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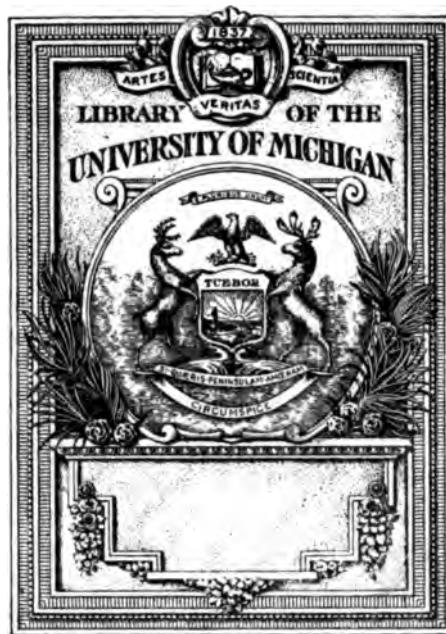
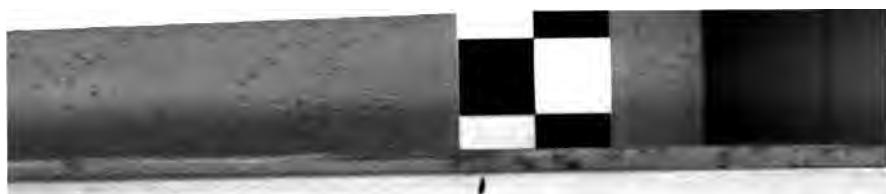
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THE LIFE OF
SIR HALLIDAY
MACARTNEY KCMG







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**THE LIFE OF SIR
HALLIDAY MACARTNEY**



BY THE SAME AUTHOR.
THE LIFE OF GORDON.
THE HISTORY OF CHINA.
ETC. ETC.





Yours ever truly
Hans von Weltzien

**T H E L I F E O F
SIR HALLIDAY
MACARTNEY K.C.M.G.
COMMANDER OF LI HUNG CHANG'S
TRAINED FORCE IN THE TAEPING
REBELLION, FOUNDER OF THE FIRST
CHINESE ARSENAL, FOR THIRTY YEARS
COUNCILLOR AND SECRETARY TO THE
CHINESE LEGATION IN LONDON
BY DEMETRIUS C. ^{CHARLES DE REINHOLD} BOULGER \$• \$•
WITH A FOREWORD \$• \$• \$• \$•
BY SIR JAMES CRICHTON-BROWNE, M.D.
LL.D., F.R.S. & NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS**

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FOREWORD

BY SIR JAMES CRICHTON-BROWNE

THE last time I saw my kinsman and old and trusty friend Sir Halliday Macartney was on the 22nd of April, 1906. Hearing that I was spending my Easter holidays at Dumfries with my daughter Mrs. Taylor and her two girls, he wrote pressing us to visit him at Kenbank, where he had then been settled for some four months ; so on the day named we made our way to New Galloway Station, where he sent the carriage to meet us. It was one of those dull, grey days that are just a little too common in the south-west of Scotland, but the promise of spring was abroad, for green buds stippled the woodlands, and primroses broidered the banks, and we vastly enjoyed the drive for five miles, by the marge of the beautiful Loch Ken, and then for another five miles past Kenmuir Castle, bosomed in old trees, but towering above them in baronial pride and strength—one of the prototypes of Tully-Veolan it is supposed to have been—with the green walk and its high holly hedge in the garden along which Ruskin was fain to stroll, through the trim little village of New Galloway, and on by the water of Ken to St. John's Town of Dalry, half a mile beyond which stands Kenbank, Sir Halliday Macartney's then home. He met us in the porch with the greeting kindly

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and dignified that was his wont, regaled us with a glass of choice Y'quem, the doyen of his cellar with a history of its own; and then showed us over his new house, profusely and curiously decorated with Chinese ornaments and trophies, and with French articles of *vertu*, collected by the taste of the late Lady Macartney.

There is no fairer prospect in the South of Scotland than that seen from the terrace on which Kenbank stands—a fertile valley, rich in wood and water, and not wanting in the human interest of church tower and farmsteading, undulates away in mounds and hills that rise tier on tier and end in the far distance in the Kells range to the south-west, and to the south-east in Cairnsmore o' Fleet, as majestic as a mountain need be, although only some 3000 feet high, while over all the sunlight and the Atlantic vapours keep up between them an everchanging iridescence. The house had evidently had for its nucleus a substantial cottage, which has been added to several times, and it is now commodious and convenient to a surprising degree, for it seems to expand as you explore it, and has none of the tame routine and regularity of the modern villa. Trellised outside with climbing plants, mantled with ivy, surrounded by a flower-garden, and with shady walks close by, secluded, and yet within sound of the murmur of the world, it seemed an ideal retreat for a diplomatist somewhat the worse of the wear and desiring repose. The house has delightful literary reminiscences. It had been for many years the summer residence of that gifted scholar the late Professor Craig-Sellar of Edinburgh, who had there, with copious hospitality, entertained his friends. There was, I suppose, scarcely a literary man of eminence in the seventies and eighties who did not sojourn for a day or two at Kenbank. The arbour is shown in which Herbert Spencer had his midday nap,

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the pool in which Charles Kingsley took his morning plunge.

I spent a long, mellow day with Macartney at Kenbank. I noticed that he had suffered a change—not a sea, but an age change—since I last met him in London nine months before. He had become visibly feebler in body, but there was no trace of any frailty of mind. Slow in speech as he had always been—like a man thinking in three languages—he was, if deliberate, firm and decisive. He was clear and luminous, even more luminous than he used to be, for there was now no need of official reserve in his judgments on current events, and as we walked about the grounds at Kenbank together, he leaning on the arm of his son Donald, whose thoughtful attention to him was pleasant to witness, we talked over old times. We recalled the days when on his return from the Crimea we were fellow-students in Professor Allman's class of Zoology in the University of Edinburgh, in which he displayed a remarkable knowledge—who would have thought it in one full of military ardour and with a strong dash of romance in his composition?—of the sponges and Mollusca, and took first place; and I reminded him of a meeting in the students' room in which he played a conspicuous part. The conversation turned on Homeopathy, about which a sharp controversy was then going on between Professors Simpson and Henderson of our University. Macartney was the champion of the orthodox creed, and as the discussion went on he became so animated in his advocacy that he could not remain seated. He rose and walked about the room, his right hand plunged in the breast of his waistcoat, and the elbow projecting, and holding Henderson's book in his left hand, as with head thrown back he read from it passages which he criticised and denounced. Finally, coming to one passage

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which peculiarly stirred his resentment, he exclaimed simply, "Pshaw!" and to the sound of splintering glass tossed the book through the window into the street below. Much self-discipline must have gone to convert the impulsive youth into the suave and reticent diplomatist!

We lived over again in that day at Kenbank, did Macartney and I, many happy hours in London, when he first came there from China. He was frequently in my house in Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, in those days, and when he came to dinner he always brought with him his handsome Chinese servant Alli, who, standing behind his chair in gorgeous Chinese apparel, was an ornament to the party, and who became an immense favourite in the servants' hall, although he could not speak a word of English.

"At these merry dinner parties," Macartney exclaimed, "there were Lyon Playfair, James Macdonell, George Romanes, Mary Aitken, Anna Swanick, Lady Belcher, Tom Faed, Mrs. Scott Siddons, Woolner, Wemyss Reid, Joseph Thomson, Mrs. Dallas Glynn, Millais, Savile Clarke, and so many other good fellows, and charming women, all now in their 'longevity boards.'"

"Longevity boards?" I queried.

"Yes," he replied, "longevity boards is the correct translation of the Chinese name for coffins. Very expressive," he added, "are some of these Chinese names; the name of the wife of one of the ministers in London translated came out in English 'The tottering Lily of Fascination,' in allusion to her personal charms and deformed feet. Do you remember," Macartney went on, "at one of these dinners Lord Houghton was so much absorbed in my description of Gordon's treatment of the head of Lar Wang that he helped himself to nuts while we were having fish, and put



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me out by cracking one at every thrilling point in my narration?"

In these early days of the Chinese Legation in London, of which Macartney recalled so much during our last interview, great receptions were given at the house in Portland Place, and to these we were invited. At these receptions Macartney was of course Master of the Ceremonies and the central figure, and I may mention as characteristic of him that, although surrounded by grand ladies and distinguished representatives of rank and fashion—and curiosity drew the most distinguished to these receptions—he never failed to find time to attend to his humble Scottish cousins.

I do not believe that any record has been left of many of the trials and difficulties Macartney had to encounter in these days, trials and difficulties which called for exceptional tact and discretion on his part. One startling incident he mentioned to me. When the first mission arrived in London the minister was extremely anxious that a good impression should be made, but he was soon ruffled by an unfortunate occurrence. One of the servants of the legation, a shoemaker or tailor, I believe it was, went out to look about him, and as he was gazing into a shop window, some mischievous boys pulled his pigtail. Stung by this indignity in a public place, he turned upon the boys, pursued them, caught one of them, and assaulted him so seriously that the police had to interfere, arrest the irate Celestial, and conduct him to the Marlborough Street Police Station, where he was charged and locked up. When it was discovered who he was, a messenger was sent to the legation, and Macartney at once attended at the police station, claimed his release, and conducted him to Portland Place. On arriving there the circumstances were explained to the minister, who ordered the immediate decapitation of the delinquent in the

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back kitchen. The provocation was of no consequence, the man had disgraced the mission, and must suffer the death penalty. Had the minister adhered to his decision the execution must, I believe, have been carried out, for the legation house was practically for the time being a part of China and subject to Chinese law. At first Macartney was hopeless of altering the minister's resolution. For a time he was obdurate, and it was only when Macartney succeeded in persuading him that the impression produced by the intended proceedings in the back kitchen would be much more injurious to the reputation of the mission than the fury of the outraged pigtail had been, that he consented to change the venue of the execution and order the man back to China to be executed there. The culprit was accordingly shipped for China with full instructions as to his disposal on reaching there, but during the voyage Macartney succeeded in making milder counsels prevail, and a free pardon was conveyed by cable.

During our last chat Macartney told me that since withdrawing to Kenbank he had not been able to extricate himself altogether from Chinese affairs. Immediately on the arrival of the new—that is to say the late—Chinese Minister, Wang Tajen, in London, he received a telegram from him, one Saturday morning, intimating that he desired to consult him on various points and was travelling down with his secretary to see him that day. Naturally unfamiliar with Scottish geography and Bradshaw, the minister, finding that Macartney lived in Kircudbrightshire, had booked to Kirkcudbright, and was travelling by a train which would have landed him at that little country town late on Saturday night, with no possibility of getting away until Monday morning and with no interpreter with him. By energetic action Macartney succeeded in intercepting him at Castle

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Douglas, and by a drive of twenty-four miles landed him at a late hour at the Lochinvar Hotel, which is near Kenbank, as Kenbank itself was not at that time ready for the reception of guests. The minister did not go to church on Sunday, much to the disappointment of the parishioners, who had hoped to see him kowtow to their minister, but he spent what he described as "a victorious day" in obtaining from the ex-councillor much useful information and guidance. In entertaining his guest Macartney introduced some Scotch dishes, amongst them scones, with which the minister was greatly delighted, declaring them to be the most delicious food he had tasted since he entered Europe. He begged that he might have some to take back to London with him, so the cook was kept up all night baking a big basket of scones, which His Excellency carried off in triumph.

Macartney's life at Kenbank was idyllic. After breakfast and a ramble in the garden, he read his letters, dictated the answers to his daughter, who since her mother's death had been his constant companion and private secretary, and then had read to him, for his sight was failing, a portion of some one of our great English classics, to which he had returned with relish and refreshment. Luncheon over, he went for a walk or drive, came back to have *The Times* read to him—sometimes almost from beginning to end—and at five o'clock received, at afternoon tea, his friends in the neighbourhood. At dinner the parish minister, Mr. Donald Macleod, or some other friend, joined him, and then he whiled away the evening with his children and his dogs.

Quite conscious of his failing strength, and with no illusions, Macartney did not contemplate that the end would come so soon, for he pointed out to me certain improvements which he proposed to carry out at Kenbank, and told me that he intended to travel up to London a few months later

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to attend the Chapter of the Knights of St. Michael and St. George in St. Paul's Cathedral. He even anticipated that he might yet say some useful word in public affairs, and do something to stem the tide of folly which he saw flowing on. He spoke with stern condemnation and contempt of the misrepresentations on the subject of Chinese labour, disseminated throughout the country during the then recent general election, and showed me a letter which he had been constrained to write by a deliberate falsehood contained in the newspapers.

It ran as follows :—

"To the Editor of the 'Dumfries Courier and Herald.'

"SIR,

"I am concerned to learn this morning that I am extensively quoted as being opposed to the candidature of my friend Sir Mark Stewart, and that I disapprove of the Chinese Emigration Convention for the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. Never was a greater falsehood. The Convention has, in every respect, fulfilled the purpose for which it was negotiated, and it has been equally beneficial to the employer and the employed.

"The objections urged against the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal by certain parties in this country, were, in my opinion, every one of them gross calumnies on the character of a friendly nation, with whom Great Britain had great and important interests. My position precludes me from taking any part in political contests. I have always scrupulously abstained from mixing myself up with them ; and whilst I continue to hold that position I shall ever adhere to the same course.

"I desire to give this repudiation of the views attributed to me the widest circulation, and remain,

"Your obedient servant,

"KENBANK, DALRY, January 15." "HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

It was in the gloaming that I bade farewell to my dear and true-hearted friend. He was bright and cheery, bespoke

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another visit soon, and stood in the porch waving his hand to us as we drove away; but there was a deadly pallor in his face, which seemed to grow spectral as the shadows gathered around, and as we went down the avenue I said to my daughter, "Macartney will never leave Kenbank again. I shall see his face no more."

Alas! in less than two months my forebodings were fulfilled. On the 8th of June I received the news that he had passed away. He who had been "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren," had died calmly in his bed in his native land. No pangs, no partings, the brave heart simply ceased to beat.

Five days later, on June 13th, I saw his remains laid to rest; where five years before I had stood by his side as he consigned to the grave what was mortal of the bright and graceful woman who had vivified his mature years. His drawn features and trembling hands on that occasion betrayed the intense emotion of which he was capable, and when all was over he would have fainted away had I not administered a strong stimulant. Mr. Gordon Nairne, who was watching him with much concern, said to me afterwards, "That whiskey saved my uncle's life."

Macartney's own funeral took place on a glorious summer day. His beloved Galloway put on her loveliest frock, and all the long way from Kenbank to Dundrennan, some thirty miles, there was fresh verdure and wealth of blossom, bathed in sunshine. Dundrennan, his old home and chosen sepulchre, was ablaze in Chinese colours—a profusion of gorse and broom, and the abbey was grey and hoary as if lost in mediæval memories. We laid him beside

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his kith and kin for hundreds of years back, outside the abbey to the right of the chancel, where a large granite monument records his lineage and the death of his wife. If beautiful scenery could reconcile to the grave, he should rest content, for a more lovely and tranquillising spot it would be difficult to find. But when the south-west wind is high the scream of the sea may be heard there, as it churns the shingle on the beach at Port Mary, where on the 16th of May, 1568, an ancestor of his, one Macartney, rowed Mary Queen of Scots, a fugitive from Langside, across the Solway in an open fishing-boat to Maryport.

