

## Plan of Volume IV.

*Chapter XXIII* deals with the Russo-Japanese War and the relations of the Powers during its course. The full story of the Dogger Bank incident is told from the British side (Section II), and light is thrown on the attempts of Russia to send warships through the Dardanelles (Section III). This part of the chapter ends with a memorandum by Sir Charles Hardinge of November 16th, 1906, summarising the negotiations upon the question of the Straits, an important statement in view of the later negotiations by Sir Edward Grey in 1907 (*infra*, pp. 279-81, Nos. 257, 258) and in 1908 (Volume V, pp. 429-456 *passim*, especially p. 441, No. 377). The chapter deals further with British claims arising from the War. It continues with a section upon the Peace Negotiations, which describes the view of the belligerents in regard to the settlement, and the British contribution to the mediation of President Roosevelt ending in the Treaty of Portsmouth of August 29, 1905. The last section describes briefly the negotiations of 1904-5 relating to Wei-hai-Wei and to Corea.

The renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of 1902 is the subject of *Chapter XXIV*. The negotiations opened on March 24, 1905, with a conversation between Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi upon the question of renewing the agreement of 1902. By May 17, Lord Lansdowne had consulted the Cabinet and made the first suggestion to Viscount Hayashi for an "amplification" of the scope of the Treaty. Series of drafts and counter-drafts were prepared by both parties between that time and the beginning of August, and finally the Treaty was signed on August 12. As heretofore, in similar cases, a good deal of trouble has been taken to show the different stages of the negotiations. The last thirteen pages of the chapter deal with the questions of publication and the communication of the Treaty by the signatories, particularly to Russia and to France. The explanatory letter which was communicated to these Powers on September 8 and 9 was drawn up with the greatest care (pp. 173-5, No. 166, and *notes*). Private letters were sent to Sir Charles Hardinge and Count Benckendorff (*v.* p 172, No. 164, and *note*). The Editors are indebted to Lord Newton for information as to the contents of these private letters. No copies of them have been found in the Foreign Office Archives.

*Chapter XXV* deals with the general course of Anglo-Russian relations during the years 1903-7. The first section deals with the first steps towards a *rapprochement* in 1903. It opens with two important papers of November 1903. In a despatch to Mr. Spring-Rice of November 17, Lord Lansdowne describes a conversation with Count Benckendorff as to the main subjects which needed discussion. A long private letter to Mr. (Sir Charles) Hardinge of the 22nd deals with these points in greater detail. The next stage in the discussion is represented by King Edward's important interview with M. Isvolski at Copenhagen, mentioned in a despatch from Sir Charles Hardinge of May 18, 1904. Further progress, despite this promising start, was interrupted by the War. It was not until May 1905 that conversations were resumed, nor till after the Peace of Portsmouth that much progress was made. Their course in the following years is described in the remaining section of this chapter, culminating in the signature of the Agreements of August 31, 1907. The rôles of Count Lamsdorff, Count Witte, and Lord Lansdowne in inaugurating the negotiations are indicated, as well as the gradual solution of the inter-related problems of Thibet, Persia and Afghanistan by M. Isvolski and by Sir Arthur Nicolson. Editorial Notes on pp. 284 and 285-6 supplement the few documents printed on the proposed Mongolian frontier formula. This is a curious little incident, hitherto very obscure, owing to the fact that the formula was dropped out of the final agreements. An important series of documents

reveals the willingness of Great Britain to consider revision of the Treaty stipulations concerning the Straits at a later period (pp. 279-84, 286-8, 290-6). These should be compared with the later negotiations of 1908, v. *Gooch & Temperley*, Volume V, pp. 429-456. The most important of these documents is that recording Sir Edward Grey's conversation with Count Benckendorff on March 19, 1907 (pp. 280-1, No. 258). An extract from the Annual Report upon Russia of 1906 by Sir Arthur Nicolson describes the foreign relations of the Empire and its political and financial condition. The official papers are supplemented by extracts from the private collections of Sir Edward Grey and Sir Arthur Nicolson.

Thibet is the subject of *Chapter XXVI*. The first section adds a few documents to the large number published at the time on the British expedition to Lhasa in 1903-4. The second includes the draft instructions to Sir Arthur Nicolson given him on his appointment as Ambassador to St. Petersburg in May 1906. The subsequent negotiations are described in a series of documents of 1906-7 and in a Foreign Office Summary of April 1907, to which the texts of the Notes and communications between the two Governments have been annexed. A settlement of this part of the negotiations was reached in May 1907.

