

THE RECORD OF AN ENVOY'S VOYAGE TO THE WEST

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KUO SUNG-T'AO (1818-91), THE FIRST CHINESE AMBASSADOR to England, is a figure of considerable interest in nineteenth-century Chinese history.¹ As a young man, Kuo had studied at the Yüeh-lu academy in Ch'ang-sha, where he became a close friend of Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-72), the most powerful statesman of the time. In 1847, after gaining his *chin-shih* or doctoral degree, Kuo was made a bachelor of the Han-lin Academy, the highest institute of Chinese letters, but was prevented from assuming office by the death of his parents, since officials were forbidden to take up their posts during a period of mourning. During the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, he distinguished himself by leading a force of volunteers to raise the siege of Wu-ch'ang in 1853. Later, in 1859, he assisted the famous Mongolian general, Seng-ko-lin-ch'in, (d. 1865), to build up the defences of Taku against the Anglo-French invaders. It was at this time that Kuo's shrewd assessment of the strength of the Western forces first became apparent, since he wrote to Sen-ko-lin-ch'in time and time again in a futile endeavour to persuade him that negotiations, not war, constituted the only effective way of dealing with the Europeans. "The foreigners are above all concerned with trade," he argued, "hence we should look for a way to deal with them accordingly and not confront them with arms."²

Shortly before the fall of Peking, in 1860, Kuo scandalized the guests at a social gathering by declaring that the barbarian problem could never be solved by force, but only through diplomacy.³ Such sentiments, always

¹ Kuo's official biography is found in his collected works, *Yang-chih shu-wu ch'üan-chi* (30 *chüan*, 1892), XVI, pp. 1a-10b. His autobiography, *Yü-ch'ih lao-jen tzu-hsü* (*Autobiography of the Old Man of the Jade Pool*) is also an important source. Tu Lien-che has a brief biography of Kuo in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, ed. A.W. Hummel, 2 vols. (Washington, 1943). A useful short study is that by Immanuel C. Y. Hsü in *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations; the Diplomatic Phase 1858-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 180-85. Other biographies are those of Yang Hung-lich, "Chi Kuo Sung-t'ao ch'u-shih Ying Fa", in *Ku-chin*, XI (November 16, 1942), pp. 11-15; XII (December 1, 1942), pp. 23-32; and Yü Ch'ang-ho, "Kuo Sung-t'ao yü Chung-kuo wai-chiao," in *Yi-ching*, XXXI (1937), pp. 21-24. I wish to extend my thanks to Professor Liu Ts'un-yan, Head of the Department of Chinese, Australian National University, for his help with many points of my own study of Kuo.

² *Yü-ch'ih lao-jen tzu-hsü*, p. 8a.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10b.

highly unpopular, were positively dangerous to utter at a time when the enemy was almost at the gates of the capital and patriotic ardour was reaching unprecedented heights of bluster and verbiage. As Kuo's friend, Ch'en Chih-ho, President of the Board of War, warned him later, to make statements of this kind in public was to invite disaster upon himself. Nevertheless, Kuo stuck stubbornly to his views, for he was convinced from his own observation of the Europeans that they could only be handled effectively through the medium of international law and the treaty system. The withdrawal of the Allied armies from Peking after the signature of the treaties strengthened him in his convictions. For what other barbarians would have so readily quitted a capital which was entirely at their mercy, or left enthroned an emperor who had ignominiously fled before their advance?

In 1863 Kuo was appointed Acting-governor of Kuangtung, a post which brought him into direct contact with Westerners at Canton and so gave him further opportunities to study their peculiarities at close quarters. He was discharged from this post in 1866 — perhaps because of his pro-Western feelings—and for the next eight years was compelled to remain out of office. In 1875, however, at the time of the Margary affair, he was serving as Judicial Commissioner of Fukien, another province with a long history of contact with the West. Kuo's views on the way the Western Powers should be handled had already made him highly unpopular with his fellow officials. He now proceeded to add fuel to the flames by demanding the impeachment of Ts'en Yü-ying (1829-89), Governor-General of Yünnan and Kweichow, on the grounds that he had failed to take proper precautions to ensure Margary's safety. His real motive in making this move was simply to save Governor Ts'en from the much graver charge of having connived at Margary's murder:⁴ but such subtlety was lost upon the Chinese gentry, who now turned against Kuo in fury, alleging that he was nothing less than a traitor to his country who was trying to curry favour with the Westerners and appease Sir Thomas Wade. In a short time the campaign against Kuo had mounted to such proportions that Wang K'ai-yün, the great Hunanese scholar, was moved to write in his *Diary of the Hsiang-yi Chamber*: "Most of us Hunanese feel very ashamed to be associated with Kuo."⁵ When a Catholic cathedral was built in Ch'ang-sha, a place with

⁴ *Yang-chih shu-wu ch'üan-chi*, Series I, "Memorials," XII, 1-2b: Hsü, *China's Entrance*, p. 182.

⁵ Wang K'ai-yün, *Hsiang-yi-lou jib-chi* (1927), V.6. Wang (*loc. cit.*) also quotes two sets of verses satirizing Kuo's appointment as ambassador:

"He stands out among his contemporaries,

H: climbs high above his peers.

Yet the nation of Yao and Shun

Cold-shoulders him.

Incapable of serving men

which Kuo had close connections, the local populace, convinced by the gentry that Kuo had conspired with the missionaries to bring this about, demonstrated against him and threatened to burn down his house. The irony of this was that Kuo was himself strongly opposed to Christianity, which, so his experience with the T'ai-p'ings had convinced him, was a menace to the very existence of the Confucian state.⁶

It was at this juncture that Li Hung-chang decided to convert the mission of apology to England, as demanded by the Chefoo Convention (September 13, 1876), into an embassy.⁷ In casting around for an ambassador, his choice fell upon Kuo, who now found himself placed in a very difficult position. Diplomatic assignments, especially those of a humiliating nature demanding the presentation of formal apologies, were shunned by everyone, being looked upon as tantamount to exile. For Kuo to accept such a post, after the attacks that had been mounted upon him, was in popular opinion equivalent to an open admission of his complicity in Western designs against China. He knew well enough that to take on this assignment would irretrievably ruin his official career, such was the stigma attached to those who associated themselves with the West. Yet his profound sense of duty led him to accept this thankless task. Once indeed he did waver momentarily, begging to be allowed to resign from the mission, since he could no longer stand the fury of public condemnation which was steadily mounting against him. But in the end his burning conviction that no one else had the qualifications to undertake this task made him decide to see it through.

On December 1, 1876, the Embassy finally sailed from Shanghai on board the P & O steamer *Travancore*. From the moment he got on board, Kuo began to keep a journal in which he recorded his impressions of the brave new world he was entering. Keeping a journal constituted an important part of an ambassador's duties, for all Chinese envoys were under express orders from the court to record everything of interest that they saw. These diaries when complete, were to be sent back to Peking for the officials of the Tsungli Yamen to peruse. Only in this way, so it was believed, could reliable information about the ways of the Western barbarians be obtained. Kuo's diary, the *Shih-hsi chi-ch'eng* (*Record of an Envoy's Voyage to the West*) caused a tremendous hue and cry when it was published, because the views it expressed were so much at variance with those

How can he serve devils?
What does it avail him to leave
His native land?"

⁶ Chin Liang, *Chin-shih jen-wu chih* (1934), p. 129.

⁷ See Knight Biggerstaff, "The Establishment of Permanent Chinese Missions Abroad," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XX, 1 (April, 1936), pp. 27ff.

then prevailing among the Chinese scholar-gentry. The furor eventually reached such a pitch that the diary was banned and the blocks from which it had been printed were destroyed.⁸ Fortunately, however, a few copies of this work survived the proscription; and later on, when a saner climate of opinion prevailed, it was printed as part of a collection of traveller's accounts of the West. The selections that follow, taken from this hitherto untranslated work, will suffice to give some indication of the perspicacity with which Kuo observed a totally alien civilization at a time when the eyes of all his contemporaries were clouded with ignorance, prejudice and hate.⁹

Record of an Envoy's Voyage to the West

Kuang-bsü, second year, tenth month, seventeenth day, *chia-ch'en* (Saturday, December 2nd, 1876):

Mai Hua-t'ou (W. H. Medhurst)¹⁰ informed me that the P & O steamer Ta-fan-k'uo-erh (*Travancore*) was due to depart at the first watch (11 p.m.-1 a.m.) on the eighteenth day.¹¹ At 2 p.m. it moved to its moorings at Hung-k'ou. I was informed that we should be on board in good time, for it happened that my friends would be assembled there. I had a great deal of business both public and personal to transact . . .

18th day (December 3rd):

Raining. We left our anchorage exactly at midnight [on the 2nd]. As we came down the coast of Chekiang the gale buffeted us around so violently that all of my suite were sick except four . . .

20th day (December 5th):

Passing the coast of Kuangtung. Between Shan-t'ou (Swatow) and Chieh-shih for several hundred *li* lies an unbroken chain of mountains. An

⁸ Hsü, *China's Entrance*, p. 188.

⁹ The text of *Shih-hsi chi-ch'eng* is found in *Hsiao fang-hu ch'ai yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao* (1891), XI, pp. 146a-159b. The writer has just completed an annotated translation of Kuo's whole journal, which is to be published next year by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

¹⁰ Sir Walter Henry Medhurst (1822-1885) son of the China missionary, Dr. Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857), was at this time British consul in Shanghai, a post he retired from a few weeks later on January 1, 1877.