The funeral of Macartney was according to the Scottish rite. There was a prayer, extemporaneous and touching, at the graveside, and then by kindred hands the coffin was lowered to its place. Kenneth Macartney, Sir Halliday's eldest son by his French wife, now a sub-lieutenant, then a midshipman in the navy, was at the head of the grave, and when all was over, *more Gallowegio*, he thanked the large company that had assembled to show respect to his father's memory. He had no warning or notion of what was required of him, until Mr. Gordon Nairne whispered to him that he must say something. His position was trying, not to say harrowing, but he rose to it, and in a few well-chosen words modestly, but with indications of suppressed emotion, did his part. Who can doubt of heredity? He is his father's son. This funereal oration, beginning with "Gentlemen," like an after-dinner speech, must to the Southerner seem somewhat incongruous, but it is the custom of the country.

There were wreaths—wreaths galore. A magnificent wreath from the Chinese Legation, costly wreaths from London friends; but the ones that made my lip quiver were a little one of marguerites and wild flowers from the fields, inscribed in boyish handwriting "To the best of fathers,

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from his loving son Douglas," and another of flowers from the garden at Kenbank, with the legend "From his devoted daughter."

Macartney had an euthanasia. I am quite sure that his last six months spent at Kenbank were, notwithstanding progressive weakness, the happiest and most peaceful of his life. The storm and stress were over, and he had found a haven of rest. Ambition was satisfied, all anxiety for the future was removed, filial affection glowed around, and as he folded his hands amongst his native hills the old pieties of his boyhood came flowing back to him. To say, as has been said, that Macartney was an atheist, or a Buddhist, or had cut himself adrift from Christianity, is wholly untrue. He had, no doubt, given up some of the old formulæ and had broadened his views, but he was too wise a man to ignore the supernatural or to dispense with the support of religion. In the leisure of Kenbank he reverted more and more to the simple faith he had learned at his mother's knee. He attended the parish church of Dalry, and encouraged his children to engage in Church work. Two days before his death, when no danger was apprehended, he was visited by the Rev. Donald Macleod, the minister of Dalry, who engaged in prayer at his bedside. "At the end of the prayer," says Mr. Macleod, "came his 'Amen,' pronounced suddenly in a great, strong, conclusive voice. It seemed to sum up his attitude to all things—his unshaken confidence, his faith, his consciousness of an honourable record, his hope of a goodly heritage."

Macartney did his life-work, and was content; but those who knew him best believe that his services and merits received but an inadequate and niggardly acknowledgment. He was a great man, but he was self-respecting and unobtrusive. He lacked the talent for self-advertisement. Had he

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possessed that, LL.D.'s, the freedom of boroughs, and other honours would have been showered upon him. These things perish in the using, but the wholesome influence he cast forth will go on working its way in that vast, amorphous, inscrutable empire of the East that is destined for weal or woe to share largely in shaping the future of the world.

The story of Macartney's life illustrates that in peace and war "Honour and Policy" may ever remain "unsevered friends."

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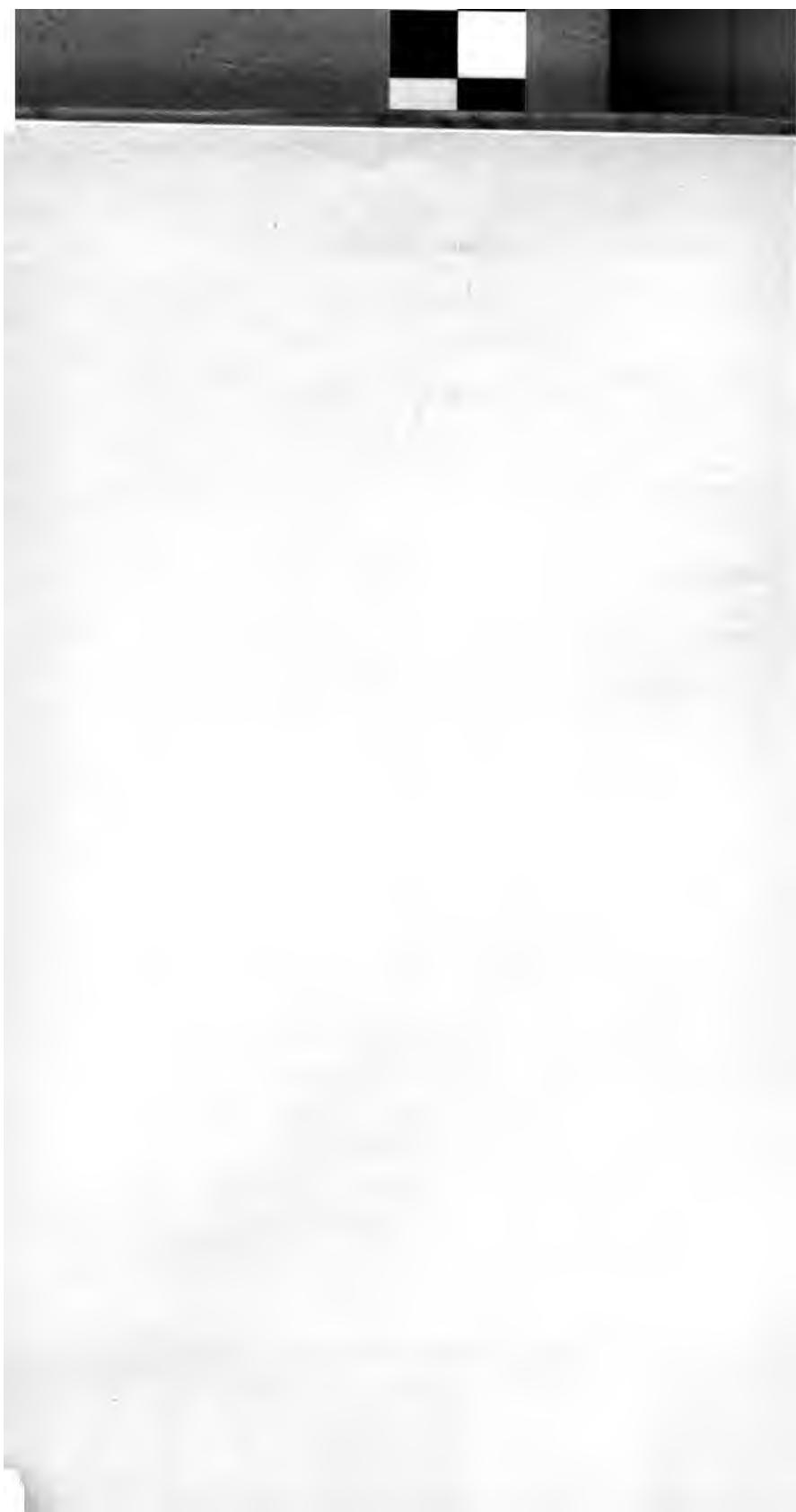
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THE LIFE OF SIR HALLIDAY MACARTNEY K.C.M.G.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

The family of Macartney—Its three branches—Auchenleck—Earl of Macartney—Kinship with Sir Halliday—Sale of Auchenleck—Sir Halliday's parents and birth—Edinburgh University—The Anglo-Turkish contingent—Students turned into doctors—A farewell visit to Galloway.

AT the official reception in the Foreign Office of the first Chinese embassy to England in 1877, Lord Beaconsfield, turning to Sir Halliday, then Dr., Macartney, said: "I regard it as fortunate that the first Chinese Mission to this country should have on it a gentleman of the same name and, I presume, of the same family as the nobleman who was at the head of the first British Mission to China." Lord Beaconsfield's reference was to the Earl of Macartney, British envoy to China in 1792, and he was perfectly right in his surmise, for both the Earl and Sir Halliday were of the Auchenleck branch of the Macartneys.

It would take too long, and it would be outside the sphere of this biography, to even summarise the history of the Macartneys of Scotland since their founder, a son of the McCarty More, quitted Ireland in the early part of the fourteenth century after the defeat and death at Dundalk of

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Edward Bruce, whose invading force he, with other Irish chiefs, had rashly joined. It must suffice to say that not long after their first arrival in Scotland the Macartneys, chiefs and followers, moved into Galloway and settled down round Loch Urr, where a district was, and is still locally, known by their name. In the records of the two great abbeys of this part of Scotland—Sweetheart and Dundrennan—the name of Macartney, under various forms of spelling, is of frequent occurrence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and when the feudal and domanial authority of the abbeys passed away with the triumph of Knox and the decrees of the Annexation Act in 1578, three distinct families of the Macartney clan emerged from the transfer of property as possessors of lands in that part of the ancient principality of Galloway which forms the modern shire of Kirkcudbright.

These branches were known by their respective estates of Auchenleck, Blacket, and Leathes. The branch of Blacket is still represented by the baronet who resides in Australia, and by the Right Hon. W. Ellison-Macartney. The General Macartney who took an active part in Marlborough's campaigns, and who was one of the seconds in the famous Mohun-Hamilton duel, was, it may be mentioned, of the Blacket family. With regard to the Leathes branch, the progenitor of which married, in 1565, the sister of the last abbot of Sweetheart's Abbey, an event which doubtless facilitated his acquisition of a part of the Church lands, all that need here be written is that it became extinct in the year 1780.

The Auchenleck branch concerns the story more nearly; but in entering into further details about this line of "poor but proud Scots," I must guard myself from any suspicion of wishing to magnify its importance. The house of Auchenleck was small and unpretentious, the land restricted to a few hundred acres; but this little Scottish

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"patrimony," to use the description of George Macartney, part founder and titular "sovereign" of Belfast, was as deeply cherished by those in the line of succession as if it had been a place of great value and importance. The sisters Frances Macartney, who married, in 1748, Fulke Greville, ancestor of the Earl of Warwick, and Mary Macartney, who married, in 1761, William Littleton, Lord Westcote, gave evidence of the sentimental interest entertained in the family for Auchenleck, when, on the death of their brothers, they voluntarily signed a deed transferring their reversion to it in favour of their cousin George, subsequently first and only Earl of Macartney, so that the names of Macartney and Auchenleck might be handed down together. I would give a further proof of this interest in the desire of Sir Halliday himself to repurchase this patrimony should the opportunity have presented itself.

The manner in which Auchenleck was first acquired by one Macartney was very similar to that in which Leathes passed, as described, into the hands of another member of the same clan. In 1580—that is to say, before the provisions of the Annexation Act had come into full force—Bartholomew Macartney¹ bought the lands of Auchenleck from the Abbot of Dundrennan, who thus averted total loss through confiscation by a well-timed sale. In 1649, George Macartney, son of the second Bartholomew of Auchenleck, migrated to Ireland, where, under the Cromwellian settlement, he received a large grant of lands in County Antrim. He held various official posts, was "sovereign" of Belfast,² and when the Revolution came in 1688 he proclaimed William and Mary in that city. He was succeeded in 1691

¹ In 1580 it is recorded that on the same day Bartholomew, son of Patrick Macartney, and John, the son of Adam Macartney, bought the lands of Upper and Lower Auchenleck respectively. It is certain that Lord Macartney was the descendant of Bartholomew; it is more than probable that Sir Halliday was the descendant of John.

² Provost or possibly mayor. See Benn's *History of Belfast*.

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by his son James, whom he specially ordered in his will not to alienate Auchenleck, "as it had been in the possession of his ancestors of his own name for many generations."¹ James was member for Belfast, a judge of the Irish Court of Common Pleas, and died in 1727. He was succeeded in the family estates by his own son, also James, who sat in Parliament for many years, and died in 1770. All the last-named's sons predeceased him, and by a special clause in his will supplementing the resignation by his daughters of their claims, he left "the ancient family estate of Auchenleck to his cousin George," afterwards Lord Macartney. This cousin was the great-grandson in the junior line of the George Macartney who reached Belfast in 1649 from Auchenleck.

George Macartney, the fourth bearer of the same name in direct descent, was born in 1737, and at the early age of twenty-seven was knighted by George III, and sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Russia on a special mission. He ingratiated himself with the Empress Catherine by assuring her that "her extraordinary accomplishments and heroic virtues made her the delight of that half of the globe over which she reigned and the admiration of the other." She showed her appreciation of his compliment by inducing the British Government to leave him as Ambassador at her Court. He next sat for a time in the House of Commons for the Ayr Boroughs, a seat secured for him by the influence of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Bute.² In 1775 he was appointed Governor of Grenada and Tobago, but on the French taking the islands he was captured and sent to Paris.

A few months earlier he had received his first peerage as

¹ This points to an earlier possession of Auchenleck than the purchase by his grandfather. It is probable that Bartholomew's forefathers before 1580 "feued" the estate from the Abbey of Dundrennan.

² Lord Macartney married in 1768 Lady Jane Stuart, daughter of John, Earl of Bute, but they had no children.

DUNIRENNAN ABBEY





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Lord Macartney of Lissanoure, and eventually took his seat under that title in the Irish House of Lords. In 1780 he was nominated Governor of Madras, and in 1785 the East India Company offered him the higher office of Governor-General of Bengal, which he declined. On his return, the Company granted him, as a mark of unusual favour, a life pension of £1500 a year, not merely for his zeal, "but for the good example he had set by giving in upon oath a statement of his property gained in the Company's service." His next and most important employment was as special envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to China, where he received an honourable reception at the hands of the Emperor Keen Lung. Lord Macartney, who had been raised to an earldom, succeeded in a most tactful manner in evading the demands of the Chinese Court officials that he should perform the ignominious ceremony of the kow-tow, and in all Chinese descriptions of the event the Macartney Embassy is described as the most important ever received by a Chinese Emperor. On receiving his step in the peerage, Lord Macartney adopted as his second title that of Baron of Auchenleck.

There is a direct connection between Lord Macartney and the immediate ancestors of Sir Halliday. We have seen how much George Macartney, the emigrant to Belfast, and his successors cherished Auchenleck, though they never lived there, and it may even be doubted whether in those days of difficult travel they ever visited it. Who lived at Auchenleck, then? There is hardly any room for doubt that Sir Halliday's ancestors did so on several occasions, and that for a long time they managed the little estate for their kinsmen in Ireland. A letter was long preserved in Sir Halliday's family from Lord Macartney. It was written at the end of the eighteenth century to one of Sir Halliday's ancestors, whom the Earl addressed as "My dear Cousin," and in it Lord Macartney said that, on an approaching visit

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to his brother-in-law Lord Bute, he hoped to see the ancient house of his forefathers. This visit does not seem to have been paid; at all events, there is no record of it. It is, however, certain that Sir Halliday's great-grandparents, Robert Macartney of Craignaw and his wife Elizabeth (of the Macbriar of Airdsburn family), both died in Auchenleck house in the years 1798 and 1780 respectively.

Lord Macartney died in 1806, and having no children of his own, he appointed his niece, the daughter of his sister Elizabeth, who had married Major Belaguier in 1759, his sole heir. This lady was married to a clergyman of the Irish Established Church, the Rev. Travers Hume. For the first time in two centuries the little patrimony of Auchenleck appears to have been forgotten, as there is no mention of it in Lord Macartney's will. It passed with the rest of his estates to the sole legatee, but for ten years after his death the property continued to be more or less under the control of Sir Halliday's family. In 1816 Mrs. Hume¹ decided to part with Auchenleck, and it was duly sold in the following year by leave of the Court in Edinburgh. After a period of at least 237 years Auchenleck thus passed out of the possession of any member of the Macartney family.

Whether Sir Halliday was the descendant of John, son of Adam Macartney, who bought the lands of Lower Auchenleck in 1580, as mentioned in the footnote, or of a younger son of one of the two Bartholomews of Upper Auchenleck (grandfather and father of George of Belfast), may be deemed uncertain, as he could only trace his descent positively back to an Alexander Macartney who died in 1725, and who is buried in the Macartney burial ground at Dundrennan. But our purpose has been merely to show

¹ Mrs. Hume's son took by royal patent the name of Macartney, and her grandson, C. G. Macartney, Esq., of Lissanoure Castle, in Antrim, is the recognised head of the Macartneys of Auchenleck.

