nothing. Its purpose is to store the travellers' baggage or merchandise. On the other three sides of the courtyard are stables for the pack animals, and a kitchen used by everyone.

As the inn is enlarged to meet increased traffic there may be added to it additional courtyards, or corner-pieces, or long alleys, as the proprietor is able to buy or lease ground, but the principle of the extension is the same as that of the original design. The inn lets to the traveller stable accommodation and a place where he may lay his bedding, and it provides him with the use of a kitchen and of a well. That is all in theory. The traveller must bring, and often does bring, his own food and forage. ought to draw his own water, and himself boil it; but in practice, and under pressure of traffic, the inns have fallen into the way of keeping for sale a quantity of forage and of food, such as mutton, fowls, and eggs, and the caretakers or servants of the inn supply water drawn from the well and boiled over the common fire.

At every Chinese inn at which we stopped boiling water was brought as soon as we alighted, in order that we might refresh ourselves with tea, which we were supposed to have with us; and if we hadn't tea

(as by outrunning our baggage), the tea was promptly supplied, and afterwards paid for by our servant when he settled the bill. For that purpose the payments were all in copper cash, each being of the value of about the tenth part of a halfpenny.

All the inns at which we stopped between Peking and Kalgan were built of beaten mud and Poofed with beaten mud; the floors were of beaten mud; the stables and the mangers were of the same material. Wood, which is dear, was only in use for doorways and window-frames. The latter were latticed, and the lattices were in part blank and in part papered over. As the weather got colder, more and more of the lattices would be papered up, until in winter (as I fancy) fresh air would be practically excluded. My custom was to examine the window-frames, and if I thought there was not enough air-space, I made as much more as I thought fit by poking holes in the paper with my walking-stick. No objection was made, for paper is cheap.

These inns, of course, have no sanitary arrangements of any kind, but they are, nevertheless, kept moderately clean by the fact that cattle manure is in great demand for cementing the dried mud of which the houses are built. Of bathing arrangements there are none, the custom being for the traveller's servant to bring into his room a metal basin containing a quart or two of water.

But there is no difficulty in bathing if you are so minded. You can get a pailful of water as easily as not, and a little water spilled on an earthen floor does no harm. In my own case, as I like to splash water about, I made our Chinese servant on the first evening get a pailful of cold water and a pailful of hot water, and take them to the corner where our mules were stabled; then, following the Malay custom (the Malay wears, even when bathing, a sarong, or thin cloth falling from the waist), I first soaped myself in sections, and then I soused the water over me in small bucketsful. And after the first day, understanding what I wanted, the necessary water was provided without much further trouble.

The third day out from Peking may be taken as fairly typical of this part of the journey. We had slept at Ch'a-tao, beyond the inner Great Wall, and some 2,000 feet above the sea-level. Still, however, it was hot, with an early morning temperature of 70°.

We were awaked at 5 a.m. There followed a hasty repacking of our clothes, and a light breakfast of tea and bacon and eggs, and by six o'clock we were all on the way. At first, before the sun grew very strong, we walked or rode, and, later, subsided into the covered mule-chairs provided against heat or wet. At a little after ten o'clock, having covered about seventeen miles, we called a halt at Huai-lai-

hsien, a considerable town, where we found just such an inn as I have described.

Tea was brought at once; then the baggage arrived, and was opened, and our Chinese servant produced a meal of cold meat, cold eggs, bread, butter, jam, biscuits, soda-water, and whisky. This lunch discussed, and a cigar smoked, and it was about time to start, the whole party getting under way again precisely at noon.

Between that hour and a quarter past five o'clock we made another sixteen or seventeen miles, the road being, as it happened, more difficult than in the morning, and then called a halt at another considerable town called Sha-Cheng. The general order to the 'boy' was that he should devote himself solely to preparing dinner by seven o'clock, and that we would handle our personal baggage and the like. Between the hour of arrival and the hour of dinner we strolled through the town, unpacked a change of clothing, rolled out our bedding on the daïs, bathed, changed our dress, and made such notes on the journey as occurred to us.

For dinner we ordered from the local market good mutton, sometimes beef, and always eggs, while from our own stores there were produced tinned meats, biscuits, sugar, coffee, and jam, with aerated waters, claret, and whisky. Dinner was eaten indoors by candle-light, and after dinner we smoked in the courtyard and talked till bed-time. That was

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usually about nine o'clock, and from then till dawn we slept the sleep of the tired.

On this part of our journey we had the good fortune to be favoured with the best of weather, except that it was intensely hot in the sun. Our lowest temperature was 65°; but as to our highest, the fact that it did not exceed 78° in the shade scarcely expresses the real facts of the case. All three of us had been for some years accustomed to regions where a shade temperature of 78° would be reckoned as an exceedingly cool day. But between Peking and Kalgan there are certainly not five miles of roadway that are in any way shaded; and with a burning sun, in clear air, direct sun-heat has to be reckoned with.

Nevertheless we reckoned ourselves happy to have escaped all rain, although sometimes the dust was very unpleasant. Only at one point, the head of the Nankau Pass, at a height of 2,000 feet, did we meet a cold mountain wind, that put new life into us. But descending to the valley on the other side of the range we lost the mountain wind, nor did we recover again until, after traversing another valley, we ascended again to Kalgan, which stands about 2,500 feet high, but which is itself about 2,500 feet below the Mongolian tableland, from which the Kalgan Pass is the main road to China. It is that geographical situation which has made Kalgan the centre of the Mongolian trade, the town where

everything passes for the caravan route to Siberia and Russia.

From Peking to Kalgan every bit of land is cultivated, except such parts as are unsuitable for cultivation. The exception, however, is large, because in the second day's march the country is mountainous and poor. Crossing the ridge, one then descends into another long valley, which again is closely tilled, and then winding round a spur of the mountain appears still another valley, up which the road winds till Kalgan is reached.

But though highly cultivated, the land looks deserted. Nowhere, or almost nowhere, are there any homesteads. The people dwell partly in villages, but chiefly in walled towns, going and returning to the fields daily. It is in these towns that the caravan traffic stops, and so numerous are they that you can reckon on entering one every four or five miles, save in the mountainous country, where, naturally, they are much less frequent.

The roadway is execrable, although probably we saw it at its best. It is not that it is badly designed, nor even that it has been badly built; but, like everything in China, like palaces, temples, and fortifications, it has been allowed to decay. Immediately outside of Peking, it is a paved stone road, and when it was built it must have been excellent for all rough traffic. The same kind of paved roadway is to be found again from time to time at

places where the character of the country seems to call for it; but for want of a little repairing it has gone to bits.

Again, at a part of the road on the fourth day's journey, when turning the spur of the hills to round into the Kalgan Valley, there is a fine bit of solid rock cutting extending for hundreds of yards—a cutting that would have cost much labour and money, even had it been done with all the resources of modern invention.

labour had been expended in making a way through the hill some attention would have been paid to the state of the path itself. But the path is difficult even for pack-mules, and must be terrible for the wheeled carts that are used for some part of the traffic. But no effort is made to repair or improve it. The cutting was evidently ordered by some Emperor or Viceroy, who had a sagacious and masterful mind; but the order being obeyed so far, no one has cared to order the expenditure of the small amount of labour that would get the best results from the larger expenditure.

Yet, despite all hindrances, the traffic flows on. Wool, hides, hemp, food-stuffs, fur, cotton, tea, silk, and manufactured goods are carried over these roads by tens of thousands of mules, donkeys, horses, and camels. At one place (Chi-ming-i) there are coalmines, and for twenty or thirty miles on either side

of it we met or passed hundreds of donkeys daily, each loaded with one bag of coal!

They talk of a railway from Peking to Kalgan to connect with the railway that reses on Tientsin, and to be extended afterwards into Mongolia. Judging from the crowded state of the highroad at present, and allowing for the increase of traffic that always follows better communication, I can imagine that such a railway would pay. As it is, the Chinese Government has extended the telegraph line inland to Kalgan, and it has arranged to extend the wires to Ourga, the capital of Mongolia, and to Kiakhta, the furthest away Chino-Mongolian town on the Siberian frontier. The work, indeed, is actually in progress.

Rough as the road may be, blocked with traffic as it frequently is, I have not seen in any other part of the world any great highway where the traffic is conducted so civilly and so kindly.

The road in its design is a broad road. In practice, because of lack of repairs, it is frequently reduced in width to a narrow path, where the traffic can only pass with difficulty. Down and up this road there come trooping hundreds of laden mules and donkeys, with but a single driver to perhaps a half-score of animals, and these droves of pack-mules meet other droves, and wheeled carts, and sedan-chairs borne on mules or camels. A block is threatened—perhaps a block takes place. But the

drivers do not lash the other drivers' animals, even when these are in the wrong; nor do the men swear at each other and threaten to fight, as they do in London or New York. There are a few jesting words, an interchange of smiles, a gentle shove to the mule that has blocked the road, and the whole traffic flows on again.

I can honestly say that any day in the city of London one may witness more ill-temper over road obstruction than one can see in the 135 miles between Peking and Kalgan, with roads worse than the English carman can conceive, and with a traffic measured in tens of thousands of animals. I do not think that in all the way that we travelled we noticed any ill-temper or heard any insulting language. The good-nature of the people was the subject of our daily conversation.

The people of North China are a robust, stalwart, vigorous, simple, and frugal race. They are poorly fed, and they thrive on the food. In the towns—in Kalgan, for instance—the equivalent in copper cash of three silver dollars a month is accounted a very ample wage for a servant. In other words, eighteenpence a week is sufficient to enable a man to support a wife and family; and that is the wage earned in an important mercantile city.

What, then, is the living wage in the country beyond? Of that, of course, I can say little, but I could see that nothing is wasted, and that labour of

with all was found for both old and young. Withal, the people seem to be educated quite up to the standard, allowing for difference of manners, that England has but recently attained. That is, they can read and write. I used to sit in the inn courtyards just before dinner, using the fading daylight to make my journey notes. A crowd of muledrivers and others would gather round to watch me, and usually when I finished I would show them one of the long slips of red paper, with my name printed in Chinese characters, that the British Legation had furnished to me to use as visiting-cards when calling on the Chinese officials. Instantly they would read it aloud with an ease that showed them to be familiar with the written character.

It is to be noted also, as characteristic of the natural amiability of the people, that, when gathered round watching me write, they did not talk, or laugh, or make critical remarks, as an English crowd would do were they watching a Chinaman sitting writing in a public place in England. They stood around quite silently, and that, not from lack of willingness to speak, but rather from politeness, for so soon as I closed my notebook and faced them, or looked up and passed some remark to them, they immediately burst into a stream of talk. In fact, while they were curious they were also civil.

The official classes also we found helpful, though grudging. We only intended to stay one day at

Kalgan, though ultimately that one day lengthened out to three. Things cannot be arranged quickly in China, and our arrangements at Kalgan included the settling of our transport through Mongolia, the hiring and repairing of vehicles, the purchase of Mongolian riding saddles, and of Mongolian sheepskin cloaks.

The transport could scarcely have been arranged without the special order from the Tsung-li-Yamen, of which I speak in my chapter on Peking. With it, with interpretation from a shrewd and kindly American missionary, and with help from the Russian postmaster and a Russian tea-merchant, things were arranged with the local Yamen, although not too easily at first, for my Russian friends spoke only a little English, and no French or German.

When we arrived at Kalgan, and had bathed and lunched, my travelling companions, being Americans, proceeded to one end of the town to call on the American mission, while I went to the other to deliver my introduction to the Russian merchants and the Russian postmaster.

But as I speak no Russian, and as the Russians spoke no French or German, things did not progress much, although happily two of the Russians spoke a little English and had a Russo-English dictionary. Practically all conversation had ultimately to be interpreted through Chinese, which the Russians spoke fluently, as did the American missionary, who

lent us invaluable aid and unstinted kindness during our three days' stay.

Then we went to the local officials, and when, with much interpretation, the Chinese officials had thoroughly grasped what we wanted, and what the Tsung-li-Yamen had authorized us to get, they gave us help, but not too willingly. The attitude of the officials, in as word, was quite different from the cheerful helpfulfiess of the common people.

And thus we left China proper, and entered on the Mongolian tablelands, carrying with us the most favourable memories of a pleasant sojourn among a kindly, helpful, and good-natured people.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

I CONCLUDED the last chapter by indicating that in my journey through the northern district of China I found the people, the official classes excepted, to be kindly, helpful, and good-natured. Before leaving the subject of the Chinese people, before crossing the border into Mongolia, I desire to say something regarding the possibilities of the people whom I was leaving behind me. Let me premise that my acquaintance with the Chinese people did not begin with this journey through a part of Ghina. I have lived in a British community where the larger part of the population is Chinese. I have employed Chinese alike in my office and in my house; I have had dealings with their foremost men; I have talked with them, dined with them, bargained with them, mixed with them, occasionally, in their excursions of pleasure, and generally I have known them well. The information with which I now propose to preface certain conclusions at which I have arrived, although it be in part statistical information, was

not gathered hastily, nor merely for the purpose of this book. As one largely interested in a colony whose prosperity is partly based on the good qualities of Chinamen, and which deals, with their bad qualities also, I have naturally taken occasion to study the Chinese question.

The population of China is a somewhat unknown quantity, variously estimated at from 300,000,000 to 400,000,000. On the principle that these things are usually exaggerated, just as the population of Pekin has been, I will take the lower estimate of 300,000,000 only. That population is spread over an area which, without including dependencies, such as Mongolia, may be taken at about 1,500,000 square miles, or, say, half the area of the United States of America. The gate of entrance to that great country and population must originally have been the gate at which I was making my exit, the pass of Kalgan. In more modern times, and to Europeans, the entrance to China was by the Pei-ho River, adjacent to which is Peking. The present gateways of commerce are chiefly at Hong Kong and Shanghai, where the West River and the Yangtsze-Kiang respectively are the highways on which that commerce is borne. The gates of the future may in part be all of these, with the addition of the great Trans-Siberian Railway, which was part of my travelling route, and with the possibility of another railway entrance from Burmah. Of that

country and population, the most valuable part commercially may, speaking broadly, be described as the watershed of the Yang-tsze-Kiang. Of the Chinese people, the portion that is commercially shrewdest may be found in the neighbourhood of Canton, while the most hardy and the strongest, physically, is to be found on the northern seaboard, and in those districts in which I have been travelling.

The religion is almost exclusively Buddhist, of a somewhat ceremonial and inactive kind, qualified for good, however, by its theoretical moral teaching and its practical insistence on many of the family virtues. Of Mohammedans there are some 20,000,000 or more, and these are zealous in their religion and are politically active. Christianity has attempted to win a footing during a period of 600 years, and has failed to prove itself anything but an exotic that lives at all only by the most careful and costly tending.

This great empire produces almost everything that it needs, since the articles that it buys from Europe are articles that the people could very well do without, and that they did do without for many thousands of years. In the north the agriculture consists chiefly in producing the more hardy cereals, while the middle prexinces are fortunate in having a range of climate that enables them to grow alike

assimilates more to that of the tropics, but always, even so far south as Canton, there is a pleasant invigorating winter: The mineral wealth of the country, although as yet not really proved, is believed to be great. Coal the Chinese have burned from unknown times, but because of defective transport its use has always been purely local. On my journey, for instance, being in the neighbourhood of certain very old coal-mines, I saw that coal carried over the country by thousands of donkeys, each laden with one bag. But, obviously, no mineral traffic can be extended with such a costly transport. Iron, lead, copper, gold, and tin, have also been worked regularly from immemorial times, and in sufficient quantities for the Chinaman's somewhat scanty needs.

I doubt whether the people of China, the real mass of the people, have any objection to foreigners, or any objection to see China entirely opened up to foreign trade. I fancy that the spirit of obstruction with which we are familiar is the spirit of the official classes only, a Manchu rather than a Chinese spirit. The Chinaman seems to me one of the most tolerant of men, free entirely from the religious zeal which is so often the cause of racial hatred, and well content to trade with anyone who will trade with him. When China is properly opened up to foreign trade, it will probably be found that the supposed exclusiveness of the Chinese race is

a myth, counded on the purely selfish policy of the Manchu conqueror.

Naturally, in a community so fully populated, and so little engaged in extraneous commerce, the standard and the cost of living are low. We are told that China is a silver country, as in an international sense it is; but for all practical purposes of daily life among the millions its is a copper country. During the time that I travelled northward from Peking to the Great Wall I disbursed no silver. For all the numerous petty expenses of the journey the medium in which we paid was copper cash, of which we carried a bagful, and of which, by the way, we did not expend one-half. As for silver, since some of the traveller's purchases may be on a scale that requires the use of silver, he must take with him a machine for weighing silver, as I did. The tael is not a coin, but is a measure of weight, and the silver money that the traveller takes with him consists of rough chunks of silver, with which he can conclude no transaction save after weighing them. The wages at the treaty ports are, no doubt, expressed in silver dollars, and may be estimated at from six to eight silver dollars a month for labour not wholly raw, and not wholly skilled. The wages in the interior cannot be expressed in civilized money. At Kalgan, it is true, we discovered that three silver dollars monthly was the wage of a fairly skilled house-boy, and that,

when turned into English, means 'eighteenpence a week and find yourself.' But Kalgan, although in the interior, is a great commercial city, with a certain foreign population of American missionaries and Russian tea-merchants. Go a hundred miles from Kalgan, otherwise than by the main track of commerce, and labour would be purchasable at a price too small to make it useful to measure it in gold or silver. In a word, China is a copper country, with its larger trading transactions measured in silver bought and sold by weight.

Yet the internal trade of China is a great trade, and in the days before the government of China began to fall into decay some considerable provision was made for that trade. The Grand Canal connected the river system of Peking and Tientsin with the river system of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, and I believe that further connections were at one time available as far as the West River in the south. That in its day must have been a most useful system of waterways. Further, the main roads, as I have already noted in a previous chapter, were built as good roads. Yet, still, however good these roads may once have been, it is obvious that any traffic upon them must always have been costly, and that the cost of that traffic is now increasing as the roads become worse and worse. That is the opportunity for the railway concessionaire.

In considering the Chinese character and the

Chinese Empire, it is proper to remember that both have shown manifold good qualities. The duration of the empire is, of course, unrivalled in the world's story, and although that was to some extent due to its isolation, yet it remains that no really bad government could have endured so long. Turning to the people, one cannot but admire their endurance mingled with good nature; their frugality, tempered by a broad and generous disposition to expend freely when they have the money; their keen mercantile skill, and the financial honesty that has enabled them to build up a complicated and far-extended system of banking credit. Their chief defect-indeed, their only very obvious defect-is a complete lack of patriotism; but that, again, might be excused on the plea that in their system of government, as it has been for many centuries past, there is nothing calculated to invoke patriotism, while there is much to discourage it.

The question over which some sections of the British people are now justly concerned is, What could we do with these people if it became necessary for us either to do something with them or else to submit to see other nations doing it? Well, I think we could do a great deal with them. Further, I suggest that a consideration of what Britain might do in the way of organizing the Chinese in China may be helped by noting the relations between Britain and the Chinese population of the Straits

Settlements and the Malay Peninsula. In reviewing the influence of British civilization and administration in that region, we have to remember the class of Chinamen with whom we are dealing. The Chinaman in the Straits is sometimes the less valuable class of Chinaman. He is often of the least educated class. The Chinese whom we have now in the Straits and the Peninsula may be divided into two sections. There is the Straits-born Chinaman, the Chinaman whose father or grandfather emigrated thither. There is the China-born Chinaman, the class which has emigrated during recent years. The former may be divided again into two classes. There is the man who has inherited wealth, a capitalist, a landholder, an investor in agricultural estates, a financier, an owner of steam shipping, a member of the Municipal Commission of Singapore or Penang, a member of the Chinese Advisory Board, a justice of the peace, a social power. There is also the clerk, the mechanic, or the retail shopkeeper.

Turning from these, we come to the Chinaman recently arrived, with no qualifications save his inborn shrewdness, native industry, capacity for thrift, and willingness to work. The man who has been born in China is stronger in physique, tougher to resist disease, more theifty, and more adventurous; he works harder and he spends less. The difference substantially is that the softer climate

of the tropical regions, the easier conditions of life, and the absence of pressure from population, have made the Straits-born Chinaman a man less inured to hardship, less inclined to speculative adventure, more pleasure-loving, less thrifty. The rich Straits-born Chinaman is the advancer, the lender upon security; the China-born Chinaman is the trader with the surrounding regions of the Malay Archipelago, the man who plants, who reaps, who adventures what he makes.

In considering what progress the Chinaman of the Straits and of Malaya has made in selfgovernment and in administrative work, one is met by the difficulty that his chances have been limited. The Straits is a Crown colony, where all the administrative power is vested in a Governor appointed from England. The Malay States are ruled in the name of Sultans, but substantially are administered by British officials. The Chinaman of these regions has thus had no chance to show his capacity for political self-government. True, he is on an equality with the Englishman, and on the Legislative Council of the Straits, which contains only seven unofficial members, there is always one Chinaman; on the municipal boards of Singapore and Penang, and on the consultative boards of the Malay States, there are always several Chinese. They are found to be shrewd and practical men of business. Their ideas upon law-

making, sanitation, and the like, are not in accord with English ideas; but they show their discretion by pushing their views no further than there is a possibility of carrying them. In private adventure they show a greater genius for administration than one would at first expect. The greatest part of the revenue of the Straits, for instance, is collected through what is called the opium and spirit farm. The principle is established that there shall be no Custom-house in the Straits. Yet, as a revenue has to be collected from those persons who smoke opium and drink alcohol, the practice exists of letting by tender the sole right of importing opium and of levying a small sum on spirits. The 'farmers' are allowed all facilities for collecting these duties short of imposing a Custom-house inspection. The result is a combination called the opium and spifit farm, which at present pays over 3,000,000 dollars yearly to the Straits Government—that is, nearly two-thirds of the total revenue of the Straits. The adventurers who take the farm frequently change. The present management, for instance, is entirely different from, and antagonistic to, that which it succeeded. It may easily be understood that in these circumstances the collection is no light task. The seaboards of the Straits Settlements are open, the facilities for smuggling are enormous, and yet substantially none exists. The Chinese merchants who tender for the

opium and spirit farm—none but Chinese have ever successfully tendered—carry out their contract profitably under enormous difficulties. The men who do that are obviously men who understand how to administer.

Let us turn again to other business involving questions of administration. There is a longestablished society of Chinese merchants called the Gambier and Pepper Society; it has such considerable capital at stake that it has been found advisable to pass a special Act creating it a corporation. Its business is to regulate the financing of a certain part of the gambier and pepper business, two products of which the Straits and Malaya hold almost a monopoly. The individual Chinaman—usually China-born-sets out to grow pepper and gambier upon money advanced by Chinese capitalists in Singapore. The security of the latter is that the cultivator is bound to sell through them all that he produces. They take means to prevent the cultivator consigning to others. These means are taken successfully, and the Gambier and Pepper Society has been able for many years to control its affairs so that the capitalist who advances to the cultivator, while he may lose by unfavourable seasons, does not lose by illicit consignments or by adulteration.

The organization required to achieve these ends is no light undertaking, and the men who thus

collect the whole Straits revenue upon pium and alcohol, and who control the working of two great agricultural products, could organize political combinations had they the opportunity.

In considering questions of general business and finance, we find that the wealthiest men in the Straits Settlements and in the Malay Peninsula, and the largest traders, apart from direct import from or export to Europe, are Chinamen. The whole, or almost the whole, of the alluvial tinmining industry of the Straits is exclusively in the hands of Chinese capitalists. The local steamship trade of the Straits is largely in the hands of Chinese. In the professions, the Chinaman has been less successful. He has not shown in law, in medicine, in journalism, or in pure finance, the same ability and capacity that have been shown by certain native races in, India. It must be remembered, however, that the Chinaman of the Straits was originally of the class or quality of the English agricultural labourer, or of the unskilled worker of the English towns. Two generations cannot suffice, save with exceptional men, to remove that disability.

In journalism the Straits Chinese have hitherto been failures. Journalism in the English language they have not tried; but there have been in Singapore two daily newspapers printed in Chinese, and these are conspicuously lacking in intelligent knowledge of

local affairs, of foreign affairs generally, or of the affairs of China. A third Chinese newspaper has more recently been started, which promises to do better. It is largely under the influence of a Straits-born Chinaman, educated at a Scottish University, a man of judgment and knowledge. But, although started with the avowed aim of putting a higher ideal before the Chinese of the Straits, it must be gravely doubted how far that ideal can be realized. The Straits-born Chinaman learns to read English, and does not learn to read Chinese; and the Chinese newspapers of the Straits appeal therefore only to the Chinaman from China.

I have said that the Straits-born Chinaman learns to read, write, and speak in English. He learns something more. He learns to play cricket, football, and lawn-tennis; to bicycle, to ride, and generally to take active exercise for pleasure. He is very keen on football. He is an ardent patron of horse-racing. He delights to drive a good pair, and he hankers after a tandem and a four-in-hand. There was some talk recently of raising in Singapore an infantry volunteer force, not to be confined to Europeans, and the wealthier and younger Chinese made it plain to me that they would be glad to raise, equip, and finance a couple of Chinese companies. In a word, the Straits-born Chinaman has Anglicized himself in everything but his dress.

The lack of hardiness, which I have already noted, is not so much his fault as his misfortune. If Englishmen were to live in the tropics for three generations they also would lose something of their toughness.

These are the facts as plainly as possible. Now let me add the theory that I would build upon them. That readers may be able to judge of the value of that theory, let me state that I went to the Straits nearly ten years ago. Since then I have travelled at leisure in China and Japan, in British India, in a small part of Thibet, through parts of the Malay Archipelago, and in some parts of the Malay Peninsula. In all these countries I have been familiar with the Asiatic races, and in America I have seen a good deal of the negro. Taking him all round, I think that, of the non-European races that I know, the Chinaman is the best. He has not the intellectual subtlety of some Indian races, but he has a larger practical capacity and a greater thoroughness of character. He is a man of wide capacity for making, for earning, for saving, for spending, for enjoying. In these respects he is like the Englishman. I do not know any Asiatic race that is so straight as the Chinaman is. I do not say there is no dishones. Chinaman. There are many, and because they are men of capacity their dishonesty is apt to be on a large scale. But, taking

with which you can more safely make a contract. A Chinaman will do his utmost to get the best of the bargain before settling it, but having settled it, he will usually carry it out, though it is to his loss. In his own country, like all other Asiatic races, he has been accustomed for thousands of years to the practice of dishonest commissions. It is unreasonable to expect him to get out of that practice at once; but he is better able to get out of it, and to get out of it sooner, than a man of any other race in Asia.

The one capacity in which we British have no experience of the Chinese is as a soldier. I think he would make a good, though not the finest, type of soldier. He would be neither reckless of his life, nor eager to rush upon death; those are qualities that belong either to patriotism or to religious zeal, and the Chinaman knows nothing of these. But he has qualities that with training would supply the place of the qualities lacking. He is not nervous, and he does not fear death. Properly trained and led, he would fight just as he carries coal, or loads a ship, or turns the soil. He would fight because he had agreed to do so, and because he was paid for doing so. The Chinaman is twenty times the man that the fellah ever was. If you can drillethe Egyptian fellaheen to face the Dervish onslaughts, you can drill the Chinaman to face any risks of war.

I believe that if Britain would take the opportunity to handle China as we have handled Egypt, we could raise in twenty years an army that would hold the world at bay, and we could build ap in half a century a native administration that would be the best that Asia has ever seen.

## CHAPTER V.

## RAILWAYS IN CHINA. •

As I approached China, the subject of railway construction began to fill the air. On board the steamer by which I travelled to Shanghai were two English railway engineers going to China for survey work. At Shanghai the people were full of railway schemes. At Peking I found an English Member of Parliament waiting there to obtain or complete railway concessions. The managers of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, and of the Russo-Chinese Bank, were both deep in railway concessions. The foreign ministers were being worried, and were worrying the Tsung-li-Yamen, about railways; and, generally speaking, it was impossible to avoid the subject of railway construction.

The subject may be considered from either a political or financial point of view, subject to the unfortunate fact that political and financial objects are inextricably mixed. Great Britain, Russia, France, and Germany are openly mixed in the matter politically. Belgian and American subjects

are in it from a purely financial standpoint. The Government of China is in it, not from the point of view that a strong Government would be in it, not from the point of view of commercial advantage to China, not from a desire to promote the well-being and happiness of the Chinese people, but solely as a body that gives reluctant assents to pressing demands, and is suspicious of evil and harm in the whole.

The chief railway that exists in China at present is from the forts of Taku at the entrance to the Pei-ho River, and on to Tientsin and from thence to Peking, with a connection northwards from Taku to Kaiping and Shan-hai-kwan, and a hope of extending that connection to Niu-chwang. That railway, as regards the line to Peking, exists for general traffic, and as regards passenger traffic it is undoubtedly successful. The connection to Kaiping and Shan-kai-wan was suggested originally by the fact that there exist at Kaiping old-established and successful coal-mines, which could use, and do use, the railway for mineral shipment. But the line is also very much used for miscellaneous goods and passenger traffic, and, incidentally, it has enabled the Peking people to create for themselves a charming watering-place at Pei-ta-Fo. Another line, of purely local importance, confects the Woosung anchorage with the town of Shanghai.

As records the reflection that are

built, we find Russia making frankly political connection from her great Trans-Siberian railway southwards to Port Arthur and Talienwan. I call that frankly political, inasmuch as, while the railway will no doubt be used for both the import and export needs of Siberia, it is admitted that the governing condition of recent events is the natural desire of Russia to have an ice-free port in the China seas, and an always open naval station at the end of her great military railway. In the attainment of that aim it may be assumed that Russia will politically dominate Manchuria, which by a wall of railway she cuts off from China proper.

The interest of Britain is to have the Great Plain and the Yang-tsze Basin, with their teeming populations, opened to general trade, and, for the same reason, to have railway connection between Hong Kong and Canton, and, if possible, into or approaching the districts of Yunnan and Szechuan. For the same reasons Britain desires that the prolongation of the railway northwards from the Taku forts on the Pei-ho River shall be extended to the treaty port of Niu-chwang. For reasons less immediately confined to trade, and more definitely political, many people are keenly eager that Britain shall soon obtain her ailway access from Burmah through Yunnan and Szechuan to the Upper Yangtsze. It is thus fair to note that even with the British standpoint reasons of trade and of politics

are unavoidably mixed together. For instance, Britain cannot, and does not, look complacently upon even a strong scheme for a trunk railway that would open up the Great Plain, but would at the same time lead to the probability of the introduction of Russian and French influence there.

The German Government naturally desires to take up any failway scheme that will open up the Province of Shantung. But from a German point of view, not unnaturally, any such scheme must be in German hands. Thus we recently found the Germans opposing a scheme that would have driven a railway through Shantung, the opposition being based upon the fact that the scheme was not under German control. This was the concession that had been granted to Mr. Yung-Wing, an American Chinaman, and had then fallen into British hands. As the result of the German opposition, a compromise has been arrived at by which the concession passes into Anglo-German hands, and may be worked with all due precautions for the maintenance of German influence in the Shantung portion of the line.

France desires to construct certain railways leading inland from French Indo-China into the district of Nanning and towards Yunnan. The admitted intention is to obtain the trade of Yunnan for French Indo-China rather than for Flong Kong or for Burmah. But although the intention is quite clear,

write about these railway schemes in a spirit alternately sanguine and angry, it does not seem that France is eager to find the money. These French schemes may for the moment be dismissed.

Turning to those concessionaires who have no political object in view, the chief of these is the Belgian Syndicate, which proposes to construct a great trunk railway that will proceed southwards from Peking into the heart of the Great Plain and the Yang-tsze Valley. Now, while it must at once be admitted that the Belgian concessionaires individually have no political objects, yet it is round this scheme that political controversy is likely to rage most fiercely. The Belgian concessionaires are financiers pure and simple, but it is argued that the meaning of their contract makes them the mere nominees of the Russo-Chinese Bank. The conditions of the contract are such that it would seem that in any dispute with the Chinese Government the arbitrator for the concessionaires shall be the Belgian Minister at Peking, and the umpire shall be the Russian or the French Minister at Peking. It is but fair to say that the Belgian concessionaires write strongly denying that they intend to be made use of for political purposes. The denial, however, seems to be out of accord with the terms of the concession, which are detailed later in this chapter. Further, from a purely financial point of view, the denial offered by the Belgian concessionaires seems

to be unnecessarily indignant. If they are financiers pure and simple, why should they not become political tools of the Russian Government? Pure finance has no passions or prejudices. If from the Russo-Chinese Bank, which is assumed to mean the Russian Government, certain Belgian financiers can get, in exchange for political usefulness, better terms than the open market would give them, why should they not take those terms? As financiers seeking to earn a profit they can have no objection to becoming a political cat's-paw if it pay them to become a political cat's-paw.

An American scheme, which certainly is purely financial and non-political, is to build from Canton northwards, into the valley of the Yang-tsze, a line that would no doubt meet and become the continuation of the Belgian line that is to run from Peking southwards. The Belgian and American schemes, when combined, would therefore connect Peking with Canton, while a short British line is proposed to connect the latter city with British Kowloon opposite Hong Kong. That short British scheme is, however, independent of any other, and will no doubt be proceeded with, in any event, on its own merits.