*Chapter XXVII* presents the long and troublesome negotiations relating to the delimitation of spheres of influence in Persia, which formed the core of the whole agreement. The chapter opens with two documents of paramount interest, the very important "Curzon despatch" dated September 21, 1899, upon Russian policy in the Middle East, and Lord George Hamilton's reply. Long extracts from the former were published in a Parliamentary Paper in 1908, but the parts relating to Russian policy and to the interests of France, Germany and other Powers in the Persian Gulf are here printed in full for the first time. The second section contains a Foreign Office summary of October 31, 1905, with certain annexed documents, and a long letter from Sir A. Hardinge of December 23, 1905, describing the situation in Persia, based on the knowledge he had obtained as British Minister at Tehran. A number of despatches from Sir Cecil Spring-Rice depict the reform movement in Persia and the differing attitudes towards it adopted by the British and Russian Governments. The rest of the chapter deals mainly with Anglo-Russian negotiations leading up to and following the presentation to Sir Arthur Nicolson by M. Isvolski of the first draft of the Persian Arrangement on February 20, 1907 (pp. 431-3, No. 389). The reasons of M. Isvolski for declining to embody in the convention a recognition of the special interests of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf are explained in a number of documents. This and other difficulties delayed the settlement of the terms until August 1907.

The negotiations relating to Afghanistan are given in *Chapter XXVIII*, and they complete the story of the making of the Treaty. The chapter opens with the Foreign Office memoranda summarising the discussions between London and St. Petersburg from 1900-1905. The formal negotiations relating to Afghanistan did not start until February 1907, as Sir Edward Grey wished them to be delayed "until we know more of Russian views on our proposals relating to Persia" (p. 523, No. 468). On February 23, Sir A. Nicolson gave M. Isvolski a paper expressing the British views as to Afghanistan (p. 526, No. 472, *encl.*), the main point of which was that Russia should acknowledge that Afghanistan was "outside the Russian sphere of influence." The first Russian draft of the Convention was handed to Sir A. Nicolson on May 15, and the subsequent negotiations continued until August.

A table showing the evolution of the final text of the Convention is printed on pp. 541-4.

*Chapter XXIX* illustrates the reception of the Anglo-Russian Treaty in Europe and the Far East. A private letter from Sir C. Hardinge to Sir A. Nicolson shows the importance which they both attached to this "most important and far-reaching business," and includes an extract from a letter by King Edward which expresses his warm approbation of the negotiations. A later letter from King Edward to Sir A. Nicolson of September 17 is printed in full (pp. 595-6, No. 585). The grave apprehensions aroused in nationalist circles in Persia by the belief that Great Britain had made an *Entente* with Russia are vividly portrayed in the reports of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice from Tehran. Reference is made on p. 590 to the interesting circumstances connected with the communication of the Agreements to the Persian Government by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice. The chapter concludes with an extract from Sir Arthur Nicolson's Annual Report on Russia for the year 1907 describing Russian relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, and a Foreign Office Memorandum of January 1908 explaining and justifying the Treaty in view of the approaching debates in Parliament. The last document is a private letter from Sir Edward Grey to Sir A. Nicolson discussing the effects of the Anglo-Russian Convention in Great Britain.

The Appendices contain a reprint of the full text of the Convention. There is next a despatch from Mr. Spring-Rice of October 6, 1903, relating to Afghanistan, enclosing the text of a Russian communication of October 5, later described by Lord Lansdowne as "almost peremptory" in its terms. This document shows that a serious crisis had been reached, and that the problem of a *rapprochement* was in no sense easy to solve. It is interesting to turn back to the beginning of Chapter XXV, p. 183, and to note that the first attempt to solve the problem began about one month after the receipt of the Russian communication. Finally, a long despatch from Sir C. Hardinge of January 6, 1906, describes Anglo-Russian relations at that time, and the last Appendix contains an alternative version of the revised draft of the arrangement concerning Persia sent to Sir A. Nicolson on June 6, 1907. The Map of Persia, placed at the end of the first Appendix, has been specially drawn to include the names mentioned in this volume and to illustrate the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention.

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### Errata for Volume III.

- Page 50, No. 59, end of Article II ... For "sous le No. 1<sup>(?)</sup>" read "sous le No. 1<sup>(?)</sup>."  
 Page 292, No. 336, Lines 2-3 ... For "No. 4 of 9th of Sir A. Nicolson's tel[egram]<sup>(?)</sup> No. 91" read "No. 4 of 9th<sup>(?)</sup> of Sir A. Nicolson's telegram No. 91."