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that he really belonged to the Auchenleck family, and that is, we hope, made sufficiently clear.

Sir Halliday's grandfather, John Macartney, died at Auchencairn in 1849 at the age of eighty-five. He had married a distant cousin, Marion Macartney of Bogra. Their eldest son Robert married at Balmaghie in 1825 Elizabeth, more usually called Eliza, daughter of Ebenezer Halliday of Slagnaw, younger brother of the laird of Kirklands, and they lived either in, or in the neighbourhood of, Castle Douglas, whence they removed to Auchencairn, and finally to Dundrennan House, where they eventually died. Their family was composed of four sons, of whom Sir Halliday was the youngest, and four daughters.

Samuel Halliday Macartney, to give him his full name,¹ was born near Castle Douglas on 24 May, 1833. He received his education at the Castle Douglas Academy, where in the good Scottish fashion he was well grounded in the subjects necessary to procure his admission into a university. When he was fifteen, however, instead of going to college he proceeded to Liverpool, with which place his family had been connected, to take up a position as junior clerk in a mercantile firm. There are no details available about the several years he passed in Liverpool, but he did well, and gave his employers so much satisfaction that on one occasion, when he was returning to Galloway for a brief holiday, his principal said to him: "If you have any more of the same sort as yourself at Castle Douglas, bring them back with you, and we will take them on." Macartney did bring a friend, an old schoolfellow, back with him, and that gentleman remained connected with the same firm for a great many years.

¹ Sir Halliday never used his first Christian name after leaving Edinburgh University, and it had fallen not merely into disuse, but oblivion. A parallel case is that of Sir Stamford Raffles, whose first name, Thomas, also fell into complete disuse.

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A commercial life, however, did not present any attraction for the young Halliday Macartney, whose spirit led him to think more of the adventures of the old soldiers of fortune whom Scotland had sent forth in the past than of the sedate routine of the counting-house. It was in Liverpool, however, that he acquired his taste for science, and for medical study, in the house of his mother's brother, Dr. John Halliday of Seacombe, Cheshire, where he spent most of his leisure time, and in that of his grandmother's brother, Dr. James Garson, F.R.S., who was then the leading physician in Liverpool. After two or three years passed at Liverpool, he entered Edinburgh University in the year 1852, with the intention of joining the medical profession.

It is very unfortunate that there are no records available of Macartney's first stay at Edinburgh University. All that is remembered is that he was a hard and conscientious worker, and that he was distinguished among his fellow-students by a marked capacity for literary composition. He was even something of a poet, and used to recall how, when a boy of twelve, he escaped from home one evening, when he was supposed to have gone to bed, and spent a long moonlight night seated on a wooded headland overlooking the Solway, Orchardton, the home of Harry Bertram of *Guy Mannering*, and Heston, the Rathan Island of Mr. Crockett's *Raiders*, waiting for the divine afflatus to come to him. But the garish day arrived and no afflatus, and he went home crestfallen to his porridge and milk with only a cold in his head. He did not altogether abandon the attempt to scale Parnassus until the cares of diplomacy left him no margin of leisure. He once confessed to a friend in later years that while at Nanking he had composed a tragic poem in ten cantos which he had forgotten to bring away with him when leaving China in 1876, adding that it had probably furnished many a meal since to destructive hordes of white ants.

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At Edinburgh in those days, and it may be so still, it was the practice for the students to attach to their themes not their own name, but a *nom de guerre*. The one chosen by the subject of this memoir was Christopher North. As has been indicated, Macartney's temperament at this time was emotional and impulsive rather than reflective and restrained; and if he thought of distinction, it was not less in the realms of imagination than in those of action. An outside occurrence beyond his influence and not to be foreseen in the calculations of either himself or his family arrived to give a new turn to his thoughts and to supply him with a fresh and unlooked-for field of employment. As he himself used to say very often in later life, his career was shaped by the decision of a moment.

In 1854 war commenced with Russia, and the campaign in the Crimea was undertaken. Great as was the interest aroused in the event, and nowhere more so than in Edinburgh University, where so many students were contemplating their future career in the public service of their country, it did not appear at all likely that Halliday Macartney would be in any way affected personally by the occurrence. His future life seemed clearly marked out for him. He was to take his medical degree, and then to make his way in life as an emulator of the many famous surgeons and physicians produced by his University.

During the first term of the year 1855, there arrived a day when a certain theme was given out as the subject for an essay by the assembled students. It was noticed that at the moment of the selection of the subject, or immediately after the students had begun their work, a stranger took his place beside the learned professor. Nothing much was thought of this for the moment, the students completed their tasks and handed up the results. The professor, Sir James Simpson, who gave chloroform to suffering humanity, then held up his hand for silence, and in a few words intro-

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duced to his hearers the unknown gentleman as Dr. Duncan Macpherson, a distinguished medical officer, and a member of the University.

Dr. Macpherson then rose and briefly explained to the students, who, it may be added, were those in either their last or their penultimate term, that he had been charged by Her Majesty the Queen with a Commission to form the Medical Staff of the new Anglo-Turkish Contingent which was then being organised. He added that as a member of Edinburgh University he had naturally come first to his own Alma Mater for volunteers. He then stated that he required eighty medical students to complete his staff, and he asked any so disposed among his audience to testify their willingness to join by holding up their hands. The whole class did so, and if Dr. Macpherson had taken a light view of his duties, he could have brought his mission to an end there and then. Instead of doing so, he looked through the essays himself, and he spread them out before him so that the names of the writers might be easily distinguished. He then invited the students to pass in single order before him, and as each presented himself he took out and glanced at the paper bearing his pseudonym. When it came to Macartney's turn, Dr. Macpherson said, "What is your name?" "Christopher North." The Doctor replied, "Christopher North was a good man," and he set the essay bearing that signature aside. It is scarcely necessary to add that Halliday Macartney was among the successful applicants.

There was another condition to the appointment. The volunteers had to leave for London within three or four days. It can scarcely be doubted that many of those Scottish students whose patriotic fervour had led them to volunteer, and whose record at the University had made them seem qualified, were unable in the result to comply with this condition. It was only with great difficulty, and



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by a display of that energy which was one of his characteristics, and with which at that moment his relatives may not have credited him, that Halliday Macartney himself was able to conform with the condition laid down by Dr. Macpherson. In these days of railway-access to the neighbourhood at least of the wildest parts of the Highlands, three or four days would be amply sufficient to make the arrangements under pressure for a trip to the other end of the globe. But in 1855 it was different, and the railway helped Halliday Macartney but little in making his farewell visit of duty to his family in the extreme south-west of Scotland.

The following incident referring to a home visit on another and earlier occasion will bring the difficulty of travelling in those parts at that period clearly before the reader. Having decided for some forgotten reason to pay his home an unexpected visit, Halliday Macartney, after a long walk from the place where the coach had dropped him, arrived during the middle of the night. There was necessarily some delay in opening the door to him, and when it was opened he was found leaning against the door-post, cap in hand, fast asleep.

Still, enthusiastically and perhaps thoughtlessly as Halliday Macartney had accepted the invitation providentially sent to proceed to the scene of war, it never entered his head for a moment that he could take his departure without first seeing his parents and informing them as to what had occurred. On the very afternoon that he learnt that he was among the accepted applicants he set out for Galloway, and by coach and on foot he reached Auchencairn late on the following day. Bursting in on his mother, to whom he was ever tenderly attached, and from whom he derived many of his finest traits of character, he told his story, and we can imagine that his enthusiasm must have been somewhat damped by that lady's utter want of sympathy with his

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romantic adventure. At the least she must have told him that he had heedlessly interrupted his University career and postponed the taking of his degree in order to embark upon an unknown and indefinite career with absolutely no certain prospect, even if he should escape the bullets of the enemy and the maladies of an unhealthy climate. Halliday Macartney may have been discouraged, he may even have been led to reflect that his decision had been too hastily taken ; but neither then nor at any future time was he the man to falter when he had once arrived at a resolution. His only reply to his mother was, "Mother, I have passed my word, and I must go."

The meagreness of material to which I have referred affects this part of his early career in particular, but there are still some persons left who remember Halliday Macartney, full of enthusiasm, excited in his appearance, with long, flowing fair hair, flashing in upon the quiet village as a sort of emissary of the war of which but the merest echoes had reached it through the Glasgow or Edinburgh weekly papers. He was terribly in earnest, and he seemed a typical messenger of war rather than of that curative craft whose mission is to mitigate its hardships. It is said that the neighbours, declining to recognise him as a doctor, declared that he had gone to be "a soldier." That was a kind of impression, but the following anecdote rests upon a more definite basis. He had thirty-six hours to spend with his parents altogether, and he required an outfit in boots. The village shoemaker was sent for, and received the order in the following terms :—"I require half a dozen pairs of boots of this sort before twelve o'clock to-morrow night, and unless they are all finished by the time named, I will not take one of them."

The boots were ready in time, and Halliday Macartney set out for the Crimea.

CHAPTER II

THE CRIMEA AND INDIAN MUTINY

Arrival in London—A grievance—The Anglo-Turkish Contingent—The camp at Buyukdere—Sir Robert Vivian's troubles—The pay of the medical staff—A start at last—The Kertch Expedition—Macartney qualifies as interpreter—Returns to Edinburgh—Takes degree—Enters Army Medical Service—Gazetted to the 99th Regiment—Visits Castle Douglas—Off to India—The closing stages of the Mutiny—Calcutta—Ordered to China.

ON his arrival in London Halliday Macartney was to experience an early proof of the neglect and harsh treatment meted out to the officers of the Anglo-Turkish Contingent generally, but which fell with special severity on those of the medical staff. We have seen how readily the young students of Edinburgh accepted the post of assistant-surgeon through patriotic fervour. They were informed that the appointment carried with it an assured pay of half a guinea a day, and on signing-on they were told that the pay there and then commenced. This was the more necessary as the small sum granted for the journey to London left no margin for outfit. When Macartney reached London he found that no date had been fixed for the departure of the medical staff, and that the only information obtainable was that they must await orders. The days lengthened into weeks; the funds brought from home became exhausted, and meantime no pay came to hand. This was highly inconvenient, but worse was to follow. The authorities in London seemed disposed to consider that pay would only commence with the departure of the officers of the Contingent for the East.

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The young and almost penniless students from the North were aghast. What was to be done? Halliday Macartney came forward among his comrades in this crisis. He arranged a public meeting, drew up a round robin, and, accompanied by several of his fellow-students, proceeded with it to the Inspector-General. Dr. Duncan Macpherson received them kindly, admitted the justice of their case and the harshness of their position, and promised to make the strongest representations in the proper quarter. These proved successful, and, much to the relief of the assistant-surgeons, the arrears of pay were at last forthcoming.

A few words about the origin of the Anglo-Turkish Contingent here will not be out of place. The Turkish defence of Silistria had drawn attention to the military qualities of the Turks, and their reputation was enhanced by the defence of Kars. Some Anglo-Indian officers represented that it would be easy to make an English-trained force of Turks as efficient as the best sepoy regiments, and, curiously enough, while Lord Raglan remained opposed to the idea, several of the French commanders expressed in their reports to Paris their desire to see more trained Turkish troops in the field. The Minister of War, Lord Panmure, having had Indian experience as Governor of Madras, was distinctly favourable to the idea, and among the directors of the East India Company was his personal friend Major-General Sir Robert Vivian, who had strong opinions in the same direction. Out of their consultations arose the project which was finally given definite form in the Anglo-Turkish Contingent, the command of which was entrusted to Sir Robert Vivian himself. Sir Robert resigned his seat on the Board of Directors, and received the local rank of lieutenant-general.

On the 10th March, 1855, Sir Robert Vivian, and those officers who had then joined the corps, among whom I may mention Major Goldsmid—afterwards General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, who died at the beginning of the present year at

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a patriarchal age—were entertained at a banquet at which Lord Palmerston and Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, were both present. It was then stated that the Turkish Government had placed twenty thousand of its troops at the disposal of the English Government to be trained, armed, and paid for by the latter. When the details of the formal Convention were published three days later, it was known that by an agreement signed on the 3rd February, 1855, the Porte had promised a force of fifteen thousand regulars and five thousand redifs.

It was at the end of February, 1855, that Dr. Duncan Macpherson paid his visit to Edinburgh. He became associated with the Contingent in the same manner as Sir Robert Vivian had been entrusted with the command. He also had been known to Lord Panmure in India, and had been accustomed to dealing with Indian native troops. No man could have been better qualified to discharge the duties of Inspector-General of the Contingent than he, and it is not a little curious to find that almost the sole record of the Anglo-Turkish Contingent of 1855–6 is contained in his scientific work on *Antiquities of Kerch and Researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus*.

By the end of April, 1855, the officers and medical staff of the Contingent were installed in the camp prepared for them across the Bosphorus at Buyukdere. The officers and staff were there, but not the Contingent, for the Turkish Government had not been able to come up to its promises. It had promised regulars, and its chief commander, Omar Pasha, was not willing to part with any of his. It had promised redifs, and time was required for their collection. There were other difficulties. Lord Raglan's opposition was reflected in the action of the English Ambassador at Constantinople, and the Porte, left to its own dilatory devices, adopted the congenial practice of waiting upon time. But if there were no men, there were officers in

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plenty. Many Anglo-Indian officers on retirement hastened to Constantinople to offer their swords to Sir Robert Vivian. In May, 1855, there were at least seven hundred officers at Buyukdere, and not as many troops. Sir Robert Vivian proceeded to Constantinople to secure the intervention of the Ambassador, and on his advice went on to the Crimea to consult with Lord Raglan, which was a sufficient indication where the true obstruction lay. The result of this visit was that in a few weeks' time about eight thousand Turkish troops were assembled at Buyukdere. During the summer months the force steadily increased in numbers and efficiency, and by the end of September its total was not far short of the stipulated number, and the success of the scheme, as far as it was an experiment, assured.

Meantime the position of the medical staff was not exactly happy. A fresh and serious grievance had taken the place of that which had arisen at the commencement. The surgeons and assistant-surgeons received their stipulated pay at the rate of a guinea and a half and half a guinea per day respectively. But in their contract nothing had been said about the expenses contingent to their work. A horse was necessary, and native servants had to be engaged for its care. There were other matters of unavoidable expenditure, and the unfortunate assistant-surgeons saw their pay vanishing in the incidental outlay. The combatant officers were better off, because their engagement provided for such expenses, and they thus received adequate allowances for the charges they had to defray. The absolute injustice of the treatment meted out to the medical staff was too glaring to call for much agitation. A few letters in *The Times* from some of the sufferers, a memorial to Lord Panmure at the end of August, supported by Dr. Macpherson's strong representations, obtained the necessary redress, and before the end of September all the members of the Contingent were in a perfectly contented state of mind except, indeed,

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with regard to the too prolonged state of inaction in which they had been kept. The whole force was full of eagerness to proceed to the front; but, instead of being in the Crimea, it was still, six months after its creation, confined to inglorious inaction in its camp at Buyukdere.