With these and various lesser schemes the total railway mileage at present proposed to be constructed in China proper is about 3,000 miles, which at £8,000 per mile would cost about £24,000,000.

be constructed by Russia in Manchuria, which I do not take into the present calculation, partly because Manchuria is outside of China proper, and partly because the Russian railway scheme is the one scheme that is certain to go on quickly, and that belongs therefore to a somewhat different category from the others. It cannot be said that that quantity of mileage or that sum of money is too much for the railway necessities of China. The total mileage proposed to be constructed is really moderate, and, oddly enough, no part of that mileage is foolishly or wastefully conceived. All of it seems designed to follow certain natural trade routes, to tap wealthy areas and great populations, and, generally speaking, to serve useful purposes. Nor do I doubt that the railways I have enumerated, if properly constructed and properly worked, would be remunerative adventures.

The general scheme of these railways is to drive a great trunk line amidst the teeming population that exists between Peking and Canton, at the same time to connect China on the north with Siberia, and on the south with Burmah, while simultaneously bringing all railways into touch with the great navigable rivers, and therefore with the open sea. It is an extraordinary thing that, as an outcome of selfish international jealousies and of opposing financial interests, there should emerge a scheme of railway construction that might almost have been devised by a prudent

and sagacious Government, intent only on benefiting the people of China and promoting the commerce of the world.

Now let us consider how these schemes are likely to progress. The railway development of Manchuria, and the connection of Port Arthur and Talienwan with Siberia, may be taken as settled. In a few years that scheme will be completed.

The extension to Niu-chwang of the railway that rests on the Pei-ho River may also be taken as fairly hopeful of completion. It is true that the Russian Government has made itself very disagreeable over this railway, and has been able to impose the condition that that portion of the railway beyond the Great Wall of China shall not be subject to foreclosure for financial default. Such a condition, with which Russia can have no possible concern, save on the theory that Manchuria is practically a Russian province, was calculated to hamper the financing of the line. But the people who are going to finance the line—the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co. —are old hands in dealing with the Chinese Government, and the financing has been practically arranged. Indeed, as I write—Christmas, 1898 the Tsung-li-Yamen has formally agreed that the Chinese Government will not alienate or part with the northern railways that are to be pledged with or through the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. That formal undertaking was given to the British Minister, and it is, of course, calculated to smooth the ways of financing for the northern railway extension connecting Shan-kai-wan with Niu-chwang.

Another railway that is likely to proceed is the Anglo-German scheme that will start at Tientsin, connecting therefore with Niu-chwang, will run southwards to the very important river port of Chingkiang, will open up part of Shantung, and will tap the trade route of the Grand Canal. The English financial interests here are also in the care of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co.

The proposed British railway from Kowloon to Canton will be constructed. The proposed French lines from Tonquin seem lines that are only to be talked about. The connection of Burmah with Yunnan, although by no means certain, is a scheme to be placed in a wholly different category from the French schemes. The Burmah connection will be built unless the physical geography of the country renders the scheme impracticable, save at an excessive cost. It may be remembered that some years back the Government of India decided to build a railway from Mandalay to the Kunlon Ferry on the Salween River. The object of the work was to develop the Shan States, and to encourage the opening up of one of the old trade routes to China, the route by which Marco Polo travelled. The

Burmah Railways Company, which in 1896 took over all the Burmah railways from the Government of India, has been steadily prosecuting the construction of this railway to the Kunion Ferry.

The work presents exceptional engineering difficulties, the greatest of which is the bridging of the Gohtick Gorge, over which it is necessary to throw a viaduct on iron trestles nearly 400 feet above the bed of the stream. The extension to Kunlon Ferry, however, is proceeding. As to the further extension that is to lead into China, discouraging statements have been published to the effect that the character of the country on the China side of the ferry is impossible, and that it is impracticable, at any reasonable expenditure, to tap from Burmah the South-west of China. These vague fears have delayed the proper and thorough examination of the route, but such delay has only been a delay. Now a properly-organized party of capable officers has set forth, with the encouragement of the Indian Government, to make a scientific examination of the country. That, of course, will take time, but before the railway now under construction has been advanced as far as the Salween River the report of the exploration-party will be received. Until the report be produced, it is idle to speculate on the result; but if that report be not unfavourable, the railway connection will certainly be made.

The key of the railway situation in China is,

however, to be found in what is known as the Lu-han concession in the hands of the Belgian Syndicate. That proposed railway is to run from Peking to the river port of Hankau, and, if it be built, there need be no coubt that another railway from Canton will run northwards to meet it. The terms of the Lu-han concession are: That the railway shall be constructed by a Chinese company, with its head-quarters at Shanghai, and that the Belgian Syndicate shall lend to that Chinese company the money needed to build the line. That Belgian Syndicate has made an agreement to be financed by the Russo-Chinese Bank. I have already adverted to the fact that the Belgian concessionaires seem to be mere political nominees of the Russian Government, and I have also stated that the concessionaires repudiate that view. The question turns upon the conditions that are agreed upon as to the settling of disputes between the company, the concessionaires, and the Chinese Government. In the event of such dispute the arbitrators are to be the Belgian Minister at Peking and a Chinese official. The umpire is to be nominated by the country that shall be most financially interested in the line, or by the country where the bonds of the railway are to be issued. Now, since the Belgian Syndicate is to be financed by the Russo Chinese Bank, and since the bonds are to be, presumedly, issued in Paris, it follows inevitably

that in case of disputes the final decision shall rest. with the Russian Minister or with the French Minister. How much interested in this concession the Russian Minister has been may be judged from the fact that, at the last, the concession was rushed through the Tsung-li-Yamen under great pressure from the Russian Legation, in breach of a promise to Sir Claude Macdonald that further time would be allowed for consideration. If the Belgian concessionaires have no especial relations to Russia, one cannot understand why the Russian Minister should have been so keen to push the matter through. Apart from that, it seems a legitimate assumption that, since the Russo-Chinese Bank finances the company, the Russo-Chinese Bank shall have a controlling interest in the daily working of the company. Add to that the current assumption that the Russo-Chinese Bank is to all real intents a department of the Russian Government, and you arrive at the result that the Government of Russia, having claimed exclusive railway privileges in Manchuria, proposes also to control the railway that shall tap the Great Plain and the Yang-tsze Valley. It is a serious situation.

In discussing all these railways I have said nothing about the proposed gauge. That is a matter of no little political importance. The standard railway gauge of the world is four feet eight and a half inches.

gauge was fixed by the Emperor Nicholas in order that the invasion of Russia by such neighbours as Germany or Austria might be made the more difficult. The Russian railways having a five-feet gauge, the Trans-Siberian Railway has the same, and that gauge will continue as far south as Port Arthur and Talienwan. What, then, is to be the gauge of the new Chinese railways?

## CHAPTER VI.

# MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA.

When we arrived at Kalgan we put up at the ordinary Chinese inn, to which we had become accustomed. From thence we were rescued later by the kind hospitality of the Rev. Mr. Sprague, the head of the American missionary station established at Kalgan. We stayed with Mr. Sprague, within the walls of the mission premises, and as guests at his table, for fully two days, and during these days we naturally talked much of mission work in China and Mongolia. We did not talk of that exclusively, for we found Mr. Sprague to be a man of wide human interests, and of much local knowledge, able to give me some useful information as to the Mongols, among whom I was about to travel; but yet, naturally, we did talk much of missions. Some of that talk I would like to repeat, condense, and discuss.

First, let me note that the American mission at Kalgan occupies a pleasant site outside the town. It was not always so. For years after the mission

was opened the missionaries with their wives and children strove to live right in the heart of the Chinese town, among and of the people whom they were going to teach. They failed to carry out that plan of campaign, because it was, for them, an impossible one. Only the Roman Catholic missionaries can do that, and they can do it partly because they are celibate, and partly because if they die there are more priests to follow and carry on the work. But a Protestant missionary, with perhaps a wife and a couple of children, cannot live the life of Chinatown, and if he persisted in attempting to do so, he ought to incur much disapproval for unnecessarily sacrificing the interests of his wife and children. Gradually the missionaries came to realize that, and ultimately the mission was removed to a site outside the town. There, surrounded by a mud wall, they have a considerable plot of gardenground, with a church, a school-house, and several separate cottages for the different families of missionaries.

There were three male missionaries resident when I was at Kalgan, but the wife of one of them had died, and the wife of another had been sent home to America, and consequently there was only one woman, Mrs. Sprague, attached at the moment to the mission. The mission premises were charmingly situated, and were comfortably furnished with all the reasonable necessities of life; but there cer-

tainly was nothing in them to justify the manner in which the ill-natured gossip of the treaty ports talks of missionary luxury. The method of life was decently comfortable and healthy, but it was nothing more.

The sincerity, the earnestness, the persistence, the patience and hopefulness of the missionaries were obvious all through their life and conversation, but it seemed equally obvious that their work and life were a failure, that their hopes were doomed to disappointment, and that it would have been better for themselves and for the world at large that they should be earning a livelihood in their own country. The mission work proper—the work of converting adult Chinese—there, as in all China, can only be described as an absolute, complete, and total failure.

If an adult Chinaman—not brought up from an early age under Christian influences—professes to become converted to Christianity, it is to be feared that he is a liar. That fear is based upon the solid ground of experience—not experience of that individual man, but experience of the fact that most of his predecessors have been liars. Without finding that the missionaries specifically admit this, I could not find that they denied it. Of each individual case of conversion as it conces up they are keenly hopeful; of each individual case of backsliding

pointing out, not unreasonably, that even among devout and pious people at home there are many cases of backsliding. But if you press the missionaries to compile a list of their adult converts, excluding such adult converts as have been under Christian influence from childhood, it will be found that any list they can profess to produce is exceedingly unsatisfactory. The men whom they produce as successes do not seem to be successful, and, at all events, have not been exposed to trial. The list of failures, on the other hand, is large.

It is believed that Christian missionary work in China dates really from the seventh and eighth centuries, missionaries having penetrated there from Persia. The connection, however, was not maintained, nor was the effort revived until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Roman Catholic Church, penetrating through Central Asia by most remarkable journeys, established the Christian faith in Peking itself. Probably the Christian religion, wisely handled, might have had its chance in Roman Catholic hands but for the influence of the Manchu conquest. But certainly it has as yet achieved no real success.

It is, however, the younger generation to which the missionaries look for results. It is to their school-work, although the American mission schools are supposed to be non-proselytizing, that they look for their future success. Personally, I doubt whether

these schools are doing so much good in the missionary sense of the word 'good' as is expected of them. At Kalgan, for instance, they have ceased to teach English in the mission schools, because, among other reasons, it was found that Englishtaught boys tended to drift into undesirable courses of life. The school is now a Chinese school, engaged, as it seems to me very quaintly, in teaching Chinese literature, under the superintendence, and subject to the bias, of Americans full of American progressive ideas. But, essentially, the school, small as it is, only holds its ground on the understanding that it shall be non-proselytizing. It is intended to be so, I do not doubt, but the situation is a very difficult one, and recalled to my mind, although I did not say so, a disagreeable controversy that arose in Singapore, over a great American mission school there, where no less than 500 or 600 Chinese boys were daily tutored in the English language by American missionaries.

That school, although a mission school, had been built and founded partly by the contributions of wealthy non-Christian Chinese, and on the distinct understanding that it should be non-proselytizing. That condition was strictly adhered to at first; but it is difficult to keep out of a missionary school the missionary bias, and there arose a controversy, in which the non-Christian Chinese represented

on false pretences by Christian teachers. There was an answer, of course—there always is an answer—but I do not think that the defence was as complete as the attack.

Turning from that point of view, it was very interesting to listen to the missionary tales of journeys through inland China and through Mongolia, and of pious efforts to preach the Gospel. It is to be noted that none of these tales, of which I heard many, contained any reference to persecution, to forcible hindrance, or even to active ill-nature, on the part of the Chinese or Mongolians. From the missionary point of view this not unfriendly attitude of the people was regarded as in some respects indicating sympathy. From another point of view, it might be regarded as indicating apathetic indifference. But in any case it certainly does not indicate any unfriendly feeling to foreigners generally.

Although the only missionaries whom I saw at Kalgan were American, there are also Swedish missionaries working in and about the same neighbourhood. When I was at Kalgan the Swedes, I think, had gone off for a short journey in Mongolia, where the Mongols meet all Christian missionaries with tolerant and good-natured indifference, based on an absolute assurance that Christianity is similar, but inferior, to their own faith. The feeling between the different Protestant missionaries, I am

glad to say, was entirely friendly and helpful. the Roman Catholic missionaries the attitude was different. The Roman Catholics do not, as it happens, work much in Kalgan, but they work on a considerable scale in the neighbouring town of Hsuan-hua-fu, containing 100,000 inhabitants. I judge that they work there with more success, not because of any statement made to that effect, but because of the bitterness of feeling that seemed to me to characterize the tone of reference to them. This was so notable that, somewhat in defiance, I fear, of good manners, I was hastily impelled to ask, although as delicately as possible, whether Roman Catholics were not to be considered as fellow-Christians, engaged in preaching the same Gospel. I did not put it quite so abruptly as that, and I did not obtain any very plain answer; but I fear that the average Protestant missionary in China does not recognise a Roman Catholic priest as a fellow-worker in the cause of Christianity.

But the Roman Catholic missions of China are, I think, more successful, or at all events they are less unsuccessful, than are the Protestant missions. The Roman Catholic priest lives among and for the people, eats the same food, and suffers the same hardships. The Protestant missionary lives an alien life, outside the spirit of Chinese heart and feeling. I hope it is clearly understood that I am not blaming the Protestant missionary for that. In the beginning

of this chapter I have rather sought to defend him. But apart from the distribution of praise or blame, there remains the fact that the methods of the two Churches are entirely different. The reason, of course, is in the different circumstances of a celibate and a non-celibate clergy. The married Protestant missionary with his wife and children requires a cottage and a pony carriage or its equivalent. He does not require, as the gossip of the treaty ports suggests, a luxurious villa and a well-appointed carriage; he requires and asks nothing that is not necessary for the healthy maintenance of his family life. But yet to the Chinaman, to the coolie whose earnings are not more than a shilling a week, the difference in the attitude of the two Churches is great. I do not see how the Protestant system can be changed, but I do see that, if China is ever to be Christianized, it is more likely to be Christianized by the Roman Catholic than by the Protestant method.

In the meantime, however, there is, humanly speaking, no probability of Christianizing China. I say 'humanly speaking,' because it must always be remembered that these good missionaries with whom I stayed did not base their work or their hopes upon human probabilities. They were not fools, these missionaries. The chief of the mission, the Rev. M.: Sprague, had the head of a statesman, and seemed to me a man who would have done well in any walk of intellectual life. If

such a man were to sit down to Christianize China, and were to base his hopes and calculations on human probabilities, he would die in despair. The only thing that enables these missionaries to endure what in their heart of hearts they must know to be their lack of success is the sincere and earnest belief that, whether in their time or in the time of their successors, the whole of China will be conquered by the Christian religion. Persistence in that hope is their only salvation from despair, and it was pathetic to notice how the expression of that hope was repeated again and again with insistence. at all the services and prayers at which we had the privilege to assist. I am not disputing, or discussing, or questioning, the grounds of that hope. I am merely noting that the persistent recurrence to it was a sign of the missionary knowledge that, measured by ordinary human probability, their work is wasted. Their earnest insistence upon the necessity of Divine intervention in their favour is entirely what one would expect, and it is the only thing that prevents them from breaking down under the strain of present failure.

Meanwhile, when passing from this missionary family, let me place on record the great sincerity, the great earnestness, and the pathetic attempts at hopefulness, with which this missionary work is conducted. I would seek to hold the balance even between those who unjustly disparage mis-

sionary work and those who speak of it in unduly sanguine terms. The opportunity of living two days in a missionary family was thus very welcome to me. Apart from the memory of great kindness and great helpfulness, the stay left upon my mind a double impression. To anyone doubting whether missionary effort in China is advisable, the impression produced would be to confirm that doubt. To anyone believing literally that it is the clear duty of Christians to go into all the world and preach the Gospel, the impression produced would be a desire to help still further those people who are conscientiously, zealously, and nobly seeking to fulfil that duty.

## CHAPTER VII.

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#### OF MONGOLIA.

The territory of Mongolia, into which I passed by way of Kalgan, is one of the greatest of the Chinese provinces outside the Great Wall. Mongolia lies north and west of China, north of Thibet, and south of Siberia. The heart of Mongolia is that part which is known as the Great Desert of Gobi. The name, perhaps, is somewhat misleading. true that a large part of the area is a desert of arid soil, devoid of vegetation, scant of water, and with the ruins of great cities that have become buried in the sand. Anyone who doubts that may read the book of Dr. Sven Hedin, who traversed the unexplored area of the desert some time before my visit, and of whose narrative of personal adventure and imminent death I heard much before it was published from the Kalgan missionaries, with whom Dr. Hedin had stopped to rest and refresh. But it nevertheless remains that va large part of the Desert of Gobi can only be described as a desert by repute. It is not waterless, since wells can in

most cases be found by digging a few feet, while there are many other deeper wells, well known to the Mongols, that are never dry.

The fact that the Desert of Gobi, through which for many hundreds of miles my pathway lay, supports a resident population, rich in flocks and herds, is of itself a sufficient contradiction to the assumption that all Gobi is really a desert. No doubt I saw the desert at its best, for, travelling immediately after the rainy season, the vegetation was fuller than at any other time of the year. Over most of the six or seven hundred miles technically called 'desert,' through which lay my path, the ground was sand, but it was sand covered with short grass, such as one might see at a seaside golf-links in England.

Further, I am credibly informed that there are other parts of Gobi where the grass grows so long and high that a horseman riding through it disappears from view. Nevertheless, even the part of Gobi that I traversed is famous for dust-storms and whirlwinds of sand. Over a very huge area the wind has a course as free and undisturbed as it would have on the sea; and just as there are storms at sea there are storms on Gobi. Such wind-storms will lift bodily any lightly secured tent, which no doubt is one reason that the tents of the wealthier Mongols are solidly constructed and firmly anchored.

Whirlwinds marked by moving pillars of sand are

not uncommon, and while they continue the air is full of dust, so fine that no form of covering can possibly exclude it. But as it happened, or rather as I had arranged, my journey was at the end of the Mongolian rainy season, which begins early in June and ends by the middle of August. It was about the first of September that I entered Gobi, and as a consequence the wet weather was over, and the dusty weather had scarcely had time to begin. The season was, in fact, the best. If I had been a little later in the year there would have been intense cold, and in a region of wind-storms cold must not be measured merely by the thermometer. As it was, we had hoar-frost on the ground in the mornings of early September. In the depths of winter I understand that the cold of Mongolia varies from 20° below zero in the southern regions to 50° below zero in the north. Yet, notwithstanding that intense cold, snow does not lie deep on the Desert of Gobi. It seldom lies more than a few inches deep, and the sheep and ponies can get to the grass by scratching the snow away. If it were not so, the cattle would die, for the Mongols have practically no arrangements for stall-feeding.

The Desert of Gobi, in a word, contains many varying conditions of life. It is all flat and it is all sandy, and some of it is so secluded and arid that tradition has fixed it as the original habitat of the

pastoral country, and very little of it is quite so bad as it is supposed to be, provided always that you take it at a proper season of the year. After traversing Gobi, as I shall explain later, you enter a hilly and a wooded country, in which, though it is mainly pastoral, there are possibilities of cereal cultivation, as there are also in the districts near the Great Wall of China. The Mongols, however, do not engage in cereal cultivation; and just as the Chinese are encroaching as cultivators on the eastern frontier of Mongolia, so it is probable that the Siberian Buriats will encroach on the western frontier.

The people of Mongolia first became known to the world early in the thirteenth century, nor did they take long to become well known; for within half a century, or a good deal less, they overran a very large part of the world, and threatened much of the remainder. The Mongol Empire may be said to have been founded by the father of the famous Jenghis Khan, and when the former died he left to his son an empire that included all China, most of Central Asia, and parts of India, and had threatened to absorb Western Europe. The son of Jenghis Khan, having completed the conquest of China, and having consolidated his power in Central Asia, swept as a conqueror through what is now called Central Russia, confinuing his career by devastating Hungary and Poland. A little later the grandson of Jenghis Khan conquered Persia, seized Bagdad,

and killed the Caliph. This conqueror, by the way, extended his patronage to the Christian faith, the Mongols at the time seeming to have no particular religion of their own.

The Mongols by this time had found their empire so vast that their rulers divided themselves into several reigning families, and while one Mongol monarch was conquering Persia, another — the famous Kubla Khan — consolidated the Mongol power in China, and extended it into Thibet.

These wonderful conquests-probably the most wonderful in all the world—did not endure. By the middle of the fourteenth century a Buddhist priest, who became the first founder of the Ming dynasty, had defeated the Mongols in China, from which country they fell back into Mongolia. But, although driven out of China, the Mongol strength in that part of the world was by no means destroyed, since in the sixteenth century we find them conquering Thibet, and adopting Buddhism as their religion. In the seventeenth century, however, the Mongols were finally subdued from the Chinese side by the Manchu dynasty, while in other parts of the world they were suffering defeat on all hands. Now, the existence of the Mongols as a separate people is restricted to Mongolia proper, where it is probable that they do not exceed two and a half millions in number, and it is even doubtful whether there be so

Among this sadly fallen people I travelled and lived for several weeks. These descendants of the men who only a few centuries ago were the terror of the world have become a peaceful, orderly, and quiet race of harmless and unarmed shepherds. All their old ferocity is gone, and so is their warlike spirit. China dominates Mongolia so easily that she maintains there not even the semblance of an armed force, unless we count the two or three hundred Manchu soldiers who are retained in Ourga as an ornamental body-guard to the Chinese Governor. The Mongols themselves are quite without weapons. Although they live in a country where a considerable amount of game exists, guns of any kind are exceedingly rare, and those guns that are to be found are old matchlocks of no real value.

Further, such gunpowder as the Mongols have is made by themselves, and is made so badly that it would be of little use, even with a good gun. The one quality of their ancestors that these Mongols possess is the quality of horsemanship. They live in the saddle, and better horsemen could not be desired. Possibly, if they were trained and led, it might be found that there still remains a possibility of reviving in the Mongols the spirit of their ancestors. They have a tradition that there will some day arise among them another great leader, who will lead them on the paths of conquest. In the moon

instinct, and would not face any armed force, however small.

The Mongols are called nomads, but that name also conveys a misapprehension. They are without permanently built habitations, and they live in tents, which at certain changing seasons they move from one pasturage ground to another. But they do not wander habitually, and they do not move far, and they move within such well-defined limits that to find a Mongol encampment is said to be as easy as to find a village in an agricultural country. Their food consists chiefly of milk and millet, with only a little mutton now and then, for their flock of sheep is their wealth, and they do not kill mutton for culinary purposes save on festivals and holidays. We bought a sheep, and had it killed for our party, at nearly every encampment at which we spent the night, and from the interest which the Mongols displayed in the remains of that sheep, one could see that mutton as food was not foo plentiful with them.

Although converted to Buddhism so recently as the sixteenth century, the Mongols seem to be almost the most zealous Buddhists, except the Thibetans, with whom I have come into contact. The proportion of priests or lamas to the population is probably greater than anywhere, except Thibet, just as the Mongol devotion to mechanical religious ceremonies is not equalled save in Thibet.

The habit of making pilgrimages is most widespread. The smaller pilgrimage is to Ourga, where there is one of the 'living Buddhas,' and to that town, where we stayed for a couple of days, I was informed that no less than 200,000 pilgrims come yearly. That represents nearly ten per cent. of the population of all Mongolia. The greater pilgrimage is to Wu T'ai Shan, a mountain situated in the province of Shansi in China. At Wu T'ai there are many shrines, and many thousands of lamas, and to it there comes, as offerings, a large part of all the money that the Mongols get by trading their wool, their ponies, and their salt. From Wu T'ai numerous parties of lamas travel throughout Mongolia on collecting expeditions, whence they return not merely with money, which is scarce, but with ponies, sheep, wool, tea, and anything else that can be had. Nay, so far do the Mongols carry their devotion, that, while alive, they will frequently surrender the whole of their property to some shrine of Buddha, receiving in exchange the assurance of support for the rest of their lives. It may be added, as an instance of the fact that the Mongols, however simple, have some shrewdness of their own, that the persons who thus surrender their property are seldom the very wealthiest Mongols; still, the priests are glad to accept such surrender, for the maintenance of a Mongol does not cost very much to a monastery, and that kind of

thing strengthens the priestly influence with the people.

The chief characteristic of the Mongols in their trading relations is simplicity and honesty of character. In their dealings, which are chiefly with the Chinese, they almost invariably get the worst of the bargain; and having sold their wool and other products, the luxuries and ornaments that they receive in exchange are usually productive of a huge profit to the Chinese merchant.

The relations of Mongolia with China are simple. The Chinese Government appoints to live at Ourga a Manchu governor, who is supposed to govern in consultation with a Mongolian prince. The credentials to the lesser headmen are issued by China through the Manchu governor; beyond that China interferes little. She collects no taxes, and she subsidizes the Mongol headmen for various services, including the maintenance of the post route and the carrying of the mails. These subsidies are a material part of the revenue of the chief Mongols, and must represent some little drain upon the Peking exchequer. Some of the Mongol princes and headmen also are called to Peking at intervals to pay their respects to the authorities there, and to give tribute; but the presents which they bring back with them are in excess of the value of the tribute that they have carried. The influence of China in Mongolia, therefore, is that

of a nominal suzerainty, effectually maintained for technical purposes, but involving no interference with the Mongols, and incurring some little expense to the sovereign power.

The relations of Mongolia to Russia are theoretically non-existent. Nevertheless, the Mongols know of Russia, respect Russia, and fear Russia. China and Russia are the only two powers of which they know, and they understand that the latter is a very strong and effective power; indeed, the Russian Consul-General at Ourga, and a few Russian shopkeepers there are the only Europeans with whom the Mongols come into contact. The respect for Russia is no doubt enhanced by the fact that across the Siberian border of Mongolia there is a large Buriat population, meaning thereby that section of the Mongol tribe which has settled in Siberia, and is under Russian domination. These Buriats occupy a richer country, have attained more wealth, and are, as one might put it, more civilized than the Mongols proper, and their intercourse with Mongolia does not fail to teach the Mongols that, if the Chinese authority in Mongolia should weaken, the people with whom the Mongols would have to deal would be the Russians.

## CHAPTER VIII.

#### IN THE DESERT.

We spent eighteen days in passing through Mongolia, of which the larger part was in the Desert of Gobi, and I shall ever remember the journey as one of the most pleasant experiences of my life; certainly I shall rate it as yielding the pleasures of travel in the very highest degree.

It was on Thursday, September 1, that we set forth from Kalgan, in the morning, to traverse the first stage of our Mongolian journey. Kalgan, as already stated, is the last outpost of China proper, near the Mongolian frontier. Immediately beyond Kalgan, at a height of about 5,000 feet, is the original Great Wall—more loosely built than the inner Great Wall, with which tourists are familiar. Beyond that wall are the rolling grass plains of Mongolia, stretching before the eye with no limit save the horizon, a sea of grass dotted at long intervals with Mongol encampments, and enlivened occasionally by the slow passing of a camel caravan, or the swifter progress of the

Mongol riders who carry the Russian overland mail.

Our march for the first day was solely in carts, or, as we chose, on foot, the swifter progress by Mongolian ponies being, as we understood, all arranged for the second day. The distance covered was about thirty-three miles, and at seven o'clock at night we reached our first Mongolian station. There we were received by the Mongol headman—a most courteous and amiable gentleman—who inspected our passports and produced a letter of advice informing him of our coming, and then told us that although he had been fully advised about us, yet, in the absence of one particular document, from the Kalgan Yamen, or magistracy, he could not give us horses to proceed.

All this, it may be explained, was said in the Mongol tongue, and had to be translated to us by our Chinese servant. Consequently the talk proceeded slowly and with much confusion; and it was dark, and we had been afoot since daylight, and we were hungry! But the Mongol headman was exceedingly civil, and after a little we found ourselves comfortably bestowed, not in the Mongol tents, but in handsomely furnished apartments in his very handsome private house, for this was a wealthy Mongolian of family and position.

By nine o'clock we were at dinner, with the consoling prospect that everything that could be done

for us would be done till the Yamen document arrived, or till we returned to Kalgan to demand it. Then, after dinner, one of my fellow-travellers decided that he would ride back to Kalgan to see the Chinese Yamen. Next morning he mounted, and with a guide set out on horseback on that expedition; and he returned about midnight on the same day. With the kindly help of the Russian postmaster at Kalgan he had seen the chief magistrate, and had been told (a) that the particular document we demanded was unknown; (b) that it had been sent on already; (c) that it would be sent after us.

At this stage, and with Russian concurrence, my friend said that he wanted that document by four o'clock in the afternoon, and that if he did not have it by that hour he would be at the telegraph-station' (the line has recently been opened to Kalgan) sending a message of complaint to the Tsung-li-Yamen of Peking. Then the aspect of affairs changed, and the document was promised for four o'clock, and was actually ready at that hour.

It was found on examination to be a most comprehensive document. It ordered every Mongolian headman on the route to Ourga (a distance of 800 miles) to supply us with ten horses for each waggon, with riding horses for ourselves and our attendants, and with additional transport for our baggage. That document, I may add here, was carried by a courier ahead of us all the way, and it was most fully

honoured. We never travelled a stage with less than twenty-five horses, and sometimes we had over forty, besides camels. How we managed to use so many horses will be understood when the method of transport is explained.

After this day and a half's delay we set forth again. The attendants, the transport, and the hours of journey were not quite in order at first, and the speed for a day or two was less than it was afterwards. Therefore, when I seek to describe our customary party and our customary march, it is to be understood that I describe it as it finally evolved itself.

The road on which we travelled, although it be neither surveyed nor made, is one of the old routes of the earth. It is the road by which Jenghis Khan swept with hordes of Mongol horsemen to what seemed like the conquest of the world. Setting out from the Mongol plateau, the so-called Desert of Gobi, the geographical conditions that led Jenghis Khan to China on the east, and to Moscow on the west, must have led him over the same line of country that we traversed; for it is a country where, although there be no river in that part of Gobi, water can always be had by digging a well.

It is not so, as I have already explained, all over the Gobi plateau, and there are parts of that plateau to which the name 'desert' may fittingly be applied. But the route that we traversed goes, speaking broadly, over 800 miles of rolling grassland. True, there are patches of desert, where the alkali shows on the ground like hoar-frost, and there are patches of rocky ground where no animal but a stray goat might feed; but generally the country is one great rolling plateau of short grass.

It is on that grass that the Mongols feed their flocks of sheep and herds of ponies. They build nothing. Save for a few Thibetan lamasseries rising sheer out in the plain, and a few mud-walled compounds erected to shelter the cattle from the winter wind, we saw no buildings for many days. The Mongol lives in tents, and it was in tents that we received and enjoyed his hospitalities.

We travelled as a party of three Europeans, with a Chinese cook. The latter we had engaged at Peking, on his own terms, not on the strength of his cookery, which was indifferent, nor because of any cleanlinese or smartness, which were sadly lacking, but because, in addition to his own language, he spoke some words of Mongolian and a little English. For 800 miles he had to be our interpreter as well as our cook.

These terms, by the way, although reckoned sufficient, were not costly. The arrangement was that the cook should travel with us from Peking to Kiakhta, on the Siberian-Mongolian Fontier, being a journey estimated at rather less than a month. He should then travel back from there to Peking at his own risk

and expense (presumably joining a caravan on a two months' trip), and for the whole journey there and back, and for all expenses of his own, he should receive the sum of seventy silver dollars—say £7 of English money. He was an indifferent cook and a troublesome servant, but we had wisely chosen him in preference to a better man because of his partial knowledge of Mongolian.

Beyond that, we had from the Chino-Mongolian boundary to the Mongolian capital—say for 600 miles—a Mongolian functionary of some little standing and a minor Mongolian functionary who assisted the head functionary generally. I call these men functionaries because I can find no precise words to describe their status. I do not know from whence they came or who sent them, but I do know that the two were servants of the Government of Mongolia, and that their orders were to take charge of our journey, the senior man being held responsible for our safety.

Of our party, I had the best opportunity to appreciate how that responsibility weighed on the head functionary. When he found that I rode but indifferently, and yet that I would ride, he worried around picking out my houses, and he never saw me get out of the saddle for the day without a sigh of relief.

These two servants of the Mongolian Government were invaluable to us. One or other of them pre-

ceded us as a courier, got relays of horses and camels ready, saw that tents were prepared, and presented the Mongol headmen to us; the other leoked after the baggage transport, saw that nothing was left behind, and generally made himself useful in every way. They were not our servants, but they were a thousand times more helpful than our servant was. They were zealous, civil, intelligent, and conscientious in the highest degree, a credit to their country and their kind. I have had in my time a good deal to do with Chinese, Malays, Hindoos, Sikhs, Arabs, Japanese, and Ghurkas, and I have found good men in every race, but I never had to do with better men than these two Mongols who descended on us out of the unknown; and I am glad to remember that we recognised their qualities. I believe that the present we made to them (a money present) was considered liberal, but I believe that they were still more grateful for our obvious recognition of their kindness and their merits.

We had two covered waggons, each on two wheels and without springs. These were to carry ourselves, when we felt so inclined, and such portion of our baggage as we chose to have always at hand. These waggons were not driven, in the ordinary sense of the word. No animal was put between the shafts, and there was no driver. The one shaft was suspended by ropes from a wooden pole, the ends of

the pole being rested on the peaked saddles of the two Mongol horsemen, between the peak of the saddle and the leg; then two, and in bad country four, six, or even eight, more horses, each with a rider, were hitched on by the simple process of the rider fastening a rope to the waggon, and passing it round his waist, his arm, or his saddle, as he felt inclined. Then off went the waggon, as regardless of obstacles as any field-gun hasting to battle. Up or down a hill, over a ditch, through a ravine, amongst rocks, stones, or boulders, the waggon went right on. Everything that was in it jumped up and down and around, and mixed up together in one miscellaneous jumble.