¹¹ "Leaving per P & O steamer *Travancore* for Southampton, His Excellency Kwoh Sung-tao and suite, Dr. Macartney and Mr. W.C. Hillier" (*North China Herald*, December 1, 1876, p. 552). The *Travancore*, a vessel of 1185 tons, was on the P & O Shanghai to Bombay mail-run under the command of Captain W. Barratt. (See *North China Herald*, *loc. cit.*). The boat should have sailed at midnight on Thursday, but had been delayed for forty-eight hours at the express wish of Sir Thomas Wade, to allow the Embassy time to catch it.

The *Travancore* had been built in Scotland in August, 1867 and was a screw steamer with three decks and two castles. She was brig-rigged, with elliptic stern, was clench-built and had a female figurehead. Her dimensions were 281 ft. long, 35 ft. broad and 27 ft. depth in hold. She had two direct-acting engines of 400 h.p. built by John Key, Kircaldy. Her gross tonnage was 1899; 1185 tons register. The *Travancore* was lost off Cape Otranto, Southern Italy, in February 1880.

English iron-clad came up astern of us. The captain told me it was the flagship of Admiral Lai-te (Vice-Admiral A. P. Ryder).¹² When our vessel hoisted a flag, the warship also hoisted a flag, whereupon our vessel then lowered the flag. The man-of-war gradually increased its speed until it drew close to us, the two vessels then running side by side perhaps a hundred feet or more from each other. The man-of-war's crew all manned the yards and the ship's band struck up. When our vessel again hoisted a flag, the man-of-war turned its head across our bows and then passed in front of us. Our vessel stopped her engines and waited for a while before hoisting sail and proceeding on course at full speed.

I asked the captain the meaning of our hoisting the flag. He replied that this was to inform the other vessel that we carried an ambassador. I then enquired why that vessel also hoisted a flag. He told me that this was by way of reply: that is to say, a respectful acknowledgement that an ambassador was on board. I then asked why the flag was lowered. He told me that once they had conveyed the message the flag could be hauled down again. I enquired the reason as to why the man-of-war's crew manned the yards. He said that this was a mark of respect, much like drawing the men up in ranks, for after they have manned the yards they can be seen at a distance. The band is used for playing martial music to regulate the movement of the ranks. I then asked why the warship turned across our bows as she passed us, and was told that this was a salutation when a ship was under way. Our stopping the engines indicated that we were yielding precedence. How refined and civilized are these ceremonial courtesies of theirs! This is sufficient to indicate that the foundation of this nation's wealth and power was not acquired by mere chance.¹³

21st day (December 6th):

We reached Hong-kong, latitude 22.12 north, nine degrees nearer the equator than Shanghai. The climate was startlingly different, so that everyone

¹² Vice-Admiral A.P. Ryder's flagship, H.M.S. *Audacious*, of 6,034 tons, was a barque-rigged, armour-plated, double-screw, iron ship. Admiral Ryder had been in command of the China fleet since August 31, 1874.

¹³ Captain Barratt would have made no mean diplomat himself; for he succeeded in turning into an act of ceremonial courtesy what in fact was only a blunder on the part of the *Audacious*, as the following extract from Halliday Macartney's diary will make clear: "Today was a very pleasant one. The sea was nearly calm and the weather clear and agreeably warm. A steamer which had been seen during the whole morning turned out to be the *Audacious* iron-clad, the flagship of Admiral Ryder. She bore down on us on our showing the Ambassador's flag, and came quite near. For some time we thought she was going to send someone on board. We at one time thought she was going to man her yards, but it turned out she was only going to set sail. In doing this last she made some mistake and came right in front of us; and but for our having stopped our engines we should have run into her. Many speculations were ventured as to the cause of her making this strange movement, but none seemed so likely as that it was the result of mismanagement." Cited in D.C. de Cavanagh Boulger, *The Life of Sir Halliday Macartney* (London and New York, 1908).

was soon putting on thin cotton clothes. The English Rear-Admiral Lan-po-erh-te (Rowley Lambert) came to call on me at Government House. Once he had seen me, he was to sail home with the detached squadron under this command. As it was, they had merely been awaiting my arrival before setting sail.¹⁴ The Governor of Hong-kong, His Excellency K'eng-erh-ti (Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy)¹⁵ sent his Aide-de-Camp A-k'e-na-heng (Captain Cornelius O' Callaghan)¹⁶ with a four-man sedan-chair to meet me. . . .

When I enquired about educational institutions, I found the Inspector of Schools in this colony, Ssu-chüeh-erh-te (Frederick Stewart),¹⁷ was sitting there. He offered to show me round the [Government Central] school. After taking a little wine we went to the school, where I met Assistant Inspector (*sic*) Fa-na-keng-erh (Alexander Falconer).¹⁸ These two gentlemen have the entire system of education in their hands. There are five halls altogether. Chinese literature—the Five Classics and the Four Books—along with contemporary literature are taught in three of these. There is one hall for European girls. European boys have one hall where they study the Five Classics and the Four Books. Every hall has a hundred pupils to each master. Where the Five Classics and the Four Books are taught, the master is a Chinese. European masters teach European subjects. Each hall is divided into ten classes, with a space in front of each. In every class there

¹⁴ The detached or flying squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Rowley Lambert, flagship H.M.S. *Narcissus*, also included the *Topaze*, *Newcastle* and *Immortalité*. The squadron did in fact leave for Singapore on the morning of December 6, 1876, but the *Narcissus* had an accident to her engines and was forced to return to Hong-kong the next day. See *The Times*, January 16, 1877, p. 6f.

¹⁵ Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy (1810-83) had been knighted in 1868. After a long career in the colonial service, he became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong-kong in 1872, holding that office until 1877, when he was made Governor of Queensland. G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong-kong* (London, 1958), pp.160-169, gives a good account of Kennedy's career as Governor of Hong-kong. He concludes (p. 169): "The governorship of Kennedy was a period of quiescence and showed how much could be achieved by humane, common-sense administration. He had a balanced, friendly approach; he consulted the community, took pains to treat the Chinese with friendliness and was the first Governor to invite them to functions at Government House. . . ."

¹⁶ Captain Cornelius O'Callaghan, of the First West India Regiment, was Private Secretary and Aide-de-camp to Governor Kennedy. He later accompanied him to Brisbane in that capacity. (*Hong-kong Directory, 1877: Whitacker's Almanack, 1880*).

¹⁷ Frederick Stewart, M.A.L.L.D. (1838-89) headmaster of the Government Central School and Inspector of Schools, Hong-kong, was a friend of James Legge's, who mentions him in his preface to the Chinese Classics, vol. III, part I (Hong-kong, 1865), as one of his proof-readers. He spoke fluent Cantonese. On the subject of the Government Central School (this being the name by which Queen's College was known from its foundation in 1862 until 1889) see Gwenneth Stokes, *Queen's College (1862-1962)*, (Hong-kong, 1962). For schools in Hong-kong during this period, see G. B. Endacott and A. Hinton, *Fragrant Harbour* (Hong-kong, 1962), pp. 136-141.

¹⁸ Alexander Falconer (d.1888), had been Second Master at the Government Central School since 1874. (Stokes, *Queen's College*, p. 55).

are long desks which can seat ten or more pupils. They are graded in rows, rising towards the back of the class. In front and directly facing the class sits a master. There is another master sitting in the middle of the rows to the left and right of him. The idea is that he can see and hear everything; so not a single boy can escape from or gloss over his work. The Five Classics and the Four Books each have their allotted time for study. There is a limit set for the study of verse, namely one lesson every five days. This is called a minor subject. This is as much as to say that, being an art of little importance, one lesson in five days is enough. The rules are well thought-out and severe and the viewpoint [of those who make them] is far-sighted. It would appear that the Europeans have inherited something of the ancients' ideal of forming and nourishing the talents of their pupils. . . .

I remember that in the year *kuei-hai* of the *Hsien-feng* (*sic*) period (1863-64),¹⁹ when I came this way by sea to take up my post as Governor at Canton, the houses I saw in Hong-kong numbered scarcely a third of those today. Now, more than ten years later, streets run in all directions and tall buildings stand everywhere. It has become a veritable metropolis, with what must now be over 130,000 inhabitants.²⁰ There are six thousand European households. Two forts stand there, one on the east side, one on the west. Two ironclads are stationed there, one called *Ao-ta-hsi-a-ssu* (*Audacious*), the other *Fei-tuo-erb-jih-man-nu-erb* (*Victor Emmanuel*).²¹ The latter is the name of the ruler of Italy which the English bestowed on this vessel in his honour. This evening an English merchant paddle-steamer while anchoring struck our vessel with a noise like thunder, destroying ten feet of our stern lights and cutting in two a small boat that was hanging on our stern. The lights were rather high, so no water came in. An envoy on shipboard is certainly in a perilous plight!

22nd day (December 7th)

We remained another day in Hong-kong to repair the damage to the ship. The Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, came in the company of Lo Po-sun (Sir Daniel Brooke Robertson)²² to pay me a return visit. When I referred in conversation to the completeness of the school regulations, the Governor remarked with a sigh that these pupils were all the sons of poor families;

¹⁹ Kuo became Acting-governor of Kuangtung in 1863: but this was during the *T'ung-chih* period, not the *Hsien-feng*.

²⁰ The population of Hong-kong in 1876, according to the demographers Behm and Wagner, was 121,985. See *the Times* December 13, 1876, p. 6c.