At last, towards the end of September, the grateful news came that the force was to be moved to the Crimea, and the mounted portion of the Contingent, which included a Polish regiment, was actually on board the transports, when fresh orders came from head-quarters countermanding those for the departure for the Crimea. Lord Raglan was resolved that wherever it went the Contingent should not come under his immediate orders. In the words of a writer of the day, he gave it "the cold shoulder from the beginning." It was said at the time that this decision was due to the jealousy felt by officers of the Queen's Regular Army for those on the establishment of the East India Company, from which service the officers of the Contingent were mainly, if not exclusively, drawn. But a more charitable conclusion would be that Lord Raglan had so many troubles of his own arising from his delicate relations with the different non-English corps serving in the Allied army—for in addition to the French army, there were also Turkish and Sardinian corps among the forces besieging Sebastopol—that he wished to avoid the responsibility for another irregular and hybrid body like the new Turkish Contingent. Whatever his motive, he resolved not to let Sir Robert Vivian's corps come to the Crimea, and he carried his point. The capture of Sebastopol at the end of September also rendered its presence unnecessary.

Thus at the very moment when the Contingent was partly embarked for the Crimea, the decision as to its destination was finally made. On the 5th October the special correspondent of *The Times* wrote stating that "the Turkish Contingent was still being kicked about like a football from

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corner to corner"; but a few days later all uncertainty was removed by the announcement that the Contingent was to provide the main force of an expedition that was to capture Kertch, secure the command of the Sea of Azof, and establish a strong position on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Before the end of October the first part of this task had been accomplished. The fleet cleared the way, and after a brief bombardment the Russians evacuated Kertch. The Turkish Contingent arrived immediately afterwards and proceeded to garrison the place. Its strength at the time of the occupation was given as fifteen thousand regular infantry, one Polish lancer regiment, and 3500 Bashi-Bazooks, or irregular cavalry.

The occupation of Kertch was attended by some regrettable excesses on the part of the Bashi-Bazooks, who had not then come under the strict discipline to which Sir Robert Vivian had subjected the infantry in the camp at Buyukdere. Bashi-Bazook marauders, who desecrated the Russian cemetery in search of jewels, cast an undeserved slur on the Contingent, but after several of the ringleaders had been hanged there was an end to excesses of all kinds, and the discipline of Sir Robert Vivian's force was admitted, even by its earlier detractors, to be perfect.

The occupation of Kertch was not attended by any exciting circumstances, and the Turkish Contingent was not afforded any opportunity of showing its value and merit as a fighting force. It was known that the Russians were collecting troops somewhere to the north, and that General Wrangel had been entrusted with an indefinite commission to recapture Kertch, but so long as the sea remained open there was no likelihood of this attempt being made, and in anticipation of the frost closing the straits, Sir Robert Vivian lost no time in strengthening the defences of Kertch. The Turks, as later on at Plevna, proved themselves first-rate workers with the spade, and the General declared that

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he was quite confident that behind his earthworks he could repel the attack of thirty thousand of the best troops in Russia. No opportunity arose, unfortunately, for putting his assertion to the test ; I say unfortunately, because it needed a striking military success to establish the reputation of the Turkish Contingent, and to induce our Government to sanction the continuance after the peace of an experiment which would have greatly contributed to the maintenance of English influence in the Turkish Empire.

As the end of the year drew nearer, the reports of an approaching Russian army became more definite, and the cavalry was sent out to make reconnaissances in the direction of the town of Azof. On one of these occasions a few squadrons of the Bashi-Bazooks came into contact with a superior Cossack force. Led by their English officer, Captain Sherwood, they charged home, but the Russians were too strong for them. Captain Sherwood was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The Russian officers treated him well, but he died some days later, on the very day, indeed, that Major Goldsmid was authorised, under a safe-conduct by the Russian authorities, to visit his comrade in their camp.

This skirmish showed that Russian troops were indeed not far off, and during January and February, 1856, there were continual reports that the long-announced Russian attack was about to be delivered. But still the Russian commander allowed "I dare not wait upon I would." There came a time, however, when the news arrived with too much precision to be ignored that the Russian attack would be delivered *à l'Inkermann* during a certain night. It was Macartney's chief reminiscence in later days of his Kertch experiences. He recalled in a vivid and realistic manner the impressions of the night. The assembling of the troops in the evening after supper, their silent march to their different positions, the lining up of the

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men behind the earthworks, the eagerness with which the troops peered over them into the darkness, the anxiety with which they listened for the faintest sound, and how at the supreme moment of tension down descended a dense fog or mist which obscured everything, and in which the Russian force under General Wrangel is supposed to have gone astray ! It was the nearest thing to a real fight that fell within Macartney's experiences with the Turkish Contingent.

Another matter in connection with the occupation of Kertch may be mentioned. On joining the Contingent Macartney had begun the study of the Turkish language, and soon after the arrival at Kertch he passed the qualifying examination which gave him the rank and additional pay of interpreter. But although he passed the examination and qualified for the post, the extra pay was not for a time forthcoming. Whereupon Macartney declined to interpret another word until the pay was assured. He firmly declared that his motto was, "No pay, then no interpreting !" and he stuck to his guns. It will be seen later on that his study of the Chinese language was one of the main causes of his entrance into the Chinese service, and on his embarking on a diplomatic career he devoted himself assiduously to improving his knowledge of French.

When the Contingent was disbanded in May, 1856, the officers got two months' pay as a reward and £30 for each charger, but Macartney remained at Constantinople till the end of the year, as the staff had heavy work before the men were effectually distributed. No special rewards were granted to the officers of the Contingent. Dr. Macpherson was the luckiest, for he received the appointment of Inspector-General of the Army in Madras, where he died in 1867. As for Macartney himself, he returned with the Crimean medal and a moderate sum saved from his pay.

Before the end of the year 1856, then, the Anglo-Turkish

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Contingent, as the consequence of the peace, was finally disbanded, and beyond an interesting experience Halliday Macartney had not accomplished much in the way of finding himself a profession or advancing himself permanently in life. Still he had had some surgical and medical practice, he had seen a little of the world, and the enthusiasm for a quasi-military career which had led him to succumb to Dr. Macpherson's proposal had not left him. He made up his mind to enter the medical department of the Army, and he may have been induced the more to take this step by the reports then current as to the decision of the Government to improve the status and prospects of its medical staff.

But the assistant-surgeon of the Turkish Contingent was now no more than an ex-student of Edinburgh University, in which he had studied for an inadequate number of terms. The savings from his pay enabled him, however, to take the requisite step of re-entering himself as a student at the University in order to complete his course. After a further stay of twelve months he took his M.D. degree early in the year 1858, and it is worth mentioning that his qualifying thesis was on "The Pathology of Phthisis, and its Relation to Fatty Liver."

Some of his fellow-students in these later terms of his career at the University have a recollection of his partiality for declamation, and recall his appearance as he stalked up and down the corridors wearing a tightly-buttoned frock-coat, with one hand thrust into the breast of it, and the other hand holding the book of poems from which he recited his favourite passages. A perfervid, excitable Scotsman, full of romance, holding strong opinions and asserting them with conviction and fierce resentment of contradiction, disregarding some, perhaps, of the ordinary conventions of society, so that on first joining the Army he struck some of his brother officers as a rough and untutored "son of the North"—such was the Halliday

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Macartney of 1858. But even the most supercilious never attempted to disparage his ability, his absolute honesty of purpose, and the resolute determination that was his chief characteristic through life. He was also, perhaps, affected by that kind of aloofness which keeps really strong men from mixing on altogether equal terms with their fellows. Throughout his life, indeed, Sir Halliday was ever a reserved man, and perhaps on this account he did not make friends easily, especially in later years.

Immediately after taking his degree he passed the examination of the Military Medical Department, and was gazetted in September, 1858, as third assistant-surgeon in the 99th, then known as the Lanarkshire Regiment. As the regiment was under orders for India, Halliday Macartney had only time to get his regimentals and to pay a brief farewell visit to his parents. It is recollected that when he put on his scarlet coat and cocked hat for the edification of his relations and friends he made a great impression, and some of his former schoolfellows at heart envied him greatly. Fifteen eventful years were to pass before he saw Scotland again, but he found on his return that this incident had not passed out of memory.

On being gazetted to the 99th Regiment, Halliday Macartney was ordered to report himself at Fort Pitt, Chatham. The 99th had had a distinguished career, although the last of its creations went back no further than 1824. Since 1881, it may be mentioned, it has been joined to the old 62nd, and together they now form the two battalions of the Wiltshire¹ (Duke of Edinburgh's) Regiment.

¹ The 62nd were known as the "Springers," and the 99ths as the "Nines." For some years an interesting regimental periodical was published under the latter title. I am indebted to the officer writing under the pseudonym of "Induna" for some valuable details about the work done by the 99th in China. I have reason to believe that "Induna" was Sir Halliday's regimental chum, the late Major H. Townshend.

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Macartney's stay at Chatham was very brief. Indeed, a fortnight after his taking up the duties of assistant-surgeon in the regiment, he embarked with it on board the screw steamer *Lady Jocelyn*, bound for Calcutta.

The journey was very uneventful and slow, eighty days elapsing between the departure from the Thames and the arrival in the Hooghly. An officer, describing the voyage some time later, could only recall that the passage through the Bay had been very rough, and that with few exceptions all the members of the mess had disappeared for several days to face the ordeal in their cabins. As Macartney was throughout his whole life an exceedingly bad sailor, he must have suffered more than the average victim. The only other incident noted was an alarm of fire near the powder magazine, in which fifty tons of powder were stored. It was fortunately put out in time.

On reaching Calcutta the 99th went into barracks at Berhampore, and for the year 1859 they, in conjunction with the Buffs, formed the European garrison of Calcutta. The final stages of the great Mutiny had by that date been reached, and the struggle was over. No fighting thus fell to its share. On the other hand, the medical staff had as much work to do as if the regiment had been in the field, for during many months the health of the men was very bad, and they suffered greatly from dysentery and fever. When, at the end of 1859, the regiment received orders to proceed to China, they were hailed with delight, for "there had been no fun and excitement in Calcutta," and numerous deaths in hospital had damped the spirits of both officers and men.

CHAPTER III

THE PEKING CAMPAIGN

The political situation in China—The Treaty of Tientsin—Repulse at the Taku Forts—Arrival of the 99th in China—The Island of Chusan—Departure for the North—Capture of Taku Forts—Battle of Chan-chia-wan—Occupation of Peking—Destruction of Summer Palace—99th at Canton—Incident in Chinese Yamen—The case of the cruel mandarin.

ABRIEF account of the political situation in China at this time, so far as foreigners were concerned in it, will enable the reader better to understand the events in which Sir Halliday Macartney ultimately took a prominent and distinguished part. The question of China's foreign relations had been a matter of interest to all trading nations, and especially to England, for a period of thirty years at the date which the present narrative has reached. The subject might be divided into two distinct periods, the first ending with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, which does not concern us. The second period began with the incidents of the years 1854–6, when the burning question was what was termed the opening of the gates of Canton. At the moment when the 99th left Calcutta, at the commencement of the year 1860, the second phase of the question had reached its most critical period, for it had become necessary not merely to compel the Chinese Government to keep its pledges, but also to retrieve an English reverse.

The comparatively simple question of the opening of the gates of Canton, which should have taken place in 1854,

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was complicated and embittered by two other causes of dispute. Of these the one which attracted the greater notice was the trade in opium; but, as a matter of cold fact, this was less important than the other, which depended upon the relations that foreign Governments were entitled by the law of nations to see established with and recognised by the central Government of China. At that period the Chinese view of the universe was simple and comprehensive. All foreigners were regarded as "outer barbarians" and all foreign States as tributaries of the Emperor, who was designated the "Son of Heaven." The real principle at issue, then, was the withdrawal of these absurd pretensions and the recognition of at least the equal rights of Europeans. The vindication of this principle, and not the forcing of a profitable but objectionable article of commerce on the Chinese, was the true cause of the strife which began many years before Sir Halliday Macartney's arrival in China, and of which he was to see, as a British officer, the most important closing incidents. After considerable fighting in the neighbourhood of Canton, the capture of the Taku Forts and the occupation of Tientsin, only eighty miles from Peking, the Chinese Government gave way, and allowed its representatives to sign a treaty which granted us all that was necessary or that we demanded. This treaty was signed at Tientsin on 26th June, 1858, by Lord Elgin and the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Hienfung. The Treaty of Tientsin, coupled with that of Nanking sixteen years earlier, forms, it may be said, the great charter for Englishmen in China.

By the terms of the treaty it had to be ratified within the period of twelve months. Lord Elgin returned to London, and his brother, the Hon. Frederick Bruce, was sent out in due course with the copy ratified by the British Government for the purpose of exchanging it at Tientsin for the one ratified by the Chinese Government. When Mr. Bruce

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reached Shanghai in May, 1859, he found that rumours were current to the effect that the Chinese authorities intended to go back upon their word. Instead of hearing reports that everything was being got ready for his reception at Tientsin, he learnt that military preparations were being made to defend the approaches to the capital of China. At the same time the Chinese officials at Shanghai represented to him that it would be quite sufficient if the closing arrangements with regard to the treaty took place in that city under the control of the provincial authorities. Mr. Bruce was tied by the letter of his instructions, and, indeed, by this time we had had so much experience of the devious ways of Chinese diplomacy that we were not likely to be imposed upon. Mr. Bruce cut short the tergiversations of the Chinese by sailing from Shanghai for Taku. A considerable squadron of our ships was already assembled in the Gulf of Pechihli to serve as his escort. Mr. Bruce appeared off the bar of the Peiho River on the 24th June, but when an intimation of his arrival was sent on shore, the reception given to the messenger was anything but friendly or encouraging. The officer who bore the message was not allowed to land, and armed crowds of soldiers or rowdies made hostile demonstrations. The utmost concession that could be obtained was a promise that the line of stakes which had been placed at the mouth of the river to bar the entrance of vessels should be removed sufficiently to allow of a ship entering the next day.

When the next day arrived it was seen that, far from this promise being fulfilled, the Chinese were actively engaged in strengthening the existing obstructions. Under such circumstances there was no choice whatever between retreat and the removal of the barrier by our ships. Of course, the latter course was adopted, and Admiral Hope proceeded, on the morning of 25 June, to take the necessary action. The stakes were removed one by one by the steamer

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Opossum, and the Chinese in the Taku Forts did not attempt to prevent it. For a moment, then, it looked as if the Chinese had no serious intention of opposing the advance of our squadron. This expectation did not last long, for on reaching a certain point upon which the Chinese gunners had evidently trained their guns, a heavy and effective fire began from the forts on both sides of the river. It is unnecessary to give the details of the encounter. It will suffice to say that our attack was repulsed, and that Admiral Hope was obliged to retire with the loss of three gunboats and of over three hundred men killed and wounded. Not merely, then, was the Tientsin Treaty not ratified in the manner and at the period prescribed, but our arms had experienced a rude reverse for the first time in this long and varied contest. Mr. Bruce wrote in his dispatch to the Foreign Office describing the occurrence as follows:— “Whatever may be the ultimate decision of the Government with reference to the Treaty of Tientsin, I do not think that its provisions can be carried out until we recover our superiority in the eyes of the Chinese.”

That was the object with which, at the beginning of 1860, troops were being sent to China. During these later troubles in China France had been associated with us, and in November, 1859, an Anglo-French Convention for joint action in China was concluded in London and Paris. By this arrangement an English army of thirteen thousand men was to be assembled in China, while France undertook to dispatch an expedition of about seven thousand men. It was also agreed that there should be concerted military and diplomatic action, so that the Chinese Government might be compelled to accord identical terms. The command of the British force, the greater portion of which was sent from India, was entrusted to General Sir Hope Grant, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the Mutiny, and who had had experience of fighting in China in the cam-

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paign of 1841-2. The command of the French force was given to General Montauban, who afterwards received the title of Comte de Palikao from the battle he won at that place on the march to Peking. At the same time that these military appointments were made, others of a diplomatic order were also carried out. The Earl of Elgin was sent back as our plenipotentiary to obtain the ratification of his own treaty, and at the same time and for the same purpose the French Government nominated Baron Gros.