It may be asked how any traveller could stand all that. Well, in the first place there was not much of it. I have described how the waggon went over bad country, but there was not much bad country. There was enough to break two stout axles (we carried spare axles), and to shake doors and roofs to pieces (we carried hammer, nails, and cord), and to force us to leave one of the waggons behind us for a time some sixty miles from the Mongolian capital; but yet the bad country was scarce. For hundreds of miles the waggons rolled over grassland, as free from difficulties as if they were being driven over Richmond Park. Also on the bottom of each waggon were spread three stoutly-stuffed bags of fibre, and above these I had a mattress stuffed with

raw silk, with a pillow of the same material, while around and at the sides I had a few blankets and a sheepskin overcoat, so that in the absence of bad country such as I have described the waggon was comfortable enough.

To draw each of these waggons, in ordinary country, we had four horses and four men. For our own riding we had three horses. For the functionaries there were two horses, with three for their servant and baggage. For our personal baggage, and all the month's supply of food-stuffs, drinks, and cooking utensils, there were a variable number of horses or camels, depending on whether the baggage was taken with us in rough carts, or on pack-ponies, or was sent in advance on camels.

Putting aside camel transport, for purposes of present calculation, it may be assumed that the baggage-transport by horse alone represented about ten horses and four men. But in addition to all that there was usually a string of led horses, to allow of changing the animals attached to the waggon or that we were riding, and that horse-reserve may be taken on the average as six horses and two men. The whole, on the above calculation, amounts to thirty-two horses and twenty-one men; but it varied greatly according to the country and the plentifulness or scarcity of horses. On one occasion, I remember, we rode out a party of twenty-five men and forty-two horses.

At night we slept in Mongol tents. These tents are of an invariable circular pattern, and are made of a rough thick felt, stretched on an umbrella-shaped framework of tent-poles. The earthen floor is covered with rugs of the same felt, which is manufactured of refuse wool compressed in water, and is exceedingly warm. The walls were also lined with cloth hangings, and around the side were fixed raised divans, on which we spread our bedding and sat to take our meals. They always had the chief tent of the encampment cleaned and prepared between the period that elapsed between the arrival of our courier and of ourselves.

The size and the appointments of the tents varied, of course, with the wealth of the headman of the station. Several times we had a tent of five apartments, or, otherwise, a series of five small tents connected. Often we had a tent of two apartments. Frequently the tent had but one room, in which the three of ms were a bit crowded. A fire was always offered us; but as the fire is but an open iron frame filled with dried horse-dung, and as the smoke searches the tent before it escapes by an opening in the roof, we usually found it wiser to reject the fire and heapon more clothing. The clothing had to be pretty warm, for we were all straight from the tropics, and the outside temperature at night was seldom above 38° Fahrenheit, and was frequently less. Indeed, as often as not we

found the grass covered of a morning with light hoar-frost.

Imagine us asleep in such a tent, and I will sketch an average day's work. Shortly after five o'clock in the morning the cook would come to call By half-past six or thereby we had washed, dressed, and eaten a breakfast, usually of fried mutton, hot rice, bread, butter, and tea. Then, after dawdling a little to see the breakfast dishes packed, we would start off across the grassy plains on spirited little ponies, the usual plan being to furnish each of us with a Mongol guide, so that we could independently go fast or slow, as suited our personal notions and the capabilities of our respective mounts. The distances between each encampment varied from sixteen to twenty-five miles, but eighteen, may be taken as an average length. Usually we would arrive at the encampment some half an hour after our herald, and some half an hour before our baggage.

Then followed an invariable routine. The headman, with one or two of his relatives or chiefs, received us, bowing as we dismounted, and conducted us to a tent, where we seated ourselves. Then each of the chief men courteously presented each of us with his snuff-bottle—usually a handsome specimen of glass and metal work—and after sniffing, or professing to sniff, each of us presented to each headman a cigarette-case, from which he

took a cigarette, and proceeded to smoke it. The consumption of cigarettes for that purpose alone averaged fifty a day; but we had made due provision. Next we were tendered goat's milk, if there was any available, and Mongol tea. The latter is villainous stuff. To begin with, it is made of brick tea—cheap refuse leaves. Then it is mixed with fat and salt and is stewed for an indefinite period. Yet it is warm and nourishing, and in the cold of the early morning I was often glad to get it, but later in the day never.

With these formalities a half-hour passed away, and then, with fresh horses and fresh men, supplied by the encampment, we would start off again, the horses and men of the previous station returning thither at their leisure. The headman of the encampment usually personally accompanied us to the next station, where the same kindly formalities were again gone through.

Our routine was to ride three such stations before we called a halt for lunch, and then to rest for about an hour and a half, discussing another meal of hot mutton, hot rice, and bread-and-butter. Then by half-past two or three o'clock we were off again to do two stations more before we stopped for the evening.

I must confess that my own travelling after lunch was always in the waggon, my average on horse-back being scarcely so high as fifty miles a day,

while only once did I reach the sixty. My companions were more active and also younger, frequently making the whole distance in the saddle, and sometimes doing so even when we went up to roo miles in the day. But three stations a day in the saddle was all I cared to undertake, and though I sometimes rode one of these in the afternoon, I never rode one immediately after lunch.

On arriving at our last stage for the day, usually about an hour before darkness, the first care was to lay out our bedding in the tent, to unpack our sleeping clothes, and to see what the cook could prepare for the evening meal. Fresh mutton we always had, buying a whole sheep from the Mongols each day or two. Rice and potatoes we carried in quantity for the whole trip, and bread we had for most of the way, getting our supply of that renewed at Kalgan and Ourga respectively.

Tinned meats and vegetables, biscuits, and butter and jam, and the like, we had in ample quantity, and we had a case of claret and a few bottles of brandy. But chiefly our drink was tea. I also drank at meals a good deal of water, boiled and bottled overnight, and fortified with the usual mixture of brandy. Between meals, if thirsty, as usually we were, we drank cold tea, also bottled after the evening meal.

With all these materials, and other stores that it would be needless to recite, it will be seen that we

had ample resources for a full and wholesome dinner, prior to which meal we usually had washed, changed into our sleeping suits, and made all ready to turn in to sleep, after a cigar and a half-hour's conversation. It was seldom we were awake after nine o'clock, and from then till dawn we slept the sound sleep of an open-air life. That was the day's routine.

It may be asked what kind of animals were these Mongolian ponies that we rode day by day, and changed station by station. Well, naturally, they varied. Where the grass was good they were strong and full of mettle. Where the grass was scarce they were less fit for work. Sometimes one got a pony that had by chance a pleasant gait on the trot or run, but, generally speaking, the only thing to do was to ride them at the gallop for a few riles, and then walk them for a bit. Our own saddles, of Mongol pattern, we carried with us, having bought them at Kiakhta—a wooden frame peaked before and behind, and slightly padded with a rough red or blue velvet.

I might not have ridden so much without accident, but for two conditions. First, the ponies, although strongly inclined to bold were absolutely without vice, and never reared or bucked. Second, in the plains of Mongolia there is nothing to startle a horse or cause it to shy, and there are no obstructions of traffic. When a pony bolted with me, and when I

found it unavailing to hold it, I simply sat tight and let it go. When the track was well marked I would let it continue straight ahead on the trail. When the track was uncertain I would guide it in a wide circle till we rejoined the main cavalcade. Around, in front, and to the side all was level grassland—the finest riding ground that I have seen. The only risk is that the pony may put its foot into some hole made by a burrowing animal; but of that the ponies themselves are well aware, and though they often stumble they seldom fall. Only once in the whole journey did any pony that I rode come down, and it was an easy fall, doing no harm to man or horse.

It can be understood that with willing ponies, frequently changed, the pleasure of galloping in bright sunshine over the plains of Mongolia is very great.

Nor are the plains devoid of life. Antelope we occasionally saw in the distance, and one day a herd of several thousand passed within a few hundred yards of us; but we had no guins. We tried a revolver shot, but that was ineffectual. Duck, goose, and snipe were to be seen wherever there was water. Occasionally we would pass a camel caravan. Frequently we would meet a Mongol family on the move. Once, and once only, we met a fellow-European—M. le Comte Eugène de Zichye, a member of the Austro-Hungarian Diet. I happened at the time to be riding, with one of my fellow-

travellers, well in advance of our main body, when we saw two open wheeled vehicles nearing us. As we approached more closely, we said, 'Surely these are Europeans,' and we drew rein. At the same time the first vehicle stopped, and out jumped a gentleman of mature years, who promptly and courteously told us who he was. He was travelling for pleasure, towards Peking, as we were towards Moscow. He looked exceedingly well and happy, and after a half-hour's conversation we each departed on our ways. That was the only European we found in Mongolia, except when we reached Ourga.

Before, however, reaching Ourga, the Mongolian capital, we had to leave the Desert of Gobi. About a day or so before we reached Ourga the character of the country began to change. The wide expanse of treeless grassland merged into hill and valley, and where the change begins is where Gobi ends. We were, of course, eager to press on, and yet reluctant to think that our sojourn in Gobi was at an end; for, as I have said, the memory of my journey in the Desert of Gobi must ever remain as one of my most pleasant experiences of travel.

## CHAPTER IX.

#### MUNGOL WAYS AND CUSTOMS.

The most notable physical characteristic of the Mongol people is that they, so to speak, live on horseback. A Mongol will not walk fifty yards if he can help it, and if he has to walk any distance he walks it badly. He is not trained for it, and he is not dressed for it. Even the wandering beggar frequently rides on his rounds. The herdsman, watching the sheep, is on horseback; the children ride and the women ride. The latter fact was especially noticeable to me in so far that a large part of the Mongol cavalcade that accompanied us, and towed the waggons, consisted of women, who rode mile for mile with the men, doing their fair share of all the work.

The women, of course, ride astride the saddle just as the men do, and one of my two travelling companions, being a doctor of medicine, and naturally interested in physiological subjects, advanced the not unreasonable theory that this habit of constant riding on horseback on the part of the women may

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count as one factor in the steady dwindling away of the Mongol race. Certainly a notable fact in the short records of the Mongol people is the way in which the numbers of the race must have dwindled. The race that overran the whole of Asia, and that sent forth numerous armies at one and the same time to different parts of that continent, must have been a very much more numerous people than it is now.

There are, however, various other reasons which may account for the dwindling population, one of these being the remarkable devotion to the priest-hood that has overtaken the Mongol people since they adopted Buddhism, and since they came under the religious influence of Thibet. A huge part of the male population—it has been estimated at one-fourth or one-fifth—consists of that section of the priesthood vowed to celibacy. The result is a general immorality, the practice of many vices, and a low birth-rate.

The decline of the Mongol race might, however, be used by some competent medical authority to enforce the argument—much needed to be enforced nowadays—that women are not capable, with advantage to themselves and to their race, of undergoing the same hardships as men. The young girls in Mongolia, girls not yet emerged from childhood, look strong and healthy, and they appear to continue so for some time. But they age rapidly,

with a rapidity not to be accounted for, as in India and the tropics, by climatic considerations. The climate of Mongolia is such that there is no reason why women should age there more rapidly than in Europe. Yet they do age very quickly; nay, more than that, the testimony of the medical missionaries is that almost all Mongol women have some severe ailment, and that they habitually die young, while also they suffer severely in childbirth and from women's complaints generally. They try to endure the labours of men and the labour of women, and they can't do it.

The wedding customs of the Mongols are of much the same very elaborate character, and are founded upon the same theory, that prevails among most partly civilized races. The terms of the marriage having been arranged by the parents of the bride, she is supposed to remain ignorant of the whole matter, notwithstanding the most elaborate preparations; and finally the bridegroom is supposed to abduct her from her parents' house, and carry her off on horseback to his own tent. The play is played most conscientiously, the girl lying like a lump across the man's saddle, and shrieking for help. Finally, the parents of the bride having made their reconciliation with the bridegroom, the wedding festivities begin, and, in the case of wealthy Mongols, are continued for many weeks.

An important element in such festivities, as in all

other Mongol festivities, is the excessive consumption of alcohol. The home-made alcohol of the Mongols is manufactured from mare's milk, and is not very strong; but, unhappily, since they came under the domination of the Chinese, they have taken to drinking Chinese spirit. Now, the Chinese alcohol is exceedingly strong, and as the Mongols sell to the Chinese wool, hides, salt and ponies, they have considerable facilities for purchasing this Chinese spirit, which the trader is exceedingly anxious to push off upon them, since he derives a larger profit from it than from any other article that he sells. No doubt the open-air life of the Mongols tends to counteract the evil effects of drunkenness, but against that we must place the fact that latterly the better prices obtainable for Mongol produce have enabled them to purchase more alcohol,

Happily, however, the favourite drink of the Mongols is tea. They get the cheapest and the worst tea that China produces, but, considering the way they treat it, stewing it with fat, milk and salt, it is probable that this inferior tea serves their purpose quite as well as a better leaf might do. We took about fifty blocks of brick tea with us, which we had purchased at Kalgan at the price of about one shilling a block, and that tea, which we disposed of in presents to the Mongol headmen, was, I am sure, much better received than if we had given them five times its value in money.

The Mongols have their own music, and play upon a fiddle, which, however rough it may appear, is substantially the same as the violin of Europe, the bow being of horsehair, just the same as in Europe. They are rather fond of singing also, and their songs are romantic and poetical. I have, unhappily, no ear for music, but I am assured by those who have that Mongolian music is on a much higher plane than Chinese music, and is not unpleasing even to a cultivated European ear.

The substantial kindness of the Mongol nature may be judged by their general charity. Beggars haunt the whole of Mongolia, accumulating, no doubt, chiefly on the caravan routes, where these approach the Buddhist shrines, so that in Ourga, where 200,000 pilgrims go yearly, there is a large and permanent population of beggars. These, upon the whole, are used very kindly.

Although I have spoken in a previous chapter of honesty as a characteristic of the Mongol race, my reference was to commercial honesty and fidelity as in loyally fulfilling a bargain and the like. For the simpler kind of dishonesty—open theft—the Mongols are rather noted. They did not steal from my party, and I am sure that all our property, which contained some valuables and much silver, was absolutely safe in their hands. We, of course, were accredited to them by letters which no doubt caused them to be specially careful of us; but I believe that even an

unaccredited traveller would be perfectly safe from theft at the hands of the people he employed or at the hands of those with whom he stayed. The theft for which the Mongols are noted is, as one might say, legitimate professional theft by persons avowedly engaged in that business. There is, in fact, nothing disreputable in being a thief in Mongolia, provided you carry on the business as a profession. It is partly, no doubt, because of the prevalence of professional theft that every Mongol tent has its dog or dogs, and that a Mongol encampment is watched by herds of dogs. It is not possible to approach a Mongol encampment without your visit being heralded by the loud barking of these dogs, which rush at the visitors as if to devour them.

Before I entered Mongolia I heard much of the ferocity of these Mongol dogs, was told to approach an encampment with the greatest care, and never to emerge from a tent save equipped with a stout stick. Nay, I was informed by kindly, although too anxious, well-wishers of a certain Mongol phrase that I should shout aloud when approaching an encampment, it being, I was told, a part of the settled law and custom of Mongolia that upon hearing that phrase each Mongol was bound to come to his tent door to quiet his dogs. Well, the dogs are undoubtedly there, and are quite as noisy as I was warned, but the stories of their ferocity, and of the danger to be encountered from them, are absurdly

exaggerated. The dogs are as cowardly as dogs can be, and have not the slightest intention of coming within striking distance of even an unarmed stranger if only he show no fear of them.

After a day or two I would stroll about from tent to tent—the Mongol encampments are frequently widely scattered—with my hands in my pockets, so to speak, absolutely regardless of the dozens of dogs that yelped around. The dogs are watch-dogs so far as making a noise is concerned, but are absolutely without those fighting instincts that we associate with the bulldog or the mastiff.

The Mongols, I may again repeat, are priestridden to a greater extent than any people I have ever visited. The lamas, working from Thibet, have laid upon all Mongolia a grip such as, I think, no other priesthood has ever laid upon any other people. Having regard to the poverty of the Mongols, I doubt whether any Church collects from any people so substantial a revenue as the Buddhist Church collects in Mongolia. The doctrine of the Buddhist religion that has really taken hold upon the Mongolian people is that of the transmigration of souls. They believe this not merely as a doctrine, but as a living fact of their everyday life, and it is by that means that the lamas retain their control. The Mongol thoroughly believes that after the death of the body his soul will enter upon a new life amidst such circumstances as may be determined by his general merit and by his relation to the Buddhist Church at the time of his body's death. Unhappily, by the fault of the priests, this belief does not much affect his moral tone in life, but acts chiefly by impelling him to frequent pilgrimages, to gifts to the lamas, and to the mechanical repeating of prayers by means of turning a crank and a cylinder.

Praying in that mechanical fashion is, of course, known in all Buddhist countries, but it attains its greatest vogue in those countries that are under the immediate influence of Thibet. I saw a great deal of it, for instance, at Darjeeling, in the Himalayas, but that, of course, is directly on the borders of Thibet. Ourga, however, is the place where it is more to be seen than anywhere else outside of Thibet itself. In the market-place and streets of Ourga praying-wheels are to be found by the score, and at these the pious pilgrims, as I am told, work for hours at a time, until by constant revolution of the cylinder of the praying-machine they have credited to themselves what they regard as the necessary number of prayers. Apart from that it is a custom of the regular inhabitants of Ourga to stop for a minute or two in passing and give the wheel a turn. Besides that, there are to be seen at Ourga innumerable ranks of sloped platforms on which lie prostrate Mongols making their devotions, while in the town pilgrims may be seen making a slow progress through the streets by falling down at full

length, marking the part of the ground that the brow touches, then rising and repeating the same falling operation, by which, as it will be seen, the man advances his own height, or say five and a half feet, by each fall. The Mongols, in a word, are really and earnestly religious, and are deeply devoted to the teachings of the priesthood of Thibet. That is their most notable characteristic morally, just as their life on horseback is their keynote physically.

# CHAPTER X.

## FROM MONGOLIA TO SIBERIA.

It was on September 14 that we rode into Ourga, the capital of Mongolia. It had been our coldest morning, the ground being thickly covered with hoar-frost, and as we emerged from our tent we decided to set out in the sheepskin overcoats that hitherto we had only used at nights, and not even then when on horseback. But, as we rode up the valley and across the pleasant river which waters the land, the sun shone out with welcome heat, and the birch, larch, and pine of the surrounding hills nodded in a wind that was almost warm. It is to the rich grass of the river valley and to the timber on the hills that Ourga probably first owed its position as the only city in Mongolia. That was no doubt the beginning of Ourga's position, and still all Mongolia resorts to it for articles made of wood, such, for instance, as the saddle that every Mongolian must possess. But Ourga has since become important as a great religious centre. It is, as I have noted, the residence of the third living Buddha, the yearly

resort of about 200,000 pilgrims, and the local headquarters of about 10,000 priests or lamas, these last being everywhere in evidence as you pass through the town.

We rode slowly through the rough, unmade streets, a procession of about thirty men and forty horses, until we brought up at a wooden building with a green-painted zinc roof, towards which we had been making our way, for we knew that the green roof was a sure sign of Russian nationality. The building proved to be a Russian store, of which there are seven or eight in Ourga, and, having obtained a guide to the Russian Consulate, we rode in that direction, leaving our baggage temporarily under the storekeeper's care. The Consulate proved to be some distance from the Mongolian town, on a little hill commanding a charming view of mountain, vale, F and river-a charming residence occupied by an equally charming man. M. Chichmareff, to whom we bore letters of introduction from several quarters, at once insisted that we should become his guests, and there, to put it briefly, we remained for two days while our waggon was being repaired, and fresh arrangements were being made for our further transport. M. Chichmareff was so kind, so informing, and so helpful to us, in every way so admirable a host, that I feel almost ashamed to refer to the lesser side of his hospitality. Yet since we were fresh from the rough fare of the Mongolian plateau, it may be

permissible to say that the Russian Consulate at Ourga will live in my memory as an oasis of food amidst a desert of rice and mutton. There was a fish from the Ourga River—it tasted like sturgeon—of which none of us could ever resist a second helping, and—but why go into details?—M. Chichmareff's good fare was the lesser part of his hospitality.

We saw Ourga pretty thoroughly. It is a town of about 40,000 people, chiefly Mongolians, with a few thousand Chinese, the governing authority resting with a Manchu governor and a Mongolian prince. The former has about 250 Manchurian soldiers, and that, so far as I can learn, is the only military force in all Mongolia. Besides the Mongolians and Chinese there are in Ourga about 150 Russians. These latter are chiefly engaged in the caravan trade, all of which passes through Ourga. Of public buildings Ourga has none save a great temple with a very famous and beautifully-worked copper statue of Buddha—a statue about thirty feet high, and evidently of Chinese workmanship. Of road-making, of sanitation, of local administration, there is none. The city is a collection of wood buildings or mud huts, each surrounded by a high wooden fence. The roads are tracks created by traffic. The open spaces are of dust or mud, as the weather may direct. Dogs are the only scavengers. Yet, withal, Ourga is a prosperous and happy town. It is a manufacturing centre, since not only the Mongol saddlery, but the Mongol headgear, the richer clothing, and all the pipes, tobacco-pouches, and girdles which the Mongol loves are of Ourga make. The 200,000 pilgrims who resort there yearly must also be a source of considerable revenue, and, as a matter of fact, the people of Ourga have every sign of being prosperous. They seem happy and good-mannered, and, after travelling through China, one particularly notes the free and independent life of the Mongol women. These move about with perfect freedom, buying, selling, or gossiping in the market-place, and, of course, riding on horseback, whenever they have to go more than a few yards.

After a two days' halt at Ourga we set out, after lunch, towards Kiakhta, which is a town that rests upon the Mongolian-Siberian frontier, about 180 miles from Ourga. The method of travel was the same as when we were on the Gobi desert, the Manchu Yamen at Ourga having supplied the necessary permit for horses, and the Mongol Government having supplied two officials to take charge of the journey, replacing those who had travelled with us from Kalgan to Ourga. But the character of the country and the rate at which we traversed it were different.

From Ourga onwards we entered a land of hill and valley, of cattle, and occasionally of cereals,

where bullocks were more numerous, and where horses were less plentiful. Although the land was richer, the people seemed less well-to-do. Their tents were smaller and poorer. They seemed to be more eager for money, more on the outlook for 'tips,' less ceremoniously polite. In a word, we had passed from a nomadic and pastoral people, content with their flocks and indifferent to money, and were among a people so much in touch with civilization that they knew they were poor. Withal there were some compensations.

The Mongols of the desert had furnished for cookery little fires of dried horse-dung—fires that, because of the smoke, one did not care to use more than was strictly necessary. The Mongols beyond Ourga, living in a well-wooded country, were able to give us nightly fires of blazing wood. Travelling chiefly on horseback, but partly in our waggons, we did the 180 miles in rather less than two days, and about one o'clock on September 19 we rode into Kiakhta—out of Mongolia and into Siberia.

The change was startling, especially since it was not marked by any custom-house or frontier posts. Unquestioned and unchallenged we rode direct from Mongolian life, fresh from our memories of Ourga, into a city of carefully made roads, of clean white-washed houses, of European shops and stores, of streets, and squares, and public gardens, and schools, and school-children at play.

As we passed from Kiakhta proper, the quarter of official offices, into the commercial suburb of Troitzkossawsk, the children from the schools crowded to look at ourselves and our Mongol cavalcade; and they crowded the more when we halted in the main square of the town and remained there. The truth was that we had heard there was a hotel in Troitzkossawsk, and we had thought our Mongol guide was taking us there, whereas he did not know the town at all, and was quite at sea. Then we found a man who spoke French, who led us to a baker's shop that proved to be the hotel. But, alas! the hotel was full; it had three rooms, and these were occupied. Finally, to cut a long story short, they agreed to let us encamp in the sitting-room used by the family of the hotel proprietor, and a quarter of an hour later we were eating as good a luncheon as hungry men need want.

A little later, and having washed and dressed, we proceeded to make our necessary calls. The first was to a principal official, to whom we had a letter, but who, unfortunately, did not speak anything but Russian. But we managed, nevertheless, to understand that he would be glad to see us again, when his wife would talk to us, either in French or in English. The next call was at the Russo-Chinese Bank, where also no one spoke anything but Russian, but where, nevertheless, and although

the bank was closed for the day, they promptly opened up their safes to give us the money we wanted. From there we were going to make a third call, to present a third letter, when I was hailed from a passing tarantass by a man who addressed me in English, and from that moment began our experience of the hospitality of Troitz-kossawsk.

Before I speak of that hospitality, let me first explain that the town known as Kiakhta consists really of three towns. Kiakhta claims to have been founded so far back as the year 1730, and it possesses peculiar and remarkable privileges. Although there is an official of rank called the Commissioner of the Frontier, yet in many respects the merchants of Kiakhta are allowed to control their town affairs by an elected body called the Three Elders, and these Elders have the right to communicate direct with the Emperor. These privileges, it is understood, were given to the original merchant adventurers who settled there to engage in the Russo-Chinese trade, and they have been continued to the present day. Now there are really three separate towns. There is Kiakhta proper, the site of the Russian Government Offices, and the residence of the older mercantile families. Adjoining that, separated only by a little bit of waste ground, through which runs an imaginary frontier-line, there is a Chinese town

(Mei-Mechan), in Mongol territory. Then, about a mile and a half distant there is the town of Troitzkossawsk, where are all the retail shops, and the business houses and the residences of those Russians who do not happen to have houses in Kiakhta proper. The Russian population is about 10,000, and there are Chinese, Mongols, and mixed races in considerable numbers. Let it be added that the trading importance of the town is, probably, not so great as once it was.

Kiakhta owes it origin to the caravan trade, and the caravan trade is less than formerly, and will become still less when the Trans-Siberian Railway is finished. But the trade was once a very great and very profitable one, and with the money made in the caravan trade the Kiakhta merchants have engaged in Siberian gold-mining, have invested in river steamers, have planted branches north, south, and east, and have made still more money. There is, probably, in all the world, fio other town that is at once so little known, so small, and so full of wealth. In Kiakhta and Troitzkossawsk there are half a dozen men reputed to be each worth more than a million sterling. There are a score said to be worth a quarter of a million, and there are many others who are known to be very wealthy. The people roll in money. And now I will talk of their hospitality.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, at the invitation

of a man who hailed us in the street, we entered a Russian merchant's house, explaining that we could only wait half an hour; and it was after midnight when we left. Our introducer was a young Russian who had spent four years at an American University, and who had spent some months in England, and among the Clyde shipbuilding yards. Our host was the introducer's elder brother, a tea-merchant of Kiakhta, and interested in gold-mining. It was a large house, and although we saw it with the disadvantage that it was under repair, it was clearly a very fine house. There was a huge dining-room, decorated in brown and gold. There was a great drawing-room. There was a billiard-room. There were fine stables, containing forty-five horses. I take it that the motive of the younger brother in receiving us was chiefly to repay kindness he had received in America; but (since human nature is mixed) he may also have desired to show his people how thoroughly he understood the English language and American ways-as, in truth, he did understand them. The motive of the elder brother in entertaining us as he did can only have been that of pure hospitality.

We entered the house at five, and we left it after midnight. The interval, to be quite frank, was spent in drinking, and in resisting efforts to make us drink more. There was also a good deal of casual and miscellaneous eating, beginning with a dinner, merging into tea with cakes, ending with a substantial hot supper. But the drinking was the feature.

In addition to our host's family there were a dozen or more of other guests, who had dropped in casually—officials in rich uniforms, and the mercantile people plainly dressed—for it was no formal gathering. Each desired us to drink with him, and usually in a different liquor. Champagne was flowing as freely as water does in towns where there is no meter check. Chartreuse, Benedictine and other liqueurs were being tossed off in wineglasses. Sherry, claret, port, beer and stout—all carried thousands of miles by land—were being drunk, as one might say, bumper about. Between whiles neat vodka was being taken by the glassful.

Now, I can drink, and am willing to drink with my food, a fair amount of any one liquor, but I cannot stand mixed drinks, nor can I drink miscellaneously through an evening. I had begun with champagne, and I tried to stick to it, and, in the end, I did stick to it, but it was a fight. It seemed to be the custom that the man who asked one to drink should have the privilege of selecting the liquor.

Further, the company were most amiably discussing international politics, in the Russian language, with occasional interpretation, and one had to make speeches, and propose toasts, and pledge Russia,

and America, and England, and invite the Russian occupation of Manchuria, and agree that the world was big enough for the two nations, and to do it all with much drinking. My travelling companions had been running all through the journey as total abstainers from alcohol, but they had to drink now.

Finally, one old gentleman, of considerable rank, and with a gorgeous uniform-let me call him the Admiral—challenged me in vodka, and would not accept my willingness to drink champagne. He put it on international grounds. Vodka was the Russian drink, and I was English; and my American companions had drunk with him in vodka, and I must do the same. But I was obstinate, because I did not wish to become drunk; and the Admiral grew hot. Where it might have ended I cannot say; but I had the good fortune to be sitting next the hostess, and very, very quietly she gently slipped behind the range of bottles the glass of vodka that the Admiral had filled for me, and substituted one of water. In appearance the two are precisely the same. Then I drank with the Admiral, and we both turned our empty glasses upside down. Then, in a minute or so, my kindly hostess slipped me another glass of water; and amidst cheers I challenged the Admiral, and we drank agair. But that did not end the difficulty, for other people began to challenge me in champagne and port and stout, and the hostess

could not help me there. So I pretended to go to sleep.

Meanwhile the company sang American college songs, without knowing the words or the tune, and pledged everybody and everything in every liquor.

Well, it came to an end, and I have to thank the kindness and tact of my hostess that I remained sober without appearing to slight the national drink.

Next morning our English-speaking Russian friend called upon us sharp at the appointed hour of ten, and gave us the whole of his forenoon time in assisting us to arrange our transport for Siberia, in selling our surplus taels (lump silver), in despatching a telegram to my wife, and the like. As our transport was finally arranged, it was that we travelled by a post route established by the Kiakhta merchants for their own convenience, carrying with us an order for horses, signed by one of the Three Elders.

Our friend then lunched with us, refusing to drink anything save tea, though I was drinking brandy-and-water; and then he gave us the whole of his afternoon, taking us to call on Russian merchants and officials, showing us the great church of Kiakhta—the finest in Eastern Siberia—and taking us through the Chinese town, where we found that the Chinese merchants spoke a kind of

pidgin Russian. We found the Russian merchants living in large houses, excellently furnished. None of them spoke English, but in several cases their wives did so, and always their sons and daughters, when these were at hand. Usually they were not at hand, but were studying abroad, as in one case where the walls were hung with paintings sent by a son studying art in Paris; and we were shown amateur photographs of the daughters in the pleasant outdoor life of a French summer.

So we spent the afternoon; and in the evening we went again to the same house where we had spent the previous night. The procedure was as I have already described it, save that I refused to drink anything except tea, and obtained permission to leave early on the plea that I was fatigued. My friends, however, went through the evening till midnight. They had nothing to report to me materially different from the proceedings of the previous evening, save only that two of the guests, finding my friend the Admiral asleep, had called for a quart of champagne and had shampooed his head with it. Yet, perhaps, there is one thing to be added. The host, by his English-speaking brother, had taken opportunity to tell his foreign guests that while he could not prevent them being pressed to drink, yet he wished them to understand that, so far as he was concerned, they were absolutely free to refuse if they so wished.

In that, as in all else, our host was courtesy itself, while to the hostess I must always be grateful for the ready tact with which, by changing my glass, she saved me from an awkward situation. Indeed, we all remarked how notable it was that, amidst the carousal, the ladies of the family maintained their dignity while losing none of their sweetness.

# CHAPTER XI.

#### ENTERING SIBERIA.

EARLY in the morning of September 21 we left hospitable Kiakhta behind us, and set forth on our journey through Siberia. There was bright sunshine, with cold wind, and the bells of the tarantass jingled merrily. Of these vehicles we had two, each with three horses and each with one driver. That was all. Spare horses, saddle-horses, guides, functionaries, and servants—all these pleasant items of our travel in Mongolia were ended.

We were on a post route, in a country where labour is not so cheap as in China, a route established on mercantile principles, and intended to cover its own cost. With us in the tarantasses—or perhaps it would be better to say under and around us—were our personal baggage, our bedding, and one box of food-stuffs. The tarantass in use in Siberia is a punt-shaped, four-wheeled vehicle, with a hooded cover, and with no seats, save a box-seat for the driver. You place your luggage on the floor of the tarantass, stow your bedding and your

wraps as you think best, and sit on such seat as may result from the stowage. The horses are changed at stations that average about fifteen miles apart, and the rate paid for the hire averages out as a little more than a third of a rouble per mile for each tarantass. Beyond that you tip the drivers, after the usual European fashion, and at the stations where accommodation is nominally free you give some trifle known as samovar money. But at places where we fed and allowed the woman of the house to wash our few dishes we gave a little more.