²¹ The *Victor Emmanuel* was a wooden sailing-vessel of 5,157 tons, according to *Whitaker's Almanack*, and not an iron-clad. It was receiving ship, Hong-kong; captain George W. Watson.

²² Sir Daniel Brooke Robertson (d.1881) had been one of the original vice-consuls appointed to China in 1843, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Nanking. He served at Ningpo, Amoy, Canton and Shanghai.

so that after two or three years study, when their education was only partially complete, they would all too often leave of their own accord to look for a living. As a result, very few of them completed the course. This led to a discussion on European methods being characterized by an un-deviating impartiality. An instance of this was prison discipline in the colony, where criminals were treated alike, no matter what their nationality. I asked if I might go to visit the prison. The Governor gladly agreed, instructing Captain O'Callaghan to bring a sedan-chair to meet me. Sir Brooke Robertson was to accompany me.

The prison was administered by a Chief Jailer and an Assistant Jailer. The Assistant, Mr. Ta-mo-sen (*sic!*) (G. L. Tomlin)²³ conducted me through the building on arrival. There are three stories, the heaviest offenders being placed in the upper storey. In the lowest storey each prisoner has a cell to himself. In the upper storey there are three men to one cell. All the prisoners have their doors bolted. Each cell is self-contained, either standing alone or else facing another one. All the cells have iron bars and doors that lock. In each of them is a small wooden settle, one for each person. Quilts, mattresses, blankets, towels, brooms, bowls, plates and other things are all provided. Every day quilts and blankets must be meticulously arranged on the settle. If anyone fails to do this, his rations are cut down. The prisoners include over thirty Europeans, Filipinos and Indians, besides some five hundred and fourteen Chinese. As well as these, there are people who have been fined amounts from four or five dollars up to two hundred dollars. Prisoners do not remain in prison for the same length of time. Some serve long sentences of five or seven years: some serve short sentences of only five days: some are confined there for life. There are three categories of treatment. Some spend their time in close confinement: some spend a long period weaving rugs: others have to carry stones and cannon-balls. Those who carry cannon-balls are divided into three groups—Europeans, Filipinos and Chinese. All of them are in squads under military discipline, the file being composed of five men, sometimes of ten. The work is carried on for two periods a day. The carrying of stones is for those who have committed lighter offenses. . . .

Outside the prison is a wash-place where every man has to wash once a day. Inside there is a chapel where religious service is held once a week. The prisoners sit round in a ring and listen to sermons. There is a hospital for the treatment of the sick, under the management of a physician. There is another hall for preparing for burial those who have died of disease. Be-

²³ Text reads 森 *sen*, which is clearly a graphic error for 林 *lin*. G. L. Tomlin was Acting Superintendent of Victoria Gaol at that time. (*Hong-kong Directory*, 1877; *Colonial Office List*, 1877).

sides this, there is a punishment hall. The whole place was sprinkled, swept and spotlessly clean; even the floors were polished with rosin. Not only were there no foul odours, but the men themselves were so clean one forgot that this a prison. . . .

28th day (December 13th):

Raining. At 11 a.m. we reached Singapore, in latitude 1.20 north, after a run of 720 *li*. Early in the morning we passed an island with a lighthouse on it, named Horsburgh. Horsburgh was one of the first European adventurers to come to China.²⁴ Dr. Macartney informed me that our (naval) paddle steamer *Yang-wu* had already arrived at Singapore. . . .²⁵

After this, I went off to Government House, accompanied by the Second Ambassador, Liu,²⁶ and Councillor Li.²⁷ Here we saw Sir William Jervois²⁸ with his Lady²⁹ and their two daughters. He was much more

²⁴ John Horsburgh (1762-1836), hydrographer, is best known as the author of the *India Directory, or directions for sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, Cape of Good Hope, Brazil and the interjacent ports*, 2 vols. (London, 1809-11). The foundation stone of the lighthouse which bears his name was laid on May 24, 1850.

²⁵ The *Yang-wu* (1,393 tons) was the seventh of the ships built by the Foochow shipyard. Launched in 1872, she was an unarmoured wooden corvette of 250 h.p. with 13 muzzle-loading guns. From 1875 onwards she was in use as a trainer to the South Seas and Japan. She was sunk by the French on August 23, 1884, in the battle of Ma-wei. See John L. Rawlinson, *China's Struggle for Naval Development 1839-1895* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) *passim*. The *Straits Times* commented on the *Yang-wu's* arrival in Singapore on December 9, 1876, from Hong-kong bound for Calcutta: "We have, too, a Chinese man-of-war which purposes going on a long cruise, in our harbour, and which is manned by Chinamen, the Commander and the Engineer being Englishmen. The Celestials, we are glad to see, are advancing." (Editorial, *Straits Times*, December 16, 1876).

²⁶ Liu Hsi-hung, style Yün-sheng, Kuo's associate envoy, was a xenophobe and arch-reactionary strongly opposed to everything Western. His position as associate ambassador—a peculiarly Chinese post—was not recognized by the British government. Hence in May, 1877 Liu was made minister to Germany, a position he held for just over a year. His diary, the *Ying-yao jib-chi* (*Journal of a Voyage to England*), reveals his distaste for Europe most markedly.

²⁷ Li Shu-ch'ang, style Ch'un-chai (1837-97) was third councillor to the Mission. After spending four years in Great Britain, France, Germany and Spain, he was appointed Minister to Tokyo in October 1881.

²⁸ Major-(later Lieutenant-) General Sir William Francis Drummond Jervois, R.E., G.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S., (1821-97), was commissioned in the Royal Engineers in 1839, soon making a name for himself as an expert on fortifications and the strategic outposts of the Empire. Between 1863 and 1872 he reported on the defences of Canada, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, Malta, Gibraltar, Aden, Perim, Rangoon, Moulmein, Bombay and the Hooghly. In April 1875 he was appointed Governor of the Straits Settlements, a post he held until July 1877, when he became Governor of South Australia (1877-82). From 1882-89 he was Governor of New Zealand. (C.D. Cowan, *Nineteenth-Century Malaya* (London, 1961), p. 225, gives a brief biography of Jervois. He describes him as "an ambitious man with a brilliant career behind him and a reputation for getting things done." On his record as an administrator in Malaya, see Cowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-32 and 238-43. Interestingly enough, Jervois was in favour of allowing Chinese immigration to Australasia, a policy becoming increasingly unpopular in Australia at the time. His pro-Chinese sentiments seem to have been reflected in his genial reception of our Ambassadors.

²⁹ Lady Jervois, née Lucy Norsworthy (d. March 17, 1895); married since March 19, 1850. She bore two sons and three daughters.

affable in his bearing than Governor Kennedy. His Lady is very intelligent and most sympathetic in her enquiries.

When Mo-li-ya-ssu (Colonel W. K. McLeod)³⁰ the Officer Commanding the Troops, returned, I went over to the fort with him. Two tiers of fortifications have been constructed along the hill, with the general headquarters and four rows of barracks between them, each capable of holding over one hundred men. There are two sets of married quarters to house the officers and men with families. Behind the barracks are the kitchens, two armouries, a mess-hall, a reading room and a military hospital. There are ten large guns, each in its own strong point, and a powder magazine. Small guns, each on its own gun-carriage, are placed at the corners of the walls. A large telescope stands in front of the highest part of the wall before the headquarters, in a building of its own. This is used for keeping watch on the distance. The construction and layout of the place is entirely different from that of Chinese forts.³¹

The troops are divided into artillery and infantry. The infantry all carry foreign-style rifles to assist the artillery. The Artillery Commander is called Mi-ko-erh-ssu (Brevet-Colonel O. H. Nicolls).³² The Infantry Commandant is called Lin-chih (Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. Lynch).³³ Their duties are equivalent to those of a Major in the Chinese forces. The troops are divided into two categories. The upper ranks receive one Straits dollar every three days, equivalent to .24 taels of our money a day. The lower ranks receive one Straits dollar every four days, equivalent to .18 taels a day. Married officers receive an allowance for their families. The sol-

³⁰The Honorable W. K. McLeod was Officer Commanding the Troops, Singapore. (*The Singapore Directory of the Straits Settlements*, Singapore, 1877).

³¹The construction of Fort Canning was begun in May 1859, on the hill originally called Bukit Larangan, and completed in 1861. John Cameron gives the following description of it as it appeared in 1864: "Fort Canning is a redoubt, following the contour of the top of Government Hill, which stands near the center of the town about half a mile back from the beach. The hill rises abruptly from the level land around. . . . Its apex is of considerable extent, the ramparts measuring nearly 1,200 yards. It mounts at present seventeen heavy pieces, namely, seven 68-pounders, eight 8-inch shell guns, and two 13-inch mortars; there are also in course of construction, platforms for eight more heavy pieces. Besides these, the ramparts of this fort are furnished with a number of 14-pound carronades. Within the ramparts are barracks, hospital and accommodation for 150 European artillerymen." (*Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India*, London, 1865, pp. 240-41). See also *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, ed. by W. Makepeace, Gilbert E. Brooke and Roland St. J. Braddell, 2 vols. (London, 1921), vol. 1, p. 378. Fort Canning formed part of a defence system, inspired partly by local disturbances, partly by fears aroused since the Indian Mutiny, (1857), which was designed "rather for the safety of the European residents. . . than for defence against an outside enemy." (Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

³²Brevet-Colonel O.H. Nicholls, R.A., commanded the 9th Battery, 2nd Brigade of the Royal Artillery, Straits Settlements, at this time. (*Singapore Directory*, 1877).