The 99th regiment was one of those selected for the China expedition, and, although steam had by this time come into general use, three sailing ships were assigned for its conveyance to China. They were the *Octavia*, the *Walmer Castle*, and the *Mars*. The passage proved exceedingly slow and tedious, and nearly two months elapsed before these old East Indiamen reached Hong-Kong. When they did get there, at the end of March, they found the place so full of troops that there was no accommodation available, and the regiment was sent on without landing to the island of Chusan. An advance company of the regiment which had been dispatched from India some weeks earlier, under the command of Captain Burton, was also taken on board, and the whole of the 99th was therefore employed in our second¹ and bloodless occupation of the island of Chusan.

The preparations for the move northwards were then hurried on, and in June the ships arrived to convey the troops in the island to the scene of operations in the Gulf of Pechihli. A small force, including two hundred men of the 99th under Captain Burton, was left to garrison Chusan, but the remainder sailed for the appointed rendezvous in Talienwan Bay. The troops were landed in Pearl Bay, and

¹ The first occasion was in June, 1840, and the occupation then lasted till July, 1846. By the Convention of Bocca Tigris, signed 4 April, 1846, Sir John Davis stipulated for and China agreed that the island should *never* be ceded to any other foreign Power.

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then marched to Odin Bay. Some delay took place in arriving at an agreement between the French and the English commanders as to the plan of campaign, but at last Sir Hope Grant's plan of landing the expeditionary force at Pehtang, north of the Peiho, and taking the Taku Forts in flank and rear was adopted.

The Chinese had made great preparations for defence at Taku but none at Pehtang, where some Tartar cavalry represented the only garrison. Consequently the disembarkation was not opposed, and the only inconvenience experienced by the force was that it had to pass the first night ashore on an elevated causeway flanked on both sides by the sea. The next day it was found that Pehtang had been abandoned, but before evacuating the Chinese had mined the place in the hope of destroying their enemy. A humane but unpatriotic native revealed the plot, and undoubtedly many lives were thus saved. Two days later occurred the fight at Sinho, when a strongly fortified camp was captured, and a position secured some miles behind the forts at Taku. A second and more stubborn engagement was fought at Tangku on the northern bank of the Peiho River, and Colonel Fisher, in his interesting narrative of this war, wrote about this affair that "the Tartars really for a time fought nobly." These operations were all preliminary to the attack on the forts themselves, and that incident I may be allowed to describe in an extract from my *History of China*: "The attack on the northern fort commenced on the morning of 21st August with a heavy cannonade. The Chinese fought their guns with extraordinary courage. A shell exploded their principal magazine, which blew up with a terrible report, but as soon as the smoke cleared off they recommenced their fire with fresh ardour. Although this fort, like the others, had not been constructed with the same strength in the rear as in the front, the resistance was most vigorous. A premature

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attempt to throw a pontoon across the ditch was defeated with the loss of sixteen men. The Coolie Corps (an English-trained Chinese force, also called the Bamboo Rifles) here came to the front, and, rushing into the water, held up the pontoons while the French and some English troops dashed across. But all their efforts to scale the wall were baffled, and it seemed as if they had only gone to self-destruction. While the battle was thus doubtfully contested, Major Anson, who had shown the greatest intrepidity on several occasions, succeeded in cutting the ropes that held up a drawbridge, and an entrance was soon effected within the body of the works. The Chinese still resisted nobly, and it was computed that out of a garrison of five hundred men but one hundred escaped. There still remained four more forts on the northern side of the river, and it seemed as if they would offer further resistance, as the garrison offered threats of defiance to a summons to surrender. But appearances were deceptive, and for the good reason that all of these forts were only protected in the rear by a slight wall. The French rushed impetuously to the attack, only to find that the garrison had given up the defence, while a large number of the Chinese had actually retired. Two thousand prisoners were made. These men were found seated on the ground in the interior of the forts, having thrown away their arms and accoutrements."

In this way the Taku Forts, which had repulsed Admiral Hope's squadron the year before, were captured by an attack from the land side. The British loss in the affair was twenty-two killed and 179 wounded, including twenty-one officers, and to these figures must be added the casualties of the French, who fought with their accustomed gallantry and dash.

The 99th regiment was not under fire in the attack on the five northern forts, although its commanding officer, Colonel Reeves, who led one of the brigades, was wounded in several

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places. Two days after the capture of the forts Tientsin was secured by the gunboats, and by the 26th of August the military occupation of that important city was completed. In the advance on Peking a company of the 99th was assigned as Lord Elgin's personal bodyguard, and the regiment formed part of the infantry force that fought and won the battle of Chan-chia-wan on the 19th September, 1860. In this action, which was the only one approaching the dimensions of a pitched battle during the campaign, the 99th did some sharp fighting but suffered little loss, the charge of a body of Manchu cavalry not getting home, or rather being repulsed by a counter-charge of some of our own cavalry. In the encounter at Palikao also, and the occupation of the Park and the Summer Palace, the 99th got no chance of any special distinction, experiencing only the drudgery of campaigning on the dusty roads and plains of northern China in summer, and coming in for only a small share in the profitable looting of the Summer Palace, where our allies, by a little superior quickness, got the start of our men and the plums of the spoil.

The situation had been further complicated by an act of treachery on the part of the Chinese which called for severe punishment. The day before the battle of Chan-chia-wan the Chinese received a visit under a flag of truce from Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes, the interpreter with the force. Mr. Parkes was sent in to arrange for the next encampment of our army and for the meeting of the Chinese plenipotentiaries with our own, for at the moment it was thought and hoped that the fighting was over. Mr. Parkes was accompanied by several Englishmen, including the late Lord Loch, and there was a small escort of Sikh cavalry. The party was on its return to the British position on the morning of 19 September, when on passing through the lines of the Chinese army all its members were seized, made prisoners, and hurried off to

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Peking in a particularly cruel manner. On arrival there, all of them, with the exception of two who had been executed by Sieh's orders at Palikao Bridge, were thrown into the common prison, a loathsome place full of ordinary criminals. Parkes and Loch, however, were treated as prisoners of somewhat greater importance, and lodged in a temple. It was their arrest which precipitated the battle of Chanchia-wan already described.

On the expeditionary force reaching the outside of the city of Peking, therefore, the most urgent question was to obtain the restoration of the prisoners, and Lord Elgin refused to hold any communication with the Chinese authorities until this had been done. After some correspondence and considerable delay some of the prisoners, including Parkes and Loch, were released on 8th October, but the information they brought as to the cruel manner in which they had been treated and of the death of many of their comrades increased the indignation and resentment created by the act of treachery mentioned. In addition to the Englishmen who had been executed before they reached Peking, others had died there. Lord Elgin, on learning these facts, sent a still more emphatic ultimatum to the effect that the remaining survivors must be surrendered without delay, and that one of the city gates must be placed in our possession. He named the Antung or north-east gate, and he fixed the 13th October for its surrender. To this ultimatum the Chinese sent no reply, and on the 12th preparations were quietly and secretly made to carry the gate by storm.

Sir Halliday Macartney's principal reminiscence of the Peking operations centred on this incident. Opposite the gate in question was a temple with a walled enclosure of considerable extent. For the success of our projected attack it was necessary that the Chinese should not become aware of our intentions. Accordingly, during the night of

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the 11-12 October, the enclosure mentioned was occupied by a party of engineers and the 99th regiment. The engineers under the screen of the wall arranged positions for a battery, and the battery itself took up its position on the following night in readiness for action on the next day, when the time given by Lord Elgin should have expired. The proposed plan was that the first discharge of the battery should demolish the wall of the temple enclosure which had screened its being put into position, while the 99th, supported by the 9th Lancers in reserve, were to carry the gate by storm as soon as the artillery had broken it down. The period of respite had almost expired, and every one engaged was awaiting with suppressed excitement the moment for action, when the gateway was suddenly opened and a party of mandarins approached to notify that the gate was surrendered as we required. At the same time eight Sikhs and one Frenchman, the last of the surviving prisoners, were given up.

By a strange coincidence the late General, then Captain, Gordon was the engineer officer who prepared the emplacement for the battery in this temple enclosure. He described the incident in the following private letter quoted in my *Life of Gordon*: "On the 11th October we were sent down in a great hurry to throw up works and batteries against the town, as the Chinese refused to give up the gate we required them to surrender before we could treat with them. . . . To go back to the work—the Chinese were given until 12 (midday) on the 13th to give up the gate. We made a lot of batteries, and everything was ready for the assault of the wall, which was battlemented and forty feet high, but of inferior masonry. At 11.30 the gate was opened and we took possession, so our work was of no avail."

At that time General Gordon and Sir Halliday Macartney had not met, and it is not without interest to note that on

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one of the occasions when the latter took part in active operations as a British officer, he should have been engaged in close contact with Gordon, with whom he took so prominent and dramatic a part when the fighting force with which they were associated was not the British, but the "Ever Victorious Army."

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the concluding scenes in and around Peking itself. The signing of the Peking Convention which ratified the treaty of Tientsin and provided for the payment of a suitable indemnity was witnessed by Sir Halliday Macartney among other officers, as he was attached to the force that marched through the streets of Peking on the day of signature. He was also a witness of the destruction of the Summer Palace, which was decided upon as the fittest act of retribution for the treacherous arrest of Mr. Parkes and his companions, and for the cruel murder of several Europeans and Indians.

By this time the year was getting on, and as navigation on the Peiho—that is to say, between Tientsin and the sea—would not remain open much longer, it was necessary for the expedition to retire as quickly as possible. By the 9th November all the troops had quitted Peking and its vicinity, and the 99th left Taku early in December for the south, where we were to occupy Canton until the indemnity had been fully paid. Although there are so very few details available as to Macartney's part in this campaign, it cannot be doubted that it left an impression upon his mind as his first experience of the reality of war, for it will be remembered that in the Crimea no fighting fell to the share of the Anglo-Turkish Contingent, while the 99th reached Calcutta after the Mutiny had been practically suppressed.

There is not much to be said of a personal nature about Macartney during the fifteen months' stay of the part of the 99th regiment quartered in Canton, to which he was attached, but at least one incident of a very striking

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and almost dramatic character occurred at this period. By arrangement with the Chinese Government the conduct of affairs in the great city of Canton was entrusted to what was called the Allied Commission. The English members of this body were Sir Harry Parkes and Major Dowbiggen of the 99th, and associated with them were a French Commissioner and one of the Chinese Taotais. This body administered justice as far as it affected in any way Europeans or the conduct of those Chinese who were in authority, and it may be said that the arrangement worked very well.

The native city of Canton has always had an evil reputation, and although we have had communication with it of one sort or another for nearly three centuries, and notwithstanding that we have twice held it in our military possession, it is none the less true that the greater part of it has not to this day been traversed by a European. It is surrounded by a high wall which is broad enough to offer not merely a promenade, but a carriage route for the greater part of its extent, and at the period of which we are speaking this afforded a popular and safe exercise ground for the officers of the garrison. Macartney and his friends, Captain Burton and Lieutenant Townshend, often made trips in and around the city, and the following occurrence happened during one of these exploring tours which were undertaken partly as daily exercise and partly for the collection of Chinese curios.

On one of these occasions, when they had extended their walk from the ramparts some way into the town, Macartney and Townshend chanced to pass an official yamen, and by the commotion outside they learnt that something important was going on. Macartney then said to his companion, "Let us go in and see how they dispense justice among themselves in China."

On entering the court they saw that a trial was in pro-

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gress. A mandarin—the judge—was sitting at a table, and two secretaries were also seated there writing down their notes. On the table was a large saucer filled with Indian ink into which the scribes dipped their pencils. The court was filled with people, but at the sight of the English uniforms way was made for the officers so that they occupied a prominent place in the audience. A man, obviously the prisoner under trial, was being examined, and either declined to answer the questions put to him or did so in a manner unsatisfactory to the judge. Suddenly the judge made a sign, and uttered some words the purport of which was not intelligible to either Macartney or his friend, but the gaolers or yamen-attendants knew very well what was meant, and proceeded to action. Immediately behind the prisoner the yamen roof was supported by pillars, and it was seen that ropes passed through holes in them hung down loosely to the floor. When the judge gave his order the men mentioned promptly threw themselves on the prisoner, and attached these cords to his wrists and ankles. No sooner was he attached than men at the other side of the pillar pulled the ropes, and he was slung up against it.

The special cruelty of the proceeding was that the lower parts of the victim's legs were pulled backwards with the intention of continuing the strain until the leg below the knee had been jerked up into a horizontal position. As the torture proceeded the cracking of the unfortunate man's bones could be heard throughout the court. But the punishment had not gone very far when Macartney, losing all control over himself, rushed up to the table at which the mandarin was sitting, raised the saucer of Indian ink and brought it down with a crash on the table, smashing it and splattering its contents over the astonished judge and his secretaries. Then, turning to the court attendants, he made an imperious sign to them to release the prisoner from his bonds. This vigorous proceeding seemed to startle the court, for,

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as the principal actor often told me, the most remarkable circumstance in the whole affair was the absolute silence with which the Chinese officials and public took the interruption. The judge hastened out of the court, his secretaries followed him, the gaolers removed the prisoner, and the whole audience cleared off without sound or demonstration.

The officers returned to their quarters and thought nothing more about the matter. After mess on the following evening, the orders of the day were brought in by the orderly and presented to the Colonel at the head of the table. After he had looked at them they were passed round, and a hum of conversation at once arose. "What is this; what does it mean; what has happened?" As a rule, orders of the day at Canton in 1861 were uninteresting and unimportant, and those who had not yet seen the document were naturally curious to learn what was the cause of these comments. At last it reached Macartney, and he read words to the following effect: "Owing to the disgraceful conduct of some English officers in a Chinese yamen in the native city, officers are forbidden until further orders to enter the city of Canton." As this privilege had been the chief, if not the only, recreation of the officers stationed at Canton, the order excited much curiosity and created a keen sense of disappointment. Having carefully read the order, and probably having also discerned with his usual perspicacity that the Colonel knew something about the matter, Macartney rose in his place and addressed Colonel Day as follows: "Sir, I know of the incident to which reference is made in this order, and, sir, I know that you know of it also. I have only to say that if I were to be a witness of a similar scene of cruelty wherever the Union Jack was flying I would act precisely as I did on this occasion." In the face of such a declaration it was clear to the officers of the mess that they must reserve their opinion.

The suspense was not long, for whether in consequence

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of this incident or from some other reports, Sir Harry Parkes instituted an inquiry into the conduct of this very judge. One of the first steps taken by the Commission was to examine his prison where he kept persons brought before his court, and in this way four or five cases of shockingly ill-treated prisoners became known. The mandarin was then arrested, kept in close confinement for a fortnight, and eventually dismissed from his post and punished by his own Government. A brother officer of Macartney's still remembers how this official was put in a large wooden room attached to the wall of the Shameen Garden, and in such a position that the people could see through the open window this high mandarin, guarded by a British sentry, in his degradation. It is scarcely necessary to say that the exposure of this mandarin completely vindicated Macartney's conduct in the Chinese court. With this incident I may close the account of his stay in Canton.

CHAPTER IV

THE TAEPING REBELLION

Macartney leaves for Shanghai—The Taepings—Capture of Nanking—Shanghai threatened—Anglo-French decision—The Ward Force—Success and defeat—Shanghai attacked—A lull—General Staveley—Macartney “fonder of fighting than healing”—Kahding—Various successes—Evacuation of Kahding—Some personal characteristics.

