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GERMAN INTRIGUES IN PERSIA

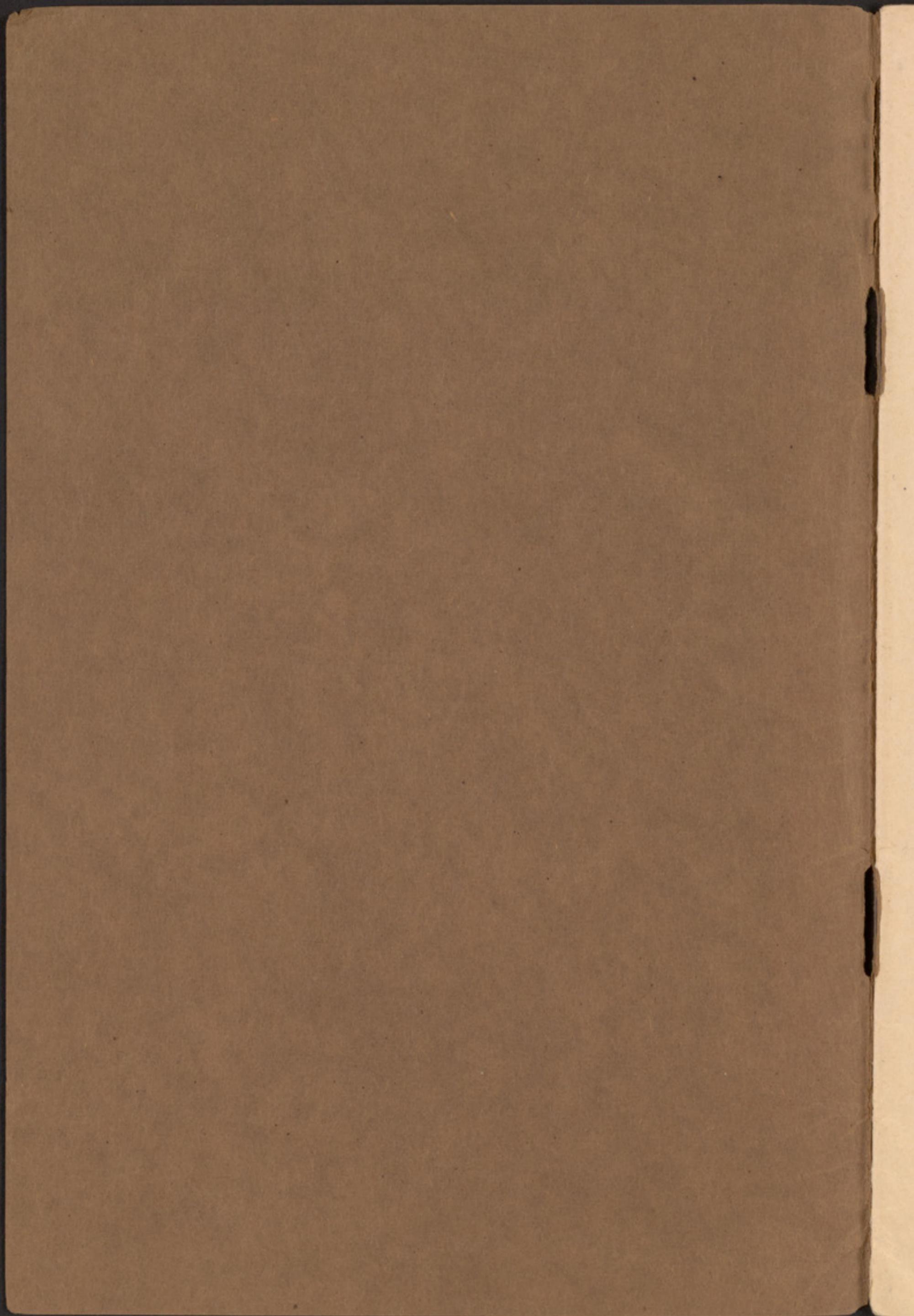
THE DIARY OF A GERMAN AGENT

THE NIEDERMAYER EXPEDITION
THROUGH PERSIA TO AFGHANISTAN
AND INDIA

Translated from the German

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO

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GERMAN INTRIGUES IN PERSIA:
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IN PERSIA

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W. Griesinger

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AND INDIA

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GERMAN INTRIGUES IN PERSIA

THE NIEDERMAYER EXPEDITION THROUGH PERSIA
TO AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

INTRODUCTION

“ From the Bosphorus deep into Asia we shall drive a highway for Kultur and for the freedom of all nations.”
ERNEST NEUHAUS, *The Conflagration in the Balkans*,
Vienna, 1916.

BEFORE the war, for many years German agents, in one disguise and another, as merchants, as missionaries, as travellers, had been busy in the East. When the war came their activities and their numbers greatly increased. Wherever a strong state could be hampered or a weak state could be exploited, there German agents made their way and spread their intrigues. Those same influences were at work in the East that have already been exposed in the United States and in Argentina. What Germany succeeded in doing with Turkey, that she also attempted to do with Persia.

The diary of W. Griesinger is the record of one of these agents. He was a member of what was grandiosely called “Captain Niedermayer’s

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Expedition through Persia to Afghanistan and India." It was formed in the autumn of 1914, and set out from Constantinople at the beginning of December. Turkey had already fallen to the German agents and a month before had committed definite acts of war against the Allies.

At the beginning of February the expedition was at Bagdad. There it divided. Captain Niedermayer himself went direct to Teheran and from there moved on into Afghanistan. He went protected with a passport as Secretary to the German Legation. Another part of his expedition went into Northern and yet another into Southern Persia.

It is the story of the career of this southern expedition which is told in Griesinger's Diary. It consisted of Dr. Zugmayer and Griesinger himself. With them went some Turkish agents and Indian sedition-mongers, and an escort of Persian cut-throats, rebels against their own government. Griesinger's own opinion of these immediate followers of theirs is frequently expressed in the Diary. He calls them in one place "our dirty beasts."

They went protected by safe-conducts as Consul and Secretary to the Consulate at Ispahan. Their intention was to use Southern Persia as a base for an advance into the British Protectorate of Baluchistan.

Of the objects of Captain Niedermayer's Expedition as a whole there can be no doubt. They are set out in a letter which Zugmayer wrote to

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Niedermayer on June 1st, 1915, and which has since been captured. Zugmayer was then at Kerman in south-eastern Persia, near the Baluchistan frontier. Niedermayer was at Teheran. The following passages are illuminating :—

“I gather that you are counting on a gradual training of the Persian tribes for war, with German instructors ; if only universal peace does not supervene before this work is begun or in the middle of it ! For certainly several months must elapse before the instructors arrive, are distributed, and get beyond the preliminary stages. . . .

“I want to touch upon one point in the general programme of advance to the east, because your work and mine exhibit a difference of principle with regard to it. The country of your destination [Afghanistan] is an independent state which, like Persia, can declare war or remain neutral. . . . Either you will not be allowed into the country at all, or you will be allowed in and then there commences a propaganda campaign as in Persia. . . .