The rate of progress in Siberia was very much slower than in Gobi. The distance from Kiakhta to Lake Baikal, where we were to get a steamer, is about 120 miles, and a Kiakhta merchant told us he had once made it in twenty hours of continuous travelling. But he was in haste, travelling in a light vehicle of his own, and a mounted messenger preceded him to order horses to be ready at each station. We had no such facilities, nor especial need for them, and our progress was at the rate of only about fifty miles a day, or two and a third days for the distance of 122 miles.

On the second day we made sixty miles, but that involved starting at half-past six in the morning, and finishing after ten o'clock in the evening. The actual rate, while on the road, averaged about five and a half miles an hour, and there were long delays at the stations, delays of about two hours

each. These were inevitable. Fresh horses had to be brought in and had to be fed. The process of harnessing of itself occupied about half an hour, and involved much fastening and splicing with rope and string. But we took it all calmly. If the hour suited for a meal, we unpacked our box of food-stuffs and ate. If otherwise, we produced a little packet of Chinese tea, accepted the aid of the ever-present samovar, and drank and smoked and talked, or slept.

At night we encamped at the post-station, pretty much as we had done in the Mongolian tents. That is, we spread our beds on the floor, covered ourselves with our rugs or overcoats, and went to sleep. Of the two stations where we slept, one was heated by the Russian stove, and one was not; the unheated one we preferred, for the one that was heated was excessively warm. The temperature was 70°, while outside it was about 40°.

During the day we rested in the tarantass, always in sunshine and keen crisp air. It was a pleasant journey, though devoid of the delights that we obtained from riding through the plains of Gobi. The country through which we passed was of hill and valley, well wooded and watered, but little cultivated, sparsely used even for grazing, and very little inhabited. The roads were in fair condition, but of traffic there was almost none.

On the third day, as we neared Lake Baikal, we

passed for miles through lands where the woods had all been recently cut down, and we wondered at the reasons of this huge clearing. Of a sudden it was explained, for, turning a corner, we came to the advanced section of the great Trans-Siberian railway. The woods had been cut down for railway sleepers. A little later we drove into what used to be the lakeside village of Masova—no longer a village, but a huge settlement of railway men. On the lakeside was a wharf, with steamers discharging railway material. Engine-houses, loading-sheds, and passenger-station were in course of erection. Everything was a hive of industry, while in the village stores the useful Chinaman competed for custom with the Russian Jew.

Driving through the village to the post-station, which was also a rough kind of inn, we were told that a steamer was just about to leave, and we jumped into our carriages hoping to catch it. But, alas! just as we were about to drive away, a man reported from the roof of the house that the steamer had sailed, and, true enough, we saw it sailing away; and we had to wait twenty-eight hours for the next sailing. However, at the inn they fed us plentifully if roughly, and, in the absence of bedrooms, we encamped on the floor of a sitting-room that had been given up to us.

It may be added here that at or near Lake Baikal we were especially unlucky. At Masova

the wait, as I have said, was for twenty-eight hours. When we had crossed the lake in about five hours (in place of the estimated four), we had a chance at eleven o'clock at night to get horses at once for the forty-mile distance that separated us from Irkutsk; but we were advised by fellow-travellers to wait till morning, when we would get, at daylight, a steamer that would take us by river to Irkutsk in three hours. But the steamer did not come in till 2 p.m., just as we had arranged for horses. Then, acting on local advice, we paid off the horse transport, and started by steamer about five. But, as it happened, the steamer towed three great barges, and sailed very slowly. Then, about nine at night, a fog settled on the river, and our steamer anchored till nine next morning. Finally, we reached Irkutsk at twelve noon, exactly seventy-two hours from the time we had arrived at the eastern shore of Lake Baikal, a detention of seventy-two hours for eighty miles. Nor was that all. By reason of the fact that it was a public holiday, we could not get at Irkutsk, on the day we arrived, any money from the Russo-Chinese Bank, to which we were accredited. Therefore, as trains from Irkutsk leave only once in two days, we had to wait there for fifty-two hours.

The misfortune of these delays was that the especial train de luxe that starts westwards from Omsk runs only once a week, and that to make the

which was precisely what we failed to do. So, to put it briefly, the failure to get the steamer that sailed from Masova as we arrived meant, in the end, that we did not get the train de luxe.

These, however, are incidents of Siberian travel at which it is no use to complain. Lake Baikal breaks the overland route, and the steamers that ply on it do not run at any fixed hours. In time all that will end. On each side of the lake the Russian Government is constructing harbour works, while half a dozen Newcastle-on-Tyne engineers are building, with Siberian labour, a great ferry steamer that will carry a whole railway train, and will break the ice in winter. Even then the ferry, costly as it is to be, will only be a temporary measure. Ultimately the railway will be carried round the shore of the lake.

Lake Baikal is one of the great inland fresh-water seas of the world. It is upwards of 400 miles long, varying in breadth from 10 to 60, with a total area of 14,500 square miles. It lies 1,500 feet above the sea-level, and has one outlet, the Angara River, which runs northward from Baikal towards the sea. It is on the Angara that Irkutsk is built, at a distance of about forty miles from the lake.

The present terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway is at Irkutsk, distant from Petersburg something short of 4,000 miles. It was only in the month that we arrived there (September of 1898), that the railway had been advanced so far as Irkutsk, and it was expected that in a few months more the terminus would be moved on to Listvenitchai, on the western shore of the lake. When I was there the rails had been laid all the way from Irkutsk to Listvenitchai, following the course of the west bank of the Angara along a precipitous hillside.

At Listvenitchai harbour works were in course of construction, at the source of the Angara, and other similar works were in course of construction at Masova, on the eastern shore. Between the two, a distance of forty miles, the ferry steamer and ice-breaker that I have spoken of will run, and till the ferry steamer be ready the traffic will be conducted in summer by the ordinary steamers such as that on which I travelled. In winter rails will be laid temporarily on the ice, and the train will run across the lake.

On the eastern lake shore, at Masova, no rails other than mere construction rails had been laid when I was there, but the road had been graded for hundreds of miles, and rails were to be laid very soon. Engine-houses, goods-sheds, and the like were in course of erection, and good solid houses had been built for the administrative and maintenance staff.

To use an American phrase, Masova is obviously intended to be a station centre from which the road

on the east side of the lake will be administered for a long distance. It happened that one of my fellow-travellers had been, in his earlier days, a railway surveyor in charge of a construction section in America, and from him I take it that the work being done in and around Baikal is excellent work. In some respects it seems unnecessarily costly—work that no commercially-managed railroad in a new country would undertake for many years. But, of course, this is a Government railroad, and is intended perhaps to be put at any time to the severe strain of military use. At all events, the work is being done well, and is being done quickly.

It was at noon on September 26 that we arrived at Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia. We were thirty-three days out from Pekin, just thirteen days slower than our quickest estimated time. It was a bright, sunshiny day up till about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then the weather changed. A bitterly cold wind sprang up, and it snowed heavily—a change of weather for which we were scarcely prepared.

Neither were the people of Irkutsk. The Governor told us next morning that such cold weather so early was quite unusual; and I find that a traveller who made much the same journey many years ago notes it as a thing to be remarked that in the year that he travelled snow fell at Irkutsk so

early as the middle of October. At all events, having reason to be out driving in the snow—some difficulties having occurred about baggage—we wore the rough untanned sheepskin coats that we had bought in Mongolia for night use, to the amusement of some of the good folks of Irkutsk, who may be the more excused since we were sun-tanned and weather-beaten almost as brown as any Mongol. So next morning, after an early visit to the hair-dresser's, we all visited a very well-equipped store, and replaced our sheepskins by the fur-lined cloth coats that are worn when driving by the Siberian better classes.

Warm outer coverings were the more necessary since shortly before ten o'clock in the morning was the time fixed for presenting our letters to the Governor, and the visit (by the custom of the country) had to be made in full dress—that is to say, in ordinary evening dress. We found His Excellency very kind and helpful. He paid us a return call in person within three hours, and a little later the Chief of Police called on us and offered any aid we might wish.

Here it may be well to say that everywhere we received from Russians an amount of kindness and helpfulness for which we cannot be too grateful. We spoke no Russian save the few words we picked out from a pocket manual given to me at Peking, consequently, in a country where travel is not too

easy, we were constantly trespassing on the kindness of those who spoke English, French, or German. The manner in which Russians responded to our requests for aid or information astonished us. They literally put aside their own affairs to take us in hand. That applies very strongly to the educated travellers we met at Baikal on the steamers; but it also applies to the poorer classes—the post-station keepers, and hotel servants—with whom we had to converse by signs.

Official aid was always most handsomely given. The Chief of Police, for instance, when we left Irkutsk, sent an officer with us to the railway-station, a courtesy that we found very helpful. For the temporary station is five miles from the town, and we had to cross a bridge and a ferry both much overcrowded with traffic, which we might not have been able to do in time but that our police escort cleared the route for us.

Irkutsk is a fine town. It is about the same latitude as London, but has the heat and cold of a continental as distinguished from an insular climate. Yet, as the heat and cold are dry heat and cold, they are healthful and inspiriting. The situation of Irkutsk, on the bank of the Angara, is exceedingly beautiful. Viewed from the river, it is as pretty a town as one need wish to see.

Conspicuous among the public buildings is a fine opera-house—for Irkutsk, like Kiakhta, is a city of

realized wealth. Yet, also, it is a city that may not increase quickly in commercial greatness. Its political importance, as the seat of government for Eastern Siberia, may remain, but its trade may in part be wrested from it. From the Irkutsk municipal point of view, it is unfortunate that the town is on the eastern side of the river, while the railway is on the western side.

From the same point of view, it is a misfortune that the railway will in the long-run take, at Lake Baikal, or further east and north, the trade for which Irkutsk has hitherto been a centre for handling and repacking. On the other hand, it may, of course, be assumed that the capitalists and merchants of Irkutsk will continue to be financially interested in the development of the trade that hitherto they have handled in their town. The retail storekeepers may even benefit by the traffic that the railway will bring into the town, but that will be nothing to what it might be if the railroad were brought into the city.

Meanwhile, Irkutsk is both an administrative and a financial centre, and a port and market-place. You can buy in it anything in reason that you want, and it contains two very decent hotels, many excellent retail shops, and generally all the conveniences of a great city. The rough journey from Peking had pretty well broken up our baggage and destroyed a large part of our clothing, and besides we found

ourselves, as I have noted, plunged unexpectedly into the rigours of an almost unprecedentedly early winter. So we refitted at Irkutsk, and then—having fallen behind our estimated dates—we set out at the earliest opportunity upon our journey by rail. From Irkutsk to Petersburg there were nearly 4,000 miles to be traversed.

B

## CHAPTER XII.

## OF SIBERIA.

THE dominion of Siberia, through which I journeyed during September and October, has been to the average Englishman one of the least-known parts of the world. Further, Siberia bears a bad reputation nearly wholly undeserved. That bad reputation, as expressed in the mind of the instructed person -I do not speak of statesmen or publicistsattributes to Siberia a permanent condition of severe cold, and a general state of lawlessness controlled only by rigorously despotic government. Similarly, in the mind of the average person, Siberia is thought of only as the home of convicts and political exiles, supposed to exist in a condition of habitually trying to escape from excessive and unreasonable punishment. Naturally, a country thought to be in such condition is supposed to be unendurable for residence, and very dangerous for travellers. My wife was in England when I wrote from the tropics that I had decided to come home by way of Siberia. When that statement was conveyed to my wife's

maid, she flung up her hands and said, "Then, ma'am, you will never see him again.' That, no doubt, is the extreme attitude to be found only among the least-educated classes, yet still it remains that among those who ought to know better there is a feeling that Siberia is a dangerous country to visit, and a miserable country in which to live. My own experience, as it happens, is in contradiction to that, and as a place of residence I regard Siberia as preferable to some dominions under the English Crown.

Let us examine, then, what is the real state of matters as I found it, premising, however, that while many of the things that I am about to state were gathered from actual personal observation, yet a number of the facts are only hearsay, in so far as I had to depend for them upon the kindness of fellowtravellers and others. These travellers, I may add, often spoke freely and frankly, and in a tone wholly different from the keynote of caution that is assumed to prevail in Russian society. I put it to one fellowtraveller that he seemed to be discussing political facts and possible eventualities in a spirit of freedom that, according to the preconceived idea, would lead to police interference. He laughed heartily at the idea, and said, 'That is just what you English believe. It may have been the case,' he added, 'some ten or twenty years ago, but nowadays anyone can say anything he likes, provided he does not

teach sedition. Our Government will not allow any man to deliberately set himself to a campaign against the Government, but short of that you can make any criticism you like. Perhaps,' he added, 'there is more freedom in Siberia than in Russia itself.'

Now let me deal with Siberia as I found it, partly from my personal observation, and partly from information gathered on the spot. Siberia has a short but a very warm summer, a brief and wholesome autumn, and a long and rigorous winter. The cold of that winter is exceedingly severe, far beyond what would be expected from the latitude, the reason of that cold being that, because of the vastness of the continent, there is no amelioration of climate from warm seas, and no shelter from the cold winds that blow from the icy north. But the physical circumstances that cause Siberia to be very cold tend also to make that cold more bearable. The cold is a dry cold. The wind that sweeps across the high plateaus and down long and almost level valleys is a dry wind. Dry cold, as everyone knows, is much more bearable than damp, and I take it that for anyone properly dressed and properly housed the winter of Siberia is a healthy winter.

As touches the people who inhabit Siberia, and putting aside the officials, who are of the same class as in Russia proper, we found, in the first place, a prosperous and wealthy mercantile class, flourishing, satisfied, and contented. It was my good fortune to

meet that class first on the Mongolian frontier at Kiakhta. There, as noted in a previous chapter, the merchants have the advantage of possessing not only accumulated wealth, but considerable political privileges. These privileges, no doubt, are peculiar to Kiakhta, but all through Siberia, as I understand it, the merchants and capitalists enjoy a comparatively greater importance than similar classes obtain in Russia. It is the desire of the Russian Government to develop Siberia, and the Russian Government knows that that is not to be done save by encouraging the merchant, the miner and the speculator. As a general rule, a Government, other than an elective Government, is in no hurry to develop a country. I remember discussing the land and mining regulations of the Malay Peninsula with a remarkably able civil servant. Apropos of these regulations I said: 'You will never develop the ' country quickly on these lines.' 'We don't want to develop the country quickly, he answered; 'the land and the minerals will not run away, and the same Government will be here fifty years hence. We can wait.' That is the not unreasonable attitude that one would expect to associate with such a country as Russia, and it probably is the attitude of the Russian Government in Russia proper; but in Siberia it is different. The Russian Government is in a hurry to develop Siberia. The sooner Siberia is developed the stronger will be the position of

Russia on the Chinese frontier, and that necessity, as I expect, colours the attitude of the Russian Government to the trading classes in Siberia. At all events, I found that at Kiakhta, Irkutsk, Tomsk, and elsewhere, the mercantile class is thoroughly satisfied and contented, loving Siberia as a home, just as the Canadian loves Canada, with much the same feeling of loyalty to a distant Emperor that the Canadian has to the distant Queen. It may be added that, for two different sets of reasons, the mercantile class in Siberia may be described as intellectually active. Some are the descendants of exiles, or have intermarried with exiles, who would not have been exiles but that their minds were somewhat in advance of their day. Others are the descendants of the original pioneers of Russian trade. They have inherited capacity.

What of the poorer people, the common people? Well, Siberia is peopled by a hardy and laborious Russian peasantry, more active and progressive, as I fancy, than the peasantry of Russia proper. If it be asked why they should be more progressive, the answer is that they are more progressive for much the same reason that we find the progressive spirit strong in those Englishmen who have emigrated to the United States, to Canada, to Australia, and elsewhere. Generally speaking, among the labouring classes, the man who emigrates is more active and alert than the man who stays at home. If he were

not active and alert he would have starved at home, rather than have risked the unknown.

To appreciate that fact, the reader must dismiss. from his mind the notion that any considerable part of the population of Siberia consists either of local Asiatics or of exiles and convicts. It was calculated, some considerable time ago, that exiles and convicts might amount to about 4 per cent. of the Siberian population, but of late that proportion must have been decreasing. The local Asiatic element, also, the Mongols, the Buriats, and others, have not been increasing. Further, these latter have been becoming Russianized, since a considerable number of Russian men have married Mongol and Buriat women, while practically no Russian women have married Mongol or Buriat men. The result of such unions has not been-or has not exclusively beenas in British India, to produce an admittedly inferior half-caste race. Possibly-nay, indeed, certainlythe Slav has shown a greater capacity for assimilating the Mongol race than the British colonist has ever shown for assimilating any inferior race with which he has been brought into contact.

At all events, the fact remains that, while Russian emigrants have adopted parts of the Mongol and Buriat customs so far as these were useful in the local conditions, they have remained thoroughly Russian, not only in language and in feeling, but in their houses and in their methods of living.

The Russian emigration, it may be noted, although now encouraged in every way by the Government, was originally almost a secret emigration. That fact I only narrate in support of my theory that the Siberian population is a progressive population. The Russian peasants who voluntarily, with no assistance, and amidst lack of all transport save river transport, made their own way from Scuthern Russia to Siberia cannot have been stick-in-the-mud people.

The Siberian peasant, in short, is a better man, and is likely to become a still better man, than the Russian peasant. So far as he is a descendant of political exiles he has probably an intellectual start, so far as he is the descendant of free immigrants he has probably an energetic start, so far as he is the descendant of liberated convicts he has-well, I do not know that the convict strain has done any particular harm to Australia. In any case, it must be thoroughly kept in view that the descendants of exiles and the descendants of convicts are but few as compared with the descendants of free immigrants. The original free immigrants were the Cossacks who, with Yermak, first crossed the Ural Mountains. The succeeding free immigrants were persons who emigrated on their own account, and in spite of official opposition. The next free immigrants were those who were helped by the Government-a process that has been going on now for upward of half a century in ever-increasing volume.

To these free immigrants the Russian Government from the first gave land on exceedingly favourable terms, and these people became absolute landowners, owning no masters, free in everything, as much superior to the Russian peasant, who was then a serf, as the best men who emigrated from Britain to America or Australia were presumably superior to the peasant who stayed at home, who did not make progress there, and who depended yearly for part of his subsistence on parochial relief. The result is that the Siberian peasant, born in Siberia, is not a peasant as the word is understood in South Russia. He is a landowner, inheriting house and lands, or with the opportunity to carve out a separate holding for himself.

Of course, the still larger immigration since the railway was begun, and the even greater immigration that is going to follow as the railway is extended, is filling up, and will fill up, the country with millions of people not born there. But these are entering the country on terms even more favourable than those granted to the older free immigrants; and in the course of a very few years they will develop, and their children will still more develop, the same spirit of enterprise and freedom that marks the Siberians born in Siberia. Freedom and enterprise go together, and the Siberian has shown enterprise. He has not, as yet, shown precisely the same enterprise that has marked the emigrants who have gone

forth from Britain to Britain's colonies, nor could he be expected to show that. He came out of a land that was in a backward state of civilization. The point I have to make is only that the Siberian peasant has shown himself to be a better man than the peasant is in Russia, and I believe that the improvement will continue.

Although of late the Russian Government have encouraged the emigration to Siberia of artisans and mechanics for railway work, the bulk of the population is an agricultural population. It is to be found on the belt of fertile plains at a height of from 1,200 to 2,000 feet, beginning about the neighbourhood of Tomsk, running on to Kansk, stretching out to Irkutsk, and now extending across Lake Baikal in the region known as Trans-Baikal. That belt of fertile plains coincides with the railway route, or, in other words, the natural configuration of the country has brought about the convenient fact that the shortest and easiest track of a great political and military railway is also the track that is best suited for the agricultural development of the country. Along that belt of fertile land, therefore, the immigrants have settled and are settling in family groups and villages.

What, then, can this soil grow? Its range of products is wide, and includes most things that appertain to a temperate climate. It is true that the climate, strictly speaking, is not temperate, and

that the keen cold of the winter leaves the ground frozen even in summer, if only you dig a few feet deep. Still, the soil is fertile, and the summer heat is stimulating, and wheat that is sown in May can be reaped in August. Besides the hardier cereals, you see, in passing along the railway, melons, pears, apples, all locally grown, and offered for sale at very cheap prices.

Already, I understand, the completion of railway connection to Europe has stimulated the growth of Siberian wheat, which finds its way to Germany and elsewhere. When the railway is completed to the China Seas, it need not be doubted that the Siberian wheat will find its way to compete in the Eastern markets. I am told that this year the railway through the Urals was taking as much wheat westward as it could carry. As to the question as to whether the Siberian wheat can afford to pay the rates for transport to Talienwan, that question may be dismissed. If the Government of Russia desires to encourage the export of Siberian wheat, it will see that the railway rates are fixed accordingly.

The area of Siberia is 5,000,000 square miles, and since that means nothing without a standard of comparison, let me add that 3,500,000 miles is the area of the United States. The population within those 5,000,000 miles is to-day about 5,750,000, as against a little more than 4,000,000 ten years ago. That rate of growth will be maintained and increased,

for during the year 1898 the Russian Government introduced, by immigration, almost 250,000 people from the crowded districts of Southern Russia, and quite as big an immigration is devised for 1899. But there is also a natural increase of the population. The Siberian birth-rate is 51, as against 47 in European Russia, and as against 33 in England and 22 in France. There is a heavy death-rate also, but, still, the natural increase of the population is large.

Perhaps it is now time to cease sending convicts to Siberia. The political exile element does no harm, and probably does a good deal of good, as by introducing an alert and educated class. But the criminal convicts are a nuisance and, to some extent, a danger. The situation in some parts of Siberia now is in that respect much as it was in some parts of Australia before the custom of sending convicts there was stopped. The convicts are a rough class, a dangerous class, and a class longing for their freedom. A few of them escape, and seek to make their way back to their homes, and, in the effort to live by the way, they are naturally driven into fresh criminality. Large . numbers of convicts have been employed on sections of the railway, and a certain proportion have escaped from custody, and have made these districts dangerous. That danger, it may be noted, is not a danger spread all over Siberia; but it is a danger, and eventually, as I take it, the Government of Russia

will be forced to keep its criminal prisoners at home in its own prisons. And the sooner it does so the better.

It may be taken as certain that, although the increase in Siberian population has been great during the last ten years, it will be still greater in the future. In the first place, the facilities for immigration are now greatly increased by the railway, which is already opened as far as is immediately necessary for immigration purposes. Further, the people of Southern Russia are probably now receiving satisfactory accounts from friends who have gone to Siberia, and now are aware that in emigrating there they are not going to some strange and savage country, but to a place where their neighbours have preceded them.

The Russian Government also is dealing with the immigration question in a thoroughgoing fashion Lands are allotted to immigrants, buildings are provided, agricultural implements are given. Those immigrants who bring with them a certain moderate amount of capital are permitted to borrow from the Government a further sum, repayable over a very long period. They also obtain land free of rent or taxes for twenty years, with the option of purchase outright at low prices. Further, immigrants to Siberia are, to a very large extent, freed from obligations of military service. The transport of the immigrants is in trains specially provided for

them, and with many rough facilities of comfort. The migratory movement, it is to be observed, is by families and by communities, therefore the people go with confidence, taking their home life with them. That is not only encouraging to the immigrants, but it is the sound and economical national policy, in so far as it means a high birthrate. I saw the trains of immigrants on the line every day, and they seemed wholesome, hardy and happy—well fitted to lay the foundations of a new and growing country.

What other resources does Siberia possess besides agriculture? Enthusiasts say everything. With one young enthusiast, a railway engineer, I travelled for some ten days, and he produced samples of almost every mineral of value, all said to be found on some section of the line. In 1898 Russia produced 1,216,100 ounces of gold, as against 13,805,407 produced by all the world. Most of that was from Siberia. Thus the Siberian gold export for the year 1895 was 64,000 pounds weight, and that was a falling-off from the previous year. That gold was won almost entirely from alluvial workings, there being as yet no quartz-mining to speak of. Further, the methods of mining are pretty rough, and could be improved. Still, the great hope of improving the output must, no doubt, rest upon the prospects of quartz-mining; and for the better encouragement of that the Russian Government has announced that,

for a certain number of years to come, no import duty will be charged on gold-mining machinery.

This free admission of machinery is combined with what is practically an invitation to foreign capital and enterprise. At present I believe the only foreigners actually at work, or who propose to be actually at work soon, are certain French mining syndicates, but various American mining engineers have been prospecting around occasionally, and the South African people are now casting eyes towards Siberia. Thus, while I was in St. Petersburg I met 5 a mining engineer of much experience, whom I had known well in another part of the world, and who had just returned from Siberia, which he had visited as the emissary of one of the South African capitalists who was exiled from the Transvaal for a share in the recent disturbances there. Whether South Africa is likely to plunge into Siberia I did not think it discreet to ask, although I listened very interestedly to all that was told me regarding Siberian gold-mining. I listened the more interestedly since I myself was at one time nearly becoming the pioneer of English gold-mining in Siberia—not meaning by that that I had intended to go there myself for that purpose, but that I had proposed to enter the matter financially.

I think my attention was first turned towards Siberia through an officer of the Russian navy, himself a man of some family and standing, and with

certain possibilities of official influence. At the time I knew him he was seconded from the navy to the volunteer fleet, and was passing regularly through the port of Singapore, where I then was. At that time in Singapore we were rather keen on mining adventure, and after some talk with my Russian naval friend, and some conversation with a few of my fellow-residents in Singapore, we formed a little combination that we called the Siberian Syndicate. The purpose was to mine for gold in Siberia, and though it never came to anything, that, I think, was chiefly because our own mining adventures in the Malay Peninsula came to temporary grief about that time, and we all became a bit sick of mining. I make no doubt that, if my Siberian Syndicate had got to work, it also would have come to grief, for mining adventures should be controlled by persons who know something about mining, and who can go to the spot and see that their adventures get a fair chance. That is one of the reasons why I would feel somewhat hopeful of any Siberian gold-mining adventures that might be undertaken by gentlemen exiled from the Transvaal. These, presumably, understand the industry of gold-mining, and the fact that they are not allowed to set foot in the Transvaal would obviously tend to personal supervision in Siberia. At all events, while I believe that Siberia may become an even more considerable gold-producing country than

it is now, that future must be sought for in quartz-mining. For such mining the present Russian adventurers have not the necessary experience; and although the French syndicates that are being talked of can no doubt get the capital, they would lack the rich personal experience that the South African men would bring to the matter. Siberia, in any case, contains, as we all know, a little population of exiles. It would be quite fitting that the exiles from South Africa should become exiles to Siberia; they would find it quite a pleasant place of residence.

Besides gold, Siberia is undoubtedly rich in coal and iron, and particularly in coal. The engineers who have been at work on the railway have found coal deposits at numerous parts of the line, and there need be no doubt that Siberia can become, if it be needed, a considerable coal-producing country. Hitherto, of course, the railway has been chiefly worked by burning wood, while the present tendency is to adopt crude petroleum, which comes up the Volga conveniently and cheaply; but whether coal be or be not needed for the railway, it will certainly be needed for many industrial enterprises, and it can be had. Iron is found handy to the coal. In the Altai district the ironstone is plentiful, and gives 40 per cent. of metallic iron. In the Yeneisei Basin there are very much richer deposits. In Trans-Baikal there are numerous deposits, of which my engineer friend showed me specimens. Besides this

wealth of coal and iron, Siberia is known to have mercury, copper, lead and silver, also large deposits of salt and sulphur.

It must not be assumed that the Trans-Siberian Railway is the only road for Siberian trade. Siberia, like Russia proper, is fortunate in having wonderful facilities for river navigation. The rivers of the Irtish basin, including the Ishim, give some 6,000 miles of good river navigation, of which the town of Omsk is a centre. The Yeneisei, with such tributaries as the Angara, which again includes the basin of Lake Baikal, gives another enormous stretch of inland navigation, on which are towns so widely apart as Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk. Elsewhere are the Lena and the Amur. The system of the Volga also comes to help the work of the Siberian railway. To some slight extent this river system has been improved by intercommunication through canals. In that respect, however, a great deal remains to be done, and is being done, but the whole is subject to the grave defect that during the long winter such water navigation is entirely closed.

At present it is by river navigation that Vladivostock is connected with the Trans-Siberian Railway. Thus an officer of the British army, who, like myself, made his journey home from the East by way of Siberia, but who chose to begin at Vladivostock, and not, as I did, at Peking, writes: 'We got away by train from Vladivostock on May 18. Next day brought us to the river Ussari, where we embarked in a shallow but fairly comfortable paddle-steamer, and we did not get clear of river travelling again till June 8, when we reached a town on the Silka, a tributary of the Amur.'

It will be seen from that letter that the traveller had twenty days of river navigation, which brought him, I may note, within about 700 miles of Lake Baikal. Indeed, I believe that the Trans-Siberian Railway, as it existed in the minds of schemers before the Russian Government adopted it, was intended to consist merely of sections of railway joining together the main river systems. That, by the way, might have served for commercial purposes, but, of course, for any political or military end it would have been useless, because of the long winter. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, for commercial purposes, these great Siberian rivers, especially when connected by canals, will prove of the greatest value in the development of the country.

Let us consider, for instance, the possible developments of a trade in Siberian wheat. It happens, no doubt, that the railway itself runs through the wheat belt; but, on the other hand, the wheatlands extend for long distances right and left of the railway. These lands, for instance, extend through the Yeneisei basin, meaning not only near that river, but also near its numerous tributaries. As the wheat

can be sown in May and reaped in August, and as the river navigation does not close till the end of September or early October, it follows that all the operations connected with the wheat trade can be largely facilitated by river and canal navigation. The rivers, as I have said, are already navigable for huge distances, but with a few cross-cut canals products could be carried by cheap water navigation from almost any part of Siberia to any other. It is true that such carriage would only be summer carriage, but, then, it has also to be noted that the agriculture is only summer agriculture. I would like to see someone trying the experiment of producing summer wheat in Siberia after what I will call the factory plan-the American plan-as distinguished from the old-fashioned methods. I can conceive of an area of ten or twenty square miles treated as one field, furrowed by steam ploughs, reaped by steam reaping-machines, and the whole operations of the wheat factory begun and finished during the four summer months, and then everything closed up for the winter. If such a factory farm were located by the side of a river, wheat could be transported at an almost nominal cost to alongside the railway, and I have no doubt that, if properly approached, the adventurers who might start such a farm could get such railway rates arranged as would enable them to meet the market either in Europe or in the China Seas. For the

purposes of such factory farms, I can conceive that in the course of time Chinese labour from across the border would come in handily; but with that general question I may have to deal in another chapter.

With the help of river navigation and railway transit, it seems probable that Siberian wheat and Siberian iron will ultimately compete keenly for the trade of China. The ironworks that will surely be created in Trans-Baikal will undoubtedly be helped in such enterprise by facilities of cheap transit.

It must be admitted that the extreme severity of the Siberian winter is calculated to hinder the mineral development of the country. But I take it that that applies less to gold than to any other mineral, and that if the gold deposits are rich they will be worked, climate notwithstanding.

We often discussed the interesting question of what population Siberia may be expected to support. Obviously, any theory formed about that is a purely speculative theory. If the people were American or British in their ways, if they were people to organize, to invent, and to take advantage of all conditions, as has been done in Britain and in America, it would be impossible to set any bounds to the population that Siberia might support. But, on the other hand, taking things even as they are, it is to be remembered that the Russian peasantry who are entering Siberia from the west, and the

Chinamen who might perhaps enter it from the east, do not ask the same standard of living that is required by the Anglo-Saxon race. It may, at least, be assumed that Siberia will ultimately contain a population of 40,000,000 or 50,000,000. If the bulk of these are Russians, what a leverage that will give the Russian Empire in her designs upon those countries that rest upon the China Sea!

It is interesting, and perhaps a little vexing, to consider how easily Russia has gained all this vast Siberian territory. We who are Britons had to fight, and to fight hard, for most of our empire. In India we had to fight the French; and after that we had to fight the natives, who gave us, and who, by the way, still give us, a good deal of fighting practice. In Canada we had to drive out the French, and if we had not driven them out so thoroughly from all America, the American War of Independence would not have taken place at the time it did take place, and might not have taken place at all. In Africa we are fighting still. We have had, in fact, to fight for everything except for Australia and New Zealand. Russia, on the other hand, has obtained the whole of Siberia, and it looks as if she were going to obtain the whole of Manchuria, without any fighting to speak of. Russian connection with Siberia began towards the end of the sixteenth century. It was in the year 1580 that one Yermak, with a body of less than

2,000 Cossacks, dissatisfied with the firmer control that was then being exercised from Moscow, pushed their way across the Urals. With very little fighting they drove out the local rulers. From that first step of colonization there was a backward move on the death of the immediate Russian leader, but a forward policy soon set in again, and within considerably less than a century the Russians, extending northwards and eastwards, had reached the Pacific Ocean.

At the end of the first century of progress the Russians, however, were forced to fall back in deference to the threats of China, and by a treaty made in 1689, Russia surrendered the basin of the Amur. In that state matters remained until about 1850, when the Russians began again to advance into the estuary of the Amur, which they occupied so rapidly that by 1860 China recognised their presence and ceded to them by treaty one bank of the river. Now China has granted concessions that should ultimately cause Manchuria to become also a Russian dependency. Truly the lines of Russian expansion have fallen in pleasant places.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## OF THE RAILWAY.

The railway over which I travelled is known to the general public as the Trans-Siberian Railway, and it probably has been the subject of more speculation and discussion than any other railway in the world. Yet for some reason fewer people from a distance have visited the railway than, in the circumstances, one would expect. That may be due in part to the bad name which has been given to Siberia, chiefly by the novelists, and which, in a previous chapter of this book, I have sought to some extent to contradict.