AT the end of February, 1862, orders reached Hong-Kong for the dispatch without delay of two companies of the 99th to Shanghai, where at last it had been decided to clear the neighbourhood of the Taiping rebels. The Light Company, then at Canton and commanded by Captain Burton, was one of the two selected for the expedition, and with it went Lieutenants Harvey and Townshend, and Dr. Macartney as medical officer. This move, which at the time seemed to possess no special importance, was to be fraught with the most important and lasting consequences to the subject of this memoir. But before we describe them, and, indeed, for the comprehension of the events themselves, it is absolutely necessary, to give a brief account of the Taiping rebellion, and also of the position of affairs in China in the spring of the year 1862 at the moment when Macartney was about to become a prominent actor in the dramatic struggle between the Chinese Government and the rebels known as Taepings, which had then reached its most critical phase.

The Taiping rebellion began in the extreme southern province of Kwangsi, where popular discontent with the

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existing government had revealed itself as early as the year 1830. It was not, however, until the year 1850 that the movement became definite or formidable. The principal rebel, whose name was Hung-tsien, assumed in the last-named year the title of Tien Wang—the Heavenly King—and announced his intention of deposing the Manchu dynasty. Some of his supporters and associates proclaimed their desire to restore the Mings, the national Chinese dynasty overthrown by the Manchus in the first half of the seventeenth century. This seeming resemblance to what we should call a Stuart restoration in England, was wholly deceptive and illusory. The Taepings fought for their own hand, Tien Wang aspired to be emperor himself, and his lieutenants upon whom he bestowed the title of Wangs or Kings were not disposed to give place to the shadowy and conjectural descendants of the family which had been vanquished and dispossessed two centuries before.

In the summer of 1852 the Taepings left Kwangsi and marched northwards into the centre of China. Their success was not unchequered; they were, for instance, repulsed at Changsha by Tsêng Kwofan, a magnate of the province of Hoonan, of whom more will be heard in this narrative. But still, defeats and failures notwithstanding, they won their way to the banks of the great River Yangtse-kiang, and in March, 1853, they captured the important city of Nanking. Nanking—a name signifying the southern capital—had been the seat of the Ming dynasty, and was still a place of much importance. It contained an inner or Tartar city, in which there was a population of twenty thousand Manchus. Of these four thousand were supposed to be fighting men, but instead of fighting they made an ignominious surrender, relying on the word of the Taepings to spare them. Faith was not kept. The Taepings “killed them all to the infant in arms.” Of twenty thousand Manchus in Nanking not one hundred escaped.

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Flushed with this success, the Taepings set out for Peking, and in October, 1853, they captured the small town of Tsing, only twenty miles south of Tientsin and less than one hundred from Peking. For a brief moment it looked as if they were going to serve the northern capital as they had done the southern. But at this juncture not only did the Peking Government make a supreme effort to save itself by bringing levies from Manchuria and Mongolia, but the Taepings themselves became exhausted, and felt compelled to retire from the want of supplies and reinforcements. The year 1854 was marked by desultory fighting along their line of slow retreat, and at the commencement of 1855 the Imperial commander, the Mongol prince Sankolinsin, was able to report that not one of the rebels was left north of the Hwangho or Yellow River. In the history of their wars written by Chung Wang, the ablest of all the Taeping leaders, it is admitted that very few out of the two armies sent to the north ever returned to Nanking, so heavily did they suffer from the ravages of disease as well as from losses in the field.

By this time the Taepings had attracted a good deal of the attention of the European community at Shanghai, and the missionaries, whose credulity seems to be as easily moved by what they applaud as by what they denounce, took the Taepings under their very special protection, and strained all their influence to commit our Government to the adventure of espousing the cause of these spurious Christians. Fortunately we were represented at the time in Shanghai by two particularly level-headed men, the late Sir Rutherford Alcock and the late Sir Thomas Wade, and the fervour of missionary zeal on behalf of the worthless Taepings did not disturb the calmness of official acts and opinion. About this time Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Great Eltchi of Constantinople during the Crimean War, described in a speech in the House of Lords "the course of the Taepings

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as amounting to an indiscriminate violation of every moral principle."

As a matter of fact, the Taepings were a horde of lawless and cruel robbers, and some years after the Taeping craze had been boomed by Dr. Medhurst, the Rev. J. Holmes, an American missionary, had the good sense to describe the rebels in their true colours, as they had revealed themselves to him during a visit to Nanking in 1860: "I found to my sorrow nothing of Christianity, but its name falsely applied to a system of revolting idolatry; their idea of God is distorted until it is inferior, if possible, to that entertained by other Chinese idolaters. The idea they entertain of a Saviour is low and sensual." Missionaries have ever been bad instigators of public policy, and their ignorant fervour on behalf of the Taepings is a case in point.

Shanghai on account of its wealth offered a strong temptation to the Taepings, who hoped at least to be able to gain possession of the native city. In 1853 it had, indeed, been seized by some rebels allied rather with the Triad Secret Society than with the Taepings, but after a few months of possession it was recovered by the Imperialists, aided to some extent by the French. Matters thereafter remained quiet round Shanghai until the necessities of the Taepings at Nanking compelled them to seek supplies in money and arms as well as recruits in fresh and untouched districts. In 1860 Chung Wang—i.e. the Faithful King—came to the front as the champion of the Taeping cause, and imparted to it some of the old vigour that it seemed then to be losing. In the early spring of that year he captured Soochow, Quinsan, Taitsan, and other towns in the province of Kiangsu, all of these places being situated within a comparatively short distance of Shanghai. Although England and France were at this moment engaged in operations of war with the Peking Government, their representatives issued in May, 1860, a proclamation stating that they would not allow



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Shanghai to pass a second time out of the hands of that Government into those of any insurgent force.

At this juncture the Chinese bethought themselves of the possibility of utilising the services of Europeans against the rebels, and in July, 1860, the merchants of Shanghai raised what was called a patriotic fund for the purpose of paying a force of mercenaries. Two Americans named Ward and Burgevine, who had seen some fighting in the petty states of Central America, undertook to raise a band from among the Europeans in the port, and to supplement their numbers by recruiting half-breeds from the Philippines, generally called Manilla-men. As this proved the real origin of the movement which ultimately developed into the formation of the Ever Victorious Army, some particulars of Ward's Force, as this hybrid body was called, may be given. In a few weeks Ward collected about one hundred Europeans, chiefly sailors from the trading ships, and two hundred Manilla-men. Having got his men together Ward deemed it necessary to strike a blow quickly, before his somewhat non-descript following should find the restraint of discipline too irksome and desert. Moreover, Ward and his lieutenant, Burgevine, were to receive a handsome money present for each town they took from the Taepings. Accordingly Ward decided to attack Sungkiang, a large walled town situated twenty miles west of Shanghai. His first attack was repulsed, but at the second attempt he was more successful, and Sungkiang was captured from the rebels.

This success greatly pleased the Chinese, with whom Ward and his force became very popular. As his next task they proposed to Ward the capture of Tsingpu, situated a short distance north-west of Sungkiang, and for success they promised him an increased reward. Ward was nothing loth for the adventure, and although weak in artillery, he delivered his assault with great gallantry on 2 August, 1860. The defences of Tsingpu were, however, strong, and the

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garrison stout-hearted. Ward and his men reached the wall, but were then driven back with heavy loss. All his Europeans but six were killed or wounded, and Ward himself was wounded in the jaw. Despite this rude reverse Ward did not lose heart, or perhaps he was rendered desperate by the prospect of seeing the rich reward promised him slip away.

He returned to Shanghai to raise fresh recruits and to obtain some artillery. He succeeded in attracting to his flag 150 Europeans, chiefly Greeks and Italians, and the Chinese bought for him two 18-pounders. Three weeks after his repulse he again appeared before Tsingpu, but on this occasion he determined to trust to a bombardment rather than an assault. After a bombardment by his heavy guns, which continued for seven days, the garrison showed signs of having had enough of it, and success seemed within his grasp, when the great Taeping leader, Chung Wang, made one of his hawk-like swoops on Ward's force from Soochow, and scattered it in confusion. In addition to heavy loss in men, Ward had to abandon his guns and stores. The campaign would have seemed irretrievably lost, but that Chung Wang himself was repulsed in an attempt to recover Sungkiang. He experienced a still ruder repulse a few days later at Shanghai, which, notwithstanding the warning of the foreign authorities, he had the boldness to attack. He overthrew the Imperialists, and was counting on an easy success when he was met by the fire of the English and French troops who held the walls. He then drew off his army after it had suffered considerably.¹

These events took place while the Anglo-French forces were assembled in the north for the Peking campaign

¹ The following incident throws a clear light on the Chinese way of looking at things. The *North China Herald* of 9 August, 1862, contains an Imperial rescript thanking the Futai Li (Li Hung Chang) for his recovery of Sungkiang and Shanghai in 1860—events with which he had nothing to do.

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described in the last chapter. The conclusion of those operations and of a definitive peace led to a change in the situation around Shanghai. One of the clauses of the treaty provided for the opening of Yangtse River to trade, and Admiral Sir James Hope sailed up that river to enforce this provision. He stopped at Nanking, received the adhesion of the Taiping leaders to the arrangement, and obtained a further pledge to the effect that during the next twelve months the Taiping forces would not encroach within a thirty miles' radius of Shanghai. The year 1861 opened, therefore, with a sort of truce between our authorities and the Taepings. We bound ourselves not to interfere in the contest among the Chinese themselves, so long as trade was not unduly hampered, and the rebels promised not to interfere with us. This arrangement proved fatal, however, to the Ward Force as it was first constituted. In our zeal to proclaim our neutrality Ward was arrested while recruiting in the settlement, and although he quickly recovered his liberty by repudiating American citizenship and by saying that he was a Chinese officer, his mission among unemployed Europeans was summarily ended. The *coup de grâce* to the Ward Force was, however, given by Burgevine, who in a fit of desperation at what looked like the summary ending of his employment, delivered a third attack on Tsingpu, in which he was defeated with the loss of a great part of his corps. Thereupon the Ward Force was formally disbanded, and no further attempt was made to recruit any Europeans for the Chinese service.

Ward and Burgevine were, however, still kept on in the pay of Takee, the Chinese merchant, and his friends. Being unable to recruit Europeans they began drilling Chinese, a change of system destined to produce great results, for to this corps was given, for the purpose of encouraging its men, the high-flown title of the Ever Victorious Army. Before the year 1861 ended they had got together in their

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camp at Sungkiang a fairly well trained contingent of a thousand men, divided into two regiments, and favourable opinions had been passed by some of our officers on the steadiness of these newly trained Chinese.

Very early in 1862 it became clear that the tranquillity which had marked the year 1861 would not continue much longer. The Taepings had captured the ports of Ningpo and Hangchow, and, flushed by his success, Chung Wang resolved to make a fresh attempt to seize Shanghai. His necessities, indeed, drove him to this step, for he saw clearly enough that the possession of Shanghai was essential for the durable success of the Taiping cause. Ignoring the promise made to Admiral Hope, Chung Wang then advanced on Shanghai, burning the villages on his line of march ; but although he entered the suburbs and threatened Woosung, he did not venture to attack. He remained in the neighbourhood of the city from the middle of January to the middle of February, burning and destroying everything he could lay his hands on, and those of the unfortunate inhabitants who escaped with their lives fled into Shanghai for shelter.

Such was the situation when Sir John Michel arrived from Hong-Kong, to be followed a few weeks later by the two companies of the 99th. After consultation with the French it was decided that some of the villages nearest Shanghai should be cleared of the Taepings ; but as General Michel was on his way home, he left the decision as to expelling them from within the thirty miles' radius to his successor, General Staveley.

Events had thus proved themselves too strong for the continued preservation of the strict neutrality desired by our Government. It was becoming necessary to choose between the Chinese Imperialists and the rebels, and we naturally and wisely decided for the former.

The first expedition against the Taepings left Shanghai

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on 21 February, 1862, under the command of Admiral Hope. At that moment the 99th detachment had not arrived. The force employed consisted of 336 English sailors and marines, 160 French sailors, and 600 of Ward's drilled Chinese from Sungkiang. The object before the little force was the capture of Kachiaou, which the Taepings had fortified. This place was taken without great loss, and the Chinese troops, led by Burgevine, behaved admirably. The effect of this success on the Taepings was, however, only transitory, because having done their work the troops were recalled to Shanghai. The Taepings again became daring, and it was decided to read them a sterner lesson. Tseedong was selected for attack, and a slightly larger force, including seven hundred of Ward's men, than had operated at Kachiaou was sent to effect its capture. The Taepings made a stout but vain defence, and Ward's Chinese confirmed by their conduct the good opinion already formed of them. In this action, which was fought on 1st March, Burgevine was again wounded, and fifty of the force were either killed or wounded. A contemporary account stated that the Chinese fought most bravely, and that the difficulty was in keeping them back.

On their return from this affair General Michel inspected them, and recommended that the force should be increased. This recommendation was passed on to the Chinese Government, which issued a decree, dated 16 March, 1862, formally recognising the Chang Chen Chun, or Ever Victorious Army, as an integral part of the Chinese forces. At the same time it was arranged that nine thousand Imperial soldiers should be brought from the Yangtse Valley to Shanghai for the purpose of providing garrisons for the places recovered from the Taepings. The weak point, as has been explained, in our operations up to this had been that on the capture of a place it could not be retained for lack of troops to garrison it.

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At the end of March General Staveley arrived from Tientsin, bringing with him parts of the 31st and 67th regiments and some Royal Engineers. General Gordon, it may be interpolated, did not accompany this part of his corps because he was detained at Tientsin, and only reached Shanghai on 3 May, 1862. Shortly before the portions of the two regiments named reached Shanghai from Tientsin the two companies of the 99th had arrived there, as explained at the beginning of this chapter, and the reader is now sufficiently cognisant of the state of affairs at the moment when Macartney became an actor, although at first a minor one, in the struggle with the Taepings.

General Staveley, having now at his disposal a sufficient force for the purpose, decided to clear the country within the thirty miles' radius. He selected as the first point of attack the village of Wong-ka-dza, a place about twelve miles west of Shanghai and slightly north-east of Sungkiang. The expedition, which was commanded by the General in person, accompanied by Admiral Hope and the French Admiral Prôtet, set out on 4 April. It was late in the afternoon when the Taepings were driven out of their position at this place, only, however, to fall back upon some strong stockades four or five miles further inland. General Staveley halted, but Ward, who had come up late with his contingent from Sungkiang, followed them up, accompanied by Admiral Hope. He rashly attacked the stockades and met with a repulse, losing seventy-seven of his officers and men killed and wounded. Admiral Hope was also wounded in the affair. The next day General Staveley renewed the attack and captured the stockades, Ward's men getting in their rear and inflicting considerable loss on the enemy during their retreat. The successful expedition then returned to Shanghai, where preparations were made for the next move.

The point to be attacked this time was Tsipoo, a town

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situated on the right bank of the Whampao River, about twelve miles above Shanghai. The force detached for this work was altogether about fifteen hundred English and French, including in the former two half-regiments of Indian infantry, and it may be noted that the only English infantry with the force was a company of the 99th. On 18 April, after a heavy bombardment, the place was captured under somewhat remarkable circumstances. As the troops were on the point of delivering the assault, someone, by the General's order or through a misunderstanding, sounded the "Recall." The 99th were at the moment in advance and were not to be stopped. They carried the place in good style and the Taepings fled, leaving three hundred killed in the position. The official account of this affair admits that the 99th were the first in the town. A brother officer of Macartney's gives the following reminiscence of his share in the action : "Dr. Macartney did his best for our people, but he seemed to like the fighting part of it better than the healing, and had several single combats and, I believe, some narrow shaves."