“The case is different with regard to Baluchistan ; there is no unity but only a few scattered princes, who are all vassals of the English. . . . What we can produce there is, not a declaration of war, but a rebellion. In Baluchistan I must expect to find at the outset the frontiers strongly occupied by trained troops. For this reason, in order to be successful in Baluchistan I require beyond any question a belligerent Persia. I see only two possibilities of success: either, after a

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declaration of war by Persia, simply to invade the country as an enemy with the largest force possible; or incitement and the raising of a revolutionary army, which, however, is only possible if the frontier is insufficiently guarded. I reject a propaganda by letter as useless."

Such were the avowed intentions of these German agents towards the neutral state of Persia, which they had entered with the privileges of diplomatic representatives—to incite her to a declaration of war, to flood her with German drill-instructors, to turn her like Turkey into a German vassal state, to train her people as German "cannon-fodder"—to use her, in fact, without regard to her own interests, to serve Germany's ambitions.

These were the objects of the expedition. What Griesinger's Diary reveals are the methods that it used. The methods were the same that German agents have used everywhere else, the same that they used in the United States. In one entry Griesinger writes: "We learn that Mexico has sent an ultimatum to the U.S.A. Wonder whether our colleagues have been active there?"

Wherever they found discontent they used it without scruple. No tool was too mean for them, no act too wicked. They spread false information; they trumped up a murder charge; they threatened; they intimidated; they committed burglary and highway robbery; they did not hesitate even at murder.

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On Great Britain's declaration of war Griesinger hurried back to Germany. Why he was in England, and the circumstances under which he returned to his own country, are broadly hinted at in the entry for August 5th, and in the reference to "the Emperor's pardon" a few days later.

The Diary is a hundred thousand words long and extends almost day by day over more than two years from August 1st, 1914, to September 30th, 1916. The last entry was written when Griesinger was in Persian custody at Shiraz.

Zugmayer and Griesinger set out from Bagdad at the end of February, 1915. They went first to Ispahan. Their intention was to foment a rising. Six weeks later they set out again. They had, Griesinger admits, "accomplished nothing," except daily quarrels among themselves. They left hurriedly and in semi-secrecy, with a charge of murder hanging over their heads.

From Ispahan they travelled eastwards to Kerman on the frontier of Baluchistan. It was of Kerman that Zugmayer wrote to the German Legation at Teheran: "The stirring-up of revolt in British Baluchistan and the threat to India through an expedition despatched in the manner suggested by the F.O. and the Great General Staff are to be carried out through Kerman. For the purpose Kerman is indispensable as a strong German supporting-point."

Kerman is the meeting-point of great routes, a trading centre between the port of Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf and the markets of Central Asia.

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On the way the expedition passed through Yezd, and the picture of its entry into that town is a complete miniature of German Kultur "driving a highway for itself and for the freedom of all nations deep into Asia."

Griesinger describes how they rode in, "prettily grouped around the flag." Two days later he writes: "Abdullah Khan has entered our service officially and has offered, if we desire it, to shoot down English and Russian Consul in Kerman."

At Kerman they spent seven months—months of perpetual and unscrupulous intrigue. They allied themselves with the democratic party and with any who were discontented. They tried by every means to get rid of the Governor. At the end of the seven months the Governor was still Governor, while Griesinger was writing of his allies as "these wretches," and they in their turn were telling Griesinger that they had no confidence in the Germans.

There are two things of especial interest in this record of eleven months of intrigue. The first is Griesinger's perpetual criticism of the other German agents, of their "Intelligence Bureau," of the German Legation at Teheran, even of Von der Goltz, whose "want of understanding" he finds "downright depressing." Anyone who still believes in a miraculous German efficiency should follow, through Griesinger's Diary, his record of how they were left without money and news, of the "incredible indolence and unscru-

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pulousness" behind them, and of their petty personal bitterness, mutual distrust and quarrels.

The second thing is his attitude towards the people with whom he is working, his coarse and clumsy contempt for them all. Already in his two months' journey from Bagdad to Ispahan he has written of "the Turkish pigs," "the miserable pack of dirty Turks," "this odious nation" (the Persians), "Armenian swine," and has met "a horrible rotter" of an Austrian. In fact, in those first two months he had met hardly anyone of whom he approved except two Swedish officers of the Persian Gendarmerie, with whom he got drunk.

So through the rest of the expedition he does not cease to abuse his own allies. He calls an Indian revolutionary committee "these greasy blackguardly Bengal revolutionaries," and he is continually abusing the Persians with great coarseness but little variety. He calls them "this blackguardly pack," "this beastly people," "this God-forsaken beastly people," "this foul pack," "these beastly priests," "these low filthy swine." So does the German go through the world making friends.

Griesinger, in fact, is a very interesting figure of a German intriguer, at once brutal and hysterical, stopping at no outrage, but flying into paroxysms of anger, "foaming with rage" (it is his own phrase), when his plans fail; ready to intrigue with anyone, yet astonished when he is played false. It was at Kerman that he wrote with

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virtuous indignation: "Is there a single being who is not a thorough wretch in this horrible hole?" This was a few days after he was planning to rob the English caravan. But the best comment on the methods of these German intriguers is the ironical comment of events — the sudden and farcical failure of the expedition.

At the beginning of February, 1916, Zugmayer and Griesinger set out from Kerman towards the Baluchistan frontier. They had collected a small force and between a hundred and two hundred rifles. They thought with joy of the British advancing through difficult territory "where the entire tribes are on our side." Six weeks later their "beautiful dreams of invading English territory in conjunction with the brave Baluchis, to work into the hands of the others in Afghanistan, all vanished in smoke."

"It appears that we had been quite wrongly informed concerning Baluchistan. They must be the most incredible, impudent, most underhand, most mendacious and cowardly pack of cads, on a level with the beasts." All this abuse simply because the Baluchis had proposed to do with the Germans what the Germans were proposing to do with the Baluchis. "Bachram Khan was not a tribal prince, but a robber chief. He apparently only wanted to have us with him in order to wipe out a few neighbours with our money and weapons and 'army' which he expected."

So ended the expedition into Baluchistan.

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The intriguers themselves had been tricked by the "half-savage swine" whom they had intended to use as their tools.

Three months later Griesinger was writing in prison: "Who after this will ever range himself on our side in Persia?"

If his Diary is interesting as yet another confession of German methods, it is more interesting as a confession of German blunders, and still more interesting as a revelation of German temper.



SKETCH MAP—THE ROUTE OF THE NIEDERMAYER EXPEDITION.

The
Diary of a German Agent

1914 :

1-4. viii.—Waiting, toothache, vile English newspapers, 1 letter, 1 telegram. A.'s gamblers have used up pawn-tickets, £5½ in debt.

4. viii.—Journey to London. 8.30 p.m. : departure from Folkestone—Flushing.

5. viii.—Goch, German frontier. Heard that English papers have lied. No identity papers, luggage van, deserter, sergeant-major, as far as Wesel. Here Station Commandant, railway pass; believe he knows who I am. Came back to the others.