The Trans-Siberian Railway is not a State railway in precisely the same undisguised way that various lines are State railways in India, in the Malay Peninsula, and elsewhere. Yet it is to all intents and purposes a State railway. The official name of the body controlling it, as I understand, is the Siberian Railway Administration, and the method of finance is that the administration borrows from the State such money as is needed, and con-

tracts to pay interest on it. When there is no money available to pay interest, the interest in default is, as I understand, added to the original debt; and that, I believe, is the general principle on which many railways in Russia have been built. Such a theory of finance is, in one sense, not materially different from the theory that prevails in India, Burmah, and elsewhere. There, as I presume most of us know, the Government has guaranteed the capital of certain railways, leaving the railway companies themselves to borrow, but undertaking on the part of the Government that a certain minimum rate of interest shall be paid, the Government having to find any sum necessary to make up that minimum rate. In the case of Russia the Government simply borrows the money itself and lends it to the Railway Administration, collecting interest when interest can be collected. There does not seem to be any material difference between the two systems. The Indian system, it is true, allows it to be seen very clearly what, if anything, the Government is losing on the transaction, but the Russian system might allow that to be seen clearly also, and perhaps it does allow it. As regards the Siberian Railway, the matter is of no particular importance. It would in any case be too early to attempt to analyze the railway accounts, and I, at least, have no doubt that in the long-run this great political and military railway will also be

a profitable commercial investment, always provided it is honestly worked.

The mileage under the control of the Siberian Railway Administration begins at Cheliabinsk, and was originally intended to end at Vladivostock. The mileage upon the original survey, or at all events upon surveys prior to the latest deviation, was a little under 5,000. How far this mileage will be increased by the extension to Port Arthur and Talienwan is not quite clear at present. The route through Manchuria, which was arranged in 1896, was to shorten the course of the main line, but the total mileage, of course, has been since extended by the proposed branch to Port Arthur. The original estimate of cost for the 5,000 miles was about £35,000,000, but I have not been able to ascertain how much of that has already been spent.

The proposal for railway communication through Siberia has been before the Russian public, off and on, for more than half a century. The original proposals were based on the theory that the proper thing to do was to utilize the existing river system of the country, using the railway only to connect those portions of the river navigation that could not conveniently be connected by canals. In the chapter previous to this, and while discussing the general features of Siberia, I have noted that the country has a magnificent river system, and that the

idea of using this system was deeply fixed in the minds of projectors may be the better understood by remembering how prominent a part river navigation takes in Russian life. In Russia proper, which of course does not include the Siberian system, there are no less than 21,000 miles of rivers navigable by steamers, with 12,000 miles additional that are navigated by rafts. The earliest proposals for Siberian railways were therefore based on the idea that such railways were to be subordinate to the river system. Then, at a later date, certain English projectors proposed to build, at their own risk, a trans-continental railway, subject to the grant to them of great and exclusive commercial privileges.

Apart, however, from general talk about Siberian railways, nothing definite was done until the year 1866, when Colonel Bogdanovich was asked to prepare a report regarding the best means of preventing famine in certain districts. One feature of that report was a strong recommendation for railway-construction in Siberia, and especially in the grain-producing districts.

The report of Colonel Bogdanovich did not lead to any immediate results, but meanwhile railways were being extended in Russia proper, and in 1875 the railway from Nijni-Novgorod, the important seat of the great annual fair, was extended to Cheliabinsk, a town that is some distance within the Siberian borders. It is at Cheliabinsk that the

control of the Siberian Railway Administration begins.

The prime purpose of the railway, as it was originally designed, was not the commercial development of Siberia, but was to provide means for enabling Russia to connect the port of Vladivostock with her military strength in Europe. I do not say that the intention to develop Siberia was in any way absent from the minds of the persons who decided to enter on this great railway construction. On the contrary, I take it that the intention to develop Siberia, especially by immigration, was well in the minds of those who decided to build the railway; but nevertheless, as I gather, that was in their minds only as a factor in the political question. The more Siberia is developed, the more food-stuff it produces, the more Russians it contains, the more easy it will be to maintain an effective military communication between the Black Sea and the Pacific.

It was therefore entirely fitting that the public announcement of the intention to build the Trans-Siberian Railway was made in person by him who is now Tsar of Russia. That was in the year 1891, when the present Tsar was Tsarvitch. He had been travelling in the East—I had myself the honour to be presented to him during the course of his journey—and the railway announcement was made fittingly at Vladivostock.

It was an announcement that, although not un-

expected, sent a keen thrill of interest through both Europe and Asia, although I still take reason to doubt if the full political importance of the announcement could have been understood then as now. For at that time China was an empire that was supposed to be of strength, and there was no immediate prospect of the railway being anything but a railway to Vladivostock. If anyone had prophesied to us in 1891 that within seven years of that time the real destination of the railway would be the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, he would have been laughed at. But things in the East have marched quickly.

The railway has also marched quickly. Announced in 1891, the work of construction began soon. Within four years—that is to say, in December of 1895—the first section from Cheliabinsk to the town of Omsk was opened for traffic. That distance may be taken as nearly 500 miles, and the section so opened up included that part of the Ob basin that is traversed by the river Irtish. That is a fertile and well-watered country, well capable of bearing great wheat crops.

The next section, from Omsk to the river Ob, was opened within about ten months later, covering a distance of nearly 400 miles. There also the railway runs through a wheat basin, and I believe that from these two districts the line during the year 1898 has had more wheat to carry westwards than it could conveniently manage to carry.

Eastwards of the Ob work was carried on simultaneously in several sections, of which the furthest eastern section, from Krasnoyarsk to Irkutsk, was opened in August of 1898—that is to say, about one month previous to the time that I traversed it. The district tapped by this latter section includes the gold industries of Kansk, Yeneseisk, and Acheensk—in fact, a large section of the alluvial workings that I have referred to in an earlier chapter.

East of Irkutsk and Lake Baikal the section now under construction runs from Masova to Stretyinsk, where the railway meets the excellent river navigation on the Amur, by which travellers can proceed by steamer, as noted in the extract from a friend's letter that I give in the chapter 'About Siberia.'

The Amur river navigation, as that letter notes, then connects with a still further section of the railway that was begun at the Vladivostock end, and which extends from Vladivostock to Khabarovka, a distance of about 475 miles. That section was opened in September of 1897, just previous to the time that my friend traversed it. It was meant to be a section of the main line, running north so as to circle Manchuria. But, by reason of the facts stated in the next paragraph, it has become absolutely useless as part of the main line, although it will, no doubt, be used permanently as a northern branch connecting with an important river.

The next stage in the interesting development of this line was reached in 1896, when, by a convention with the Chinese Government, it was arranged that from a point considerably east of Lake Baikal, but west of Stretyinsk, the line should deflect from Siberian territory and should enter Manchuria, in order to provide a shorter route to Vladivostock. The extent of this deviation, as then proposed, was nearly 1,300 miles, of which about 950 miles were to be built in Manchuria. The deviation is, from a technical point of view, a most reasonable deviation, but from the political point of view it is entirely inconsistent with the neutrality of China, and with the Chinese hold over Manchuria.

It has to be remembered that the railway is in its essence a military railway, and that the conveyance of Russian troops through Chinese territory in the event of a war between Russia and a European Power would obviously be a breach of Chinese neutrality. It seems unnecessary to elaborate this point, which is noted merely for convenience of record. The point I have to make is that when China agreed to allow the Trans-Siberian Railway to pass through Manchuria she practically gave away Manchuria; and the fact that Russia would afterwards seek some exit near the Gulf of Pe-chi-li ought to be, and probably was, apparent to most people.

The thing that was not apparent was the speed

with which the descent on the Gulf of Pe-chi-li would be made. Since then, as we all know, Russia has acquired Port Arthur and Talienwan, and consequently a further deviation, or else a branch extension, of the Trans-Siberian Railway became inevitable. That proposed deviation is mentioned in the succeeding chapter.

When the Trans-Siberian Railway was originally projected, there was some talk of a branch from Irkutsk to Kiakhta, the town whose amiable but somewhat trying hospitality to me I have already described. All such talk is for the present put aside, and naturally so, for, with a railway extending to Port Arthur and Talienwan, it is difficult to see how the Kiakhta tea trade can continue to exist, save in so far as it may be to a small extent maintained by old brands, old connection, and old usage.

Yet, on the other hand, I see no reason why, in the dim and indefinite future, such a railway should not be built. It would not, of course, stop finally at Kiakhta. Its stopping-place after Kiakhta would be at Ourga, the Mongolian capital, and after that —well, it is difficult to suppose that a railway across the Desert of Gobi would be a remunerative adventure. Still, the telegraph line is being extended through Gobi, and where the telegraph goes, the railway ultimately has a tendency to follow, especially in view of the fact that a railway will certainly

be built some day to Kalgan, on the east side of Gobi.

As touching the tea trade of Kiakhta, and the question of how the railway is likely to affect that, it may be noted that such trade could scarcely exist even now but for the fact that the Russian Government, partly perhaps for political reasons, and partly perhaps out of kindness to the Kiakhta interests, gives to Gobi-carried tea special terms which amount in substance to a huge bounty. Thus, the Russian duty charged at Odessa on tea which has come by sea amounts to 20 roubles for each 36 pounds, whereas the Russian duty at Kiakhta is only 21/2 roubles for 36 pounds. It will be seen that, as nearly as possible, that represents a bonus of half a rouble the pound in favour of tea carried by the overland route. If the overland route is to be considered as including the overland route by railway, it is obvious that, with the facilities of railway transport, and with the fact that the flavour of tea is less damaged by land transit than by sea transit, and with this bonus of half a rouble per pound, the tea trade would be taken entirely from the sea-route, and would be given to the railway.

As there could be no object in loading the Siberian Railway with a huge tea traffic, obtained at the expense of the public taxation, it is presumable that no such bonus, or at all events no such large bonus, will be allowed to tea imported by rail; and in that

case it seems difficult to see why the bonus should be continued to the Kiakhta trade. It would be an odd thing that the taxation on tea should be so arranged as to give, for no apparent reason, a bonus to Mongol caravans as against both the Russian volunteer steamers and the Russian Government railways.

The time of construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, as originally estimated, was about thirteen years, say between 1892 and 1905. During the first six years there have been almost completely finished and opened for traffic no less a distance than 1,900 miles on the western side, and about 500 miles on the eastern side, the total estimated distance being, as I have said, about 5,000 miles. In other words, roughly speaking, one-half of the work has been finished in one-half of the time, subject to the fact that because of the Manchurian deviation the 500 miles on the eastern side cease to be of use as part of the main line. That seems to me a very satisfactory rate of progress, and I do not see why it should not be maintained. It is true that the work hitherto done, having been conducted chiefly from the western end, where there are facilities, and partly from the eastern end, where there is a seaport, has had certain advantages, which cannot be quite paralleled in the section still unopened. As against that, we have to remember that by the deviation into Manchuria Russia

obtains a much easier route than that on which she had calculated, and that during the last six years she has also gained much experience in the art of Siberian railway building. She has trained her men to work, and work is now proceeding much more quickly than heretofore.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE RAILWAY JOURNEY.

Between September 28 and October 6 of last year (1898), I traversed the whole length of the Trans-Siberian Railway, so far as it is yet constructed. Starting from Irkutsk I ended at Cheliabinsk, the town where the Siberian system connects with the railways of European Russia. Nor did I stop there, for Cheliabinsk is only the terminus in an arbitrary and conventional sense. The real terminus—the terminus at which I arrived on October 10 without any break of journey—is Moscow. It may, therefore, be of interest to give some notes of the whole railroad journey, which occupied between Irkutsk and Moscow exactly three hours less than twelve days and nights of continuous travel.

It was on the eastern side of Lake Baikal—the side furthest from Europe—that I struck the railway in course of construction. Coming from the east, passing through lands sparsely inhabited by a pastoral people, I turned sharp round the corner of a hill, and found myself, as mentioned in a previous

chapter, on the railway track, and in the immediate neighbourhood of a village crowded with thousands of workmen—a railway town, as the Americans would put it. It was the town of Masova, on the eastern shore of Lake Baikal.

It may be well to repeat here that Lake Baikal lies right in the path of the Trans-Siberian Railway. It cannot be bridged, for it is a sea. It can be and is traversed by considerable steamers, but in winter these steamers cannot ply, for the lake is frozen hard. It cannot be turned save by a very long détour, and that détour the designers of the railway rather shirked, not so much, perhaps, because of its length as because of the difficult character of the ground. The lake lies in a deep basin formed by very steep and rocky hills, and to take the railway round the lake end will involve huge cutting and embankment works. Therefore the temporary scheme has been to construct the railway from Europe to a convenient point on the western shore of the lake, and to arrange to take the traffic across to the eastern shore by means of a boat that shall be at once a ferry steamer and an ice-breaker. The point selected on the eastern shore is Masova-where I struck the railway-and on the western shore the place chosen is called Listvenitchaia, the point at which the Angara River debouches from the lake. These two points are not opposite to each other, the distance between

them being forty miles, considerably more than the breadth of the lake in that neighbourhood. At both sides very considerable harbour works are in course of construction, and on the western side the ice-breaker is being built.

This ice-breaker was ordered from W. G. Armstrong and Co., now Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., in the beginning of the year 1896. The firm were told that it was wanted in a hurry, and they used such speed that the hull was finished, erected in their yard, taken down and shipped by steamer to St. Petersburg by June of the same year. That was justly considered to be a very creditable piece of work, inasmuch as such a vessel on such a big scale was a novel enterprise. The method of transport to Lake Baikal was by steamer to St. Petersburg, thence by rail so far as the railway was then opened, and thence by sledges. They told me at Lake Baikal that, although the vessel had been fully erected at Newcastle-frames, beams, and stringers being all fastened by temporary bolts, and the vessel then fully plated, and everything after being taken down duly marked and numbered-yet between St. Petersburg and Lake Baikal several portions were lost. The design of the vessel is based upon the fact that the ice to be broken will be several feet in thickness. The bow and the stern are of the strongest steel castings, the intention being to inflict upon the ice a very

heavy blow, whether from the bow or the stern. Naturally, to resist the shock, the boat had to be built all through of very strong and heavy material. The material used was Siemens-Martin steel, and the hull was subdivided into water-tight compartments with a double bottom, and special strengthening at the bulkheads. The vessel is 290 feet long, by 57 feet in breadth, drawing 181 feet of water, with a displacement of 4,200 tons, and 3,750 horsepower. The cars are run on to the main deck of the steamer over a railed gangway, and will be securely kept in position by strong supports. The passenger accommodation, which will be very good, is on the upper deck. The engine-power is devised to drive two propellers at the stern and one propeller at the bow, the special use of the latter being to disturb the water while the stem of the vessel is breaking the ice. Notwithstanding the great forethought and care that were used in England the work of construction at Lake Baikal proceeds very slowly. The ice-breaker was shipped from England in June, 1896, and when I was at Lake Baikal in September, 1898, the erection of the vessel there was not nearly finished. Optimistic persons said it would be ready for use in the winter of 1899, and pessimistic persons suggested the winter of 1900.

Meanwhile, the administration of the railway have awakened to the fact that it is unreasonable to expose so great, so costly, and so important a road

to the delays and risks that will be inseparable from ferry traffic across an ice-bound sea, to be conducted by one steamer, and that steamer in itself a mere experiment. So the route round the head of the lake is being surveyed, and the work of construction will be begun next spring. It will be pushed on as quickly as is possible, but, since it is full of engineering difficulties, and since the use of the Trans-Baikal section of the road is urgently desired, the harbour works and the ice-breaker will be carried on simultaneously. The theory, in a word, is that no risk of a block must be allowed, and that the railway authorities shall, as soon as possible, be able either to send trains round the head of the lake or to ferry them across its surface.

I struck the railway works, as I have said, at Masova, on the eastern side of Lake Baikal—Trans-Baikal as the Russians call everything east of the lake. From there the line has already been graded so far as Stretyinsk, about 800 miles east of Baikal, where one meets the steamer on the river Amur. But since that was arranged a great change has come in the whole plan of the Trans-Baikal section of the line. The earliest objective of the line is no longer Vladivostock—it is Port Arthur. As a consequence the original plan—nay, even the second plan—of the line has been reconsidered. It is being proposed to vary a section of the amended scheme in favour of a more direct route to Port

Arthur. That more direct Port Arthur route is now being surveyed, and substantially it is proposed that the place of divergence from the original and from the still later route shall be at or near Chitai, a point some 500 miles east of Lake Baikal, and some considerable distance short of Stretyinsk, to which latter place, as I have said, the line is already graded. Speaking broadly, this means something more than a saving in distance; it means—I quote the talk of Siberian railway engineers—that for all practical purposes of railway administration and shipping facilities the real terminus of the Russian railway system shall be in the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. To put it plainly, the great railway to Vladivostock will cease to be a main line to Vladivostock; it will become a railway to the China Sea, with a branch to Vladivostock.

Although the rails are laid to Listvenitchaia, on the western shore of Lake Baikal, the railway is not yet open to there for general traffic, nor will it be open till next year. The line is open to Irkutsk, a town about forty miles west of the lake, and charmingly situated on the Angara River, which flows from the lake towards the northern seas. But, unhappily for Irkutsk, the town is, for railway purposes, on the wrong bank of the river. The railway making for Lake Baikal comes from the west, and finds the town of Irkutsk on the eastern bank of the Angara. If it were a com-

mercial railway it would no doubt be taken across the river and into Irkutsk, which is a fine city, the capital of Eastern Siberia, and the centre of all the trade with China, with Further Siberia, and with Europe. But the railway is a strategical line, seeking the easiest route to Lake Baikal, and the easiest route is to run along the river's western bank towards the lake. Therefore, when I say that the line is open to Irkutsk, I qualify that by adding that it is open to a point about five miles from the town. You reach that point from Irkutsk by traversing a bridge and a ferry so densely crowded with traffic that I was told to allow myself four hours to cover five miles, and I actually did take nearly two hours, although the Chief of Police had very kindly given me the escort of an officer, who gave my carriage precedence of all competing traffic. That state of matters, however, will not continue very long. The railway will not come into Irkutsk, but it will come nearer to the town, and a proper bridge and roadway will be made.

It was on the afternoon of September 28 that I left Irkutsk by rail, with snow on the ground and with the thermometer at freezing-point. My destination was Moscow, and the time I had estimated for the journey was twelve days. The actual time, as it turned out, was three hours less than my estimate—285 hours of continuous travel, unbroken save by two ferries, and at each ferry

a change of carriage. It may occur to some to ask why I speak of 'my estimate.' Where were the railway time-tables? There were none. The railway to Irkutsk had only been opened a few weeks before I arrived there, and time-tables for that section did not yet exist. A train was started only every second day, and when it would arrive at any particular place no one appeared to know.

We started an hour late, and with twenty-six persons in a second-class carriage which was seated for fifteen, and which for all-hight travel would have been comfortable for ten. The fact is that, for the comparatively newly-opened section east of Krasnoyarsk no first-class cars have, as yet, been provided, while on the still newer section between Irkutsk and the town of Zeema, on the river Oka, there is an insufficiency even of second-class cars. The explanation of that, of course, is that, partly to oblige the public, the railway has been opened sooner than was intended, and before it is fully equipped. It is a reasonable explanation; but, none the less, the first twenty-four hours on the Siberian Railway were passed in a muddle of travel.

I had not gathered that it was necessary to form a party, to make a rush for a compartment, to fill it with your baggage, and to hold it against all comers. Later, and under the able tuition of a party of engineer students, I learned to take my share in that and other arts of Siberian travel, but at the

offset I was out of it. Alone, with my baggage lying in the passage-way, and wearing an expression of patient discomfiture, I must have looked the picture of the helpless foreigner. That was my salvation. The wife of a Government official, addressing me in French, made seat-room for me. The engineer students made room for my baggage. An Odessa Jewess gave me a cup of tea. Everybody, indeed, was as nice as could be; but twenty-six persons cannot comfortably dine, sup, sleep, and play cards in a carriage berthed for ten.

However, the night wore through, and in the early afternoon of the following day the train drew up on the banks of the river Oka, in a snowstorm, and we all proceeded to look at the river and wait for the ferry-boat. Shelter there was none. Of knowledge as to when we could get across there was none. But after some three hours we did get across, and were rewarded with an excellent dinner at Zeema Station, and the news that, in place of a half-car for the second-class people, we should now get two half-cars. My diary, I find, contains, the significant entry, 'Only thirteen persons in the car. Slept soundly all night.'

On that section we really fed in the train, partly on food carried with us from Irkutsk, and partly on food picked up on the way. At every station the railway had a full supply of cold water, and at most-stations the railway also supplied, free of charge,

boiling water—really boiling. Each passenger, or each party of passengers, had a tea-kettle, and carried his own tea. Further, and apart from the bread and meat to be had at the railway buffets, there were at many stations outside markets of stalls kept by the country people, and there one could get excellent cold roasted chickens, partridges, black-cock, and other game. These were cheap. I fancy that, as strangers speaking no Russian, we paid more than did the average passenger, but still, to us, a fat roasted partridge seemed cheap at the price of about sixpence. With these and other such supplies, and with French brandy and Crimean claret—to be had at every buffet—we fed very well.

Let me add here that most of these discomforts ended at Krasnoyarsk, which is 650 miles from Irkutsk, and which we reached after exactly 100 hours of continuous travel. Immediately before entering Krasnoyarsk Station, on our fourth day out, we had to cross in the dark two arms of the great river Yeneisei, finding our own transport and conveying our own baggage. On the Yeneisei, as at the Oka, the railway simply dumped us out and let us find our own way. But after we entered Krasnoyarsk Station, in a blaze of electric light, we found everything changed. We got first-class tickets; we booked our baggage right through to Moscow; we found a buffet, with waiters in evening dress and a menu in French. In a word, we

had passed from an unfinished to a completed railway system.

I am anxious to make that point clear. To describe my journey over the Siberian Railway without noting the discomforts would be to suppress the truth. To describe the discomforts without explaining the causes for them would be to distort the truth. The railway from Irkutsk to Krasnoyarsk is open, but it is not finished. The rivers Oka and Yeneisei are unbridged. The rolling stock is insufficient for the traffic, which has been much beyond expectations. The traffic arrangements are experimental.

So much does the railway management recognise that situation, that when a special excursion train de luxe was arranged to be run from London and Paris in the month previous to my journey, the management would not take it further than Krasnoyarsk. In the same spirit the administration runs a train de luxe once a week over a large part of the system, but declines to take it further east at present than Tomsk, which is considerably west of Krasnoyarsk.

It was my desire to get that train de luxe, but to do so I should have had to wait five days, so I was content with a passing look at it when I met it on the line. It contains all the facilities and conveniences of travel that anyone need desire—diningthough it only runs a part of the way at present, it need not be doubted that in a year or two more the same facilities will be extended as far as Irkutsk. In the meantime, the railway administration, in refusing to sell first-class tickets for any place beyond Krasnoyarsk, may reasonably be considered to give notice that beyond that point a certain amount of roughness may be expected.

It is, perhaps, in the same spirit that the railway fares are dearest where the accommodation is worst -or perhaps it would be better to say are least cheap, for in no case are they dear. From Irkutsk to Krasnoyarsk, a distance of 660 miles, I paid, for second-class fare, and omitting odd kopecks, the sum of 30 roubles, or, taking the rouble at 2s. 2d., say 65s. From Krasnoyarsk to Moscow, a distance of about 2,600 miles, I paid a first-class fare of 53 roubles, or if I had travelled second, I should have paid 32 roubles. On examination, therefore, it will be seen that on the further east section I was being carried, second-class, at the rate of thirty miles for a rouble, while on the western section I could have had the same class of accommodation at the rate of about eighty-four miles for a rouble. To complete the information, let me add that, as I understand it, the third-class fare would have been less than 22 roubles, whilst there still remains a fourth-class at a cost of less than 15 roubles. Take the rouble at 2s. 2d. Take the secondclass accommodation as equal to the very best second-class afforded by the English lines—for it includes folding sleeping berths—and we find the rate on the western section to work out as not very much above one farthing per mile. In that class of carriage the middle-class Russian travels, unless he be very wealthy indeed, and for that farthing a mile he gets all the accommodation that is necessary for a long journey.

The method of charging for the transport of passengers is not the same as in England or America, where there is a specific charge from each station to each station. The system of charging is by what is called the Zone System. That is to say, the whole country traversed by the railway is divided into zones of a certain mileage, and the charge for travelling is so much within each zone, without regard to the actual distance the traveller may proceed. The zone system is by no means peculiar to Russia, but is, I think, carried out, unless my memory leads me wrong, in Austria and elsewhere with much success. It has been found to be an exceedingly useful system for developing the use of railways by populations that are new to railways, and, while I do not suggest that it is in any way applicable to Britain, it is a system that I should be inclined to recommend on any new railway in any new country. When discussing the cost of travelling on the different sections of the Siberian Railway, it may

be convenient to note that the newly-opened eastern section surpasses the western section in slowness, just as much as in cost. Between Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk you take 100 hours for 660 miles and pay (second class) at the rate of a rouble for thirty miles. Between Krasnoyarsk and Moscow you take 185 hours for about 2,600 miles, and since you go quicker you pay at the lower rate of a rouble for eighty-five miles. You pay a high price for six and a half miles an hour, and you pay a low price for fourteen miles an hour-which latter is the quickest rate you get. On that I have built the curious theory that perhaps the administration makes its calculations by time as well as by distance, and desires the passenger to pay so much an hour. That would not seem wholly unreasonable.

The allowance of free luggage, it may be added, is small, and the rates charged for excess weight are out of proportion to the sums charged for personal transport. The pity of it is that, in the effort to avoid or reduce the charges for baggage, the people take with them into the cars a wholly unreasonable quantity of luggage.

About 500 miles of railway were opened in the autumn of 1898, and throughout the summer and autumn the rails were being laid at the rate of four miles a day. That is rapid work, and is said to exceed anything that has hitherto been done on a big scale in any part of the world.

The whole of that is laid in the Russian standard gauge, which is slightly broader than the broad gauge of the rest of the world. The quality of the general workmanship is better on the furthest eastern sections than on those begun earlier. In the first sections the laying of the rails was done roughly on soft sleepers, and there were other defects of haste. But, generally, the work is now very good indeed. The one defect is that the rails are too light to permit of trains being run at high speed. The rails are about 47 pounds to the yard, as against the 80-pound rails that are in use in England and America, and the 60-pound rail which is the customary weight on the Russian lines. These rails, or part of them, are made in the country by two State-helped iron foundries-both of which give a yearly deficit-and I am told that they were supplied during the year 1898 at the price of 1 rouble and 17 kopecks per Russian pood of 36 pounds 10 ounces. During the previous year the price paid was 31 kopecks per pood higher, the reduction being presumably due to improved facilities of transport and labour. It seems obvious that ultimately, and probably soon, these light rails will have to be replaced by something much heavier. Nevertheless, I am not prepared to suggest that any error of judgment has been made. In a country where the spring thaws must lead to a great upheaval of the track, it is probable that within a year or two

after the opening of a railway a general relaying of rails may become necessary. It may therefore be quite wise to begin with light rails, and to replace these by heavier ones when relaying. The metal is not lost, but can be remelted at the local foundries.

The stations, of which there is one every fifteen to twenty miles, are well built of brick and stone, and are well equipped with all necessary offices, including invariably a water-tower. Everywhere the station buildings are on a siding, allowing the main line to be left clear for through traffic. That main line, of course, is a single line, but within the last few months an order has been issued that a siding shall be built every seven versts, or, say, each four miles. As my informant put it: 'We intend to be able to keep the line clear, lest we have to send an army over it.' Further, sixty new locomotives and forty old ones stand waiting to be used. They are officially allocated to the Trans-Baikal section—the section not yet laid—but, of course, they are available for any use in emergency.

These new engines, I was told, were locally made at a cost of 38,000 roubles each, as against an offer of 32,000 from England. But the order is that the railway shall be built of Russian material and by Russians, the only exception until recently being that Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. are constructing the Lake Baikal ice-breaker on Lake Baikal. Since the acquisition of Port Arthur, however, the rule has

been relaxed, because of need for haste, and no less than seventy locomotives for the Manchurian section have been bought in the United States. For the same reasons of haste it is probable that the rails for the Manchurian section may be bought in America. The order against foreigners, further, has not been so strictly interpreted as to prevent the influx of considerable numbers of Italians, mostly stone-cutters, who work on the line chiefly at piecework rates. One result of the dislike to use foreign aid struck me as amusing. At the highest point of the railway, on the section as yet unlaid, about 430 miles east of Baikal, the line is to be carried through a solid rock cutting over 100 feet deep. 'That,' said my informant proudly, 'is the deepest railway cutting in the world.' It was on the tip of my tongue to answer that any people much versed in railways would have made a tunnel, but I remembered that a sharp answer would probably dam the river of information of which I was greedily drinking.

The line over the whole route that I traversed presents no engineering difficulties, unless we reckon an alleged quicksand near the Yeneisei, which has taken, and may yet take, a good deal of filling. The rivers are all bridged except the Oka and the Yeneisei, and both of these bridges are in hand, the latter to be 1,000 metres long. All the important bridges are of iron, but many smaller ones are of wood, and wisely so. Timber exists by the side of

the line, and the Russian is an expert worker in wood. To use the material at hand, even if it involve more frequent repair, is probably the better, and is certainly the quicker, plan.

From Irkutsk westwards to Krasnoyarsk they only run at present three passenger trains each week, From Krasnoyarsk, further westwards, they run one passenger train daily. On both sections it is being found that the service is insufficient for the traffic that offers, and I doubt not that next spring the existing facilities will be greatly increased. Meanwhile there is general overcrowding in all classes. Apart from that easily-understandable defect of a new railway in a new country, the arrangements are generally good. Excellent refreshment-rooms and buffets are placed at convenient intervals, while for the poorer passengers the country people have been allowed to establish stalls beside the stations, where coarse black bread, meat, cooked chickens, and other such provisions, are sold at cheap rates. At each station there is a telegraph-office and a postal letter-box.

Everywhere we met emigrant trains from the south, from the densely-peopled agricultural districts of Russia, carrying settlers to people Siberia. Sometimes we met three or four such trains in a day—long trains of fourth-class carriages, bringing not merely men, but whole families. It is for these people that the food-stalls have sprung up at the

stations; it is for these people that the Administration, with kindly forethought, provide boiling water at every station. I saw a good deal of these immigrants at the various wayside halts. Hardy, simple, frugal, and kindly people, I can imagine no better class from which to build up a new Russia in Asia. Their very defect—a rash zeal in the procreation of children—is a useful quality in a country that has still to be filled. These people will fill it.

The Siberian lands we traversed may be divided, from a picturesque standpoint, into three distinct belts. From Irkutsk westwards to the river Obthe longest river in Asia-we passed through a line of forest, broken only by clearing and river. It is not dense forest, and there is little undergrowth. The trees were in their gorgeous autumnal colouring of red and yellow, flecked with snow-a beautiful contrast of colour through which we rolled for fully five days; then, on the sixth day, west of the Ob, we entered the region of the Steppes. These plains are covered with sparse grass, varied at first by a few trees, but gradually becoming arid and treeless as one goes west towards the Ural Mountains; but on our journey, in early October, the whole was a mass of snow. The third belt is that of the Ural Mountains, and thereafter you enter Russia in Europe. Of the three great rivers that we crossed, the Ob and the Yeneisei are the more picturesque, and are also the greater. The Yeneisei we crossed by clear

moonlight on a still, frosty night. The Ob we crossed in bright sunlight. Equally the snowy banks and the snow-clad trees and houses flung back the reflection of sunlight and moonlight in a manner to inspire a painter. The scenery of Siberia has yet to be painted.

It may be convenient to add, for the sake of record; that the route from Irkutsk to Moscow was an old and well-travelled route before the railway was thought of. It was the route by which Russia sent embassies to China centuries ago; it was the route by which exiles and convicts were sent to Siberia; it was the route used by the caravan tea trade; it was a regular post route, both for passengers and for mails. For the purpose of transmitting official despatches the system was very thorough-going, as many Russian systems are, and news could be sent, and was sent, from Peking to St. Petersburg within thirty days, and sometimes, I believe, in twenty-eight days. The method of sending a Russian Government despatch from Peking to Kiakhta was by following exactly the route that I followed, but, of course, at a much quicker rate. A Cossack of the Russian Embassy at Peking, carrying no baggage and riding night and day, would take a despatch from Peking to Kalgan; at Kalgan the despatch was handed over to the same Mongol. headman (or, I presume, to the father of the same Mongol headman) who entertained me at the entrance

to the Desert of Gobi, and he at once despatched it to the next encampment. The next encampment was bound, without a moment's delay, to transmit the despatch again by a separate rider to the succeeding encampment, and that process was supposed to go on, and did go on, night and day over the whole route that I traversed in leisurely fashion. The calculation of time was eight days from Peking to Kiakhta, and twenty days from Kiakhta to Moscow. Allowing for accidents and delays, the actual time was thirty days between Peking and Petersburg, and by that route and by these methods Petersburg used to get news from Peking much sooner than such news was obtained in London. At a later date the undersea electric cable system, gradually being extended eastwards, halted for a time at Singapore before any further extension was made, and in the office of my newspaper-the Straits Times, of Singapore—my predecessors got news by letter from Shanghai, and then transmitted it by cable to London, thus enabling London again to have precedence in news-gathering as against the Russian overland route. That was for a brief season only, and long before my time, but it is what they tell me. The next stage in quick transmission of news was when the under-sea cable was extended to China. But so late as three or four years ago there was no press rate for news messages from China, while there was a press rate at Singapore, and for a short time press messages from Peking and Shanghai and Tientsin were again forwarded by cable to my office at Singapore, and were then retransmitted from there so as to take advantage of the press rate. Now there is telegraphic communication between China and St. Petersburg all the way, but by the long and circuitous route that goes north by Vladivostock. The telegraph wires and poles, however, are lying stacked in the Desert of Gobi, and next year the telegraphline will be laid between Kalgan and Kiakhta, thus completing by electricity the old route which I travelled, and whose vicissitudes as a route for news I have been endeavouring to explain.