It was on the occasion of the fight at Tsipoo that the following incident occurred. A party of the 99th, under Lieutenant Townshend, with whom was Macartney, were posted opposite a stockade with orders to keep concealed and await instructions. Hour after hour passed by, and at last Townshend said to Macartney, "What do you think of this?" "Think of it! Why, of course, that they have forgotten all about us!" "Well, what would you do if you were in command?" "I should at once order a charge and capture the stockade." "Very well, then, we'll do it." The charge was sounded ; the Taepings fired a volley before fleeing, and the stockade was carried at a rush.

A few days later official sanction was received from our Minister at Peking for the expulsion of the Taepings from all territory within thirty miles of Shanghai, and General

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Staveley at once decided on the capture of the four following places—Kahding, Singpoo, Najaon, and Cholin. Kahding, about twenty miles from Shanghai, was the first selected for attack, and as it was known that the rebels were in strong force, it was decided to employ a considerable number of our troops, including the whole of the British infantry. The French also provided eight hundred men under Admiral Prôtet. Ward was instructed to bring his two regiments, together about one thousand strong. Half-way between Shanghai and Kahding the Taepings had fortified the town of Naizean, which was defended by several ditches and abatis. It was only after an attack lasting two days that the Taepings abandoned this place on finding that their line of retreat was threatened. The resistance at Kahding itself was not so great, although it was defended by a high wall strongly built and a wide and deep ditch. On this occasion the Taepings preferred a rapid flight with slight loss to their usual stubborn resistance with heavy loss. A garrison of four hundred British-Indian and French troops and five hundred of Ward's Force was left in Kahding, while the bulk of the expedition returned to Shanghai.

A few days later the troops set out again from Shanghai to attack Singpoo, which, after a heavy bombardment by a French gunboat as well as by our artillery, was captured with little loss. Ward, whose force now numbered two thousand men, left one thousand of them as a garrison in Singpoo.

The next places to be attacked were Najaon and Cholin, which are to the south of Shanghai. As the 99th were not present in these affairs it is not necessary to go into the details, and it will be sufficient to say that both places were captured, but it may be mentioned that Admiral Prôtet was killed before Najaon. A sudden change was given to these operations by bad news from Kahding, where, as stated,

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a small mixed garrison had been left. It occurred in the following manner. Shortly after our capture of the place five or six thousand of the Imperialist troops brought from the Yangtse arrived there, and owing to the favourable turn that the campaign seemed to have taken, they were very much elated and filled with such self-confidence that they thought they might do something brilliant on their own account. In this opinion they were encouraged by the governor of the province, the Futai Sieh,¹ who had just been ordered to give up the seals of office to Li Hung Chang. It may be mentioned that Li Hung Chang was nominated to this post on the recommendation of his patron, Tseng Kwofan, who had just been appointed Viceroy of Kiangnan.

Sieh hoped to restore his falling fortunes by gaining a notable success before his successor arrived, and for that reason he incited the Imperialist troops in their desire to distinguish themselves. The place they selected for attack was Taitsan, a position of great importance. They began their march on 12 May and reached Taitsan on the 15th, but Chung Wang anticipated them by a forced march with ten thousand picked troops from Soochow. He resorted to a stratagem to make success doubly sure. Ordering two thousand of his men to shave their heads (the Taepings had abolished the pigtail and allowed their hair to grow) and join the Imperialists, he attacked the latter, and in the heat of the engagement the spurious deserters turned upon their new comrades, who in the result were almost annihilated. It was stated at the time that out of seven thousand Imperialists only two thousand survived.

Chung Wang followed up this success with remarkable energy. He surrounded Kahding, captured a 12-pounder gun and a large supply of ammunition from a small party

¹ The man who ordered the execution of some of the English and French prisoners at Palikao bridge in 1860.

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of our sailors and native troops on their way to Kahding, and would have crowned his success by the capture of Woosung at the mouth of the river but for the fortunate presence of one of our gunboats. By this remarkable achievement the whole position was altered, and the results attained were seriously compromised.

News of this disaster reached General Staveley at Cholin on 20th May, and he at once withdrew his whole force to Shanghai, where they arrived on the 22nd. But before the main force had returned to Shanghai news had reached that place of the extreme peril in which the force at Kahding was placed. The only available troops were the small contingent of the 99th, and as the greater part of that corps was on detached duty, only thirty men could be got together. They set out without a moment's delay, Dr. Macartney leading the advance-guard of twelve men, and the remainder following under the command of Lieutenant Townshend. On their way to Kahding they had to pass through an Imperialist camp which had been captured by the Taepings. Here one thousand Chinese soldiers had been massacred, and their bodies were scattered along the road by which this small force advanced. Macartney and his brother officer were riding white ponies, and in their progress through the scene of the massacre their horses became splashed with blood, and on reaching Kahding they presented the appearance of having taken part in a charge. Small as the reinforcement was, it put fresh heart into the mixed garrison. On 24 May General Staveley moved out of Shanghai at the head of his troops to reinforce or rescue its garrison. On 25th he had got as far as Naizean where he found Chung Wang prepared to oppose his further progress. Desultory fighting ensued, during which several of our Indian troops were killed, a detachment of Chinese working our guns destroyed, and other unfavourable occurrences supervening General Staveley confined himself to

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extricating the garrison from Kahding and making an orderly retreat with his whole force to Shanghai, where it arrived on 28 May. Thus, after nearly eight weeks' fighting, General Staveley found himself very much where he was at the beginning.

There were some exciting incidents in the retreat from Kahding. The garrison was withdrawn in sections, and to the small party of the 99th fell the honour of forming the rear-guard. The heat was very great, and the native troops who had been cooped up in Kahding became a little demoralised, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that their strength was not equal to the task of bearing their burden; but whatever the cause, they threw away their knapsacks and other impedimenta. Another explanation of this occurrence was the following: Our Indian troops told the men of Ward's Force to carry their knapsacks, etc., which made the Chinese soldiers very indignant, for, as they said, "they were not coolies." They took their revenge by throwing the baggage away on their march. Macartney used to describe this retreat to Shanghai, along a road littered with knapsacks, blankets, and overcoats, as one of his most curious experiences of the vicissitudes of real warfare. It was fortunate, he sometimes said with peculiar dryness, that Chung Wang did not happen to fall on these troops at that particular moment.

Almost all of Macartney's comrades in this brief campaign have now joined the majority, but there are still some left who would endorse the opinion that he found the fighting more congenial than the exercise of his own profession. In considering this point, the reader should remember that in fighting of this character every Englishman counted, as the Taepings were in an enormous majority as compared with our troops, and these encounters were, for the few critical hours or moments they lasted, cases of self-preservation. For instance, when Macartney led the advance-guard

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for the relief of Kahding, he had to think not of splinters and bandages, but of circumventing and defeating the brave and vigilant enemy who stood in his path. At the same time this is not an inappropriate occasion for emphasising the fact that the Halliday Macartney of the spring of 1862 was not exactly the same man as London society knew him during the later years of his career. In 1862 he was a man of exceptional energy, which to a certain extent never left him ; and while with true Scottish determination he was resolved to make his own way in life, it may be said that the only thing that had become perfectly clear to him was that the career of an army doctor would not provide him with the necessary field for distinction and advancement.

In another important respect, which throws, moreover, a good deal of light on his personal character, he was a very different man from the one we knew in later years. In 1861-2 he was certainly possessed by deep religious principles and enthusiasm. He attended to the bodily infirmities of the men of his regiment, but he also took an active part in what might be called their spiritual training. In default of a better preacher he was often the spiritual adviser of the men of the 99th, and I am not sure that so unusual a proceeding on the part of a British officer did not create a certain amount of prejudice among his comrades towards one whom some of them described at this time as a rugged Scot. There were others who read his character better below the surface, and who declared from the beginning that "Mac," as he was affectionately called, was a man of scrupulous honour, whose least word might be implicitly accepted and believed, and who, having given his promise, kept it unswervingly to the end. Still, to us who knew him in later life as the suave and able statesman superior to, while tolerant of, ordinary human weakness, it comes as something of a revelation to learn that he was at one period of his career a modern representative of the Covenanters of

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old, who went forth with Knox's Bible in one hand and the sword in the other to convert all who ventured to think that in some slight particulars they were misled or misinformed. I cannot offer the reader in proof of this a collection of his sermons to Tommy Atkins in Canton or on the plains of Kiangsu, but I can at least aver my belief in the truth of the testimony that the words of wisdom which he was wont to deliver to me and others in later life with a worldly application, flowed from his lips in this early Chinese period with a Biblical force and citation still fresh in his mind from his early upbringing.

With regard to these earlier religious tendencies, which gradually weakened if they did not wholly disappear, the following extract from a letter from Mr. E. Starkey, referring to the Nanking period, may be quoted here :—

“ He once told me in conversation that his tendency towards scepticism was strengthened and finally confirmed by seeing one day some small fish lying parched and dead in a pond dried up by the fierce summer sun. With the foreign missionaries, who have for many years been a numerous body at Nanking, he was on friendly terms, although very sceptical as to the success of their work. He was fond of discussing religious subjects with them, though his views were wholly at variance with theirs. His sympathies, such as they were, seemed to be with the Catholic rather than with the Protestant missionaries, but this doubtless arose from the fact that he found the former to be of a more highly intellectual and refined class than the others. Things in this respect have in later years changed much in favour of the Protestants.”

CHAPTER V

MACARTNEY ENTERS CHINESE SERVICE

99th return to Hong-Kong—Invitation to join Chinese service—Macartney's knowledge of Chinese—Meets Takee and Li Hung Chang—Enters Chinese service—Burgevine's Military Secretary—Disgrace of Burgevine—Who shall command the "Ever Victorious Army"?—Macartney the Chinese favourite—Other arrangements—Captain Holland in temporary command—Macartney attaches himself to Li Hung Chang.

AFTER the withdrawal from Kahding the two companies of the 99th were sent back to the south, as General Staveley considered that he had a sufficient number of troops under his orders at Shanghai. The light company, however, instead of returning to Canton, rejoined the head-quarters of the regiment at Hong-Kong. We have seen that it had taken a considerable part in the first encounters with the Taepings, and officers and men brought back with them many exciting tales of the stirring events that were in progress a little further north, and naturally enough those who found garrison life rather slow in a peaceful British port wished themselves at the scene of war.

But the officers brought back some still more definite intelligence. It was that the Chinese authorities were most anxious to engage the services of British officers and to pay them well. It was also known that the British authorities on the spot were not averse to giving the Imperialists some more active assistance, and that they had even submitted home a proposal for "the loan" of British officers. The

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general opinion was that this request would be sanctioned, and some in their eagerness, not allowing sufficient time for official delay and the slowness of mails in those days, even assumed that it had been sanctioned several months before the Government dispatches could come to hand.

While Macartney was stationed in Canton he had begun the study of the Chinese language, and on reaching Shanghai his knowledge of their tongue, although not yet fluent, enabled him to hold some intercourse with the Chinese merchants and officials. He met the great merchant Takee, the paymaster of the Ward Force, among others, and when he left with his detachment for Hong-Kong he had a definite invitation to join the Chinese service in his pocket. At first, as he used to tell me, he was rather disinclined to accept the offer, for he loved the red coat ; but gradually the idea of acceptance rather grew upon him, and possibly he was the more persuaded to take the final step by finding that several of his brother officers, moved by the spirit of adventure, or perhaps by his own arguments and example, were very much inclined to accept the invitation of the Chinese. But in his own case there were stronger motives for acceptance than any of his brother officers could have. For a combatant officer in any British regiment the opportunity of distinction might come at any time, but the assistant-surgeon had no such outlook. His sphere was circumscribed, and in Macartney's case it appeared on his return to barrack life all the more circumscribed, because he had had some little experience of the joy and excitement of leading men into action, and had shown that fighting rather than healing was most congenial to him. When he left Shanghai for Hong-Kong, then, there is no reason to doubt that the Chinese had in him a recruit already half won.

But Macartney was never a man to take a step until he had made himself fairly sure of the ground in front of him. He must have felt that the decision he was about to

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take would have lifelong consequences, for it meant the resignation of his commission and the loss of his profession, because he knew very well that, while the British Government might lend the Chinese officers to lead their troops, this privilege would not be accorded to the junior medico of a regiment. Acceptance of the Chinese offer meant, therefore, for him a complete severance with his profession, and a new start in life under difficult and vague conditions.

The event that seemed to determine him in the course he should pursue was the death of Ward at the end of September, 1862, which will be described a little further on. On this incident happening, Takee sent Macartney a still more pressing invitation to join the Chinese service, as the Chinese, who had complete confidence in Ward, regarded his lieutenant Burgevine with well-deserved mistrust from the very beginning, and wished to have some one to control him in whom they could have the same implicit faith as they had reposed in Ward. On receipt of this communication Macartney obtained a week's leave of absence and proceeded to Shanghai to discuss the question with the Chinese authorities. He saw Takee and his friends. He also saw Li Hung Chang, and it was then agreed that Macartney should have the post of Military Secretary to General Burgevine. It was only in consequence of Macartney's acceptance of the post that the Chinese authorities reluctantly acquiesced in Burgevine's succession to the command, by virtue of so-called seniority, of the Ever Victorious Army on Ward's death.

Having made his decision, Macartney hastened back to Hong-Kong for the purpose of sending in his papers and getting his colonel's permission to leave the regiment before his resignation had been officially accepted. When his comrades learnt of his decision, those of them who had leanings towards the Chinese service were momentarily

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carried away by his example, and determined to send in their papers also. Macartney's return was, therefore, followed not only by his own resignation of the service, but by the expression of a desire on the part of four or five other officers of the 99th to imitate his example. This incident occasioned a good deal of excitement among the garrison, and placed the colonel of the regiment in a somewhat delicate position. To him and to others it seemed a very imprudent step on the part of these officers to throw up the service and to exchange the certainty of a Queen's commission for the uncertainty of an engagement by the Chinese. It was his duty to remonstrate with them, and to point out the imprudence of the step they contemplated. But his advice might have failed in some cases had he not found available a more cogent argument than an appeal to common sense. "Why," he said, "resign your commissions when at any moment the dispatch may arrive authorising the loan of British officers to the Chinese, and then you can serve the Imperialists against the Taepings without sacrificing your own career and prospects in the British Army? It is only a question of a little patience." This exhortation answered its purpose. Some of the officers withdrew their resignations altogether, others agreed to let their papers lie in the office pending the arrival of the expected dispatch.

But Macartney's case was entirely different from the others. He had no hope from the expected dispatch, because it would not deal with the medical establishment. The Chinese did not require his surgical services, and the Horse Guards would only have seen cause of merriment if they had been asked to lend the services of an assistant-surgeon to lead an armed force in the field. Some of his brother officers out of friendly feeling sought to induce him to change his mind and to remain in the service, but the one who knew him best said: "It is useless. When *that* man has said he *will* do a thing, there is nothing that will

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turn him from his course." At that moment Takee held Macartney's written promise to join the Chinese service.¹

In October, 1862, then, Macartney, having sent in his papers, complied with the usual formalities, and received his colonel's permission to absent himself, packed up his portmanteau and gun-case, and took the first steamer back to Shanghai. His resignation was not formally gazetted till 8 January, 1863, and the intimation did not reach him till the month of March, but he practically left the British service in October, 1862. He took this step in no thoughtless mood. He had carefully considered his own position in the British service, its chances and its limitations, and he decided calmly and boldly that he would find a more congenial and more promising career in the Chinese service. No one can say that he decided badly, or that he failed to realise the ambition of coming to the front and of rising above the common which fired him when, turning his back on the 99th, he sought in the guise of a modern cavalier of fortune to carve out a new career in the service of the ruler of the Dragon Throne. In his case Lord Beaconsfield might have found a proof of the truth of his aphorism that "adventures are still for the adventurous."