³³Lieutenant-Colonel William Wiltshire Lynch, 1/10 Foot, was commandant, Straits Settlements, Singapore. See *ibid.*

diers' families support themselves through their own efforts by taking in washing and acting as seamstresses. Such is the fort on the north side of the hill, overlooking the town. There is yet another fort on the south side.

29th day (December 14th):

Raining, and thundery. Governor Jervois again sent a carriage for me and despatched his interpreter, Pi Ch'i-lin (W. A. Pickering),³⁴ to accompany me. We first went out to the *Yang-wu*. The crew all manned the yards and a salute was fired. When we went on board, the Naval Instructor La-k'o-ssu-mo (Captain Luxmore),³⁵ an Englishman, went to great pains to explain everything to us. He conducted us to his school-room where he has twenty pupils under training. After this there was a display of gunnery and the marines were put through their drill. When we left they again manned the yards and fired a salute for us. . . .

On our way back we dropped in at the Law Courts, where the Judge, Fei Li-pu (Sir Theodore Ford)³⁶ was on the bench hearing a case. [Liu] Yün-sheng and I sat down by his side. The judge's bench is shaped like a platform raised five feet up from the floor. Below this is a long bow-shaped table, where two solicitors have their places while record-clerks and interpreters sit around it. At a higher level, two wooden enclosures stand on either side. Here, I believe, the witnesses take the stand. Inside are eight small stools where those under cross-examination sit while they are waiting. A railing marks off the court so that spectators can look on. There is no flogging and corporal punishment in court, yet the lay-out of the whole court is orderly and severe and no undue noise is heard.

11th month, 6th day (December 21st):

Our run at noon was 864 *li*: latitude 5.40 north. After sailing another 219 *li* we reached Ceylon.

³⁴ William Alexander Pickering (1841-1907) had been appointed Chinese Interpreter to the Straits Settlements Government in 1871. In 1874 he was appointed a Police Magistrate and played an important part in the negotiations leading up to the Pangkor Treaty (20 January, 1874). In May 1877, Pickering was appointed Protector of Chinese Immigration, a post he held until July 1888, when he was forced to retire on medical grounds as a result of an attack by a member of the Ghee Hok Society, one Choa Ah Sia. Cowan, *Nineteenth-Century Malaya*, p. 181, remarks on Pickering's "outstanding work" and his "remarkable personal gifts." For his biography see R. N. Jackson, *Pickering: Protector of Chinese* (Oxford, 1965).

³⁵ Captain Luxmore is mentioned in the *Straits Times*, December 16, 1876 as Captain of the *Yang-wu*.

³⁶ Sir Theodore Thomas Ford (1829-1920) was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1866 and was appointed to the Straits Bench in 1874. He became Chief Justice in 1886, was knighted in 1888 and retired in 1889. For an account of his work in Singapore, see Roland St. J. Braddell, "Law and the Lawyers," in *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, vol. I, pp. 214-15.

The Judge of this territory, Lu-ssu-ma-li-k'uo (A. H. Roosmalecog)³⁷ and the Colonel (?) K'o-la-erh-k'o (Clarke?)³⁸ had been given instructions by the Governor, K'o-lei-ka-li (Sir W. H. Gregory)³⁹ to arrange for us to go to a government residence⁴⁰ for a short time. Because there was a lot to be done on board, I declined the offer. The ship had anchored at a place called Galle, where an arm of the sea branches into the land, on the extreme west of the south coast of Ceylon. The Governor resides at Colombo, 240 *li* distant. . . .

7th day (December 22nd):

At the fifth watch (7-9 a.m.) we went aboard the P & O steamer *Peihsia-wa-erh* (S.S. *Peshawur*), a vessel about double the size of the *Travancore*, built just on two (*sic*) years ago.⁴¹ The captain, whose name was Huai-te (Captain C. A. White),⁴² told me that *Peshawur* and *Travancore* were the names of two Indian provinces, one in the extreme north, the other in the extreme south. Europeans are fond of giving names like this to their ships. The P & O agent, Pu-lai (Captain Bayley),⁴³ came to meet us on shore. A salute of fifteen guns was then fired from the fort. This is how Europeans receive Ambassadors. When we arrived at the judge's residence a military secretary, Tan-pu-lai (F. B. Templer),⁴⁴ sent by the Governor to receive us, was waiting there. He came with us to look at Buddhist temples nearby

³⁷ A. H. Roosmalecog had been Acting District Judge, Galle, since May 1873. (*Colonial Office List*, 1877).

³⁸ Unidentifiable.

³⁹ Sir William Gregory (1817-1892) had taken up his duties as Governor of Ceylon in 1872. He is considered one of the island's best governors (see H.A.J. Hulugalle, *British Governors of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1963), especially in view of his work in restoring the ancient tanks or irrigation reservoirs. He is probably better known to most readers as the husband of the Lady Gregory (née Augusta Perse), celebrated by W.B. Yeats and George Bernard Shaw.

⁴⁰ This was actually the Oriental Hotel. See *North China Herald*, January 18, 1877, p. 66. "The Chinese Ambassador landed at 11 with eight attendants. He was received by the officials with a guard of honour and a salute of fifteen guns. He drove from the Jetty to the Oriental Hotel, accompanied by the District Judge. His Excellency visited the Jail, the Hospital and the Buddhist Temple, with the Government Agent and the Mudaliyar. He lunched at the Oriental Hotel and re-embarked at three o'clock." (Galle, December 22, 1876. Reuter Political Telegram).

⁴¹ The *Peshawur* had been built in Scotland in December 1871 and underwent her trials on February 9, 1872. She was a screw-steamer with four decks, three masts, schooner-rigged, round stern and was clincher built. She was 378 ft. long, 42 ft. broad and had 33 feet depth in hold. She had two compound engines, inverted cylinders, of 600 horsepower. Her gross tonnage was 3,871. She served twenty-eight years with the P & O before being sold to an Indian Company. (Information contained in letter from the P & O Public Relations Office, London).

⁴² Captain White retired from the Company's service in 1879. (Information in a letter from the P & O Public Relations Office, London).

⁴³ Captain Bayley, the P & O agent in Galle, was a well-known local character who lived in a house on one of the off-shore islands, the "*Villa Marina*", which was famous for its setting. See Ernst Haeckel, *A Visit to Ceylon* (London, 1883), pp. 178-79.

⁴⁴ F.B. Templer had been government agent, Southern Province, since June 1868.

and inspect a prison under the jurisdiction of the judge. A local officer, T'i-lsi-la-wa (Da Silva),⁴⁵ was appointed to guide us around.

Though the prison is inferior in model to that of Hong-kong, it is just as clean. The main prison has eight sections, each capable of holding 17 or 18 prisoners. During the day these are all set to work under overseers. Those criminals who have committed serious offences are securely confined in a separate building, one man to each cell. The women's prison is a separate building with two sections, each capable of holding 17 prisoners. There is also a prison hospital. . . .

The island of Ceylon is over 1,000 *li* in circumference; Galle lies at its westernmost point. A fort stands there, with four hundred soldiers in it, under the command of Colonel Clarke (?). By now I had been roaming around for half the day yet had not set eyes on a single Chinese. Da Silva pointed out to me a house with an upper storey. This, he said, had once been the palace of a former king and had recently been sold to a merchant. When I asked why the king's palace should be put up for sale, he told me that the family was poor. I asked how it had come about that the palace was surrounded by a huddle of dwellings belonging to the common people, and was told that since the country was governed by the English the king had lost his power and merely occupied the royal palace. When I asked where the king had gone, Da Silva could not tell me.⁴⁶

Europeans colonize other countries with the intention of settling there and making a profit. All they do they plan with wisdom and strength, so that they monopolize power and roll up the country like a mat. Yet they do not have to overthrow the royal house in order to extinguish the state. Hence they take the country without specially relying on military strength. This is, in truth, a policy which was unknown in past ages.

Today we weighed anchor at the tenth watch (5-7 p.m.), in a high wind.

8th day (December 23rd):

Our run at noon was 624 *li*; latitude 6.49 north. In conversation with Hsi Tsai-ming (W. C. Hillier),⁴⁷ we got on to the subject of the Dutch

⁴⁵ Unidentifiable. But this person must have been the Mudaliyar mentioned in note 40 above.

⁴⁶ This garbled story would seem to refer to the "Queen's House," a residence dating from A.D. 1687, which was used by governors of Ceylon when they visited Galle. Da Silva is presumably referring to the sale of this property by Sir William Gregory shortly after the latter assumed office. See H.A.J. Hulugalle, *British Governors of Ceylon*, p. 114.

⁴⁷ Walter Caine Hillier (1849-1927), then a Second Class Assistant to the British Legation in Peking, was acting as Foreign Secretary to the Mission.

war in Sumatra.⁴⁸

The local chiefs, the sultans, who had suffered from the Dutch invasion, tried to raise troops and put up a resistance. From this the conversation turned to the Dutch and their colonies in the South Seas. Their rule was characterized by harsh taxation, which was used for the benefit of the mother country.⁴⁹ The English do not behave like this. The taxes they levy on a country are spent on that country. So the yearly revenue from India and Australia, which amounts to more than 100 million pounds, is spent entirely on those countries and on nowhere else. It is used for cutting canals, making roads and setting up schools. Using the wealth of the country for that country's own good ensures that all the people have a share in it and thus breeds no resentment. It is because of this that every petty kingdom in Sumatra would be happy to present their country to the English; but none of them wants to be joined to Holland. I said that though the taxes in Europe are ten times heavier than those in China, Europeans make a point of drawing profits from trade and commerce. They set up ports so that their people may grow wealthy from settling there and exchanging commodities over a distance of ten thousand *li*. Profit and loss, success and failure, are all identified with the prosperity and decline of the mother-country. It is because of this that these countries are so stable.