9. viii.—Prospect of Emperor's pardon.

21. viii.—Consent as good as certain. Fischer will bring me everything. Thank God—high time!

22. viii.—Consent.

1. ix.—Went to Happrick's about the expedition.

7. ix.—*about* 20. xi.—Looking and waiting. Berlin—Munich—Stuttgart—Berlin—Vienna—Constantinople.

About 20. xi.—Member of Niedermayer's Expedition through Persia to Afghanistan and India.

5. xii.—9 a.m. : departure from Hader Pasha to Aleppo. Captain Niedermayer, Consten, Doctor Niedermayer, Paschen, myself; Jacob, Niedermayer's orderly, 2 telegraphists, 3 Turkish officers, and 27 men.

6. xii.—Delightful journey through Taurus. Change of horses effected by force.

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[By the beginning of February they had reached Bagdad.]

I. ii., *Monday*.—Wagner, W. Paschen, myself, started along Persian frontier in order to meet Schunemann* and place ourselves under his orders.

5. ii.—In the night 2 messengers from Foshi Bey. We are to go back to Bagdad. Refusal; long palaver. Was very awkward for both parties.

[In the end they went back.]

II. ii., *Thursday*.—The Turks in Bagdad are making tremendous fuss and bother, had confiscated all arms in Bagdad also; one of our 2 machine-guns we had already forgone. They will not let us into South Persia, ostensibly because the tribes there are not yet ready. Our complaint has gone at once to Stambul and Berlin. At the last moment Suliman Askeri gave permission for the route via Mosul. Niedermayer is now working in this direction at high pressure. He is to go with passport as Secretary of Legation to Schunemann; precaution regarding Turks, bullet or poison.

14. ii., *Sunday*.—The expedition disbanded; some of us are to go to Basra, some into barracks to drill recruits.

15. ii., *Monday*.—Telegram to say that individual gentlemen could go to Persia. I am to go either with Zugmayer via Chanickin to Ispahan or with Peter Paschen to Teheran via Mosul.

25. ii., *Thursday*. — Preparations made by Peter Paschen, Voigt, Berghausen, for departure to Persia via Mosul on Sunday.

26. ii., *Friday*.—All unexpectedly came the letters of safe-conduct from the Vali, for Zugmayer as Consul of Ispahan and for me as Secretary.

* Of the German Legation at Teheran.

FROM BAGDAD TO ISPAHAN.

[On February 27th they set out for Ispahan, travelling by way of Kermanshah, Burujird, and Sultanabad. The journey took nearly two months.]

3. iii., *Wednesday*.—Met a very interesting intelligent man, Emir El Hish Med.

4. iii., *Thursday*.—Hish Med very interesting. Intends as soon as he gets permission from his Government to go to Teheran, and there to engineer a rising against the Russians.

11. iii., *Thursday*.—Messenger from Schunemann with a letter to say that he will meet us an hour before Kermanshah.

12. iii., *Friday*.—Schunemann very fond of playing patience; taught him our games.

18. iii., *Thursday*.—Letter from Hish Med that he wished to speak with Schunemann to-morrow unknown to the Turkish pigs.

22. iii., *Monday*.—Bad news from the frontier: Turkish officers shot there, hence more troops. Prince Reuss also apparently frightened tremendously by this odious nation, as continual telegrams arrive regarding the security of the way. . . . Miserable pack of dirty Turks.

2. iv., *Friday*.—We at last reached the house of the Swedes [*in command of the Gendarmerie in Burujird*], both quite charming men, faultless Swedish uniforms, splendid figures. . . . Splendid dinner with liqueur, port wine, beer, champagne, wine, coffee, cognac, whiskey. Very gay and cosy; everybody tipsy.

3. iv., *Saturday*.—In the evening very merry; Professor* very drunk.

4. iv., *Sunday*.—Went early, *i.e.* at 12 to bed, sober.

5. iv., *Monday*.—In the evening, as usual, sober.

* Zugmayer is called simply "Professor" all through the Diary.

IN ISPAHAN.

[*Ispahan was reached on April 24th.*]

24. iv., *Saturday*.—Pugin, the German Vice-Consul of Ispahan, came to greet us. The Armenian swine whom he has about him must be got out of the house as soon as possible. . . The attitude of the population very cool or perhaps afraid.

25. iv., *Sunday*. — Telegram from Teheran [*where Niedermayer had already arrived*] that Ministry anti-German, caution advisable.

26. iv., *Monday*. — Sent a telegram to Teheran with a request for permission to strike.

29. iv., *Thursday*. — Telegram from Niedermayer to say no violent measures for the present as danger for the Embassy.

1. v., *Saturday*.—A cipher telegram from Niedermayer that Teheranis were fearfully nervous, a declaration of war not to be thought of for the present, all serious steps to be avoided here.

2. v., *Sunday*.—In the afternoon two democrats one after the other. Said there would be a Scholuch (rising) to-morrow because the Imperial Bank was no longer paying their notes.

3. v., *Monday*.—In the morning waited in vain for Scholuch, as the Bank paid promptly. In the evening telegram from Rohner that five Germans en route, that we two after Seiler has been initiated here are to go on with all speed and engage 20 "excellent" men for the purpose at Yezd base. God be praised! Things are moving in the direction of Baluchistan!!!

[*The next day the five arrived: "Seiler, Dr. Niedermayer, Bohnstorff, Fasting, Friederich, 260 animals." With the five*

came news of the whereabouts of the other German agents in Persia.]

Winkelmann gone to Kermanshah to Schunemann. Joseph here—hope to take him with us to Yezd and Kerman. Berghausen ill, Mosul base ; Peter Paschen ill, laid at Weber's house in Hamadan, now it is hoped, on the way to Teheran. Wagner, Jakob, with the entire Niedermayer-Prince Reuss caravan on the way to Teheran.

7. v., *Friday*.—Rode out early with Fasting to select a place for the wireless. We decided on a spot above Gendarmerie barracks on the side of the mountain.

9. v.—Engaged Hassan Aga finally as head trooper.

11. v.—Little going on all day. In the evening Glerupp to dinner, very intoxicated.

13. v.—Telegram from Niedermayer that entry of Russian troops threatened, that they and we are to prepare for the worst.

Letter from the Governor to say that wireless station forbidden.

14. v.—Our fifteen troopers were solemnly enlisted.

18. v.—Our men brought one of the Governor's servants into the house, who got drunk and abused Germany. For the Governor's sake we will not have him beaten, but shall not let him go unpunished, so that the zeal of our men may not cool off. At my suggestion he was thrown into the gold-fish pond and dipped a few times and then flung out. . . . We were just in the act of undressing when a terrible firing began quite close to the Consulate. Soon came the Mirza and said that 2 Russians, one of whom was the director of the Russian Bank, had been attacked and shot dead.

19. v., *Wednesday*.—Highly uncomfortable day with continual waiting for the consequences of the nocturnal

murder. Item: Another night in our clothes and complete readiness for battle.