For passenger traffic the old route, prior to any railway being thought of, was precisely the route that I followed as far as Irkutsk; and after Irkutsk the traveller proceeded by road on much the same line of journey that I proceeded by rail, with the exception that the old post-road went through Nijninovgorod, whereas the railway does not go near that town, although a branch line does. My time from Irkutsk to Moscow by rail was twelve days, and the time of the old traveller by road for the same distance worked out as about forty days. That was on a basis of continuous night and day travelling, but without any special privileges, such as a Government official would have, for demanding precedence as to horses at the post-stations. The time to do the

journey comfortably was in winter, because then the traveller could sledge the whole way over smooth and frozen snow, whereas at any other time of the year he had to face the ordinary difficulties of bad roads. That was so much recognised that by regulations of the old postal route the traveller had a right to demand a winter speed of not less than eight miles per hour, which was materially higher than he had a right to claim at any other season of the year.

So much for the old route before the railway was opened. As for the future, I take it that the rate of travelling by rail, which I have described in this chapter, will in course of time be much accelerated. It will never be fast travelling in our English or American sense, but it may be a good deal faster than it is at present. After allowing for that probable acceleration, I think that the rate of transit for a letter, when the railway is opened to Port Arthur, will be at first about twenty-three days from Port Arthur to London, which will finally get cut down to about eighteen days. As Peking will be in connection, through Niu-chwang, with the Trans-Siberian line, the time which I give for Port Arthur will be the time for Peking also. 'From Calais to Peking in eighteen days' will thus be the traveller's time-bill, but it will be impossible to add 'without changing carriages.' The Emperor Nicholas settled that once and for all when he fixed the Russian gauge at 5 feet.

## CHAPTER XV.

## PEOPLE THAT I MET.

I no not think that in any journey I have met people so generally interesting, and so varied in type, as on this journey from Peking to St. Petersburg. Let it be remembered that when one travels exclusively in an Asiatic country, as I have done on some previous journeys, the interest for the European traveller, unless he have some special object of study, soon becomes somewhat limited. The ordinary European, the average man, is not quite in touch with the Asiatic, and unless on his journey he can mix frequently with Europeans as well as with Asiatics, he probably becomes wearied of Asiatic types; and he ceases to observe.

On this particular journey my party journeyed exclusively among Asiatics between Peking and Ourga for twenty days. But for the rest of the time we had European society, latterly of the Slavonic type, which, although not quite new to me, was sufficiently so to be very interesting. Taking it over the main part of the journey, my intercourse

was with Chinese and Russians, with Mongols and Slavs, the two races that taken together are likely to be of most interest to Britain for many years to come. These, of course, were the people that I really wished to see, but before discussing them I may note briefly that at the start and at the finish of our journey I had dealings with many nationalities.

At and between Peking and St. Petersburg I saw a good deal of four ambassadors, of a brilliantly successful newspaper correspondent, of some eminent Chinese statesmen, of various notable Russians, of a travelling journalist interviewing emperors, of several consuls—of whom M. Chichmareff of Ourga is my most charming recollection—while, oddly enough, at both Peking and St. Petersburg, at start and finish, my liveliest recollections are of gentlemen who represented American assurance companies.

In an earlier chapter I have spoken of my negotiations with M. Pavlov, who has now been moved from Peking to Korea. I hope I have not been taken to imply any resentment at M. Pavlov's dealings. If he sought to convince me that I could not get something I wanted unless I set about it in a way that suited him, that was his conception of his duty. Who am I that I should object to a zealous diplomatist trying to use me as a pawn on the political chessboard? It was my business to see that I was not used as a pawn, and,

that little matter being ended, M. Pavlov gave me all the help I wanted. He gave me his letters sealed, which is not our English method of giving introductory letters, but it does seem to be the Russian method—in political circles, at all events since other letters that I carried from a most courteous, most kindly, and most amiable Russian diplomatist, of whose friendship I am absolutely assured, were also sealed. That the contents of the letters were right I know, because the recipients of the letters used me too nicely to leave any doubt on that point. If M. Pavlov sought to use me, I also sought to use him, and I think that of the two I had the more reason to be satisfied. He is an exceedingly able man, and I shall be surprised if in course of time I do not find him at London or Paris as the Ambassador of the Tsar.

Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Minister at Peking, was exceedingly nice and courteous. Just as I was starting on my journey to Mongolia, there came to the British Ministry at Peking a note from my wife begging that a letter to me that she enclosed should be sent to me if I was in reachable distance. That letter reached me in a very few minutes indeed, and Sir Claude took some personal pains to see that I got it, and wrote to my wife very nicely on the subject. He did so amidst much pressure of work, for I do not think that any servant of the British Crown has had a tougher job than Sir Claude

Macdonald has had during this last year or two. A minister, after all, is but a mouthpiece, and if the Government for which he speaks will not empower him to say anything definite, he cannot say it.

Li Hung Chang struck me as a man of capacity who is blocking the way, just as Prince Bismarck blocked it for a time in Germany, and as Mr. Gladstone blocked it for a time in Britain. There comes a time of life when old men must give way to younger. It is very sad for the old men, but it is the law of life.

Turning to Mongolia, the interesting thing was the amiability and good nature of the Mongols among whom I travelled. In my chapter on the Mongol race I have sought to elaborate these points, but I would like to repeat here that although the Mongols are unarmed and unwarlike, and believed to be cowards, I fancy they have in them the making of soldiers. We know what they did in the times of Jenghis Khan, and I believe that under proper leadership they might soon again acquire the habit of fighting. If so, there they are ready to be drilled into an irregular cavalry.

Turning to Siberia, the best opportunities I had for seeing the people lay in the very thing that might have been supposed to prevent me from seeing them. I travelled through Siberia continuously on a railway train, and I am almost inclined to think that I saw more of the Siberian people in that fashion

than I could easily have seen of them in any other. It is to be observed that the train was a corridor train, and that people loafed about from one class of carriage to another in a way that would not be tolerated in any country of Western Europe. A lady, travelling first-class, and having, as it might well be, a compartment to herself, would use it habitually for the reception of friends from the second and third class.

It was the same with ourselves. When I had, as sometimes I had, the exclusive use of a firstdass compartment, my Russian friends would drop in there from an inferior class of carriage, would smoke there, would eat there, and would talk there. We were a happy family all mixed up together, sweeping cheerfully away such purely artificial distinctions as are born of tickets marked respectively First, Second, or Third. Other travelling opportunities that I had of meeting the people were found at the stopping stations, in the rush to the buffets, the reserving of seats there, and the assistance that I had to ask for in the matter of interpretation. At the river ferries also we were all very much mixed up together, helping in the removal of each other's luggage, forming parties to secure seats, and generally travelling as a harmonious party.

The conclusion that I came to, as the result of it all, was that the people were very nice, and frank,

simple, and helpful in their ways. Perhaps the exigencies of travel forced them to be a little more helpful to each other than quite suits our English ideas.

At Ourga we heard of a young Russian who had lived at Ourga some time in summer in order to study the Mongolian dialect, and who was going back to St. Petersburg for the winter. As he was going precisely the same route that we were, we inquired after him with a view of inviting his company, but he had gone. However, as it happened, we unknowingly passed him on the way, and he again overtook us during that detention at Lake Baikal to which I have already referred. But whereas previously he was alone, he had then a lady under his charge. She was the wife of a man of standing but not of wealth, and the student had not had the pleasure of her acquaintance until he was asked to take charge of her journey from the frontier to, I think, St. Petersburg-a little journey of from fifteen to twenty days under those general conditions of travel that I have already described, with the disadvantage that the student and the lady probably desired to spend less than we did. The student and the lady followed about a day after us on the post route that I have described east of Lake Baikal. They crossed the lake with us, they slept one night at the same little inn on the western shore, they travelled with us -or we travelled with them-to Irkutsk, and we had arranged to go on together in the train—an arrangement that was ended only by the fact that they left Irkutsk the same day that they arrived there, whereas we decided to wait two days. During the whole of their rough and long journey of more than fifteen days this amiable young student would have to do for this lady, whom he had never seen before, to whom he had ne obligations of previous friendship, all those innumerable services that the journey called for.

At the Lake Baikal inn, for instance, my party of three slept on the floor in the common sittingroom, and the student and the lady had available to them a room which entered off a passage off our room, and which was large enough to hold two small beds. They could not get any other room but that, because all the other rooms were occupied by the passengers from the steamer, and occupied upon a scale of overcrowding even greater than what I have named. I have said that at this Lake Baikal inn the student and the lady had nothing available to them but one little room, and, as the student said to us, 'These little difficulties must be accepted on the journey' (sur la route). Undoubtedly it would have been a difficulty for this lady to travel to St. Petersburg without some male help. The conditions of the country, therefore, seem to call for an amount of helpfulness that is unusual elsewhere.

The cheerful endurance of Russian women was indeed notable. One Government officer with his wife travelled with us for several days, till through the sheer exhaustion of the lady they had to stop and rest. I met them again in St. Petersburg, where the lady spoke quite cheerfully of the journey, which nevertheless seemed to me, looking at it from her point of view, to be one continuous misery. On board the train there was an elderly woman, travelling not only the whole distance that I had to travel, but a much longer distance besides, and she took everything quite philosophically, almost as if it were a pleasure journey. We had on board the train for many days a doctor with his wife, three children, a baby, and two dogs, and yet they always seemed quite cheerful. I am putting it mildly when I say that the amount of trouble these two dogs gave was such that, if I had been that unfortunate family-man, I would have taken pains to leave them behind at the first station. But no, the dogs were looked after all the way, and, in fact, the carrying about of dogs seems to be a feature of Siberian travel.

Frequently on the train we had military officers, always in uniform, returning to join their regiments, and usually travelling third class. They impressed me favourably as plain, sensible men, and although my travelling companions seemed to think that some of the officers swaggered a bit, I cannot say

that I saw it. They were young men, and young men must be allowed to carry themselves jauntily. Among ladies travelling alone was a Swiss governess, returning to Switzerland after a long Siberian residence, of which she had nothing but good to say. We had a millionaire on board also, a man largely interested in gold-mining, in trading, and in steamer navigation, but it was a bit disappointing to remember, afterwards, that when a Russian speaks of a millionaire, he only means a man who has a million roubles.

disposition to give undue preference to officials. They had the right of prior transit at the ferries, but I dare say we could have had that also if we had known enough to ask the Governor at Irkutsk for a special document. But, apart from that one little preference, I noticed no undue pressure. At one part of the journey I was asked to give up a first-class compartment, of which at the time I was the sole occupant, in order to facilitate a journey on the part of a pretty high provincial official; but the request was made quite mildly, and with the explanation that he was travelling with a lady, and that I really did not need to move unless I was willing to do so.

In a word, I can speak nothing but good of almost any people that I met upon this journey. The worst man we had to deal with was our own Chinese

cook; but I dare say that even he might have been a fairly decent servant in less fatiguing conditions of service. The Siberians and the Russians right throughout we found obliging and helpful in conditions of travel that must have been pretty trying to the temper.

# CHAPTER XVI.

#### OF CONCESSION-HUNTING.

What I have said about the work of development that is to be done in Siberia, and the opening that seems to exist, especially in mining, for English or American capitalists, may perhaps raise the question of how far the Russian Government is disposed to grant concessions to Englishmen. I say particularly to Englishmen, since it is well known that to Frenchmen Russia will be most willing to grant facilities, and since it is presumable that much the same feeling would be shown to Americans. Indeed, for some reason that no American and no Russian has ever been able to explain to me, the Russian Government and the Russian people both display a special amount of cordiality and friendship to America and to Americans. Let it be remembered that I travelled through Siberia and Russia with two companions who are Americans, and, as I think I have already said briefly, it was impossible to avoid seeing that, while the courtesies offered to me were the courtesies of a polite people

to a stranger, even if at some time that stranger might be an enemy, the attentions paid to my American fellow-travellers were based on quite a different international feeling. In the way of friendly discussion, we tried to find out the especial reasons for this cordiality, discussing among other matters the sale to the United States of Russia's American possessions, the help sent from the United States to certain famine-stricken districts of Russia, and other political and social points that occurred to us. Nevertheless, neither my fellow-travellers, who were the happy recipients of these international cordialities, nor my Russian fellow-travellers, who were the amiable exponents of these kindly feelings, could give any clear reason for them. The kindly feelings were of ancient date-beyond that we did not get. In the meantime, I am content to note the fact, as showing that American capitalists, like French capitalists, might find the Russian Government willing to encourage them in Siberia. English capitalists, by the way, are possibly recognising that fact, since my mining-engineer friend already referred to, who had been examining goldmines in Siberia for South African capitalists, was 'hurrying back, not to London and not to South Africa, but—to New York.

Nevertheless, I do not think that the Russian Government would have any objection to seeing English mining adventurers in Siberia. The

Government of Russia is strong enough, and has a strong enough grip of Siberia, to be wholly indifferent to such points as might trouble a weak Government. But if English capitalists should desire to become interested in Siberian mining, and should wish for their enterprise any special privileges or opportunities, they must set to work differently from an Englishman of whom a story was told me in St. Petersburg. He was a considerable capitalist, and he had come to St. Petersburg on very important business, being nothing less than a proposal to lease the whole of the Siberian goldmines that belonged to the private domain of the Tsar. Let it be understood that that is a very big matter. Apart from the ordinary rights of the Russian Government in Siberian minerals, it happens that a very large part of the gold-mining territory in Siberia, and of the gold-mines actually being worked, belong to the personal privy purse of the Tsar, and are worked for the behoof of that privy purse. Naturally abuses creep in, and naturally there is a lack of that enterprise and initiative that might be found under private personal superintendence; and therefore there arose some talk of leasing those mines to an individual or company.

The Englishman whom I have under discussion came to Russia on that business. He had not, I think, himself gone to Siberia, but presumably he

had been there by deputy. At all events, he came to St. Petersburg prepared to do business. He had some talk with the proper officials, and he made some inquiries, and he got some additional information, and then he made up his mind what he could afford to offer. He wrote out the points of his offer upon a sheet of notepaper, and, walking down from his hotel to the department charged with the affair, he put his sheet of notepaper on the desk of the chief, and he said: 'Now, that's what I am prepared to do.'

The official concerned looked perhaps a little aghast, but he was polite, as Russians always are, and he said that the matter would duly be considered, and that at some later date the offerer might be asked to make his offer in the proper formal channel. But the English capitalist said that would not suit him. He was willing to do anything that was necessary in the way of documents, but he could not wait, and he had no representative to depute the matter to—and, in fact, he wanted an answer within a fortnight. If he couldn't get the answer within a fortnight—well, well, time was money, and he had other things to do, and he couldn't spend any more time over the matter.

I really don't know what the Russian official said precisely, but I can well remember the spirit of disgust in which my informant, an Englishman long resident in St. Petersburg, told the story.

'Why,' he said to me, 'the idea was monstrous! Here was an aristocratic department of a very slow and formal Government—a department charged with the administration of the Tsar's own finances—a department called upon to consider an offer that would ultimately require the Tsar's own personal approval—and it was handed some figures jotted on a sheet of notepaper, and told it must answer within a fortnight. If Englishmen come to Russia to do business in that spirit, they are wasting their time.'

My sympathy is with the informant who told me this story, and with the feeling of disapproval at such abrupt methods. It happens that I have had something to do personally with Governments and concessions, and I know it is almost hopeless to try to hurry a Government if you want anything from it. It happens that, because of reasons that I have touched on in a previous chapter, the Russian Government is somewhat in a hurry in regard to the development of Siberia, and is therefore more affable in listening to proposals than most Governments are. Still, the haste to open Siberia is not a feverish haste.

Personally, it happens that by the accident of living for some time in Singapore, amidst a mercantile community, and concurrently with the opening out of the Malay States, I was drawn into several mining adventures in which we had much to do with

Governments. I was for some time on the boards of three mining companies, all of which held concessions from various Governments, one of them having no less than several thousands of square miles of territory under its lease. There were many negotiations with various departments of these Governments - negotiations that may be understood to be of a fairly complicated character, when I state that (not for purely personal ends, but in my capacity as director of one of these companies) I have convinced a Government that it ought to build a highroad, have lent to the Government the money with which it built the road, have been the contractor for building the road, and have beenagain speaking as a director-the only person who used the road.

That was in the affairs of one company, which prospered reasonably. In the affairs of another, which did not prosper, and scarcely deserved to prosper, it has been my unfortunate duty—chiefly, I fancy, because I was supposed to be handy with my pen—to indite memorials to various supreme authorities, protesting against the cancellation of the various concessions belonging to the company. I do not state such experience as anything of which to be proud, nor can I even say that out of these enterprises I have made money. As in the case of most persons who have fairly engrossing affairs of their own, it would have paid me better to have

confined my attention to my own affairs. But the experience has been useful in so far that, if a man does not sow his financial wild oats in his youth, he may be tempted to do so in his later age, which would be infinitely more distressing.

Further, these experiences in negotiations with Governments were useful to me in enabling me to appreciate the various aspects of the Siberian situation that were thrust on my attention partly in Siberia and partly in Russia. And what I have to say, as a result of all that was told me, combined with my own knowledge of the ways of Governments, is that any respectable Englishman who desires to mine for gold in Siberia is likely to be helped to do so provided he sets about the matter in a proper way. What precisely the proper way may be I did not take the trouble to find out, inasmuch as I have already had all the mining experience that I care for; but there need be no difficulty in finding a way providing one takes time about it.

Nevertheless, I do know of one man who may be said to have hurried a department, or at all events an offshoot, of the Russian Government. I say an offshoot because, as has been already explained, the Russian Government finances various enterprises in such a way that, while these are not officially Government departments, they are so to all real intents and purposes. The list includes railways, canals, ironworks, and various other things.

It was on business connected with such an enterprise that my friend went to Russia, and he wanted certain important matters arranged, and he wanted to take back an agreement with him. His qualifications for the enterprise were a thorough knowledge of the business in hand, a costly set of furs, a considerable fluency in French, plenty of ready money, and a capacity for eating and drinking at all times, and sleeping at casual moments when opportunity. occurred. In addition to these qualifications, and perhaps almost as important as some of them, he had a great capacity for telling humorous stories, and for appearing to be interested in the stories that other people might tell. Having presented himself to the people with whom he had to do business, he did not further worry them or himself about that business; he ate, drank, dined, supped, went to the theatre, drove about in sledges, and consumed all manner of liquors at all times upon the slightest provocation or upon none at all. After a few weeks of that he reminded his business friends gently that he was not the head of the firm, that he had to go back by a certain time, and that his people would expect to know something about the business upon which he had come to Russia. The immediate answer to such representations was a further invitation to sup, or drink, or engage in sôme other amusing but irrelevant occupation. Nevertheless, my friend did not hurry. He engaged with zest in

all these affairs, hoping no doubt that, when he got back to England, a diet of toast and water would set him right internally.

Meanwhile he enjoyed himself, and let the time run on to the date when he had said he must go. When it really reached that point, when the friends whom he had been entertaining saw that he really must go, a meeting of the Board was called, and the business was discussed seriously and at great length. The discussion was taken quite seriously, as I have said, but at the end of it one of the oldest and liveliest members of the party took my friend aside, and said to him in substance:

'My dear friend, we don't really understand all these details, and you seem to do so, and you have been a very charming fellow, and, if you really must go to-morrow, we will sign the agreement this afternoon, and we will go and sup at that restaurant again to-night, and we will just keep it up till you go off by the morning train.'

My friend brought back his agreement signed, and I am happy to know that, during the years that have elapsed (for this was some years ago), everything has gone smoothly and successfully both for my friend's firm and for the Russian administration that was concerned.

I do not believe that, in putting through ordinary business with Russians, it is necessary to bribe. I have heard people say so, and I don't believe it.

There is a certain amount of waste and misspending in the affairs of the Russian Government, but I do not fancy that much of it belongs to the domain of direct bribery. You must not, of course, apply to all things Russian the same standard that you would apply to all things English. I take it that the customs of the country have sanctioned certain pickings that from our present standard of public morals we would call misappropriations. If so, the people engaged in such pickings must not be judged solely by our standard. But of direct bribery I do not think there is very much, and I think there would be no need for it at all in the case of any foreign adventurer who desired to exploit mineral concessions in Siberia, and who did not desire to exploit them unfairly; bût he must not take a very important proposal to a Russian department and expect an immediate answer. Neither need he necessarily seek to do his business through supping at late hours and drinking at all times. However successful the latter plan was, as I have narrated it, that is not equally applicable to all departments and to all conditions. There is a happy medium. But the first thing to be remembered in dealing with a Government is that no Government likes to be hurried, and no department will allow itself to be hurried unless you set about it very dexterously indeed.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## SOME SIBERIAN TOWNS.

I PASSED through six notable Siberian towns, two of which I saw very thoroughly, as thoroughly as any stranger can expect to see any town where he does not speak the language of the people. The other four towns that I passed through I can only claim to have seen in the sense that an American would see Liverpool on his way to London; but I had the opportunity on the train of talking with people who either lived in those towns or at least knew them very well. Four other towns that should not be lost sight of when writing about Siberia I did not see, because they are on branch lines, and my time, latterly, was limited; but in the cases of the two more important of these I had the good fortune to have their leading characteristics explained to me by men who had lived and traded there. The towns through which I passed were Kiakhta, Irkutsk, Kansk, Krásnoyarsk, Omsk, and Cheliabinsk. The towns that I passed near without seeing were Tomsk, Ekaterinburg, Tiumén, and Perm. The last-named,

by the way, is in Russia proper, but from its character, trade, and geographical situation it really belongs to the Siberian group.

The characteristics of all these towns are enterprise and progress, in a sense distinct from those qualities as you find them in European Russia, and with somewhat of an analogy to the qualities that you find in American and Canadian towns. In all cases such uncertainty of the future as may be observed in these towns turns upon those great changes in the course of trade that may be expected to come in the wake of the railway. Before dealing with that point generally, it may be convenient to note something briefly of the characteristics of some of these towns. With Kiakhta I have already dealt fully, so it may suffice to repeat here that as a result of the railway, when the railway is completed, Kiakhta must lose the overland tea trade, or most of it. What Kiakhta is to gain instead I do not clearly see. The individual capitalists of Kiakhta may not suffer, since they are engaged in enterprises far beyond Kiakhta; but the town should suffer, or at all events should cease to grow. Irkutsk should lose the same tea trade that Kiakhta loses, but it may gain enormously in its present local trade, for its future lies in the fact that it should be a great river and lake port, receiving and shipping goods for and from the railway. Krasnoyarsk seems to have before it a very great future. Its record dates back

to 1628, when it was established as a military post. Then, much later, it had a burst of prosperity as the centre of an alluvial gold district, and I can easily conceive that, with increased enterprise and with increased capital, the gold washings and the trade dependent upon them may continue for a very long time to come. It may further be noted as a general, although not an invariable, principle, that where alluvial gold is plentiful gold reefs may ultimately be found. But the real strength of Krasnoyarsk lies in its magnificent position on the Yeneisei. It should remain the centre of a great river navigation. Coming much further west, we find Cheliabinsk to be a thorough railway town. It is the seat of the administration of the Siberian Railway, with the additional advantage that, while the main line connects Cheliabinsk with the main line through European Russia, there is a branch, with further divergent branches, connecting with Ekaterinburg, Tiumen, and Perm.

Ekaterinburg is a town on a navigable river, and in the centre of a mineral district. It was founded in 1723 by Peter the Great, who established ironworks that are important factors in the prosperity of Siberia. Russia, it may be noted here, is now fifth in the list of the world's iron-producing countries, her output in 1897 being over 2,000,000 tons. The remarkable development of recent years has chiefly been in the south and in the Urals, but development

is now proceeding in Siberia, which at present is absorbing such large quantities of the iron from the Urals. The quality of the iron produced is not quite what it might be; but the raw material is all right, and the processes of manufacture will, no doubt, be improved in time. Ekaterinburg is, further, the town to which all Siberian gold is brought in order to be smelted, and adjacent to it there are considerable alluvial gold washings. From Ekaterinburg a railway line runs off to Tiumen, which is situated on a tributary of the river Irtish, and whose past and whose future are based on facilities of river navigation. From Ekaterinburg the same railway extends to Perm, which is in Russia proper, and dates back from the year 1568. Perm also is another centre of river 1 navigation. Turning back again, further eastwards, we find on a branch of the Siberian Railway the town of Tomsk, through which originally the highroad of Siberia passed. Tomsk was a great gold town in its day, but its real value also lies in its position as a river-port. It is situated on the Tom which is a tributary of the river Ob, and the town commands the navigation of both the Irtish and the Ob.

This constant repetition of river navigation may seem tedious, but the position of these towns and the strength of Siberia cannot be understood unless the reader will also remember that there is probably

no country in the world which is so rich in navigable rivers as Siberia is. Those rivers are the natural roads of the country. Those towns are situated on these rivers for the same reason that St. Louis is on the Mississippi, and that Chicago is on the great American lake system. The attention of the Siberian Government is naturally at present concentrated on the completion of the railway, but when the railway is finished it may be that a system of canals will be found of more immediate use in the development of Siberia than any railway extension.

Siberian towns have a great family resemblance. That is due in part to the Greek Church, for everywhere the most prominent building is a church, with a lofty dome, either painted green or, if the town can afford it, flashing its golden surface to the sun. All these towns were originally built of wood, and considerable parts of them are wooden still, but the newer buildings are of stone, and are very good. It seems to me that all these towns have a great commercial future. Anticipating, as I do, that the Siberian population will continue to increase rapidly, both by immigration and by birth-rate, it seems inevitable that towns with such geographical advantages must become considerable commercial cities.

When Siberia has a population of 50,000,000 the towns that monopolize the best river sites and

that are on or in close connection with the great trunk railway must become very prosperous towns indeed. If I had leisure—if, for instance, I could spare six months—I think I would go back to Siberia and invest some money in buying real estate in some of those towns.

I am not able to draw a parallel between those Siberian towns and any towns in Britain. The civilization of Britain is too old, the country is too small, and the navigable rivers are lacking. Nor can a parallel be made of any Australian towns. The cities of Australia are seaboard cities, ports of export and import. The true parallel is with some towns in America. A town such as St. Louis derives its importance from its position on a river navigation just as those Siberian towns do. Chicago, although not on a river, but on a lake, may be taken as another parallel. The parallel is the closer because, just as those American towns have had their advantages of water-transit supplemented by wonderfu. railroad facilities, so will it be with the towns that I have named, Kiakhta excepted. I do not, of course, say that those Siberian towns will progress at the same rate as the American towns. That is impossible, for 50,000,000 Slavonic people in Siberia will not have the same output as 50,000,000 Anglo-Saxons in America, and, not having the output, they will not have the wherewithal to buy imports for their wants. But although the 50,000,000

of Siberia will not create the same trade as 50,000,000 in America, they will create a great deal more trade than any 50,000,000 of Russia proper. Thus, wholly apart from any extension of Russian domain in Asia, those Siberian towns that I have named are going to be big towns.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### SOME TRAVELLING DETAILS.

It may, perhaps, interest people to know what I would suggest as a travelling outfit for such a journey as that of which I am writing. It was a journey that included all ranges of temperature between 90° and 25° Fahr., and considerable chances of exposure to weather, and of quick local variations, as, for instance, from the inside of an overheated car to a railway-platform with the snow lying on the ground. Well, my notion of the outfit that one should buy for such a journey is to buy nothing at all. The outfitter, the man who specially advertises that he is prepared to supply outfits and to advise about them, is a delusion and a snare. I do not recommend any person who leaves Britain for any part of the world to buy any outfit whatsoever, unless for specialized purposes, such as mountain-climbing or the like. In most parts of the world he will find that what he has been accustomed to wear at home is about what he should wear abroad; but, if any special variations of costume be needed, it is always the

best plan to buy these things at or near the spot. There is no part of the world not absolutely savage where a man with money in his pocket cannot buy what is specially needed for local circumstances. At all events, that is my theory, and it happened also to be the theory of the two friends who travelled with me. Before starting on the journey, I bought nothing save two pairs of blue spectacles, which I had been told I would need to wear in the Desert of Gobi. Because I was mightily impressive about the need for blue spectacles my friends also bought two pairs each. None of us ever wore any of them, and at the end of the journey all the six pairs were accumulated in my room, with the suggestion that, as -they had been bought at my advice, I ought to take them over.

The luggage that I took with me was to some extend conditioned by the fact that I knew it would require to be packed alternately on mules, camels, and ponies. It was therefore imperative to take nothing large. On the theory, however, that nothing need be bought on starting, I examined at Singapore all the trunks and bags that I had. Then for this journey I picked out a japanned iron uniform case of the usual size, two Gladstone bags of soft leather, and a little handbag, such as you will see City men using for carrying papers between house and office; and I tried to get my clothing into these. I didn't quite succeed, so I sent for a Chinese carpenter, gave

him a white shirt folded as it comes from the laundry, and told him to make me a plain wooden box big enough to hold a dozen such shirts. That box cost me three shillings, and when I left it behind me in my hotel at St. Petersburg, a servant came rushing out after me to know if I had not forgotten it. Beyond that, I had a bundle of overcoats fastened with a leather strap, and that was all my luggage. . It was, as I afterwards found, admirably suited in every respect for the journey. It is true that at Irkutsk, which ended the rougher portion of the journey, all . my packages were found to be to some extent damaged by the pressure that was put upon them when they were being packed on mule saddles, but they were all repaired quite easily at Irkutsk, and finally my japanned case and my bags were reapanned and re-varnished at Charing Cross, and are about as good to-day as ever they were. One of these bags has been in use for ten years, and has travelled much more than 100,000 miles. For all travelling purposes, except perhaps the carrying of linen shirts, 'there is nothing like leather.'

It may be convenient to add that in crossing the Desert of Gobi no form of package would resist all the trying conditions and the numerous handlings unless it were protected by some covering. Of that they warned us at Peking, and by thus waiting until he gets to the spot the traveller has the advantage of getting at once the necessary warning and the

suitable remedy. Without any trouble to us, beyond paying for it, they supplied to us at the Peking hotel some twenty pieces of what appeared to be a coarse cotton cloth, soaked in oil, and we found it, in practice, to be an amply sufficient protection against rain and dust, and to be some considerable protection against the wear and tear of the ropes used for mule packing. One piece of such cloth was fastened round each package with coarse twine, and at the end of the journey the oil cloth was flung away.

The contents of these packages consisted in the first place of a dress suit and fifteen linen shirts. One thing that I have found essential to a traveller everywhere is evening dress. His wardrobe outside of great cities may be anything that pleases his fancy, provided always that he is prepared to be properly equipped for dinner.

In Russia the evening dress is even more necessary, because 'full dress' must be worn for official calls, and full dress for a civilian is obviously the same as his evening dress. Thus, from Peking to Irkutsk, as may easily be imagined, I did not dress for dinner in the Mongol tents, but so soon as I arrived at Irkutsk out came my evening dress, to be used, as I have already said, at ten o'clock in the morning in making an official call on the Governor of Eastern Siberia.

I have only twice gone anywhere away from my own home without evening dress, and on both occa-

sions I was 'caught out' badly. The first occasion was when I was a very young man indeed, acting as the editor of a morning paper in Glasgow. I went to visit a bachelor friend who lived in a remote country place many miles from anywhere, and, because I was editing a morning paper, with an insufficient staff, I could only leave town from Saturday forenoon till Sunday afternoon. So, being very hurried, and having no one to pack for me, and leaving town for one night only, and going to a house where there was no lady, I did not take my evening things. But it so happened-because I had just finished contesting a Parliamentary constituency, with no success for the party, but with some political usefulness-that my host had gone to the trouble to invite quite a considerable number of people from some distance, specifically to meet me, and there was I, the guest of the evening, without the clothing that should have befitted the evening's guest.

The next time I was 'caught out' was in the Malay Peninsula. I was going from Singapore to visit a coffee-planter in Johore, and in Singapore, as in Glasgow, having the misfortune to be a newspaper editor, with a staff not then fully organized, my time was again restricted from Saturday at mid-day till Sunday night. I had fourteen miles to go by road before I got the sampan that would ferry me across from the island of Singapore to the

mainland of Asia, and as I was hankering for exercise, and as I was going to visit a bachelor who lived seven miles from any European neighbour, I chose to ride the distance on horseback, sending a coolie in advance with one handbag. It was a silly thing to do in any case, for in the tropics, more than in Europe, it is essential to have reasonable changes of clothing; but I was new to the tropics, and knew no better.