Dutch income always falls short of expenditure. When the sultans revolt, they lack the military strength to suppress them by force, and so have for long been unable to pacify the country. In this respect, their rule is far inferior to the way in which England has subdued Indian Delhi and the other states. The strength of a country makes all the difference.

⁴⁸ The Atjeh war had broken out in March 1873 because of the piracy of the Atjenese, which could no longer be tolerated once navigation through the Straits of Malacca had increased after the opening of the Suez Canal, especially as "under the treaty of 1824, the Dutch Government could be held responsible for any damages resulting from Atjenese piracy". See Bernard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara* (Cambridge, Mass. 1944), pp. 297-302. The best general work on this war, which dragged on to the end of the century, is that of C.D.E.J. Hotz, *Beknopt geschiedkundig overzicht van den Atjeh-oorlog* (Leiden, 1924).

⁴⁹ Hillier's comments on the Dutch taxation system in the Indies have more than a grain of truth in them. In 1867 the total income of the Indies Government amounted to about 137,500,000 guilders, of which nearly fifteen million were sent back to the Dutch Treasury. Taxes brought in 25,599,000 guilders. Ten years later, in 1877, income from taxes had increased to 35,000,000 guilders. The budget however closed with a loss of 4,239,000 guilders. On this Vlekke comments: "[this was] a deficit for which the government in the Netherlands was partly responsible, for even while he saw the deficit coming, the acting Minister of Finance had managed to siphon off for the home country two and a half million guilders from the Indies treasury." (Vlekke, *Nusantara*, pp. 291-292). Vlekke goes on to comment that "three fourths of the taxes were paid by the Indonesians, and these had little with which to pay." (*Ibid.*, p. 292).

11th day (December 26th):

Our run at noon was 814½ *li*; latitude 10° 11' 12" north. Yao drew my attention to a passage in the *Chung-kuo kuan-hsi lüeh-luan* [*A Brief Discussion of China's Relations with Foreign Countries*] in 4 *chüan*, by Lin Lo-chih (Rev. Young John Allen), the American writer.⁵⁰ This dealt with the eight-articled "Memorandum on the Missionary Question" of the Tsung-li Yamen,⁵¹ the contents of which are severe, but clear and detailed. I read them with a sigh. In the past, when I discussed the Roman Catholic religion with Wen Wen-chung-kung,⁵² he considered it a very serious source of

⁵⁰ Young John Allen (1836-1907) was a well-known American Methodist missionary, who had first arrived in China in 1860. He was active as an educator and tireless as a translator, with some ninety or so works translated into Chinese to his credit. In 1868 he founded the *Chiao-hui hsin-pao*, a weekly review for circulation among the Christian Chinese, which was later expanded into the *Wan-kuo kung-pao* (*The Globe Magazine*, later called *Review of the Times*), which appeared weekly from 1875-83 and monthly from 1889-1907. As J.K. Fairbank puts it: "... this journal, ably edited by Chinese scholars, presented in literary Chinese a wide selection of Western ideas and information, including Timothy Richard's proposals for remaking China. It became in fact one source of the Reform Movement of the late 1890's." (*East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, p. 364).

⁵¹ This must refer to the circular letter and eight draft regulations, aimed at reducing the power of the missionaries, put out by the Tsungli Yamen on February 9, 1871, after the Tientsin Massacre. The articles, briefly summarized, recommended the implementation of the following measures:

- (1) The abolition of Catholic orphanages.
- (2) A prohibition forbidding Chinese women to enter foreign churches and female missionaries to work in China.
- (3) The placing of all missionaries under the control of Chinese officials.
- (4) Missionaries not to be allowed to conceal or protect converts who are guilty of crimes.
- (5) French missionaries to be allowed to travel only within their own specified district. Holders of missionary passports to be excluded from disaffected areas.
- (6) Only persons without a criminal record to be received as converts; any convert committing an unlawful act to be forthwith expelled from the Church.
- (7) Missionaries to adhere faithfully to Chinese institutions and customs.
- (8) Before erecting buildings or making property transactions, missionaries must lay the matter before the local authorities to make sure that local geomantic conditions are not disturbed.

Since these demands were aimed chiefly at Catholic missionaries, most Protestant missionaries—like Young John Allen—did not find them objectionable. On these proposals put forward by the Tsungli Yamen, see Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 247-61.

⁵² Wen-hsiang (1818-76), posthumous name, Wen Wen-chung-kung, was a Manchu, a member of the Gualgiya clan in Mukden. His family belonged to the Manchu Plain Red Banner. He became a *chü-jen* in 1840 and gained his *chin-shih* degree in 1845. His exemplary conduct during the Taiping rebellion brought him to the notice of his superiors, who soon secured his promotion. By 1855 he had become an official of the third grade, and by 1859 had reached the rank of vice-president of the Board of Revenue. In 1860, when the Allies occupied Tientsin during the Anglo-French war with China, Wen-hsiang was one of the three officials in charge of peace negotiations. After the departure of the allies, Wen-hsiang and his two colleagues submitted a memorial recommending the establishment of the Tsungli Yamen, or "Office for General Administration" of China's Foreign Relations (January 13, 1861). In 1861 the Tsungli Yamen was set up, with Wen-hsiang acting as one of the controlling board. In 1865,

trouble, especially in Kweichow and Szechwan. This trouble assuredly springs from the conduct of the government officials there, who are so in want of regular procedure that any course they adopt is counteracted. This has been going on for so long that the practice has become firmly established, and it is now quite impracticable to try to put government orders into effect. For example, after the Tientsin affair, discussions were held with the representatives of the various [European] states to try to find some way of making sensible regulations governing their activities, so that we could patch things up a bit and save the situation. Wen-chung-kung told me that written drafts had been drawn up and submitted to the various countries, only to have them treated with complete indifference. This was the Memorandum in question.

I find that the religion of the Lord of Heaven [Roman Catholicism] dates from the time of Moses. The religion gets its name from Jesus Christ. Several hundred years afterwards, the Islamic religion of Arabia arose. More than a thousand years later, Lu-te (Martin Luther) founded the Western [Protestant] religion, and the religion of Jesus became even more prosperous. The Greeks also established their own interpretation, thus forming the Greek Orthodox Church. Both these doctrines stem from Moses. Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, both of which emanate from Jesus, are at loggerheads with each other. Thus the Roman Pope explains the origin of Catholicism, pointing to its wide extension and antiquity as an argument favouring the propagation of this religion, which is his own devotion. The Protestants do the same. Among the religions of Europe there are those that are held in common by both ruler and people, while in other countries ruler and people are of different religions, each venerating his own gods and not interfering with anyone else. Only China enjoys the religion of the Sages, which is comprehensive and subtle and sets up no territorial limits. Hence Buddhism, Roman Catholicism and Islam have been disseminated throughout China; and neither their rites, their beliefs nor the open profession of these religions has been forbidden (*sic*).

At the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, the worship of Hsien-shen which is mentioned in the tablet concerning the dissemination of Nestorian-

he was given the task of putting down banditry in Manchuria, an assignment which he carried out with complete success. On his return to Peking in 1866 he was appointed President of the Board of Civil Office. In 1871 he was made an Associate Grand Secretary and in 1872 became Grand Secretary. In his biography of Wen-hsiang (in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*), Fang Chao-ying characterizes him as "one of the enlightened officials of the time" who "won the respect of foreign diplomats by his straight-forwardness and honesty." W.A.P. Martin speaks very highly of him in his *A Cycle of Cathay* (3rd ed. New York, 1900, p. 17).

ism, was already in existence.⁵³ The monk, Ching-ching,⁵⁴ explains this religion arose in Fu-lin (Byzantium), which means that it stems directly from Moses. The tablet says: "He [God] set out the figure of ten [the cross] in order to establish the ultimate."⁵⁵ Such is the origin of the Roman Catholic custom of setting up crosses. During the *Wan-li* period (1573-1620) of the Ming, Li Ma-tou (Matteo Ricci)⁵⁶ came out east and Hsü Kuang-ch'i gave his house for a Roman Catholic chapel.⁵⁷ The religion was propagated throughout the empire, yet did no harm. At the beginning of the *Yung-cheng* period (1723-1736), laws were made for the suppression of this religion and it was prohibited.⁵⁸ Thirty years ago the prohibition of Roman Catholicism was revoked.⁵⁹ France, which regards the Roman Catholic faith as an ancestor, sought to win fame by taking the part of this religion, relying on her authority and power to protect it.⁶⁰ Thereupon robbers, bandits and scoundrels hid themselves among the Catholics so that they could defy the laws of the government. So the power of the priests began to extend itself. During the *Tao-kuang* (1821-1851) and *Hsien-feng* (1851-1862) periods, the government administration in Kwei-

⁵³ The Nestorian tablet found near Sian in Shensi, in 1625, in a spot where it had lain buried for some eight hundred years, commemorates the arrival of the Nestorian missionary A-lo-pen in Ch'ang-an in 635 A.D. The tablet itself dates from 781. After its discovery, the tablet was set up north of the Ch'ung-jen monastery, outside the west gate of Sian. Here it remained until 1907. For a translation of the inscription, see A.C. Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1550* (London, 1930), pp. 34-52.