21. v., *Friday*.—Glerupp dropped in for a moment in the evening; congratulated us on the breaking up of the Russian power. Indeed many people suspect us.

2. vi., *Wednesday*.—In the morning went with Hassan Aga to Kargusar's office about the confounded murder affair, with very clever German-speaking detective who strongly suspects Hassan Aga. Are all feeling very "down" because no progress is made.

4. vi., *Friday*.—Nothing whatever. Our hope of being able to accomplish something here has quite vanished. We think of leaving on Wednesday because we *must* go on some-time. Every day some sort of row with Seiler.

7. vi., *Monday*.—Letter from Kargusar to say that at the request of the Teherani detective Hassan Aga not permitted to leave the town. We decided to start at once next morning. Seiler is to answer the letter after we are gone. Packed quickly.

[*Next day they set off with their troopers. Nine days later they arrived at Yezd.*]

16. vi., *Wednesday*.—Off at 2 o'clock. Another delicious sleep, then nice ride with lanterns until daylight. Two far-sakhs (eight miles) before the town of Yezd we met the first horsemen, merchants. On coming nearer saw more and more. Our party prettily grouped around the flag. Governor's carriage in which the Professor drove. I followed with our party. Are staying in the huge house of the German agent Hadji Sheikh Mohamed Mechdi. . . In the evening important conference with the Governor's secretary. Tried to get up an address of protest against the Government in Teheran here too. Made the acquaintance of former vice-Governor

of Persian Baluchistan, Abdullah Khan, who was driven out by the English. He gave us interesting news from the East ; 3 English officers murdered at Baluchistan a short time ago.

18. vi., *Friday*.—In the morning and afternoon great deputation of merchants and democrats. Abdullah Khan has entered our service officially and has offered, if we desire it, to shoot down English and Russian Consul in Kerman.

KERMAN.

[*Only eight days were spent at Yezd and then the party took the road for Kerman ; on July 3rd they were coming near the town.*]

3. vii., *Saturday*.—In the afternoon Sultan Gendarme expressly to tell us that Governor had by official notice forbidden the population to prepare any sort of reception for us, as we were not officially recognised by Government. This another masterpiece of our brilliant diplomatic representatives in Teheran !

[*The next day they rode into Kerman.*]

4. vii., *Sunday*.—The crowd about us grew bigger and bigger ; flowers. On reaching the suburbs, 2 sheep (be-headed). . . . By the time we had reached the city gate it was scarcely possible to get through. Here 2 sheep, 1 cow. Governor's residence towers above city walls. He could observe with pleasure the result of his prohibition. For the rest sent us 50 troopers, letter of apology, and telegram from Teheran in which he was directly forbidden to receive Zugmayer as Consul. The crowd kept on bellowing hurrahs for Germany, curses on England. At last out on the other side. After another 10 minutes our premises. Another sleep. Photographer.

5. vii., *Monday*.—Had ordered two men for the evening, one of them a secret pretender to the Governorship, the other

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a nationalist persecuted by the Governor and the English Consul, who has to keep hidden. The former sent a most idiotic representative, with whom we could do nothing, the latter we had fetched by 4 troopers. Appeared to be good. . . Of course great disappointment that we did not at once mount our troopers. Indeed there will be general great disappointment here; the people are like cattle. Believe we shall begin feud with the Governor so as to give him a taxless and lawless time.

9. vii., *Friday*.—At midday a little mangy Sayd to stir up a rising, and in the evening 4 good priests, who, beginning from to-morrow, are going to preach every day in the mosques against our enemies.

12. vii., *Monday*.—In the afternoon visit to chief priest who wants to stir up the Scholuch (rising) against the enemy.

14. vii., *Wednesday*. In the evening Nassim-ut-Tutschar [*the nationalist*], whom we were again obliged to disappoint. He wanted to interview the Governor, and desired our help in case he should lock him up. And we can do nothing, being unacknowledged by Government, and without any news. Attitude of our representatives in Teheran most shameful. Disgrace for all Deutschtum.

21. vii., *Wednesday*.—In the morning mails. Letter from Niedermayer from which it transpired that he is now en route, and the decision is to be expected soon. We have resolved from now on to proceed against the enemy independently with all means in our power. Then in the afternoon came Reuter with the report that Pugin's* caravan to Meshed, of which we had known nothing, had been stopped and his Austrians disarmed, and that Wassmuss had been

* Pugin was the Vice-Consul at Ispahan, who had received them. At Meshed he was getting near to the Russian and Afghanistan borders.

called back to Teheran. With a view to avoiding a similar fate we must again lie low until communication with Niedermayer is established. Sent another despairing telegram to Teheran and Ispahan. It is really enough to make one throw up the sponge.

[*Meanwhile they had decided to take a house in Kerman. The Governor warned them that until they were recognised by the Persian Government he could not allow the German flag to fly in the town; and that if Nassim gave trouble he would have him arrested. Thereupon they sent "letter to the Governor with practically open declaration of war." They followed this with "a far stronger letter," and in spite of the Governor they established themselves in the town.*]

31. vii., *Saturday*. — Governor comparatively quiet. Merely attempted to forbid the Rosa Khan, but priests resisted. For the rest nothing can be done with the beastly people here.

3. viii., *Tuesday*. — In the afternoon, Kargusar sent by the Governor, who desires to be reconciled with us. We declined. The man must be ousted.

6. viii., *Friday*. — Rumours. Governor said to be preparing for departure. . . . Kargusar has been recalled; first Gendarmerie, then the Vice-Chief of Police, now he. All our friends among the authorities have now gone, simply because the English are able to send messages in cipher and get support from their Legation; we can do neither. Seiler's transmission of war news deplorable.

At the Rosa Khan in the evening. It has become known; great crowds. Also better preachers. Sheriat Medar himself there, but did not speak. As we walked in solemn procession to the daïs erected for us everybody who is on our side rose. Were stared at during the half hour as if we were foreign animals in a menagerie.

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9. viii., *Monday*.—Djafa discovered 3 Bakhtiaris among the visitors at the Rosa Khan. We had them arrested and ascertained that they had 2 loaded (very good) rifles and 1 Mauser pistol (the latter at full cock). Nevertheless we let the fellows go, but we kept the weapons. Urgent telegrams to Teheran, letter to Kargusar. Information to the priests at the Rosa Khan. Represent it everywhere as a direct attempt at murder. No proofs, it may all be quite harmless too, although it has been proved that two of the prisoners were with our troopers secretly and one of the troopers had taken them secretly on to the roof.

10. viii., *Tuesday*.—Governor received telegram from his brothers stating that he may, perhaps, be able to remain if he gets a letter of recommendation from the Consul. Instead of that our telegram with the premeditated "attempt at murder" is now in Teheran, poor man! He will probably receive the fatal telegram in 3 days. We are making preparations for a run on the English Bank on the same day.

11. viii., *Wednesday*.—Further preparations for the run on the bank.

13. viii., *Friday*.—Cause the report to be spread, as we did before Ispahan, that we will have the Telegraph Director murdered because he is never punctual with our telegrams.