Well, when I had crossed the Straits and entered the capital town of Johore, where the planter was to meet me and drive me inland to his plantation, I found an awkward change in the arrangements. My friend, having come down to meet me, had received intimation from the now deceased Sultan of Johore that, since my friend had come to the capital town, he was desired to stay and be present at a banquet that was being given that Saturday night in honour of a visitor from Europe. My friend naturally explained that he had come to. meet me, and the answer was that I must come to the banquet also. On hearing this I called upon the Sultan, and explained that I would be like the wedding guest without the wedding garment. But His Highness would take no refusal. So in the evening I sat down to the banquet with some seventy or eighty people, where the table was gorgeous with the 'Ellenborough' gold plate, that was in its time famous even in London, where the Sultan's

Malay band played music during the dinner, and where the Malay officers of state were gorgeous in diamonds and gold. I wore white drill clothing, which is about the ugliest thing a human being can wear, and at the end I said to myself: 'If I am exiled to a desert island and restricted in my quantity of baggage, I will nevertheless see that in that baggage there is room for my evening clothes.'

For my China-Siberia journey, after I had packed my evening things, I selected such warm flannel under-clothing and such woollen socks as I happened to have beside me, the balance of clothing left from my last winter in England, six years previously. Knowing I would have to ride a good deal, I looked longingly at some riding-breeches and riding-boots that were stowed away in my dressingroom; but finally I decided that to carry such things on such a journey would be to unduly expand my baggage, and I resolved that all the provision I would make for riding would be to take with me an old pair of cloth riding-gaiters. In the result I found these entirely sufficient, and they were the most useful things I had with me, except a Norfolk jacket that I used to wear when shooting in England, and a sweater that I had bought some years previously for boating on the Thames. The Norfolk jacket, supplemented by a celluloid collar, served me all the way from Peking to Irkutsk. It looked pretty bad when I got to Irkutsk, but, being

delighted with its convenience and its numerous pockets, I sent it out to a Russian tailor, who cleaned it and pressed it and relined it, and again it served me right through the railway journey, where, in the conditions I have described, it was advisable to be clothed simply.

I took two pairs of boots with me, and, as these were pretty well damaged, I sought to replace them at Irkutsk, but I failed. There were plenty of boots to be bought at Irkutsk, but all were of the Russian or German pattern, and a pair of stout lacing boots was unobtainable in the town, so far as I could search the town. However, I observed that everybody wore overshoes, which is, indeed, the universal practice all through Russia. So I bought a pair of these, at a cost of five shillings, and very glad indeed I was that I had done so. All down the railway line there was snow on the ground, and, by slipping on the overshoes when I left the train, and taking them off when I came aboard, I had the satisfaction of having dry and warm feet the whole way. The manufacture of overshoes, indeed, is one of the big industries of Russia, and in conversation at Moscow with a man who is a director of a public company that makes overshoes, ... I was told that the output of Russian overshoe factories is not less than 30,000 pairs each day.

When I started on my journey I had with me a sun-helmet, a straw hat, and a cloth cap. The sun-

helmet was useful until we entered Gobi, where the elevation and the keen winds tempered the sun's heat. So I gave the sun-helmet to one of our Mongols, who was regarding it curiously, and he seemed quite delighted with the gift. What he could do with it I can't imagine, unless he intended to keep it as a foreign curiosity. The straw hat never served any purpose, except at nights, when I used it as a convenient receptacle for all the odds and ends that I kept in my pockets during the day. The cloth cap was the headgear for riding in, and at Irkutsk I replaced it by an astrakan fur cap of the kind that all Russians seem to wear when they are wearing furs.

I got at Kalgan a sheepskin coat such as is worn by the Mongols, a garment that has wool inside and the untanned skin outside, and that covers one from neck to heel. It was exceedingly useful in the Desert of Gobi in the frosts of the early morning, and as a bed covering at night in the tents, but at Irkutsk it had to be discarded. There I got a fur coat. The weather, as it afterwards turned out, was not, on the average, cold enough to make the wearing of such a coat necessary, but there were just half a dozen times, such as crossing the river ferries and the like, when without such a warm outer garment I might have been uncomfortable.

These things that I have named were the staple

of my luggage, and in addition to those, and the usual numerous trifles that need not be detailed, I had just one moderately well-preserved jacket suit of dark material, such as one could wear in cities without remark. Practically that was all my baggage, and it served me amply. Any trifles that I needed and had omitted to provide I was able to buy at Peking, at Kiakhta, at Irkutsk, and, of course, at Moscow and St. Petersburg. Even in the furthest away of these towns, say at Kiakhta, on the Mongolian Siberian frontier, there was no difficulty in buying such things as handkerchiefs, collars, socks, or under-clothing. These things were a trifle dear, of course, but that was of no particular consequence when one only wanted to supply temporary necessities.

As to the washing of clothing, the ordinary laundry facilities exist everywhere except after Peking and before Kiakhta. Between these points we spent twenty-six days, and during that time we had some of our under-clothing washed by our Chinese servant when we halted at Kalgan and at Ourga. Starching and ironing could not, of course, be done during that portion of the journey, but, on the other hand, it would have been absurd to be wearing starched linen when riding across an Asiatic desert and sleeping in Mongol tents. Linen shirts one wore when resting in the civilization of

intervals the stock of linen that I carried served. In a word, the outfit I had provided was sufficient when supplemented by occasional purchases en route.

As regards the question of commissariat, we took with us from Peking, packed in old wooden boxes furnished by the hotel, a quantity of tinned meats, of butter and jam, of rice and potatoes, and some 20 pounds or so of double-baked bread. The latter, as it turned out, was scarcely necessary, because at Kalgan the American missionaries refitted us on leaving there with a quantity of excellent homebaked bread, and at Ourga the Russian Consul did the same kind service to us. A list of these stores would be unnecessary, inasmuch as each traveller has his own tastes, but, speaking from memory, and without having details beside me, I think that the whole of the stores we provided for three of us, and for all the distance between Peking and Irkutsk, amounted in cost to something less than a £10 note. In addition to that supply of food, we bought a sheep from the Mongols, either every night or every second night, as the case might be, and we duly ate it.

Beyond the list of stores I have named, I had for my own consumption '(for my companions were travelling as total abstainers) a case of claret, three bottles of whisky, and three bottles of brandy. Some of these were broken on the journey, but,

notwithstanding that, the supply served me until I reached Kiakhta, where there was no difficulty in purchasing good Crimean brandy. In addition to that we had at the very start a few dozens of soda-water, but these were soon finished, and afterwards we drank the ordinary Mongol well-water, carefully boiled overnight, then bottled and cooled outside the tent for the next day's consumption.

I may add that, in my opinion, such journeys should not be made on teetotal principles. companions surrendered those principles at Kiakhta under pressure of Russian hospitality. But, in any case, I am a believer in a moderate use of alcohol, especially in circumstances of unusual fatigue. I speak with authority similar to that of the dying man who said to his son: 'Remember, John, that honesty is the best policy; I have tried both.' I am a converted teetotaler. For the first thirty-four years of my life I never tasted alcohol, and when I began to take it, on the advice of my doctor, I heartily disliked it. It did not take very long, however, to get over that dislike, and my testimony as a converted teetotaler may be summarized as follows: 'I began to drink five years ago, and I have never been ill since.' I think that the water of the Gobi Desert was wonderfully improved when mixed with a little alcohol.

Let me add that the bulk of our stores, as above described, we bought at Shanghai an error which

gave to us the unnecessary trouble of carrying them to Peking. They could have been bought at Peking just as cheaply and quite as well.

In addition to our stores of food, which were by no means wholly consumed when we reached Irkutsk, we had to carry cooking utensils. I cannot say precisely what cooking utensils should be selected for such a journey, because we did not make any particular selection. It happened that my travelling companions had been exploring around Borneo and in Sarawak, and had brought back with them a small case containing some pots and pans, and knives, and plates and cups, and forks. Those they had intended to abandon at Singapore, as they were going to make their way home by India and Suez in the ordinary circumstances of luxurious steamer travelling. We accordingly took that box of cooking utensils as it was, and anything that we did not need we dropped by the way, finally abandoning the whole at Kiakhta. The only point I have to make is that cooking utensils, plates, and drinking vessels should all be of enamelled iron, as these were. China or glass could not possibly have stood the journey.

Our chief drink, however, was tea, and among our stores purchased at Shanghai were two canisters of ordinary Assam tea, which, as it happened, all of us agreed in heartily disliking. I am entirely with the Russians in their belief that good China tea is a

superior article to that usually turned out by, India or Ceylon. So much did we all prefer China tea that at Kalgan, although we had with us plenty of Assam tea, we bought new China tea, and we did the same at Kiakhta. Both of those towns are centres of the overland tea trade, as Ourga is also, and at all these places the most finely-flavoured China tea can be had.

We started from Peking in mule-chairs, with pack-mules for the baggage, and we paid to the chief muleteer a contract price for our conveyance to Kalgan. As such a price must vary with the quantity of baggage and the number of travellers, there seems no advantage in naming it, and I am not sure that I even remember it, but I know it struck me as a very small sum.

At Kalgan we hired from a firm of Russian teamerchants the two rough waggons of which I have previously spoken, paying 15 dollars for the use of each waggon, and leaving them at the same Russian firm's establishment at Kiakhta. The idea was that at Kiakhta the waggons would be repaired, and then hired again by some other traveller who would bring them back to Kalgan. Through the Desert of Gobi such baggage as did not go into these waggons was transported from encampment to encampment either on pack-camels, or on pack-ponies, or on very rough wooden-wheeled Mongol carts, as the Mongol headman might think fit. We did not interfere or ask

questions, but left our Mongol functionaries to settle it with the Mongol headmen, the presumption being that they used whatever method of baggage transport was at the moment most convenient to them.

We were paying the rates per stage that are fixed by contract as between the Mongol headmen and \_the Chinese Government; and whether we had much or little baggage these rates remained the same. The prices so fixed are absurdly small, and they worked out smaller to us because of certain difficulties about exchange that troubled us at Peking, yet that ultimately proved to be of considerable economy to us. The prices per stage are supposed to be fixed in roubles—a somewhat interesting fact not unconnected with the spread of Russian influence. But at Peking we could not get Foubles. The Russo-Chinese Bank had not got them. We were then told that we might pay in taels—an instruction that we accepted very reluctantly, because the tael is not a coin, but merely a measure of weight, and we foresaw that there would be trouble at every station. We might have to weigh out lump silver, and we might be involved in disputes about its weight and fineness. So we consulted the Russian postmaster at Peking, who said to us:

'You can pay in dollars instead of in roubles; pay just the same number of dollars that you would pay roubles.'

Being anxious not to have trouble, we pointed

out to the Russian postmaster that the silver dollar is of less value than the rouble; but he affably replied that it is a bigger coin and a handsomer coin, and that the Mongols would accept it quite cheerfully. That seemed to us odd, so, in order to avoid difficulties, we provided ourselves at Peking with a plentiful supply both of coined dollars and of lump silver, and at Kalgan I bought from the missionaries more lump silver, paying for it with my cheque on Singapore; but we found, as the Russian · postmaster had told us, that the Mongols accepted the dollars on the same scale as if these had been roubles. The dollars, as it happened, were British dollars, fresh from the mint and very bright and shiny, and all through the journey I noticed that the Mongols seemed hugely delighted with them.

We only used lump silver when buying sheep, and consequently we had a bagful of it to sell at Kiakhta. Now, silver during the interval had risen slightly, and Kiakhta happened at the time to be a particularly good market for lump silver, and the merchant to whom we sold our silver was a man to whom we carried personal letters of introduction, and who desired obviously to deal with us in a handsome spirit. The result of the whole was that, having bought lump silver for gold in China, and having sold it for paper roubles at Kiakhta, there seemed to me to arise on the transaction a satisfactory profit. I have had to speculate in exchange

in my day, but this was the first genuinely earned exchange profit that I have ever handled. In this instance, I felt as one who had fulfilled a useful function in buying lump silver in a big market and carrying it across a desert to a smaller market, where it happened to be in demand.

It will be seen, from what I have written above, that this journey across Mongolia was by no means a costly journey. The precise sum that I expended in China, Mongolia, and Siberia I cannot tell, because when I am travelling on a holiday I do not keep accounts. But I had an estimate of cost prepared for me before I started, by a Russian diplomatist who had himself made the journey. The diplomatist's estimate worked out as just a little. over £1 per head per day. The details of that estimate, especially all the small expenses, were exceeded by my party, since we could scarcely hope to travel so cheaply as a Russian who went on official business, and who had the additional advantage of long residence both in Siberia and in China. But, speaking broadly, the estimate was correct, and the travelling was cheap.

Meanwhile, it may perhaps serve the purpose of the reader equally well if, without pretending to give the expenses accurately as between Peking and Petersburg, I give in place of that an accurate note of the whole cost as between my real startingpoint and my real finish. I really started from Singapore, an island at the point of the Malay Peninsula, midway between India and China. I really finished at Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C. Between these points I crossed Asia and I crossed Europe, and I took eighty-three days to do so. When I started I took with me letters of credit from the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank for £350, and a very little cash. When I arrived in London I had unexpended letters of credit for £238, and some cash. The account is as follows:

	Passage ticket (bought at Singapore)	to Sha	nghai	-	£10
ľ.	Sash in hand on starting -	-	<b>-</b>	-	. 3
	Drew on letters of credit at Shanghai	-	-	-	15
	Drew on letters of credit at Peking	-	- c	_	97
	Sold my cheque for taels at Kalgan	-	-	•	18
	© Deduct cash in hand at London	-	; -	-	£143 7
	•	Sum expended		i	£136

Our party consisted of three, and the three of us, I think, drew £97 each at Peking, taking the money partly in dollars and partly in rough silver, and partly in drafts payable in roubles at Kiakhta and at Irkutsk. We sold the unexpended silver at Kiakhta for roubles, and there also my companions paid me in roubles for their proportion of the little cheque I issued at Kalgan. The roubles I got at Kiakhta and at Irkutsk paid my expenses to St. Petersburg and bought for me some sovereigns, of which I had seven left when I arrived in London.

The sum expended was thus £136; and deducting from that £7, expended in purchases not essential to the journey, I find the net expense of the journey to be £129. That, when averaged over an eighty-three days' journey, works out as an expense of about 31s. a day. I call that a cheap journey. If I place against it the sum that I might have paid for a direct mail passage homewards viâ Brindisi, and the additional sum that I might have expended for sixty days' additional residence in England, it seems to me that I have saved a good deal by coming back to Europe through the mainland of Asia.

Let me add, finally, that this cost was worked out neither upon methods of extravagance nor upon methods of economy. Wherever I went on this journey I got the best accommodation that was available, and when I wanted anything I bought it. On the other hand, I have not made myself clear unless the reader has grasped the fact that I do not buy superfluous or luxurious articles, and that, speaking generally, my wants are not materially different from my needs.

### CHAPTER XIX.

#### MOSCOW AND PETERSBURG.

I SPENT only three days each in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and, since I was more interested in seeing persons than in places, I must not be expected to give a description of those cities. In any case that, obviously, can be found more fully and better in the usual guide-books. I was, however, greatly interested by those cities, and what I desire to record is the impression produced by Moscow and Petersburg upon a traveller who had come through China and Siberia, and who at other times had seen most of the great cities of Europe, of America, and of Asia.

The keynote of Moscow, as compared with Petersburg, is that Moscow is a city that has grown, as London has. It is a quaint and interesting city. It is a city of churches whose golden domes flashing to the sunlight connote the wealth of diamonds, of pearls, and of rubies that enrich the inside of the temples and record the zealous piety of the worshippers. It is a city whose ornate and

costly shops mark the luxurious life, of a wealthy population. It is a city whose old churches, projecting their shrines to the very street front, invite and receive the obeisance of a population that is never too intent, whether on business or on pleasure, to pay with humble mien the outward signs of respect to the faith that dominates Russia. It is a city of piety and pleasure, of old customs and modern bustle, of extravagance of life and extravagance on death. It is a city that reflects the life of Russia more fully than London reflects the life of England—a city that is half Asiatic, yet wholly Russian.

Turning to Petersburg, I find a city whose keynote is that it is a city built to order. It is a magnificent city; I know none more so. It is a city of broad streets and imposing thoroughfares; a city well kept and well maintained; a city rich in order, rule, and design—but always there is on it the mark of artificiality, the mark of a city built to order. There is also the mark of a desire for outward show. with too little. thought of unobtrusive usefulness. The drainage is not what it might be; the water supply is bad; the city is not healthy. It is a wellgoverned city, but it is not governed from the highest standpoint. It is a city that bears the impress of Peter just as much as does the little house by the river where Peter lived when Petersburg was building — the house that is now a

shrine, and that lives in the loving thought of every Russian. Petersburg does not typify Russian life, except in so far as it typifies that Peter was the inventor of Russia. Petersburg does not typify the thought of Russia save in so far as it typifies the Government of Russia. It typifies the will of the Tsar, it typifies the orderly movements of a great machine—the machine of Government, whose arms stretch from the Arctic Ocean and the China Sea to the lands that border on the Mediterranean and the - Persian Gulf.

As to Moscow, it was in early October that I was there, in moderately cold weather, with a little snow on the ground. I judge that it was taken as the beginning of winter from the fact that, while I' was in Moscow, the house windows were being sealed for the season. Each room has a double window, and, when winter begins, the outer window is bolted and a coating of putty is put round the window-frames. Then, between the outer and the inner frame, round the edges of the frames, they put a layer of cotton-wool. Then they close the inner window-sash, and from the inside of the room they put another layer of putty round the windowframe; and so it remains until spring.

Meanwhile, the rooms are heated from the inside by stoves, or as may be by hot-air or hot-water pipes, there being so many different systems that it would be useless to describe them except by saying

that, unless in a few places where English ideas have spread, open fires are unknown. The rooms are maintained at a temperature that, speaking generally, may be taken as 70° Fahr., while outside the temperature is at freezing-point, or is very much colder. That is the reason why every Russian who can afford it wears furs in winter. The houses are so hot inside, while it is so very cold outside, that nothing less than a covering of fur would give protection from the outside cold, especially since the inside heat would render it uncomfortable to wear. such fairly warm indoor clothing as we wear in England. The change from Moscow and St. Petersburg to London produced in my case, for a time, a peculiar way of using an overcoat. In these two Russian cities, when I went out I put on an overcoat (not necessarily a heavy overcoat, except at night or for driving in an open carriage), and when I came indoors I took off that overcoat. When I came to London I had a room for a time in my club, and in the rooms there, if I had to sit and write for a while at a table necessarily distant from the open fire, I had to put on my overcoat, while when I went outside I took off my overcoat, and moved about very comfortably without one. I must confess that I found the Russian system more comfortable, but I believe that the English system is the healthier.

At Moscow we stayed at the Hôtel du Bazar

Slave, which we were told was the best in Moscow, and which we found to be very good indeed. The dining-room or restaurant attached to the hotel was a large and lofty apartment, designed and arranged as one might design and arrange it for a tropical climate. The flooring was of some mosaic material, uncarpeted, and in the midst of it was a great fountain constantly playing, while round the fountain in a very large basin were swimming the fish that you were about to eat. The correct thing to do, as I understood, is to take one or other of the handnets which lie around the basin, and yourself catch the fish that you may desire to eat, and hand it over to be cooked.

Although this hall was very large and lofty, and prepared as for a warm climate, the method of heating was so entirely satisfactory that the temperature was just right for the Russians, and a trifle too warm for myself. The food and wines were good, and the cooking was French. The prices were much the same as in a first-class hotel in London.

Turning from the Hôtel du Bazar Slave, I may note that we dined one evening at another restaurant, which, we were informed, is the most fashionable in the city, but which we scarcely saw at its best in the matter of visitors, since the Russians dine quite early in the evening, in order, as I suppose, to let them be ready for their supper, which is one of the most important features of any party of pleasure.

I did not myself sup anywhere in Moscow, nor go to any of the music-halls or cafés. A younger member of my party was so amiable as to undertake that department of sight-seeing, and he reported the methods of amusement to be exceedingly festive, exceedingly luxurious, somewhat less decorous than in London or Paris, and remarkably costly.

An Englishman who was good enough to help us see some of the sights of the town mentioned that a few days previously he had breakfasted at a fashionable restaurant, where the breakfast for seven cost 484 roubles. Breakfast, of course, means déjeûner or lunch.

Moscow centres in the Kremlin, and the Kremlin is Moscow, except that it is also Russia. The impression produced upon me by the Kremlin was that of great magnificence, almost Asiatic in its character, and I can well understand the love and veneration with which Russians look towards it. I must not be expected to describe the Kremlin. Fifty pages of a guide-book would not be too much for that. The notable things are the richness and magnificence of the churches, the rare and costly handicraft, the ornate and magnificent art, and the wealth of gold and precious stones that adorn these sacred buildings.

It seems to be the custom of wealthy Russians to present to the churches, especially the churches of the Kremlin, ikons, encrusted with precious

stones, in pious memory of loved ones who have died. The wealth so accumulated in the churches of the Kremlin is impressive, and it is equally impressive to think that at a time when Russia was but a poor and struggling country it had nevertheless reached a magnificence of church architecture that it will scarcely surpass. The great domes of the Russian churches flash in the sun, because they are of copper so solidly gilt that no weather tarnishes the gilding. But in Moscow, there is one church that has no gilt roof. The copper dome has an outer covering of plates of beaten gold.

T do not propose to recite the history of Moscow, but when one thinks of what that story is, of how it has been besieged, taken, sacked, pillaged and burned by the conquering Mongols, and then when one recalls its occupation by Napoleon, and the end of that occupation, one can see why Moscow impresses the Russian mind. London has been too safe and too prosperous to so impress itself on the minds of Englishmen. Nor have we in London, nor in any other European capital, the same feeling of religious veneration towards the city itself. It might have been so, only more so, with the capital of Italy, but for the fact that the sacred associations of Rome are diverse from the national feeling. Moscow is more fortunate. Russia is happy in that its religious and its national life are blended in the Kremlin at Moscow. As one travels through Russia

to Moscow, the most pointed impression produced is that here is a people who are deeply impressed by the more stately aspects of religion, and whose religion and loyalty is one.

I entered St. Petersburg in bright sunshine, with a thin coating of snow flecking the ground. My route from the station to the Hôtel d'Europe fortunately took me up the main street, the Nevsky Prospect, and I said to myself, 'This is indeed a city!' It is a city that might be described as Northumberland Avenue for miles, but it is perhaps . a little too much Northumberland Avenue. It is a city designed by a master mind, just as Peking was designed by a master mind; but the design of Peter was perhaps excessively artificial. The thoroughfares are magnificent, the design is splendid, but there are in the heart of the city no lungs, no great open spaces, as the royal parks in London, or as the Forbidden City in Peking. Nay, even the natural beauty of the Neva has not been used, within the city, as it might be. There is nothing that impresses one as does the Thames Embankment or the terraced front of Westminster. It is a magnificent city, but\* its defect is that it has not grown, and that the designing of it is rather too mechanical.

Nevertheless, Petersburg impresses you with a sense of greatness and thoroughness. The place from which to see Petersburg is from the dome of St. Isaac's Church. Standing at that great height,

you see all the city, with its main thoroughfares stretching beneath you in regular and unbroken lines. Immediately at hand is the Neva, whose waters seem level with the fown. It is impressive to think that before Peter put his hand to the work this great city was a swamp, and that even now, given a flood-tide and a high wind from the sea, it looks as if nothing would save the city from being blotted out by the waters. Indeed, in such wind and weather a part of the town is flooded, and the booming of the great signal guns warns the people in the lower flats of certain districts that they must be prepared to rise and flee.

At St. Petersburg we stayed at a hotel differing in no respect from the best hotels of London, except in the matter of heating. I had time to visit the Imperial Palace, which is on the corner of the principal street, with a frontage to the river Neva, and which, of course, is pretty much like any monarch's palace anywhere. They are, it is true, a little more liberal in Russia than elsewhere, since they show you the rooms that, when the Tsar is there, will be actually occupied and lived in from day to day.

The most notable thing to see in Petersburg, however, is the house where Peter the Great lived when he was superintending the building of Petersburg. It is a little wooden hut with four rooms or so, over which the Russians have built a covering,

and part of which they have converted into a shrine. Peter's bedroom, his study, and his dining-room are, however, preserved absolutely as they were when he lived in them, and towards that little hut the veneration of Russia turns. Petersburg truly is Petersburg, the town of Peter.

The impression left upon me by Moscow and St. Petersburg is that those two great cities typify two sides of Russian life and progress. In Moscow you have the old town that has shared the once fluctuating fortunes of Russia, that has grown as Russia has grown, that is beloved by the people, the town to which their religion and their loyalty turn. In St. Petersburg you have the great mechanical modern city, designed by the man who saw the need to modernize Russia, designed as the front-door of Russia, the gate at which the civilization of Europe might enter. It has entered.

#### CHAPTER XX.

#### RUSSÎA'S STRENGTH.

I HAD ended my journey. From the time of leaving the capital of China to the time of arrival at the capital of Russia was exactly fifty days. It could, as I have noted, have been done much more quickly, but it could not have been done more quickly consistently with seeing the countries and their peoples. During these fifty days I had moved about 1,400 miles northwards, and about 4,000 miles westwards; and, saving about eighty miles of inland steam navigation, the whole distance was traversed by land. About 1,400 miles had been covered by the aid of ponies, mules, or camels, and about 4,000 miles by rail. The range of tempera--ture in Fahrenheit degrees was from eighty-five to twenty-five; but that, of course, is merely shade temperature, and in no way measures the real heat I ' had passed through in China, from Peking to the Great Broadly speaking, I journeyed steadily west and north, from the heat of the tropics to the cold of Siberia. I passed from the oldest empire of the world, through the cradle of the race that conquered that empire, and through the new empire whose growing greatness threatens to absorb both Chinaman and Mongol, unless something be done. In perfect health, in pleasant weather, surrounded everywhere by conditions of helpful kindness and amiable hospitality, I had passed through Asia from east to west, from the China Sea to the Baltic Ocean, until from the decaying capital of an ancient state I had arrived at the new heart of a great and growing empire.

While I journeyed from one capital to the other great things were happening at both. After I left Peking there had occurred there that partial revolution by which the young Emperor's schemes of reform were frustrated at their beginning, while before I arrived at St. Petersburg the Tsar had issued his famous Rescript, his invitation to the armed nations of the world to assemble and talk of peace. In all things the human mind is conditioned by its environment. It might be that in another part of the world, and engaged in my own personal affairs, I might not have paid so much attention as• I did pay to either the one event or the other. But when travelling through the lands that I have described, my mind was necessarily full of the possibilities of the future in relation to the great but helpless country against which the solid strength of Russia is steadily pressing. How helpless I think

China is may be judged by the following sentence, written by Mr. Stead in his November Review of Reviews: 'As a British journalist who had himself ridden across Mongolia remarked to me, 1,000 armed men could ride easily through the whole empire.' I am the British journalist whom Mr. Stead quotes, and he quotes quite truly. There is no strength at present in China to resist the impact of any disciplined force, however small. The question of the day is the future of China, and whether that country is to be reformed by the Anglo-Saxon or incorporated by the Slavonic race.

Eet me say here that I have not the slightest doubt that the Emperor of Russia is absolutely sincere and honest in his proposals for a conference to reduce, or at least to prevent the increase of, the burden of national armaments. I will go further, and assume the sincerity of his ministers. Yet, on the other hand, it is sometimes necessary to remember that a man may be absolutely sincere, and yet ... unconsciously biassed by the pressure of his own needs or obligations. We cannot have a better rinstance than the case of Mr. Gladstone, who sincerely and honestly advocated the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, but who did not advocate it ' or think of advocating it until he required the aid of Mr. Parnell's votes. The circumstances, of course, are not analogous, inasmuch as the Tsar does not absolutely need a reduction of armaments, or the

prevention of the increase of armaments. Russia does not need that so absolutely as Mr. Gladstone needed Mr. Parnell's votes, but yet the whole interests of Russia do temporarily call for the lessening, or at all events the prevention of the increase, of naval and military expenditure, and they call for that in a sense that they never did call for it before.

While I passed through Russia, famine was extending its grip through five provinces of European Russia—famine reinforced by virulent typhus. The Provincial Governments were trying to meet the strain, and were failing to do so. They had the money: they had not the organization. Indeed, we have it officially from M. Witte, the Russian Minister of Finance, that the social and financial condition of the Russian peasantry is eminently unsatisfactory. Bad and good harvests alternate, but the peasant has never been able to carry forward from good years any resources to help him in the bad years. The sufferings of the peasantry, from years of failure, have been greatest in the central and eastern provinces, and that suffering has not been alleviated materially, even by the remissions and reductions of taxation that have been freely made. 'Therefore,' says M. Witte, addressing the Tsar, 'the great work of the present reign ought to be, and will be, the reorganization of the social and material conditions that surround the Russian peasantry.'

Russian development, in other respects also, has reached a stage when the first interest of the Russian Empire is peace—not in that general and abstract sense in which peace is the interest of every country, but in a particular sense applicable to Russia's necessities. Russia has at last stretched out her hand and laid it on the China seas. Reckoning Port Arthur as a Russian possession, the Russian Empire now extends from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea. The great highway that is to connect those two extremes of the empire, the Highway that I had just traversed, needs another five or six years ere it be finished. Further, before the fullest advantage can be taken of that highway, before the impact of Russian strength can be most economically used, Siberia must be stiled with Russian people. -It would take fifty years to achieve that end, nor, while it is being achieved, would Russia quite stand still, since her influence would spread through both Manchuria and Mongolia, approaching the gates of Peking from both sides. Turning to the south, with which I am not so familiar, and which is not within the scheme of this book, I can yet easily see that Russian extension towards Persia and Afghanistan has reached a stage to which consolidation is more immediately important than further advance, especially as the process of consolidation may in itself be reckoned a peaceful advance, an advance the more sure because it is peaceful. Concurrently

with that, we know that in the great railway works in progress both north and south, works that cannot become immediately remunerative, Russia has engaged her means to an extent that might make further military expenditure very inadvisable.

The Russian Budget for 1898 showed a surplus of 'ordinary' revenue as against 'ordinary' expenditure, but a large deficit when 'extraordinary' expenditure was taken into account. I may add that, in my opinion, the Russian system of accounting is generally sound, and that the 'extraordinary' expenditure is really an expenditure chiefly on what might be called 'capital account.' It appears, for instance, that while the Russian national debt has increased during the last twelve years by 1,531,000,000 roubles, yet during the same period 1,564,000,000 have been expended on railways, while, also, • 439,000,000 roubles have been used in the redemption of paper currency. Assuming that the railways will ultimately be remunerative, and assuming that the redemption of paper currency is wise, it must appear that the finance of Russia is sound and wise finance. The policy of liberal expenditure on railways is to be continued. During the year 1899 almost 110,000,000 roubles are to be expended on railway works, of which 30,500,000 are for the construction of the Siberian railway and its branches; nearly 47,000,000 are for railway rolling-stock; 6,500,000 are for redeeming railway obligations, and

24,500,000 are on other railway account generally. The Department of Ways of Communication, in fact, is the chief spending department of the Russian Government, and will dispose, during 1899, of 397,000,000 roubles—a sum materially in excess of the estimated military expenditure for the year. That this great sum will, on the whole, be wisely spent may be assumed from the fact that Prince Hilkoff, the Minister of Ways of Communication, is a man trained in railway work in the United States, while M. Witte, the Minister of Finance, is noted also for his successful experience of railway administration. But however sound and wise this system of expenditure may be, it cannot be carried on successfully unless military and naval outlay be held in check.

Simultaneously with all this capital expenditure on development, the policy—the wise and pacific policy—of the Russian Government in relation to France has so far disappointed the French people that they are by no means disposed to lend further money to Russia. Therefore we hear of proposals for floating Russian loans in America—proposals that are not likely to lead to much. It is therefore easy to understand the statement made, apparently with authority, that in the issue of the Peace Rescript the Russian Minister of Finance is entirely with the Tsar. In fact, the circumstances of the moment are such that the maintenance of the international status quo, the

lessening of naval and military burdens, and the consequent ability to spend more freely on internal development, are for Russia the pressing needs of the moment. The one thing most essential for Russia at present is that she should fill up Siberia, should complete her Siberian railway, should develop her system of canals, should ameliorate the economical condition of her people, and should obtain once more those facilities for borrowing money that would be freely accorded to her on her own credit, and apart wholly from French sympathy, if only peace were reasonably certain.

While, therefore, I do not deny that the Rescript of the Tsar has been issued from the most laudable. and unselfish desires, yet I do observe that it is issued at the precise time when the objects at which it aims are more immediately important to Russia than they are to the two nations with which Russia must chiefly concern herself—Great Britain and the United States. It is not to be denied that, for the two English-speaking nations, the maintenance of peace is of importance; but while the maintenance of peace generally is the ultimate object of the Tsar's Rescript, its immediate object is to lessen the crushing financial pressure of naval and military preparations. The weight of such preparations, while it is considerable to Britain, and may become considerable to America, is not, and never will be, crushing to those nations. To put it plainly, the Anglo-

Saxon races can afford to maintain and increase their naval and military preparations without fainting under the burden, and without in any way hindering their internal expansion. The Slavonic race is in a position absolutely the reverse of that, therefore it is the Slavonic race from which the reduced armament proposals come. Thus I arrive at the view that the Tsar, animated by the most laudable and praiseworthy aims, has made to the world precisely the same proposition that he might have made if he had been a naturally selfish statesman, with no aims save the aggrandisement of Russia. In short, the beneficent and philanthropic Nicholas has issued to Europe the precise form of invitation that might at this juncture have been issued by a Russian Bismarck.