⁵⁴ Ching-ching was the Chinese name of Adam, a Persian monk of the Ta-ch'in monastery, who recorded the inscription. See Moule, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁶ Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the great Jesuit missionary, arrived in Macao in 1582.

⁵⁷ Hsü Kuang-ch'i (Paul Hsü), was one of Ricci's most important converts. He is well-known for his translation of Euclid into Chinese. He did not "give his house for a Roman Catholic chapel" but helped Ricci to buy a house for the mission in 1605. See the account in L.J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1953) pp. 474-75.

⁵⁸ The Sacred Edict of the Yung-cheng Emperor (1724) stamped Catholicism as heterodox. Hence for over a century Christianity in China was relegated to the category of a secret society.

⁵⁹ In 1844, after the Opium War, (1839-42), the French Government succeeded in having Christianity legalized. However, it was not until after the Anglo-French invasions of 1858-60 that the foreign missionary was permitted to live, preach and own property in the interior of China.

⁶⁰ By 1853, Catholic clerical pressure had persuaded Louis Napoleon that the protection of missionaries and the restoration of Church properties must be an integral part of French policy in China. The murder of the French missionary, August Chapdelaine (February 29, 1856) provided France with a convenient excuse to participate in the expeditions of 1857-1860. Article 13 of the Sino-French Treaty of Tientsin and Article 6 of the French text (but not the Chinese text!) of the Sino-French Convention (1860) virtually gave the missionaries *carte blanche* in China. By 1870, there were about 400,000 Chinese Catholics, under the care of some 250 priests. Protestants, who had started to penetrate the interior only at a much later date, were far fewer in number. In 1869 the total number of Chinese Protestants was only 5,753, though the Protestant missionary contingent numbered over 400. Hence, as Paul A. Cohen has well expressed it: "... When the average Chinese of this time thought of Christianity he generally had in mind Catholic Christianity, its missionary proponents, and its official protector, France." Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity*, (Cambridge 1963).

chow and Szechwan fell into complete disorder. There were crowds of scoundrels there who were busy preventing the laws of the land, while the missionaries were taking advantage of the situation to do just what they liked. Thus the misery of these two provinces has been growing more pronounced. So after the Tientsin affair, there had to be consultations with representatives of the [European] countries concerned. It was pointed out that the mission stations were protecting their converts in every province and that the people of Szechwan and Kweichow were being dragged through fire and water. Just the bare mention of a missionary was enough to drive people wild and start them cursing and swearing, so that they were likely to seize any chance at all to get their own back. The mission-stations everywhere had become merely so many sanctuaries for criminals, who behaved wantonly, defied the law and were a source of scandal and concern to honest people. Not only have [the missionaries] failed in their original intention of establishing their religions [in China], but I also fear that when these facts are made known to the countries concerned, they will rouse the deepest shame.

There is an urgent necessity for a proclamation to the effect that no distinctions will ordinarily be made between the adherents of the various religion; but that when it comes to matters of official business, the converts will be judged along with the common people. Governors and Governors-general should strictly enjoin the prefectural and district authorities to carry out these injunctions; whenever they fail to do so, they should be censured and punished out of hand. Only when we are able to subdue the overbearing influence of these converts will the government of their affairs be carried on without undue difficulty.

12th day (December 27th):

While I was discussing with Ma K'o-li (Halliday Macartney)⁶¹ the expert way in which the captain took his bearings, he told me that in European countries there were Boards of Trade composed of high-ranking officials and nautical schools as well. When the students have completed their studies, they have to sit for a Board of Trade examination. Those who are placed at the top of the list are given master's certificates. Those who come out below them are given subordinate posts as officers. Everyone is given a grade. Those who are placed low on the list are examined again, sometimes two or three times, for before you can be a captain you must

⁶¹ Sir Halliday Macartney (1833-1906), a former Director of the Imperial Arsenal at Nanking, was appointed Secretary to the Mission in November 1876, a post he was to hold for close on thirty years. It was Macartney who hit on the idea of having the embassy travel by a P & O steamer, rather than on a French vessel as originally planned, so that the ambassador would stop only at British ports-of-call. See Boulger, *The Life of Sir Halliday Macartney*, p. 265.

rank high in the examination. Shipowners are not allowed to make clandestine appointments of captains.

When a ship goes to sea, a surveyor from the Board of Trade inspects its capacity for freight and passengers to see that they do not exceed its dimensions. It is forbidden to carry freight in excess of the registered capacity, or passengers in excess of the number of cabins and beds. Those who transgress against these regulations are punished.

When a ship is built, a high official from the Board of Trade inspects it to see that the workmanship is strong and the timbers good and sound. All this must be according to specification. After this [the official] determines the number of years the ship may serve. It may be for ten years or for twenty years; but if it does not come up to specification it is condemned and is not allowed to go to sea. Any contravention of these rules is punished.

When a ship goes to sea, the number of hands employed and the amount of provisions on board are all fixed according to the dimensions of the ship. If the ship does not have its full complement [of men and provisions] it is not allowed to go to sea. Every man has to receive a daily allowance of rice, salt and meat. The food he receives is a fixed amount. If this allowance is not forthcoming, a penalty is imposed.

When a captain puts out to sea, the rewards and punishments to be meted out are all in his hands alone for the duration of the voyage. Every day he records everything that has occurred in a log-book. If any dispute should arise, the high officials of the Board of Trade decide the matter according to the entries in this log-book.

In Europe, commerce is the root of government. Their commercial regulations are orderly and dignified and their methods are exact. So captains on the China run are all specially selected for their posts and have great authority. From all this we can see that the [European] acquisition of wealth and power is not without a firm foundation.

13th day (December 28th):

Our run at noon was 792 *li*; latitude 11.26 north. We must be close to Arabia. Dr. Macartney said that outside the Red Sea there was an island belonging to England called Su-k'o-te-la (Socotra), 1,500 *li* from Ya-ting (Aden). He estimated that as we were something over 200 *li* distant from it and there was thus a wide stretch of sea in between, we should not be able to see it. He also told me that there was an island called Pi-erh-lin (Perim) 354 *li* outside the Red Sea. A French envoy had arrived at Aden and announced that his government intended to occupy this island, which was no more than a wasteland. While he was making plans for opening up this territory, the authorities at Aden informed the Gov-

ernor of Meng-mai (Bombay) of this in a despatch. The Governor then sent off a dozen or so soldiers, who landed on the territory by night and planted the English flag there. Two days later the French envoy arrived, only to see the English flag flying there; so he returned downheartedly.⁶² Since Englishmen of all classes scheme with all their might for the profit of their country, [this nation] is certain to prosper exceedingly.

Captain White showed me a time-table for the arrival and departure of English vessels at various ports, beginning from January 1st of this year. According to this, *Peshawur* was due to leave Ceylon on December 25th. Now we actually left on the seventh day of the eleventh month, i.e., on December 22nd by the Western calendar. We are thus three days ahead of schedule. All the hundreds of vessels which come and go between the ports of the world have their times fixed in this way. At the beginning of each year these are all classified and published in a table. If you wish to go to such-and-such a place in such-and-such a month, you may see from this table what vessel you must travel by; and so accurately are the multifarious details arranged that there is not the least fear of mistake. 14th day (December 29th):

Dr. Macartney was saying that in European warfare captives are not killed. If they are officers they carry their commissions on their persons. When they are captured they show their commissions and are then treated with the courtesies due to officers. Food, drink and lodging are provided for them in accordance with their rank. Sometimes an agreement is made to release a prisoner on condition that he take no further part in the hostilities. If the prisoner is unwilling to agree to this, then he is put under restraint to prevent his escaping. When the war is over he is released and sent home. Occasionally [an officer] who has been released under promise to take no further part in the war asks to be given a command again. His commanding officer then reprimands him for his breach of faith and very often he is cashiered. There is a general understanding among all the states [of Europe] about the reciprocation of treatment [of prisoners]: hence no breach of faith with the enemy is tolerated. For should a man who has promised to take no further part in hostilities then be allowed to enlist for service again, the enemy would cite his example in the case of prisoners captured later and would refuse to release them. This would not only injure a great number of people, but would also cause the country concerned to incur the stigma of want of faith and breach of contract. So in this matter no one dare contravene the code. Here again we see that

⁶² Perim Island, 96 miles west of Aden in the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, had been garrisoned briefly by the British in 1799. It was reoccupied in 1857, in view of the threat posed, so it was thought, by the imminent cutting of the Suez Canal.

the good faith and enlightened integrity of the states of Europe is very close to that of the ancients.

18th day (Tuesday, January 2nd):

While I was in Singapore, I obtained copies of *The Times* and while in Ceylon I got hold of a copy of another newspaper. All of them contained several articles on the present negotiations between China and England. I handed them over to Te Tsai-ch'u and Feng K'uei-chiu,⁶³ who have translated them with the assistance of Mr. Hillier. Since the three principles of foreign affairs, national standing and proper [diplomatic] method are involved, these articles will enable us to learn something of the European standpoint and grasp their methods of handling affairs. I then ordered Liu Ho-po, Chang T'ing-fan and Huang Yu-p'ing⁶⁴ to write three memorials on this subject, abridging any matters that might prove offensive.