15. viii., *Sunday*.—The chief of the Gendarmerie sent the report that Persia has declared war! We discussed all that is necessary, made preparations for the revolution in *any* case.

16. viii., *Monday*.—Nothing known of declaration of war. At noon endlessly long cipher telegram from Teheran. We were in the seventh heaven. For 2 months quite in the dark concerning all that interests us; now at last information. We were an hour deciphering it; it was a communication

from the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Bagdad, long explanation that these greasy blackguardly Bengal revolutionaries will start in good time. We were so disappointed and furious because there was not a single word for us that we could have howled.

18. viii., *Wednesday*. — Many intrigues. At noon information that we are no longer permitted to receive cipher telegrams. Foam with rage that during the 6 days when it was possible we got nothing but the damned rubbish from the Indian Revolutionary swine. . . Incredible indolence and unscrupulousness [*of Seiler*]. It is the same with the war news ; only sends a few sentences every 3 or 4 days. And with such means we are to spread propaganda in the most difficult place in Persia. Are as shamelessly left in the lurch by our "Intelligence Bureau" as by Teheran.

20. viii., *Friday*. — Another lot of rumours. So the Governor appears really to be going now. Great Council of War, when the Governor away 2—3 days, the Russians and English are to be driven out.

22. viii., *Sunday*. — One of Seiler's war telegrams, 1 sentence : that on the capture of Kovno 400 guns were taken. Nothing else. By God, the fellow deserves to be court-martialled.

23. viii., *Monday*. — Wedig arrived. His news is the main thing ; Niedermayer appears to have given all up in Persia, ourselves included ; is trying to reach the Afghan frontier, *i.e.* to break through the chain of Russian pickets.

24. viii., *Tuesday*. — The Professor will not have the English telegraph wire destroyed ; would not be of much use anyway. Things gradually begin to look pretty desperate for us here, as our money is running out, and we don't know where to get more.

[*Their men also were deserting them.*]

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25. viii., *Wednesday*.—Four more troopers go. It gets better and better, we shall soon have to go on picket duty ourselves. . . . Governor appears to think less and less of going away.

26. viii., *Thursday*.—At night secret meeting with the lions of the Kerman democrats. Result: no prospects of success, hopeless. If the Governor does not go now of his own accord there is only one thing to be done.

30. viii., *Tuesday*.—The English Bank director, Mr. Taylor, has forbidden the business people to pay out any remittance to us. Just wait, you canaille!

3. ix., *Friday*.—Sent to Sheriat Medar making a new proposal concerning a rising of the people. Sent us back word that the people have no longer any confidence, as in spite of new Cabinet we are still not permitted to write in cipher and to display flags. . . . Damnation to the Legation and Seiler.

5. ix., *Sunday*.—To-day's rumours: Governor has received threatening letter telegram from his relatives, and also the English Consul in Shiraz has been shot (the latter invented by us).

7. ix., *Tuesday*.—Publication of "particulars" concerning the murder of the English Consul in Shiraz so as to make the matter more credible.

8. ix., *Wednesday*.—We have circulated the rumour that English and Russian Ministers in Teheran had violent disagreements.

17. ix., *Friday*.—Governor said to have telegraphed Ispahan that he cannot remain here any longer on account of German intrigues. English said to have written him they will go away with him.

23. ix., *Thursday*.—Report that the Tabbas base has

gone to Afghanistan. This in itself splendid news means that Niedermayer has got over safely, and been well received. We had a long discussion, because I stood up for Baluchistan with all my might. To be sure we have only 1,900 tomans left (about £760).

26. ix., *Sunday*.—A money-caravan is to leave one of these days and we intend to intercept it. Had difficulty with the others because I want to undertake the task with our men *only*.

27. ix., *Monday*.—In the evening Ali Akbar Khan. Is ready to bring the Tufangshis into the town for the rising. Is fired at the thought of capturing the money caravan. We will both act simultaneously, *i.e.* strike here in the town on the same night in which the caravan is attacked.

29. ix., *Wednesday*.—Cipher telegram from Teheran at last. Prospect of money, arms, cartridges.

2. x., *Saturday*.—In the morning cipher telegram from Teheran that Niedermayer has safely crossed the frontier of Afghanistan and has been well received.

4. x., *Monday*.—As all the others are of opinion that it would be too risky to take the money with our troopers, who besides are not very enthusiastic, we let the plan drop. . . Our entire funds now amount to 1,025 tomans! And the English are carrying off 100,000 to Yezd, and we are powerless to prevent it! With this money we could turn all India upside down, and win all the more fame, because we are so completely left in the lurch by our country. So we have no longer money enough for anything.

8. x., *Friday*.—Abbas Khan, Ali Akbar Khan's brother, has been removed from his post by the Governor. Is now vowing vengeance. Mustapha Khan is conspiring with him. Perhaps in this way I may be able to bring about the

ardently longed-for rising of the people against the pig of a Governor.

9. x., *Saturday*. — Our messenger from Naibend-Tabas came back, reported that Dr. Becker has had serious encounter with Russians. The three Germans fought their way to Ispahan. But all baggage, apparently also the valuable presents to the Amir, had gone. That is the result of sending us out inadequately equipped.

For the rest the preparations for the attack on the English Consulate begin to take shape.

16. x., *Saturday*. — Are convinced the Governor will now be recalled. Bruggmann lent us 1,000 tomans because we ourselves have nothing left.

[*Bruggmann is first mentioned a day or two after their arrival at Kerman: "8. vii. — Bruggmann, Petag agent, quite nice staunch Swiss."*]

21. x., *Saturday*. — In the evening came Bruggmann. Said all our troopers are good for nothing; and the feeling in the town grows worse and worse against us because they see that we are not backed by our Government. As he dins this into our ears for hours every evening (and we are all aware of it ourselves more or less) his visits are becoming a torture.

26. x., *Tuesday*. — Is there a single being who is not a thorough wretch in this horrible hole!

29. x., *Friday*. — Division of our forces into two parties, each about 40 strong. 70 more are coming within a week. Declaration of war really appears imminent.

30. x., *Saturday*. — In the evening letter from Sheriat to say the enemy Consuls are preparing for departure and that the Governor has told him he would send an official messenger to us to-morrow, to declare himself our "servant,"

and wants to make us a present of the contents of the bank. We fear he will rob the bank and bazaar and then bolt. Spoke to Sultan in order to prevent this eventuality by force of arms.

4. xi., *Thursday*.—Have now collected about 90 rifles. 50 more within the next three days. Shall then be approximately as strong as the Governor. Every morning a little drill. The Governor working against us.

5. xi., *Friday*. — Money actually at an end to-day. Bruggmann could only send 100 tomans, and we had again to send away people who wanted money.

6. xi., *Saturday*. — Telegram from Teheran that the Governor will "perhaps" soon be recalled.

We have emptied our purses in order to pay the daily wages and expenses. Our position is desperate; shall we go away or dismiss all our Tufangschis, and so prepare bitter disappointment for our friends? . . . Professor horribly depressed. . . . Drank much cognac.