The strength of Russia lies in the extent of her area, the number of her population, the manner in which that population is distributed, and the high birth-rate of the people. A secondary point of strength is her power to assimilate Asiatic races, to suit herself to their ways, and to benef them to her ways. The area of the Russian Empire includes about 8,500,000 square miles, or about one-sixth of the land surface of the world. Of that area, it may be noted that only about a quarter lies in Europe, the remainder being in Asia. Therefore, as regards mileage, Russia must be taken as the most considerable of Asiatic powers, subject, bowever, to the fact

that her total Asiatic population is as yet small—very small indeed—as compared with the Asiatic population of the British Empire or of China. The total population of the Russian Empire may be taken as 130,000,000, of which about 105,000,000 are in Russia proper, while about 25,000,000 are to be found in the various provinces of Russia in Asia.

Although about one-fifth of the Russian population is in Asia, it is but a part of that one-fifth that is really Asiatic. In Siberia, for instance, where there are about 5,750,000 people, the overwhelming majority of these are Russians who have emigrated from Russia proper. It is also to be remembered that Russia is assimilating her purely Asiatic peoples in a manner that Britain does not succeed in doing, and possibly does not desire to do.

In order to give the reader an opportunity of understanding the meaning of these figures without troubling him to turn to works of reference, let me add that the area of British Asia is more than 1,500,000 square miles, and that the population of Britain in Asia is about 300,000,000, while the total population of the British Isles is about 38,000,000. The population of the United States of America is about 70,000,000; and the area of the United States is about 3,500,000 square miles, as against the 8,500,000 of the Russian Empire and the 2,000,000 of European Russia. The situation, therefore, is that in European Russia there is a Slavonic population

about a half more numerous than the whole population of the United States, and spread over an area equal to rather more than half the area of the United States. Beyond that we have Russia's huge Asiatic domain, containing a population equal to fully one-third of the United States population.

The rate of Russian increase has been very marked, although not so great as the increase of the English-speaking races. In the middle of the eighteenth century the population of Russia was estimated at 16,000,000. When the Battle of Waterloo was fought, Russia had fully 40,000,000, as against about 17,000,000 in Britain and fully 7,000,000 in the United States. Shortly before the Crimean War Russia had nearly 70,000,000, against about 28,000,000 in the United Kingdom and 23,000,000 in the United States. Now Russia has 130,000,000, as against 38,000,000 in Britain and 70,000,000 in the United States. It may be convenient to add that the birth-rate in the United States is 27 per 1,000, as against 47 in Russia proper. The latter remarkably high birthrate is qualified, however, by a very high death-rate, estimated at 32 per 1,000. Nevertheless, the net. increase of Russian population by birth in excess of deaths is about 11 per cent., or say 2,000,000 of increase yearly. To state it otherwise, the estimated decennial increase, by excess of births over deaths, is estimated at 15 per cent. In Russia, as against

of a huge death-rate, due no doubt to the poverty of the people, and the great lack of skilled nursing and skilled medicine, is counterbalanced by the high birth-rate, leaving Russia in the position that in regard to natural increase of population she is the most progressive State in the civilized world.

Another important factor in the strength of Russia is that her population is chiefly a rural population. It has always seemed to me\_that the weak part of modern civilization is the tendency to concentrate in cities. Such city life in the case of the poorer classes, who are the great majority of the whole, tends to deterioration in physical strength, a factor that, apart from all other considerations, is of special importance in relation to the national capacity for making on emergency huge military levies. There is also to be found in city life an action upon the nerves that tends to make the people who live chiefly in cities more subject to excitement, and less liable to control, as in times of national difficulty and danger. That point, however, I do not seek to press, inasmuch as the comparison at present is . between the Anglo-Saxon and Slavonic races, and, while the former race is no doubt suffering from the tendency to crowd into cities, it has the countervailing advantage of considerable natural selfcontrol. A third defect of population crowded into cities, as compared to a rural population, is that the

city population is necessarily more dependent on the operations of exchange and commerce, and that the national life is therefore more subject to danger from the financial dislocation that might succeed a long war.

Having advanced those theories, let me now give the facts relating thereto. In all Russia there is only one town containing upwards of a million of people, that town being St. Petersburg. Moscow, no doubt, follows closely, yet, including both St. Petersburg and Moscow, Russia has only seven towns containing above a quarter of a million people each. As against that, we find that in England about a quarter of the population live in towns of over a quarter of a million each. In some of the Russian figurés I have found some confusion, which prevents me from giving precise totals, but, nevertheless, the error or misunderstanding, if there be such, is so small that it does not affect the main argument. What I find, then, is that only 12 per cent. of the whole Russian people live in towns, and that many of those so-called towns are not really so in the just sense of the word, but are only considerable villages. Nevertheless, let us take the figures at 12 per cent. As against that we have 29 per cent. of the United States population Living in towns of over 8,000 each, a very large proportion of that total being in towns that are huge cities. Turning to England, we have 53 per cent. of the people living

in towns over 20,000 and we know how many of these towns are great cities. It is perhaps even worse in Australia, as, for instance, in Victoria, where five-ninths of the people of the colony live in towns, and where two-fifths of all the colonial population is condensed in the city of Melbourne.

It seems to me, then, that the strength of Russia is not to be measured merely by her huge area, nor by her enormous population, nor by the rapid increase of that population. Important as these factors are, they seem to me less important than the fact that about nine-tenths of the Russian people live on the land and by the land. Further, since the weak are weeded out by the high death-rate, the balance tend to be physically strong and hardy, free from the excitability of city life, and, above all, able to go on living and working on their land, even though Russian armies were being defeated on all her borders, even though Russian ports were all blockaded, even though the fabric of trade and credit was wholly destroyed. I do not claim that as a new discovery in relation to Russia. Napoleon discovered it very unpleasantly nearly a century ago. I only seek to point out that, notwithstanding the great increase of Russian dominion and Russian people, notwithstanding the expansion of her borders, notwithstanding railway building, and telegraph building, and steam communication, and mining, the Russia of to-day is, in all substantial

respects, the same Russia whose lethargic life enabled her to look with indifference upon the march of an army to her capital. That is a quality, by the way, that Russia shares with China. It is conditioned for good, however, in the case of Russia, and it is not so conditioned in the case of China, by the fact that the stolidity of the Russian peasant is only the natural stolidity of those who live on the soil, and that behind it he has an ample reserve of loyalty and patriotism.

The power of Russia to assimilate, or at all events to get on with, the races of Asia is notable. The instances in which that power is most observed are to be found in Russia's extensions on the south, rather than in the north where I have been travelling. As these instances are beyond the scope of my book, it may be sufficient to refer to the fact that they admittedly exist, adding, from my personal observation, that in the north, where there has been little such assimilation to do, it nevertheless has been done to such extent as was practicable.

Siberia was a very sparsely peopled country, and the half-Mongol, half-Tartar races that inhabited it were few in number, with no settled organization to offer opposition to Russian ideas. Therefore in the north it was comparatively an easy task to partially Russianize the native races. But I doubt whether in such a task English colonists would have succeeded. They would have filled up Siberia faster,

they would have developed it more quickly, but probably they would not have Anglicized the natives as the Russians have Russianized these, and certainly the Anglo-Saxon settler, would not have been in any way influenced by the Tartar races as the Russian settlers have been. I do not make that as a criticism antagonistic to English methods of colonization. I simply note it as a fact.

The Russian gets on with the Tartar and the Mongol, and the various races of southern Central Asia, for various reasons of which I need only suggest two. The first of these reasons is that the Slav is probably more akin to, or more in sympathy with, these races than we are. It does not follow that the Russian would get on as well with African negroes, or with the natives of Hindustan, as he does with the natives of Central Asia. To Central Asia he may be akin.

The other reason is that throughout all Russia there seems to me to be more of a family or a brotherly feeling between everybody and everybody else than exists in English-speaking communities. It is to be observed that such a family or brotherly feeling may easily co-exist with hardship and injustice. It is possible to be familiar and friendly, and at the same time to be exceedingly unfair and unjust. All I seek to note is that a brotherly or familiar attitude of mind does exist, and that it seems to help the Russian to assimilate the Asiatic populations that he meets.

Another point of strength in the Russian position may be found in the fact that Russian loyalty and Russian religion intermingle with and strengthen each other. The Tsar is not technically the head of the church. That headship lies in an ecclesiastic, supported and strengthened by an ecclesiastical body. But the church is exclusively a national church, a Russian church deriving its revenues and position from the national feeling, and with its interest bound up with the maintenance of the sovereign authority of the Tsar. About one half of the whole income of the Holy Synod is obtained direct from the State, while the other half may be taken as derived from the gifts of the people. It is upon the whole, as I think, calculated to strengthen the Tsar's position that he is not technically the head of the church. The church comes in as a great force nominally outside the state, pledged to support the state, and doing so with the greater power in that it is not quite a state department. everything but the church the Tsar is the head. is the origin and the controlling power of all legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The obvious danger of such a situation is that a vicious Tsar, or even a strong Tsar, might do enormous harm, while' a good Tsar or a weak Tsar might make an absolute mess of everything.

But, upon a balance of advantages, and having regard to the peculiar situation of Russia, to her inert

life, and to her great population living on the land and by the land, that system of centralization is probably better for Russia at present than any other system that could be dovised. It suits the people, and it enables the Tsar to speak in the councils of the world with an assured and certain voice. If the people are satisfied with the system of government, and if the system suits the people, and if it strengthens the country amidst the strife of empires, what better system of government can the country want? For the purposes of the moment it is an excellent machine.

Much requires to be done in Russia. She has 25,000 miles of railway, but the United States, with less than half the area, and not very much more than half the population, has 180,000 miles. Further, Russia needs that great sums shall be expended on the education of the people, and on the providing of them with such medical and sanitary assistance as might go far to reduce the abnormal death-rate, and to promote the general prosperity of the people. One can understand how the Tsar, being, as he is, a conscientious and beneficent man, must grudge the sums that he thinks it right to expend on naval and military preparation. Hence the Rescript.

The weakness of Russia is to be found in the intense poverty of the people, in the small margin that separates them from starvation, and in the need

to expend upon military preparations the money that would open up the country and would ameliorate the lives of the people. In these respects the economical condition of Russia is almost precisely the same as the economical condition of British India. The situation is a little harder in British India from the fact that the people are a subject people, and may imagine the hardships they suffer are in part the fault of the governing class. It is, on the other hand, harder in Russia from the fact that the money actually raised there in taxation is by no means so economically used as in British India.

The saving feature in British India is the economical perfection and the undoubted honesty . of the public service. The saving point in Russia is that the nation is a homogeneous and a loyal nation. Yet the financial circumstances of the two countries are so far parallel that in the two most important respects the situation is quite the same. In Russia and in British India, the margin that separates the people from starvation is small, while the public revenue is burdened with large expenditure for military purposes. There is no doubt the important difference that India has not forced military expenditure on Russia, while Russia has forced military expenditure on India. It was, perhaps, about time for the Tsar to issue the Peace Rescript. A 'Truce of God' would conveniently allow Russia to consolidate her strength and overcome her weakness.

# CHAPTER XXI.

## THE PRESSURE ON CHINA.

Having discussed the strength of Russia, I would now turn to note briefly the weakness of China. So great a weakness might be discussed at great length, but it is a weakness now so obvious to everyone that it seems unnecessary to examine it in detail. The Chinese inflation, no doubt, was first pricked by France and England in 1858 and 1860, but it was only a pin-prick that we administered, and the puncture was supposed to be more or less closed up. It was Japan that finally burst the bubble, and since then Russia, Germany and France have all from time to time taken opportunity to show that China has no resisting power whatsoever.

It may be worth while to trace very briefly the causes of this weakness. The principal cause within the purely Chinese race itself is the contempt in which fighting men have been held, and the undue position accorded to merely scholastic attainments. Then, we find that the Chinese race possess such an absorbing power that the conquering races

from the North, which certainly showed no contempt for fighting instincts, were absorbed by the spirit of the Chinese people. Concurrently with such absorption we have the decline of the Manchu dynasty, through those usual weaknesses and defects by which Asiatic dynasties fall. At the same time, we have an undue national self-conceit, based, as it happens, not upon want of reason, but upon reasoning that seemed good but was yet defective.

The geographical isolation of China, her absolute . exclusion from the general life of the world, and the unimportant and suppliant manner in which China was approached by wandering adventurers from Europe, combined to cause the Chinese people to . think, not unreasonably, that China was truly the Middle Kingdom, the centre of the earth, upon which there could be no improvement. The result of this attitude may be seen by comparing the position of Japan with that of China. The Japanese had not the self-conceit that the Chinese had, nor did they have much temptation to that self-conceit, in so far as they always knew that beside them was China, something bigger than themselves. As a consequence of that and other things, Japan accepted all such European methods and inventions as were necessary to a new Japan, while China remains to-day practically as anti-reforming as ever.

Thus it was but yesterday that the young Emperor, full of laudable though crude desires to reconstruct

his country, found himself practically thrust from power by an anti-reforming combination so strong that it can even afford to be merciful. The Government of China, while I write, is in the hands of the Dowager-Empress, whose chief advisers are two Manchus of the most non-progressive and unbending ideas. The Empress herself, being a person of capacity, is not unwilling to unbend occasionally, as the other day in receiving on terms of practical equality the wives of the Foreign Ministers; but her advisers are still full of the old and antiquated notions. that were reasonable when China was isolated, and that are now the highway to destruction. In short, there is no hope at present of internal reform in China, and without internal reform China remains the help. • less prey of any power that chooses to prey upon her.

Let me now recite very shortly, and for the reader's convenience of reference, the manner in which the strength of Russia has pressed upon the weakness of China. At the beginning both Chinaman and Slav were prostrate at the feet of the conquering Mongols. Later both Chinaman and Slav expelled the Mongols, but the Slav created for himself a dynasty of his own, while the Chinaman became subject to a semi-foreign dynasty from Manchuria. So far Slav and Chinaman had had no relations except that both had been harried by the Mongols. Their first relationships were about the middle of the sixteenth century, when some exploring Cossacks found their

way to Peking, and again, at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, when one or two Russians reached there; but from these visits nothing resulted. Then in 1653 the Emperor Alexis of Russia sent to Peking an embassy, the leader of which refused to submit to the humiliating ceremonial demanded by the Chinese Court, as a result of which the embassy was not received.

Meanwhile, frequent troubles took place between Russian pioneers and Chinese colonists in the district of the Amur River, to which at that time, as my chapter on Siberia notes, the Russians were advancing. These troubles resulted in some years of fighting between the forces of the respective · powers, and in that fighting the Chinese had the advantage. The Manchu dynasty was then in its vigour; China had great latent capacities for power; the Russian kingdom was young and weak; the Amur River was a long way from Russia proper, and, in plain English, the Russians were beaten. They were beaten partly because China had the advantage of geographical position, and partly because she had the advantage that she possessed up till forty years ago-the advantage of, being supposed to be very strong. The result was that by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, made in 1689, Russia agreed to retire from the Amur River.

Nothing further happened internationally between the two countries until 1720, when Peter the Great

sent an embassy to Peking—an embassy that, as I understand, followed precisely the same route that I traversed between Peking and St. Petersburg. As a result of that embassy and of further negotiations, arrangements were made for a regular caravan trade between Russia and China, and amidst many vicissitudes that caravant trade still continues. It may be observed that up till this point Russia had dealt with China on the theory that China was the stronger power; and notwithstanding the occasional northern encroachments of Cossack pioneers, that. theory was practically adhered to until the French and English pricked the Chinese inflation. Russia was prompt to seize her opportunity. In 1858, while China was smarting from the Tientsien Treaty, Russia obtained the cession of part of the Amur district. Then in 1860, while China was suffering from the occupation of Peking by Anglo-French forces, Russia obtained the cession of a large portion of the northern or Tartary coast. Then nothing more happened officially until Japan had finally burst the Chinese bubble, when Russia was again ready, and extorted permission to run her Siberian railway through Manchuria. A little later still, and we have Russia taking possession of Port Arthur and Talienwan. There has been, it should be observed, no fighting since 1689, when the fighting was in favour of China. Russia has simply played upon the knowledge of Russian strength in the same

way that China in olden times played upon the theory of Chinese strength. The difference is that the Russian strength is not a sham strength, although possibly the threat to use it was a sham threat.

Turning to the relations of China with other powers, and dealing with the present state of these relations only, we find that the only non-Englishspeaking, powers materially concerned are Japan, France, and Germany. Germany's international connection with China is practically confined to the recent seizure of the port of Kiauchau and the declaration of a sphere of influence in Shantung. I do not think that Germany is usefully active there. The greatest interest of Germany in China is to trade there, to trade successfully with all China. Then we have France, which has effectively occupied considerable portions of the southerly territory of China, and undoubtedly some Frenchmen talk largely of the future of the French possessions there. I do not believe in the future of those possessions, nor do I regard the influence of France in those regions as likely to be permanent. If could give reasons for that belief, but those reasons would scarcely be pertinent to the subject-matter of. this book, so I must ask my readers to take my e belief at whatever it may be worth without the reasons.

Japan is an important because a permanent factor in the situation, and I have the greatest possible

sympathy with Japan. It must be bitterly galling for that country to see Russia in occupation of the port which Japan had won by force of arms, and from which she was expelled by Franco-Russian pressure. But, having regard to the numerical position of the Japanese race, and to the fact that, if there is going to be war in the Far East, it is going to be a war of giants, it is possible that it may be better for Japan to remain an insular power. At all events, in the case of Japan there seems to me to be no half-way house between remaining. an insular power and absorbing the whole of China. The geographical circumstances, including chiefly the neighbourhood of the Empire of Russia, seem to me to prevent, as regards Japan, any half-way. house. If she had fought her war with China half a century sooner, she might have seized China as the reward of that war. But things being as they are, I doubt whether she can do better than to remain an insular power, capable, however, of landing on the mainland of Asia a very strong army, and. with her alliance naturally courted by all the other powers whose interests are involved. It seems to me that in no case can Japan's interests be at ease subject to the threat of Russian domination. Her natural alliance is, the efore, with Britain.

There remains the latest and newest factor in the situation: the arrival of the United States of America. That is the most remarkable, the most

hopeful, and the most surprising feature in the Far Eastern problem. If anyone had told any of us a year or two ago that by Christmas of 1898 the United States of America would become an Asiatic Power, we should have laughed. We should have laughed foolishly, as it has happened. The arrival of America in the Far East is an extraordinary instance of the truth that it is the unexpected that always happens. It is a factor in the situation so great that it modifies every conceivable plan or theory that any person or persons may have formed.

The general summary of the situation, then, is that we have the oldest empire in the world, with its vast and industrious population, its great and fertile plains, its enormous mineral resources, its old and settled habits of trade, lying as a helpless prey, and apparently incapable of being lifted out of that situation by any moderate amount of help. On the borders of that helpless empire there is pressing the full strength of the Empire of Russia. That pressure, as I have sought to show—it is, indeed, the one lesson of my journey-will be increased and intensified by the completion of the Siberian Railway, and the filling up of Siberia. Without the necessity for Russia to scheme, without any reason for imputing to her unnaturally aggrandizing desires, it is inevitable that the Russian Empire will absorb the Chinese Empire unless some nation other than China blocks the way. Then, sitting in the islands

adjoining China, we have Japan, disappointed, sore, but yet with no separate individual remedy. Hovering, as one might say, on the margin of the situation, we have France and Germany-nations, however, that are exposed to such risks in Europe from each other, and that are both so intent, from different points of view, on obtaining the help or neutrality of Russia in Europe, that for the immediate purposes of this Asiatic problem they need scarcely be considered. Then we have the United States, newly arrived and watchful, but as yet. without a policy. Lastly we have Britain, interested from two different points of view. More immediately, shee is interested from the fact that at present she conducts 80 per cent. of the foreign. trade of China, and that she desires to retain those markets. In the second place, there is, though more remotely, the far more important and far more vital British interest that if the Russian Empire were to absorb China, Russia would become so overwhelmingly the greatest of Asiatic powers that it would be very difficult indeed to hold India against her. For Russia, China, and India are all now con? tiguous countries, and if Russia has the opportunity to raise, drill, and discipline the armies to be gathered from among 300,000,000 Chinamen, she ought not merely to overrun Asia, but ought to be able to dominate the Continent of Europe. It is an awkward situation.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## WHAT SHOULD BRITAIN DO?

It may, perhaps, be said that, in pointing out the enormous difficulty of the Chinese situation, I am only saying what everybody knows, and that unless I have something to propose I had best be silent. Well, that is so, and since I am charged with none of the responsibilities that rest upon statesmen, am quite willing to say what I would do if I were Premier of Britain, with such a majority in Parliament, and such a force of public opinion, as Lord Salisbury has. Or, rather, let me put it that I will say what I think I would do in the situation o described, for it is possible that I really might do something quite different. Each make is the product of his training and his environment, and my training and my environment obviously are different from the training and environment that go to make a Prime Minister. For a time I was a leader-writer, turning out for a morning paper of Britain about 300 a year of those articles where, in the space of one column, or a few lines more or less, each aspect of any

particular subject is understood to be fully and adequately discussed, and a definite and certain conclusion arrived at. My subjects were exceedingly various, and would range from the prospects of a general election to the condition of London bakehouses, or from the strengthening of the navy to the best means of improving the moral tone of Whitechapel. That kind of training produces a feeling of somewhat aggressive omniscience. That, however, was ten years ago, and since then I have been less accustomed to settle anything upon earth. in 1,500 words (although still taking a turn at it occasionally), and have been content to regulate the policy and administer the affairs of a newspaper office in Asia. Concurrently with that, I have, travelled, and I hope I have observed, and I have mixed with men of all nationalities and creeds. Still, I probably have failed to get away entirely from the self-opinionativeness born of the days of leader-writing, especially as during the last ten years I have been the absolute controller of my newspaper, . without being responsible to anyone for anything, except to my partners for the production of a satisfactory yearly profit. That, as it happened, has been no very anxious responsibility, so that the disposition of the leader-writer to settle everything finally and out of hand has perhaps been increased rather than minimized by my subsequent training. Therefore when I say that if Lawere Prime Minister I would

dô as follows, I perhaps only mean that I think I would do it. Here is what follows:

In the first place I would represent to the United States of America that it world be for the common interest of America and of Britain to maintain the whole of China, or almost the whole of it, as an open field for trading and financial adventure. I would suggest to the President of the United States that understandings for such a purpose would be of little use, not because of any suspected breach of faith, but because understandings are only suitable for such powers as Russia and Germany, where one mày expect a continuous foreign policy, directed over many years by one man. I would point out that, with such constartly changing Governments as those of America and Britain, the only satisfactory course would be to record any mutual obligation in a treaty, by which, naturally, each successive Government would abide, I would, therefore, propose to America to make a treaty, to make it ~ openly before the whole world, a treaty of which the substance would be that Great Britain and America would guarantee the integrity of China within absolute precise geographical limits, and would defend that territory precisely as they would - defend their own. Necessacily, they would concurrently assume the right to control the Government of China, and they would necessarily accept the responsibility of full international responsibility for

the acts of that Government. In other words, n'y proposal would be that the whole of China, except such portions of it as might be given as a sop to other states, should become an Anglo-American Protected State.

The inducement to be offered to European nations to allow such a situation without fighting would be, in the first place, the fact that they would all obtain absolutely free commercial intercourse with protected China; and, in the second place, that by way of purchasing their assent to the treaty they would be allowed or invited to cut off from the as yet unprotected China such stray corners as they might be very determined on having. France would claim something in the south, Germany would desire to hold what she has grasped, Russia would certainly claim Manchuria, Japan would be freed from the dread of Russian domination. There would still remain a protected China containing fully 250,000,000 Chinamen, and for the orderly government of that the two Anglo-Saxon nations would make them-· selves responsible.

As to the precise amount of protection and interaference that the two English-speaking nations might find necessary, as to the selection of officers and advisers, and the like, there need be no great difficulty in providing for all that; while if my readers turn to my chapter entitled 'The People of China,' they may see that I have already committed myself

to the opinion that there could be built up in China the finest Asiatic native administration that the world has ever seen. That would be the policy that I would attempt; but, then, as Lord Salisbury says, 'You cannot make treaties unless the other people are willing to make treaties with you.' And I can easily conceive that the United States of America might wholly refuse to entertain the gigantic proposal I have sketched. If so, I would pass to an alternative policy.

Having Tailed with America, I would propose a deal with Russia. I would not seek to hide the fact that I had failed with America, and I would honestly admit that the proposal I had to make to Russia was not so suitable, from the British point of view, as the proposal I had made to America. The proposal I would make to Russia would more amount to a partition of China than the proposal I had sketched to America. According to my Anglo-American scheme, the intention would be to reserve nearly the whole of China as a 'Protected Native State,' in the hope and belief that that state would some day be able to stand alone.

The proposal to Russia, on the other hand, would be that she should undertake to control, in such way as pleased her best, Manchuria, most of Mongolia, and all the North of China (including Peking), and that Britain should undertake to control the Great Plain and the Yangtsze Valley, and that Germany

and France should be bought off with much larger pieces of territory than would have fallen to them under the Anglo-American treaty.

The obvious objection to such a latter division, as compared with the Anglo-American scheme that I first sketched, would be that in the latter division all the standing rivalries and jealousies of Europe would be incorporated to break out afresh some day, whereas by the Anglo-American scheme such rivalries and jealousies would be overshadowed by a solid and progressive China under the protection of, the English-speaking races." The first scheme is the counsel of perfection, while the second scheme is only an alternative and much inferior scheme, calculated to give us 'peace in our time,' and with the remote possibility that the middle portion of China, regulated and trained by British methods, might again become a Chinastrong enough to stand alone, and a great deal too strong to be brow-beaten easily by any European Power.

But then, again, I have to recur to Lord Salisbury's dictumetal you cannot make treaties unless people will make treaties with you, and it might easily be that Russia would refuse to make such a treaty with us. Personally, I do not think that Russia would refuse, inasmuch as such a treaty made about China between Britain and Russia would obviously be so extended as to include in its sweep a great many vexed questions relating to Turkey,

Persia, and Afghanistan, and it would, therefore, of itself pretty well achieve for Russia a very great part of those advantages that the Tsar hopes to lead to by his Peace Rescript. Still, the proposal might fail, and it may be asked, What then? Well, I have still a third course.

Having failed with America, and having failed with Russia, I think my conscience would allow me to engage openly in the Fame of grab. We have had talk of the sphere in which Britain is interested in China, and of maintaining an open door in that sphere, and of understandings that China should not alienate any part of that sphere. All that talk seems to me to be nonsense talk. Failing the schemes I - have sketched it seems to me that the only remaining way of Chaintaining for Britain, and, according to our methods, for the whole world's trade, the rich and fertile plains of China, would be to take those rich and fertile plains. The Lethod and the excuse of taking them may be left an open question for discussion. Unhappily, China is sure to offer plenty of excuse, such as has from time to time terved various nations, including France and Germany. Thereneed, therefore, be no difficulty about the excuse. As to the method, there are all sorts of methods available, but whether you call them temporary occupation, or a lease, or protection and development, they all amount to the same thing-a variation of the policy of grab.

It may be observed, then, that I have made three proposals. The first is for a joint control of the bulk of China by the Anglo-American Governments, with the deliberate resolve to educate China so that at a later date she might again take her place among the nations. The second scheme amounts in substance to a proposal to share the plunder of China with Russia, with the ultimate possibility of making that portion of the plunder claimed by Britain so strong that in time it could stand alone. The advantage of that scheme is that, if carried out in accord with. Russia, it might settle numerous long-standing differences, and might ensure the peace of the world for many years to come. The third proposal stands on a much lower plane, and amounts to joining inthe game of grab.

In suggesting these proposals for the settlement of the Chinese difficulty, or at least for the settlement of it during our time. I am conscious that, in the first place, the proposals must be urged from the lower standpoint of financial and trading interests. It is especially the interest of the two English-speaking nations that China, or the greater part of China, should be maintained free from tariff restrictions, and with all facilities for trading development. I do not know of any other way in which that could be achieved so thoroughly as by an Anglo-American Protectorate of the Chinese Empire. But the proposal might be urged on very much

higher grounds. It will be very sad if, so great, so old, so self-contained an empire as that of China shall be allowed to fall to bits, and shall become an arena for the strife of nations. My proposal for an Anglo-American Protectorate is based on the theory that the two nations administering such a Protectorate would interfere as little as possible; would allow the Court of Peking to retain as much as possible of its dignity; and would allow Chinese statesmen to direct the reform of China upon lines that would be essentially Chinese, and through Chinese administrators.

If the argument of my chapter upon 'The People of China' be of any value, it is calculated to show that the Chinese capacity for administration is so great that the protected China I have in my mind would be a true and veritable China, governed by Chinamen. It is surely desirable that China as a separate entity should be preserved, and I do not know of any way of doing that except by an Anglo-American Protectorate.

Writing in Harper's Monthly, in September of 1897, before the Spanish-American troubles, before the keen sympathy of Britain for the United States had been manifested, Captain Mahan, the great naval writer of America, said:

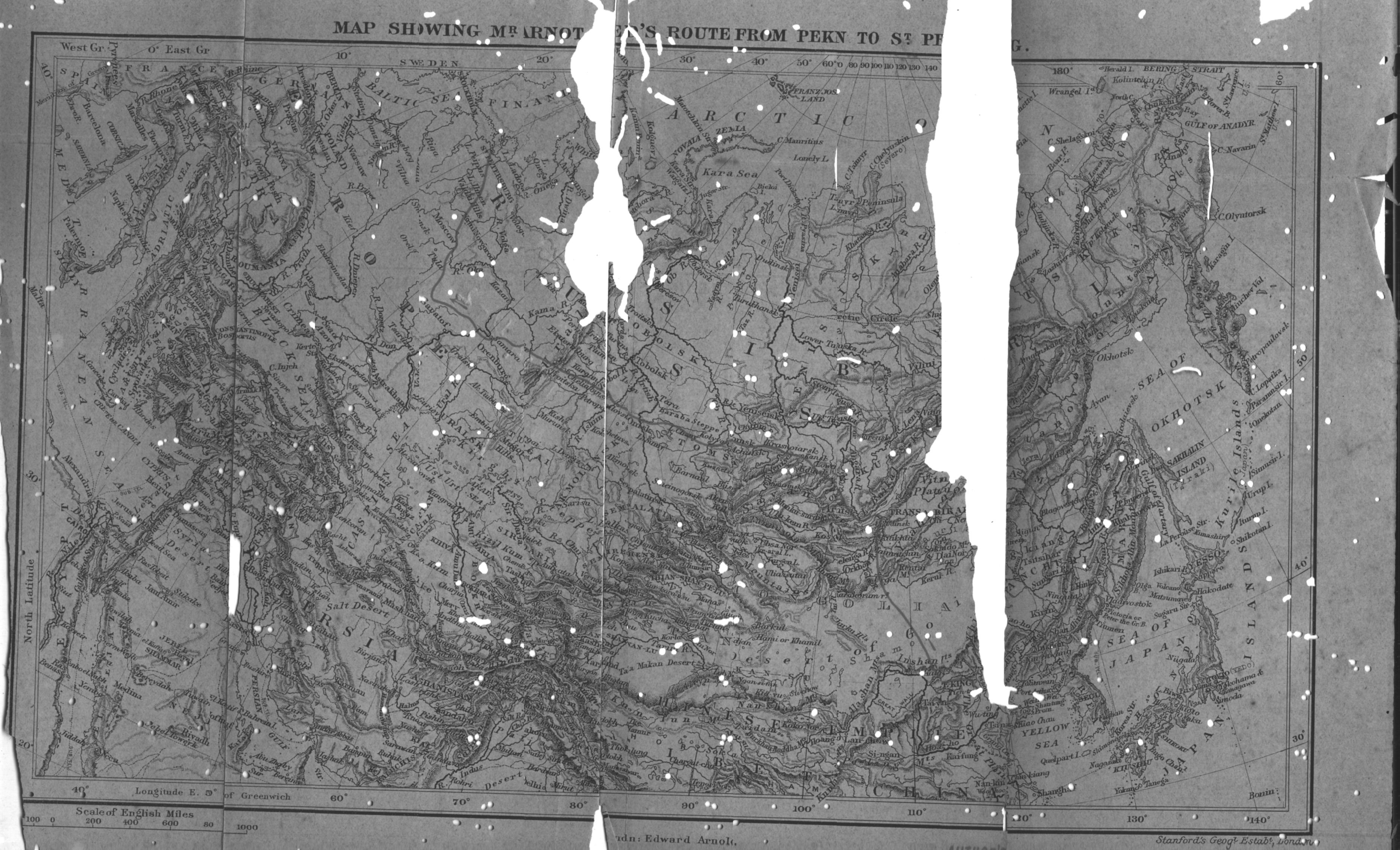
'When we' [the American people] 'begin really to look abroad, and to busy ourselves with our duties to the world at large in our generation—and not before—we shall stretch out our hands to Great

Britain, realizing that in unity of heart among the English-speaking races lies the best hope of humanity in the doubtful days ahead.'

Since these words were written by Captain Mahan, the American people have looked abroad and have busied themselves with their duties as a world power, as a power whose shores face the shores of Asia. Newly returned from my journey across the Asiatic Continent, fresh from contact with the Mongolian and the Slavonic peoples, I adopt the prophetic words of Captain Mahan:

'... In unity of heart among the English-speaking races lies the best hope of humanity...!

To the English-speaking races, then, I commend the proposal for a Protected China. I commend the proposal on the theory that such a scheme worthily carried out might be the crowning service that Anglo-Saxon civilization could render to the world. China maintained and preserved, China allowed to work out her own future, China equipped for self-government and self-defence, might be the greatest achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race.



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