From the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126) onwards, troubles on our frontiers increased daily, and those who discussed border conflicts became so rash and importunate that [the government] had nowhere to hide itself for shame. Master Ch'eng [Hao] (1032-1085), the great Confucian scholar, during a discussion of the five things that had been best performed under the Northern Sung, remarked that one of them was to have treated the Yi and the Ti [barbarians] with complete sincerity. Before the Northern Sung, our statesmen were still broadminded. Hence it is said in the *Book of Mencius*: "Those who delight in Heaven use a great state to serve a small one. Those who fear Heaven use a small state to serve a great one."⁶⁵ Mencius then goes on to quote the example of T'ang serving Ko⁶⁶ and King Wen serving the Hun barbarians⁶⁷ as examples of those who delight in Heaven. . . .

From the beginning to the end of T'ang dynasty, when the Uighurs⁶⁸ and the T'u-fan⁶⁹ were treated cordially, we bore suffering in patience and endured shame. In this way our rulers protected the country and kept the

⁶³ Chang Te-vi, style Tsai-ch'u (1847-1919), originally called Te-ming and Feng Yi, style K'uei-chiu, were attached to the embassy as interpreters. Both had accompanied the Pin Ch'un mission to Europe in 1866, when they were language students at the T'ung-wen kuan.

⁶⁴ Liu Fou-yi, style Ho-po; Chang Ssu-hsün, style T'ing-fan; and Huang Tsung-hsien, style Yu-p'ing were all junior members of the embassy.

⁶⁵ *Meng-tzu* I, *Liang Hui Wang* (B) 3; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, II, p. 155.

⁶⁶ *Meng-tzu* V, *T'eng Wen Kung* (B) 5; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, pp. 271-72.

⁶⁷ *Meng-tzu*, I, *Liang Hui Wang* (B) 3; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, II, p. 155.

⁶⁸ The Turkish Uighurs had been called in by the Chinese to help put down the rebellion of An Lu-shan (703-57). After the death of Emperor Su-tsung (d. 762 A.D.), the Uighurs decided to take over China, allying themselves for this purpose with the T'u-fan. Eventually, in 765, they turned against the T'u-fan and came over to the Chinese side.

⁶⁹ The T'u-fan emerged as a new political unit in Northern Tibet at the beginning of the seventh century of our era. They had an upper class of Turks and Mongols ruling a Tibetan lower class.

people happy. The custom of regarding the Yi and the Ti as great evils and peaceful relations with them as a great disgrace really began only with the Southern Sung. The effects of this policy became apparent during the declining years of the Sung and Ming dynasties.

The kingdoms of Europe date back for some two thousand years. Their governmental and educational systems are well-ordered, enlightened and systematic. They are completely different from such upstart dynasties as the Liao (947-1125) and the Chin (1122-1234),⁷⁰ which suddenly sprang up and as suddenly declined. They have come to China merely for trade, yet have already firmly entrenched themselves there. They keep pushing forward and oppressing us. Since their knowledge and their strength are both pre-eminent, we must study ways of dealing with them. To engage in such discussions cannot be called appeasement. There are those who baselessly talk of "appeasement" in order to intimidate the court. With gaping mouths and bulging eyes, they seek their own gratifications, even going so far in their discussions as to say that they would rather see the state destroyed and the dynasty overthrown than talk of peace.⁷¹ Many times have I heard such words spoken in the capital. Duke Shao's admonition to King Ch'eng said: "Pray that the Mandate of Heaven may last forever."⁷² He who prays to Heaven in fear and trembling will be willing to restrain himself and humble himself, for he has set his heart on the tranquillity of the people and the preservation of the state. I certainly never expected that the Sung and Ming literati would do as much harm as they have done by the transmission of their doctrines and discussions. Liu Ho-po has remarked that those who discuss European affairs only see one side of the truth. I personally think that we must look at every side of the truth. If we see only one side, we are looking at this from a selfish standpoint. What we call truth is none other than something that must be applied both to ourselves and to others. Then what we do will be right and what we practice will be correct. When we extend this to others, our hearts [will be peaceful] and we will have hold of the truth. Once we have put this into practice, then the empire will be at peace. Those who have obtained office will carry out their duties through such practices and shoulder their responsibilities without entertaining any doubts. Those who have not obtained office will understand the truth and recognize it in their hearts, and will not dare to be presumptuous. It is the task of the great officers to honour their lord and protect the people. What is the use of

⁷⁰ Barbarian dynasties which controlled regions of North China.

⁷¹ This passage excited great resentment and was largely responsible for the order for the destruction of the diary.

⁷² *Shu-ching*, Shao Kao, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, III, p. 431. The full passage reads: "May the king, by means of his virtue, pray that the Mandate of Heaven may last for ever."

leading the country to be vainglorious? A vainglorious man is a foolish man. If an ordinary man were to behave in such a way [as these do] in society, then his fellows would be angry with him and the demons and spirits would punish him. Can one discuss affairs of state with people like these? To act in this way is to stray very far from the truth. I am a very stupid man; yet I shall not spare myself from contending with such people at the top of my voice, speaking to them harshly in order to bring them to their senses. I hope to enlist the aid of all scholarly and intelligent gentlemen in bearing this testimony.

25th day (January 9th):

The captain showed us a Port Said newspaper which reported that delegates from England, Russia and other countries had convened to discuss the military situation in Serbia (*sic*) on behalf of Turkey.⁷³ The Sultan of Turkey has been unwilling to divide the country up but is inclined to institute major reforms in the government which bring it nearer the European model, such as convening a popular assembly and instituting a parliament, setting up officials charged with special responsibilities and establishing courts to settle the people's suits within a definite period of time. But the most important of all those articles [under consideration] is that providing for those in authority to make no distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim Turkish nationals, so that the people might practise any religion they please, whether the Turkish, the Protestant or the Catholic, each at his own discretion, without let or hindrance. In my opinion, the Sultan of Turkey should bear a repentant heart. Would that the trouble were settled! ...

28th day (January 12th):

By the second watch (1-3 a.m.) we had sailed 384 *li* and reached the island of Ma-erh-ta (Malta), in latitude 37 north. To the north lies the Italian island of Hsi-chih-li (Sicily). It stands opposite the capital of Tripoli, which lies to the south. The island [of Malta] is shaped like a mortar, with a mountain in the centre that is encircled on all four sides. The island measures forty-five *li* from north to south and 30 *li* from east to west, with projecting spurs. There are four or five bays for anchorage. The island possesses a machine factory, which has eleven forts set around it. It is England's most important strong point in the Mediteranean. Originally

⁷³ This was the Constantinople Conference, proposed by Lord Derby in 1876, in an attempt to impose reforms on the Turks. The reforms agreed on by the conference were rejected by the Turks, who evaded them by the device of proclaiming a constitution (December 23, 1876) and insisting that all changes should be referred to a constituent assembly—an institution which lasted only a few months. See A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 228-254, for the general background to the eastern crisis of 1875-78. A more detailed study is R.W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question* (London, 1935).

it belonged to Fa-lan-shi (France): but the English settled here and took possession of it. Warships from every port put in here for repairs.

The governor of this territory, Ssu-te-lo-pan-hsi (General Sir Charles T. Van Straubensee)⁷⁴ sent two military attachés, Na-erh-ssu (Nares?) and To-sun (Dawson?),⁷⁵ to meet me with a carriage. A salute of fifteen guns was fired from the fort. We passed two heavy-gun emplacements on our way to Government House, which is an imposing and spacious residence. The streets of the town [Valleta] are clean and well-kept; the houses, of five or six stories, stand closely together, the one overlooking the other, like the teeth of a comb. They have a quite different air about them from those of Ceylon or Aden.

Governor Straubensee, a white-haired man of sixty or so, spent many years in Kuangtung. His Lady,⁷⁶ who is also very intelligent, detained us to drink wine. Afterwards, they came with us on a stroll. Close by and to the left is a fort containing a hundred and twenty guns, six of them weighing eighteen tons a piece. (A ton is equal to 1,800 catties, which would make its weight equivalent to 32,400 catties). The body of the gun measures over ten feet in circumference. One of the forts stands high up on the crest of a hill. This fort held three enormous guns, but we had no time to go and inspect them. (One gun weighed thirty-six tons, while the other two weighed twenty-five tons each. In front of each gun stood a pile of several hundred shells, ready for defence in case an enemy should appear. There were three iron-clads [to be seen]. One was named *Te-fa-ssu-te-shen* (H.M.S. *Devastation*); one *Ho-te-ssu-po-erb* (H.M.S. *Hotspur*); and one *Lu-p'ai-erb-te* (H.M.S. *Rupert*).⁷⁷

12th month, 3rd day (January 16th):

Our run at noon was 837 *li*, bringing us to Gibraltar, in north latitude 36.7. This is a rock which rises abruptly to a height of over 14,000 feet (*sic*) and is over 7 *li* in length. The English call it a "no" (Rock), which means "a great stone". . . .

⁷⁴ General Sir Charles Thomas Van Straubensee (1812-92) who was himself born in Malta, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Malta in June 1872, after a long and distinguished army career. He had been in command of the British land forces in China during the second Anglo-Chinese War, and was thus responsible for the bombardment and subsequent capture of Canton (December 28, 1857-January 5, 1858). He was Governor of Malta until June, 1878.

⁷⁵ Both unidentifiable.

⁷⁶ In 1841 Van Straubensee had married Charlotte Louisa, youngest daughter of General John Luther Richardson of the East India Company, and of the Cramond family.