11. xi., *Thursday*. — Six delegates from the Governor: chief speaker — Nassim-ut-Tutschar,* completely pro-Governor, the pig! Wanted us to disarm.

16. xi., *Tuesday*. — Now at this critical time again without any news from Teheran or Ispahan for six days. The proper place for Seiler and Reuss is before a court-martial.

17. xi., *Wednesday*.—No war news, no Reuter, no telegram, it is enough to drive one mad. Our sole source of information the stolen notes from the English telegraph office. . . . All the same, intense excitement for the people, especially in Teheran. Even our dirty beasts here have risen to a telegram of sympathy *for* war.

* See entry for July 14th.

20. xi., *Saturday*.—Paved the way for the destruction of the English wires or the entire English office. Farukh Shah working at high pressure. Everyone who comes says we should have him murdered.

22. xi., *Monday*.—Our financial straits desperate. To-day we could pay no daily wages or salaries.

23. xi., *Tuesday*. — In the forenoon in the greatest anxiety as to whether we shall be able to pay the daily wages and expenses. At the last moment Bruggmann sent 100 tomans. . . . Damnation to this pig of a Seiler.

24. xi., *Wednesday*. — The miserable cad Salar Mossafar is absolutely set on a title. Hope with the help of the Turks that I can make life so bitter for him that he will not venture too often into our house. We and the cats are greatly enjoying the fire.

29. xi., *Monday*.—Abdullah Khan engineered a burglary at the Persian telegraph office. Instead of telegrams the fellow brought back watch, pince-nez, etc.

4. xii., *Saturday*. — Telegram that Seiler and all the party have arrived at Yezd.

7. xii., *Tuesday*.—In the morning Djavad brought the news that Farukh Shah had just been shot.

9. xii., *Thursday*. — To-day splendid news, private telegram from Biach from Yezd stating that one million more had been granted for Persia.

16. xii., *Thursday*. — Winkelmann, who meanwhile has arrived, says he believes we are at a deadlock, and there is no sign of reinforcements, etc., for us. It is true, he says, the Germans have been brilliantly received in Afghanistan, but the Amir will not take the very slightest action, at least not against the English.

Telegram from Kardoff that all reports, etc., are to go

to Staff Von der Goltz Pasha who is already in Bagdad. So he appears to have the chief command in Persia.

Meanwhile great changes here. . . . The democrats, 3-400 in number, demanded that the English and Russians shall leave the town. They seized bank, English telegraph, all in perfectly legal manner, treated us as trapped creatures. But we will sit tight till English safely outside. When they have gone we shall have a few bones to pick with these wretches, because they have had no consideration for us or our wishes, or our advice. . . . Seiler, who captured the bank at Yezd, has also made a profit of 15,000 tomans.

17. xii., *Friday*.—The entire English and Russian colony really departed.

20. xii., *Monday*.—Long cipher telegram to Von der Goltz; reported on our position, Baluchistan, asked for reinforcements.

21. xii., *Tuesday*.—Letter from Seiler and Biach, according to which we are apparently to get 20,000 tomans out of the Yezd bank robbery.

22. xii., *Wednesday*.—Biach, Wedig arrived. Are both raving against Seiler, I especially against Dr. Niedermayer, who has quite gone over to his side.

23. xii., *Thursday*.—To-day we, *i.e.* the others, confiscated Brandly's entire stock of goods, and at once began to convey it here with all animals. There are said to be immense numbers of splendid carpets. Brandly has taken it very nicely and sensibly. Value of the books said to amount to 140,000 tomans! We hope to get half out of it. We are now well out of the wood. Persians' attitude almost indifferent.

24. xii., *Friday*.—Arrival of Seiler. . . . Seiler alone puts an end to all feeling of unconstrained geniality.

German Intrigues in Persia

[1915

25. xii., *Saturday*. — Suspect Seiler has had breach with his chiefs. . . . Agreement with Bruggmann [*Brandly?*] for entire stock of carpets at $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the current value. Carpets for making presents at his purchase price. Whole sum in cash! . . . As soon as Bruggmann acknowledged and Bohnstorff here in order for a beginning to establish base, we can take the field.

26. xii., *Sunday*.—Began to make list of the troopers who are to go and who are to remain behind. Buy up a few more arms. . . . Bruggmann has confided to Biach that Seiler has warned him against the great carpet transaction because it is—well, not quite “legal”!

29. xii., *Wednesday*. — Versen in the forenoon, Seiler in the afternoon. A sort of understanding was reached.

30. xii., *Thursday*.—The devil of a row with Bruggmann on account of the carpet business; he evidently wants to make a profit for himself, and will cheat us and the Empire.

31. xii., *Friday*. — The whole morning Professor interviewed Bruggmann, patched up the carpet business again in a measure. We shall only get 20,000 tomans for remainder and he binds himself to pay us about the same amount after the war.

1916 :

3. i., *Monday*. — Sighed with relief after departure of Seiler party. . . . In the middle of the day Versen suddenly appeared. The rascally Achmed had led Seiler by an abominable road; they have stopped in front of a high pass, all the Chavidars have run away. Finally Professor placed our animals at Versen's service.

5. i., *Wednesday*. — Our armourer Friederich came with a mule to remove two cases of explosives which he had left us by mistake. Went away early in the morning. But we managed to grab a few.

9. i., *Sunday*.—Cipher telegram from Kardorff that Goltz left Bagdad for Kermanshah on 28th December.

Conference with Indian explosive experts. With this primitive stuff (dynamite) not much can be attempted. Nor are the finished bombs easy to use.

10. i., *Monday*.—Deputation of 26 Baharlus. If possible we will hound them against Bandar Abbas.

12. i., *Wednesday*.—The Baharlus appear really ready for any service. Want an exorbitant price! Thus out of the question for us to finance the affair; perhaps Goltz may. . . . The Biachs [*i.e.* *Biach, Wedig and followers*] got off.

15. i., *Saturday*.—Long interview with democrats. Governor is really to be driven out.

17. i., *Monday*.—Sent camel-drivers to get speedier news of the Seilers' fate. Ten troopers to Simk to clean out [*i.e.* *plunder*] the summer residence of the Russian Consul.

19. i., *Wednesday*.—Simk caravan returned, 10 carpets of no great value, chairs, samovars, beds which we at once presented to the troopers.

In the afternoon the Maidan democrats are again beginning to "rat."

21. i., *Friday*.—Decided finally to drop the democrats, and make peace with the Governor.

[*On January 23rd Griesinger set out from Kerman north-eastwards to Khabis and Djafirabad to join the Seiler-Versen party, which had been attacked by Baluchis while establishing food depots, and had lost their arms and fifty camels. They returned to Kerman together.*]

25. i., *Tuesday*.—Row between Seiler and Versen. Had long conversation with Niedermayer, and late at night with Seiler, on the subject of the ill-feeling between us and the Seilers. Biach and apparently Winkelmann had incited them against us in a really unscrupulous manner.