⁷⁷ H.M.S. *Devastation* was an iron turret-ship of 9,387 tons, under the command of Captain Frederick W. Richards. (*The Times*, November 7, 1876). H.M.S. *Hotspur* was an iron-clad ram of 4,010 tons. H.M.S. *Rupert* was an iron-clad ram of 5,444 tons, consort vessel of *Hotspur*, under the command of Commander W.J. Hunt-Grubbe, C.B. See *The Times*, January 16, 1877, p. 6e.

Since the English settled here and took possession of this territory, they have made the mountain into what is said to be a most cleverly constructed fortress. . . .

I discovered on enquiry that there are 5,000 troops in Gibraltar, divided into seven regiments. There are five brigades of artillery and five hundred troops to guard the fort, all of whom are artisans. There are 1,500 riflemen, who are in infantry regiments. Each regiment has a school of its own and there is also a high school. There is a library with 40,000 books which is built round the inner flanks of the mountain. The town is built overlooking the Guadarranque river. The population numbers 19,000. . . .

[On sailing] we observed another lighthouse. The captain said these waters were called Te-la-fa-erh-gan (Trafalgar Bay). This was where the English officer Wei-te-lin (Wellington) won his battle with Napoleon the Third (*sic!*)⁷⁸

6th day (January 19th):

Rainy and windy. Our run at noon was 846 *li*; latitude 46.1 north, 9.52 west of London. Since we entered the Atlantic we have been heading northwards, with a slight tendency eastward. We are now making more easting.

In Europe people have been competing with each other with knowledge and power for the last two thousand years. Egypt, Rome and Islam have each in their turn flourished and decayed, yet the principles which formed the basis of these states still endure. Nowadays, England, France, Russia, America and Germany, all of them great nations which have tried their strength against each other to see who is pre-eminent, have evolved a code of international law which gives precedence to fidelity and righteousness and attaches the utmost importance to relations between states. Taking full cognizance of feeling and punctiliously observing all due ceremonies, they have evolved a high culture on a firm material basis. They surpass by a long way the states of our Spring and Autumn period.⁷⁹

Today, Russia, whose territories are situated in the bleak lands of the far north, has penetrated to the Hei-lung (Amur) river by way of the Hsing-

⁷⁸ A schoolboy howler!

⁷⁹ The Marxist historian, Hu Sheng, in his *Ti-kuo chu-yi yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih* (Peking, 1952), pp. 47-49, points out that Kuo was quicker than the rest of the literati to see that traditional China could only survive if it submitted to the imperialist world-order of international law. Yet Kuo was certainly not alone in his understanding of the importance to China of a knowledge of international law. Li Hung-chang and Hsüeh Fu-ch'eng (1838-94), for example, both claimed that China could have avoided a great deal of misery had her officials been acquainted with international law. For a discussion of this question, see Hsü, *op. cit.*, 121-145. In this passage, however, Kuo seems to be asking his countrymen to subscribe to the doctrines of international law, not on the grounds of mere expediency, but rather because it represents a new Tao, the understanding of which is responsible for the high state of civilisation attained by Europe.

an (Great Khingan) mountains, annexed their north-eastern regions, reached the Sung-hua (Sungari) river and made itself a neighbour of Japan.⁸⁰ Starting from the far west, England has penetrated the Mediterranean and gained supremacy over all the peoples of India. They have monopolised South-east Asia and established a colony on the island of Hong-kong, with a strong garrison in possession of it.

When we compare the territories of these countries and estimate their power, we are justified in looking upon them as the two leading nations of the day. They have surrounded China and press close upon her from spots where they may spy out the land. With their hands reaching high and their feet travelling far, they rise up like eagles and glare like tigers, day by day broadening their basis of wealth and power. Yet for all this, they have not the slightest intention of presuming on their military strength to act violently or rapaciously.

When they do deploy their forces, they do so circuitously and indirectly, proceeding by argument and reasoning, never taking any overt action until their position is a strong one. Surely this is not the time for China to indulge in highflown talk and vain boasting in order to aggrandize herself! This is no time for me to embark on an elaborate discussion of the gravity and urgency of the matter. But [we must realize that] the nations of Europe do have insight into what is essential and what is not and possess a Way of their own which assists them in the acquisition of wealth and power. In this manner, a state may well last for a thousand years. On the other hand, if a state does not grasp the Way, then disaster will come upon it. Hence Pan Ku,⁸¹ in his *Appreciation* appended to the chapter on the Hsiung-nu, remarks: "If the barbarians approach us [wanting us to civilise them], then receive them with the appropriate rites. If they prove refractory, then overawe them with military power."⁸² We must make it a rule that every wrong movement will be on their part. If this is so in the case of petty contentions, then how much truer must it be

⁸⁰ Russia's steady advance into Central Asia, at the expense of what had traditionally been Chinese-controlled territory, had been going on since the 17th century. The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), the Treaty of Kiakhta (1727), the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the Treaty of Peking (1860), had given her some 1,648,000 square miles of Chinese territory. In 1871 the Russians had occupied Ili, in Sinkiang. In 1879, only a couple of years after Kuo expressed these fears in his diary, the Manchu envoy, Ch'ung-hou (1826-1893), foolishly gave away most of the Ili region to Russia by the Treaty of Livadia. See Fairbank and Reischauer, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, esp. pp. 43-45; Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, *The Ili Crisis: A Study of Sino-Russian Diplomacy, 1871-1881* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 1-15.

⁸¹ Pan Ku (32-92 A.D.), the author of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* (*History of the Former Han*), is one of the greatest of Chinese historians.

⁸² *Han-shu*, XCIV B, p. 32b (*Po-na* ed.), actually say: "*Lai tse ch'eng erh yü chih. Ch'u tse pei erh shou chih*". "If they approach, then control them by force. When they depart, be prepared to stay on guard against them."

when we are dealing with people who show far greater ability in the management of their affairs and whose plans are more deeply laid! Liu Yün-sheng, who considers himself an expert on foreign affairs, has indeed revealed the shallowness of his knowledge at this juncture.⁸³ He says: "To deal with the present situation we must be extremely sincere in our dealings with other states: otherwise we shall not be able to establish ourselves."

Now I have often been sharply criticised by my contemporaries. Yet Yao Yen-chia⁸⁴ is of the opinion that I possess scholarship and insight surpassing that of others. But how can I have any pretensions to scholarship and insight? The histories of the Sung and Ming dynasties are still extant: yet the hearts, the minds, the eyes and ears of our contemporaries have been captivated by the vain and empty discourses of several hundred years, for they never once bother to examine the facts of the case.

I once overheard Ho Yüan-ch'uan⁸⁵ talking of foreign affairs, and was astonished at his profound understanding of these matters. In answer to an enquiry of mine, he replied: "The Six Classics⁸⁶ and the ancient writings of the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, as well as the works of our Confucian predecessors are all justified by their consistency with historical facts. That much is obvious. Commonplace observations are no more than boastful talk. They lack historical foundation." This can really be called learning and insight!

8th day (January 21st):

By the eight watch (1-3 p.m.) we had run 495 *li* and reached Southampton. As we passed P'o-tzu (Portsea) and Lun-tun (*sic!* Landport), we noticed two very strange and beautiful lighthouses overlooking the anchorage for British warships. As we came into port past the Ni-lo-ssu (Needles), we passed an island called A-lu-wei-te (Isle of Wight), where the queen has a winter residence called A-ssu-pen (Osborne). Our ship ran aground and a thick fog came on. We expected the tide would float us off a little later; and after an hour or so we got into port. . . .

We passed the two market towns of Po-hsing-ssu-to-k'o (Basingstoke) and Wo-to (Woking), where the lamps were shining bright as day. As we came nearer to London, the lights were even brighter. Chin Teng-han

⁸³ One of Kuo's few public thrusts at Liu Hsi-hung!

⁸⁴ Yao Yüeh-wang, style Yen-chia, was a member of the Mission.

⁸⁵ Ho Ch'iu-t'ao, style Yüan-ch'uan (1824-62), scholar and historian, is best known for his *Shuo-fang pei-sheng* (*Historical Source Book of the Northern Region*), the first comprehensive work on Sino-Russian relations. See Tu Lien-che's biography of Ho in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*.

⁸⁶ Before the number of the Confucian Classic was stabilized at thirteen, six of them were held to be of the first importance. These were the *Book of Poetry*, the *Documents*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Book of Ceremonies* and a now lost work on music.

(J.D. Campbell)⁸⁷ had previously ordered carriages for us, which were waiting on the road. The street-lamps were like myriads of bright stars, while the horses and carriages rolled past in an unending stream, with [the horses'] breath rising like mist. The liveliness of the commercial centres and the beauty of the mansions and houses could scarcely be excelled. After a drive of an hour or so we reached our residence in 49 Portland Place, where we asked Mr. Campbell to stay and eat dinner with us

⁸⁷ James Duncan Campbell (1833-1907) joined the Chinese Customs Service in 1862, becoming Auditor and Chief Secretary at Peking. In 1868 the Tsungli Yamen sent him to Europe on a special mission in connection with the proposed purchase of Macao from the Portuguese. In January, 1874 he was appointed Non-Resident Secretary in London, a post he continued to hold until 1907. He acted as Hart's confidential agent in London, and played a major role in the parleys with the French Government which concluded the Franco-Chinese War of 1884-85. The Chinese Government accorded him Civil Rank of the Third Class (1878), Civil Rank of the Second Class (1882) and the Order of the Double Dragon, 2nd Division, First Class (1897). In 1885, he was created a C.M.G. See *The Times*, December 5, 1907, p.4a.