26. i., *Wednesday*.—In the morning camel riders from Kerman. Telegram from Kardorff saying that Goltz had demanded that Hentig and Niedermayer should be asked to send *telegraphic* (?) reports. Such a sign of want of understanding on the part of our present Highest Being was downright depressing.

27. i., *Thursday*.—Reached our first menzil before dark. Seiler's tremendous appetite.

[*Next day, Friday, January 28th, they were back at Kerman.*]

FROM KERMAN TO BAM.

3. ii., *Thursday*.—Travelling preparations. Packed up the explosives.

5. ii., *Saturday*.—Last preparations. Bruggmann had a mean fit of funk, wanted to have every possible thing signed and sealed by Professor. Disgusting. . . . Said good-bye for the last time, and were free men again and had left Kerman behind us. We were there 7 months and 2 days!

10. ii., *Thursday*.—Democrats requested us to come back [*to Kerman*]. Seiler is going to bring back his party from Khabis to Kerman. Telegram from Sommer. It was to be gathered that English intended to advance against Kerman via Bam. Would be splendid for us if English advanced against us through the horrible territory where there was nothing to eat. And the entire tribes there on our side. Camel riders to Bampur to tell Biach that he is to operate in the north against the rear communications of the English if necessary.

11. ii., *Friday*.—Prepared a long cipher telegram of reassurance for the Kerman party that they should not allow themselves to be bullied and intimidated by the lies of the democrats.

[The party next day arrived at Bam, where they remained for ten days.]

12. ii., *Saturday*.—Arrival of letter from Biach from Narmajir. Has visited various chiefs, found with them letter from Bachram Khan calling upon them to follow against the English.

16. ii., *Wednesday*.—In the evening very friendly letter from Mir Bachram Khan from Bampur and from Said Hassain Khan, his confidant, whom he had sent to Narmajir to speak with the Consul. They assured us of their loyalty and their readiness for anything. The messenger to Biach goes tomorrow at last. We will write him he is to make all preparations for immediate start and advance.

2. iii., *Thursday*.—Decided to apply to the Governor [of Bam] about the small cannon in the citadel, asking him to lend it to us.

3. iii., *Friday*.—Obeidullah sent to enquire whether he could take an active part in Baluchistan, as we probably may not be able to get to the Emir after all. We were not very charmed at the offer, were always suspicious of Turkish emissaries and agents. Nusrett thinks that we should not ask the Governor for the cannon, but have it stolen.

10. iii., *Friday*.—In the Kerman telegram proposal to send the Governor of this place officially to Narmajir so that we could steal the gun. But that would take at least 8 more days. We gave up the idea. . . Bohnstorff wrote [from Kerman] that he was just as sick of the democrats as we were and would have nothing more to do with them.

11. iii., *Saturday*.—Started at last [from Bam]. Thank God!

14. iii., *Tuesday*.—Arrived 12 o'clock at Aliabad. About 10 o'clock Biach and Mohammed Khan! They had ridden

madly, partly in order to bring us news, partly because of hunger. It appeared that we had been quite wrongly informed concerning Baluchistan. They must be the most incredible, impudent, most underhand, most mendacious and cowardly pack of cads, on a level with the beasts, and certainly they do nothing from conviction but only when they were paid for their service (but N.B. not until the work is done!). Bachram was not a tribal prince, but a robber chief. He apparently only wanted to have us with him in order to wipe out a few neighbours with our money and weapons, and "Army" which he expected. When Biach noticed this he declared that he must turn back at once to report it to the Professor. Bachram tried to keep him by every means. As this did not succeed he caused them to be attacked beyond his borders (as a good Moslem). Thanks to their horses the 3 got away easily, but the caravans were lost. Have only saved arms and gold.

15. iii., *Wednesday*. — Were all, of course, madly disappointed. Our beautiful dreams of invading English territory in conjunction with the "brave" Baluchis, to work into the hands of the others in Afghanistan, all vanished in smoke. Shall perhaps operate against Bandar Abbas.

[*On March 22nd the party arrived again at Bam.*]

30. iii., *Thursday*. — My first messenger arrived from Kerman. Authentic news that Kermanshah and Burujird, Rizind, Ispahan, Yezd, also Erzerum had been taken by the Russians, and the North (Birjand and Kain) blockade by Russians and English!! Now we are really in an evil mouse-trap. Seiler will stay in Kerman as long as it is still possible and then try to reach Shiraz, and if the way is still open, to get to Bagdad through Bakhtiaristan and Luristan. For us too the only possible way after this mad débâcle. . . .

There is, to be sure, not much prospect of getting through all the tribes, who, of course, do not feel very friendly to the Germans now. . . . Beaten all along the line. What will become of the Niedermayer group in Afghanistan?

THE RETREAT.

3. iv., *Monday*. — Certain information that English were collecting large troops in B. Abbas. The Seilers with Bohnstorff departed 4 days ago [*from Kerman*] and that secretly by night. Baharlus now openly on the English side. . . . Every gold piece and cartridges, my diary in bag, in case we should have to leave caravan in lurch.

[*On Wednesday, March 5th, they set out, travelling westwards.*]

5. iv., *Wednesday*. — 3 a.m. réveillé. Packed. Camel-riders declared they were not going any farther with us. We, of course, let the base pack go, thus our last tie with East Persia and Baluchistan was severed.

[*On March 9th, when south of Baft, they were attacked by a party of Bakhtiari, whom they believed to be the new Governor and his escort, but escaped from it. They decided to abandon their caravan.*]

9. iv., *Sunday*. — We decided to give up caravan and to try to get round Baft by making a wide sweep to the south. We had still indeed the march past the English on the B. Abbas—Sirjan road through the territories of the Baharlus and Afshars, now knowing less than ever which of them were hostile, which indifferent to us. We gave up all the expeditionary property with the exception of the gold.

10. iv., *Monday*. — We continued ever in a southerly direction with the weary animals. We wanted to get through by-ways to Niriz territory, with whose chief the Germans had formerly always been on good terms.

[On April 15th the party reached Del Halal, and when setting out next day were attacked and disarmed, but bought themselves off for 100 tomans. On April 17th they reached Niriz.]

17. iv., *Monday*.—Professor and I went to Selim Khan. Concerning ourselves he did not express himself distinctly but said he was our friend.

18. iv., *Tuesday*.—Were summoned to Selim in the evening. (He) assumed at first an ironically arrogant tone, reproached us with the statement that Germany had not kept her promises to Persia. . . . It became plain that for the moment we had really no more liberty of action until instructions arrived from Shiraz. Persia, they said, had bound herself to strict neutrality. So I suppose we shall either be made Persian State prisoners or at best transported across the frontier.

20. iv., *Thursday*.—Hid our money about our persons. Wretched existence.

8. v., *Monday*.—Our life was horrible. Indoors all day. Catching flies, playing chess; the food which never varied was beginning to disagree with us. Vermin.

13. v., *Saturday*.—In the evening Hadji Hassan slipped into our possession with the greatest secrecy a tiny packet, a huge report in cipher from Kabel [*Kabul?*] written so small that it was only to be deciphered with a magnifying glass.

14. v., *Sunday*.—Deciphered the whole day. Long report from Niedermayer and Hentig, dated end of January, said that after long troubles the position in Afghanistan was now brilliant. They had evidently heard from Goltz in Kermanshah, and urgently called on us to advance immediately. My God! What a disappointment the truth must be for them. The complete draft of a treaty of alliance with Germany was also enclosed, which was to be sent at once in cipher to Berlin for approval.

15. v., *Monday*.—Hadji came in the evening saying that one of Seiler's Kerman servants had arrived from Shiraz, saying they were just as badly off there as we were.

[*On the same day, May 15th, an escort arrived to take the prisoners to Shiraz. They left Niriz on the 18th and reached Shiraz on the 23rd.*]

23. v., *Tuesday*.—Were taken by a subterranean passage to the other side of the street into a very large, but not very shady garden-court in which there was a large, really magnificent house. Here we found all the others, with the exception of Niedermayer, who was with the Austrians in another large park, as there was not room for all here. Were all deprived of everything except what we were wearing. Besides the Swedish Captain of Cavalry Ongmann, the armourer Aikson, the German engineer Petzold with his fitter (originally for small-arms factory), and an Austrian cadet and the merchant Roever. Roever had a visit once or twice a week from his wife. She acted as intermediary for a kind of correspondence with Niedermayer. . . . The worst of it was having to submit to these half-savage swine. It was to be hoped that the change comes soon, or that there is peace. At all events there is no hope of ever getting back any of our things in Persia. Shall we ever see our brave horses again, I wonder?

27. v., *Saturday*.—The new Vice-Governor, who is probably bringing the decision as to our fate, is said to have left Abadeh to-day. Why do not those in Berlin "run in" the Persian Minister? Those in Berlin probably cherish for us now more than before the same feelings as we would for our Persian troopers should they come back again now when we have no money and no further use for them. And to be sure success with us is also wanting, as in the case of the sale of the London property.

11. vi., *Sunday*. — Another Persian gendarme officer dead, the fourth. Shot, poisoned, hanged. It was really horrible as we, after all, were indirectly to blame, and we could not help. Who after this will ever range himself on our side in Persia?

24. vi., *Saturday*. — Through Roever's post we learnt that Mexico has sent an ultimatum to the U.S.A. Wonder whether our colleagues have been active there?

28. vi., *Wednesday*. — In the evening letter from Vice-Governor saying he has had reply from Teheran; we were held prisoners because we had intrigued against the neutrality of Persia (!) and the interests of his Government.

7. vii., *Friday*. — The company gets maddeningly on my nerves; Ongmann always drunk; quarrelling among the others.

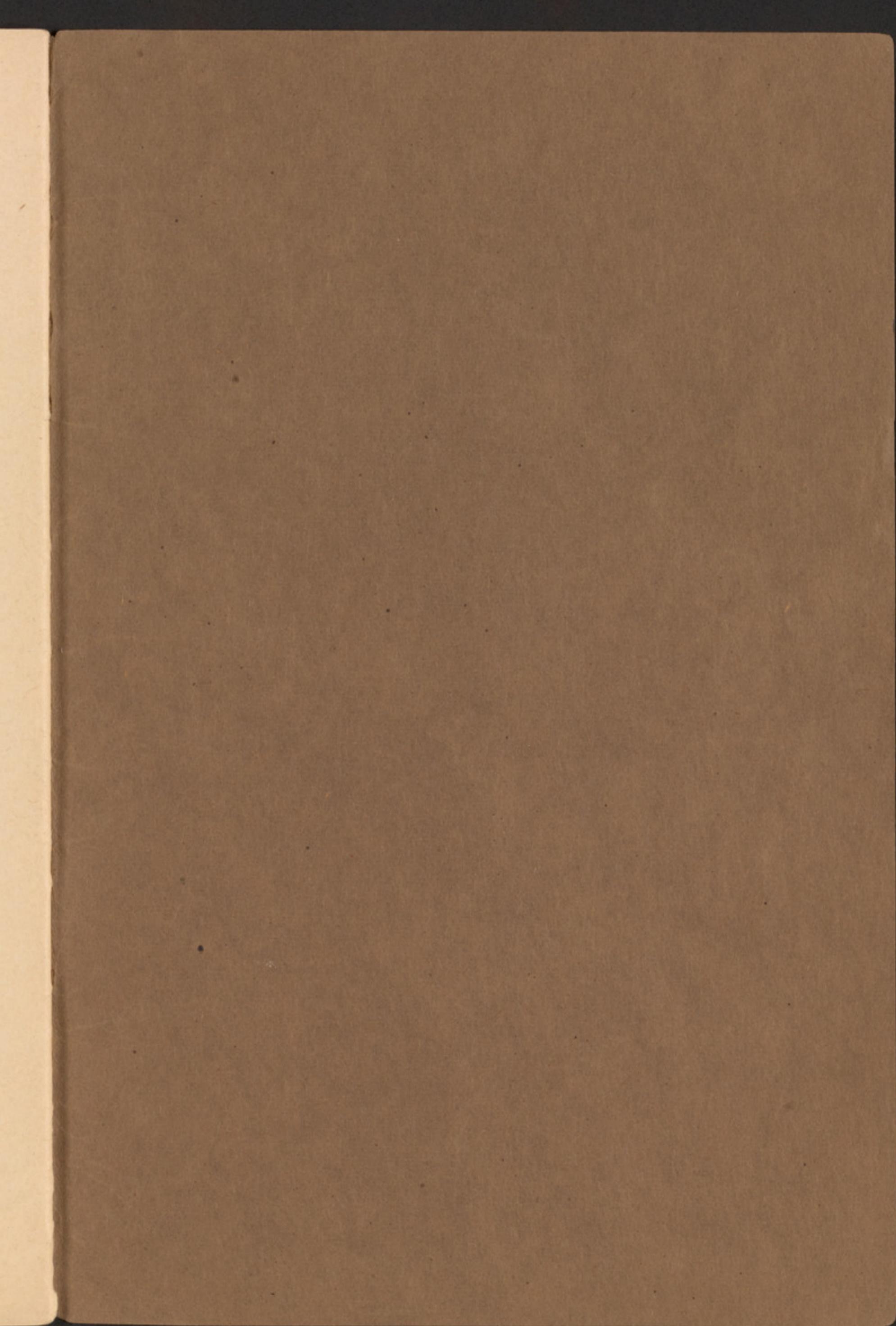
17. vii., *Monday*. — It is suggested we should write to Vice-Governor, asking for permission to go out. We were all insanely depressed. Going out here, under guard, with hostile population would be horrible.

24. vii., *Monday*. — Professor and I will give our previous diaries to Frau Roever for concealment. She is coming at midday to-day.

[*The Diary continues after this for another two months, recording the rumours that reached them in prison of events in Persia, and their own speculations about their fate.*]

30. ix., *Saturday*. — That we are to be handed over to the English is not yet quite certain but extremely probable. What will happen to us in the end?

[*So the Diary ends.*]



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