The events that had occurred in the Shanghai region between the return of the two companies of the 99th to their head-quarters and Macartney's acceptance of Chinese service must now be summarised, so that the reader may be kept informed of the precise situation as between the Imperialists and the rebels.

The recovery of Kahding was naturally enough regarded by the Taepings as a great triumph, and if Chung Wang could have followed it up, as he hoped to do by the capture of Sungkiang, he might have altered the whole course of the campaign. But fortunately his attempt to surprise Sung-

¹ Major F. L. Story, late of the 99th, puts it thus: "Macartney took the bull by the horns and left." The reasons given in the text explain why.

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kiang was defeated by some seamen of H.M.S. *Centaur*, who had been lent for the protection of the place. In this affair Chung Wang lost one hundred men, including two Europeans, for it should be mentioned that foreign deserters had now begun to join the Taepings as well as the Imperialists. His attack on Tsingpu was a little more successful, although Ward succeeded in extricating the garrison before the place surrendered. Ward managed this affair very well until almost the last moment, when, setting fire prematurely to the place, he apprised the Taepings of what was going on, and, in the confusion that followed, Forrester, the second in command, was taken prisoner, and many of the garrison were killed. This success probably marked the highest point of triumph in the history of the Taiping cause, and it was after this incident that Chung Wang called the Ward Force the "Cha-Yang-Kweitzei," or "False Foreign Devils," owing to their being dressed in a semi-European costume. At this moment the Imperialists fortunately obtained several successes over the Taepings in the Yangtse Valley, and Chung Wang was recalled in hot haste to Nanking by his master. During his absence the campaign in Kiangsu languished, but it was once more unsafe for Europeans or Imperialists to wander very far from Shanghai.

The summer months were employed in increasing the Ever Victorious Army to a total of five thousand men, including a strong force of artillery. It will, perhaps, interest the reader to learn how the officers and men of this corps were paid. Officers above the rank of captain received £70 per month, while lieutenants were paid £30. The pay of the men was 1s. 6d. per day, out of which they had to provide their food except when on service in the field. Rations were then provided free, and all were recompensed in one form or another for any success obtained over the enemy. It must also be remembered that there was a very good prospect of loot.

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Having got his force into pretty good condition, Ward reopened the campaign by marching on Tsingpu on 6th August. He had under his command a force of 2600 infantry and artillery, accompanied by a small steamer called the *Hyson* carrying a 32-pounder gun. Having breached the wall of Tsingpu he ordered an assault, which, through some mismanagement with the pontoons, completely failed. At the moment of assault, also, the *Hyson's* gun burst, and Ward was compelled to retire. Two days later he returned to the attack, and, although he lost heavily, he carried the place. An Imperial garrison was placed in the city, and Ward returned to Sungkiang.

In the middle of September Ward left Sungkiang on his second independent expedition. The Taepings had captured Tzeki, from which place marauding parties came close into Shanghai. Ward, at the head of 1150 of his men, and accompanied by Captain Boyle, R.N., and the *Hardy* gun-boat, proceeded, therefore, to attack this place. The attack was completely successful, but, unfortunately, Ward was mortally wounded, and died the next day (22 September). Ward was a brave and active leader and he was generally regretted, especially by the Chinese, who had perfect confidence in him. By right of seniority the command should have devolved on Forrester, who had been surrendered by the Taepings in exchange for a certain number of muskets, but he declined the post, which was then filled by Burgevine, the third in command. This appointment, or rather this succession to the command, was not agreeable to the Chinese, who, rightly or wrongly, distrusted Burgevine. Although Forrester had declined the post of commander of the army, he led the contingent which in conjunction with British troops recovered possession of Fongwah on 10th October.

At the end of October General Staveley, having recruited his health by a visit to Japan, and having received clear

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instructions from the Home Government, resumed active measures with an advance upon Kahding, the place he had evacuated five months earlier. On this occasion he had with him about 1300 British troops—the 31st and 67th regiments and some artillery—570 men of the naval brigade under Admiral Hope, 500 French sailors and marines, and also 2000 of the Sungkiang Force under General Burgevine. He reached Kahding on 23rd October, and found it very strongly fortified, but notwithstanding this the Taepings gave it up after a mere show of resistance. Kahding was handed over to the Imperialists, and the expedition returned to Shanghai.

As we are now approaching the crisis in the fortunes of the Ever Victorious Army, it must be made clear that in the operation about to be described neither the British commander nor British troops had any part. Cases have been mentioned already of the Imperialists becoming unduly elated by our successes with which they had nothing to do, and on this occasion the capture of Kahding led the Futai Li, or rather his military commander, General Ching, to undertake an enterprise on their own account. It was arranged between Li and Burgevine that their joint forces should attack the Taeping position at Powokong, a stockade some miles north of Tsingpu. The result was a very considerable success, but great umbrage was given to Burgevine when he found that Li and General Ching took the whole credit of the affair to themselves. Perhaps his indignation was also the more aroused at this particular moment by a British officer being forced upon him as chief of his staff by General Staveley, who in this acted at the request of Li Hung Chang. The officer appointed to this delicate post was Captain Holland, of the Marine Light Infantry, and the date of his appointment was 11 November, 1862.

Matters were in this state when Macartney took up his

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post in the force at Sungkiang early in November. He may have been present at the affair at Powokong, but certainly he was called in to make the peace between General Ching and Burgevine after it. This required no ordinary tact, as both were hot-headed men, but by the admission of every one acquainted with the circumstances Macartney displayed great diplomatic skill in composing what promised to become a serious quarrel. Although this affair was settled amicably, it made the Chinese more than ever desirous of getting rid of Burgevine, who had assumed the command in succession to Ward without any definite appointment. The Chinese had merely acquiesced in an arrangement which, under the circumstances of the moment, they could not very well have prevented.

While Burgevine and Ching were quarrelling and becoming friends again, Li Hung Chang was making a strenuous effort to subordinate the Ever Victorious Army to his own authority. In its origin it was a non-official force, having no relation with the regular authorities of the province, and being dependent alone on the Shanghai merchants who paid it. Owing to their independent and irresponsible position, both Ward and Burgevine entertained schemes for the establishment of an authority of their own by means of the force under their command, and had their success in the field been as great as their ambition, there is no doubt that they would have made the attempt. The Chinese officials had therefore some reason for their distrust. The increase of the force to five thousand men served also to strengthen their apprehensions by giving it a preponderance over the Imperialist troops in the province of Kiangsu.

Li Hung Chang's first idea had been to remove the Ever Victorious Army out of his province. It is a favourite way with Chinese officials of getting out of a difficulty by passing it on to some other authority, and if Li could only have transferred the corps out of his province he was perfectly

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willing that the neighbouring viceroy or governor should deal with it how he pleased. He accordingly proposed that Burgevine and his men should be transferred from Sung-kiang to the Yangtse Valley, where it could be utilised for the siege of Nanking or in other operations, and Takee, the Shanghai merchant who had organised the whole scheme, knew better than to object to the Governor's order. At the end of November Burgevine, then, received instructions to prepare for the transfer of his corps to the Yangtse Valley as soon as ships were provided for the purpose. The order was brought to him by Macartney, whose duty caused him to pay frequent visits to Shanghai, and although he did not like it, Burgevine was soon brought to see that he had no alternative but to acquiesce. On this occasion Burgevine and Macartney had a serious quarrel, and Burgevine, in his passion, threatened to court-martial Macartney and have him shot.

Possibly the Chinese had hoped that Burgevine would refuse, when he might have been summarily dismissed for disobeying orders; but on his expressing his readiness to depart, they were themselves put in this difficulty, that having no ships ready, and no available funds to charter them, they could not give effect to their own order. It was consequently cancelled. They then adopted another course. During the month of December, 1862, they omitted to send the stipulated funds for the payment of officers and men, and then, having reduced Burgevine to what was deemed a state of helplessness, they sent to him on the last day of the month a fresh and peremptory order to depart for the Yangtse. By this time the troops were in a state of suppressed excitement, if not of semi-mutiny. During the last seven weeks of the year they had been kept in a state of inaction, and with their pay two months in arrear they were in no mood to start for a distant and unknown destination. When the order was notified to them, they loudly

[REDACTED]

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refused to obey it until their arrears of pay had been handed to them.

As their discontent harmonised with his own views, Burgevine did nothing to allay it, but he decided on proceeding to Shanghai for the purpose of insisting on the payment of the arrears. It is not certain that he was bent on obtaining payment by resorting to force, but, by the testimony of all who knew the facts, he reached Shanghai in a very excited state. The date of his arrival was 4 January, 1863, and leaving the *Hyson* steamer on which he had travelled in the river, he hastened to Takee's residence. Much of Burgevine's unpopularity with the Chinese was due to his noisy and brow-beating manner, and on the occasion in question he was set upon carrying matters with a high hand. A stormy scene ensued with Takee, and in the course of it Burgevine dealt Takee a violent blow. He then ordered the soldiers who accompanied him as a bodyguard to seize the silver in the house and to convey it to the steamer. The act amounted to one of robbery with violence. The only qualifying feature in the incident was that Burgevine, in addition to the bags of silver, carried off Takee's compradore to be a regular witness of the payment of the men of the Ever Victorious Army out of the proceeds of this raid.

This affair made a tremendous sensation among the European as well as the Chinese community. With the Europeans it confirmed the bad opinion which the Chinese had held all along of Burgevine, and among the Chinese nothing short of his execution for daring to strike a high mandarin (Takee had received a titular rank in reward for his patriotism) was deemed sufficient reparation for the outrage. Li Hung Chang at once issued an order dismissing Burgevine, and he requested General Staveley to lend him his support in giving it effect. The General sent Li's official order to Burgevine with an intimation that it would

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be well for him to obey it without giving trouble. Burgevine, knowing that he had no alternative, gave up the command on 6th January, and arrived the same evening in Shanghai. He then published a defence of his conduct, expressing in it his regret for having struck Takee.

Li Hung Chang had accomplished one part of his plan in getting rid of Burgevine, but the Ever Victorious Army had not been removed, and its continued presence in Kiangsu seemed to have become inevitable. He then formed two resolutions: one that the contingent should be largely reduced, and the other that the command should be given to Dr. Macartney. He succeeded, as will be shown, in the former, but in the latter his proposal had to be modified and withdrawn. Still, the *North China Herald* was very well informed when it published the following short leader in its issue of 10 January, 1863—(on Burgevine giving up the command on 6 January, Captain Holland had assumed it “temporarily”):—

“The Chinese authorities repudiate the appointment of Captain Holland, and demand that of Dr. Macartney of the 99th, who sent in his resignation some months ago, but who has not yet received its acceptance. The Chinese, failing his services, are said to be resolved to decline any other Englishman.” The writer went on to explain that “Macartney had sent in his resignation some months ago, but its acceptance had not yet been received. Staveley refused to recognise him. Staveley wished the appointment of his brother-in-law, Captain Gordon, but the Chinese will not listen to the proposal. Both Staveley and the Chinese are opposed to Holland. The officers of the Ever Victorious Army are opposed to the three of them, and would like to have Forrester as their commander.”

The question as to who should have the command was gone into during the negotiations between Li and General Staveley upon the question of the future management of the Ever Victorious Army. Those negotiations resulted in the recognition of Li’s authority over the corps, and in the

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nomination of Li ai Dong—an ex-Taeping who had served him well—as the coadjutor of its European commander. The force was also to be reduced in numbers to three thousand men, and Li was to buy arms and ammunition for it. In return for these concessions to his wishes Li Hung Chang acquiesced in the temporary command being held by Captain Holland, and in its being handed over to Captain Gordon as soon as official permission for him to take it up had arrived from England.

Before closing the Burgevine-Takee incident some reference to the relations between Burgevine and Macartney seems appropriate, and fortunately a letter or two are still in existence. When Burgevine settled down in Shanghai he naturally enough thought of making his own case good, and he was not without sympathisers in the settlement. One of his excuses was that he had been betrayed by some of his officers, and one of them named Butler stated that he more than suspected Macartney. The origin of his suspicion seems to have been due to a misunderstanding of what Captain Sturt, R.M.L.I., who held the post of A.D.C. to Burgevine, had said in the presence of Mr. Butler among others. The following letter from Captain Sturt to Burgevine makes this much plain :—

“SIR,“SHANGHAI, January 14th, 1863.

“Some statements I made before Messrs. Clery, Cook, Butler, and Macarthy¹ have been to my knowledge represented to you in a light that I did not intend to convey. What I said then I stated merely as a report, and having myself no personal ill-feeling whatever against you nor any wish to injure you. I beg to apologise if you understood it to come from me, and am very sorry anything I should have said should have done you any injury, for it was not intended in any way. If you wish a personal interview I shall be happy to see you in Dr. Macartney’s room at three o’clock.

“Your obedient servant,

“General Burgevine.”

“H. E. STURT.

¹ Captain Macarthy of the Ever Victorious Army, killed at Taitsan, February, 1863.

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Burgevine appears to have continued to represent that in some way or other he had been injured by his military secretary. Hearing these rumours, Macartney addressed the following explicit letter to Burgevine :—

“SIR,

“SHANGHAI, Sunday Evening.

“On returning from Kahding this afternoon, I learnt with much regret that you had made to Mr. Butler certain statements impugning my fidelity whilst acting as your Military Secretary.

“After the friendship which has existed, and which I believed still to exist between us, I think it scarcely fair to make such statements behind my back, especially after repeated assurances of your belief in the honourable way in which I have acted towards you.

“Your informants have misled you so often before regarding me that it seems a wonder you should still put such implicit confidence in them. I would not have you *disregard* their reports, but simply to put them to the *test*. I have over and over again requested you to tell me of anything you might hear which might appear inconsistent with my fidelity to your interests. In some cases you have complied with my request, and the result has been that you have in every instance been convinced of their utter want of foundation. Experience is surely not to be disregarded, and I cannot but think that had you attended to it in this instance it would probably have saved you from falling into this new error.

“The statements made by Mr. Butler related rather to your conclusions themselves than to the evidence on which they were founded, so I have as yet no opportunity of assailing it or of defending myself. If it would not be too much to request of you, I should feel obliged by your letting me know how you have come to change your favourable opinion of my conduct. If you will tell me when you shall be at home I will appoint some one to meet you, or should you prefer it, meet you myself.

“I sincerely regret the change that circumstances have taken, and if you have suffered by it, Fortune, I may say, has as yet been no more favourable unto me, for I have been as far from profiting by your altered circumstances as I conceive myself to have been instrumental in bringing about the acts that caused them.

“Your obedient servant,

“To General Burgevine.” “HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

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This letter brought the following reply :—

"**MY DEAR SIR.** "SHANGHAI, February 23, 1863.

"I do not know what statements Mr. Butler may have made, but I assure you I have not changed my opinion in the least. I do not take anything for granted that I hear, nor am I guided by the advice of others. Good or bad, I act always on my own judgment. Whatever Mr. Butler may have said should be received *cum grano salis*. He is sure to make mischief whenever he chooses to interfere.

"I am at home at any time you may choose to call.

“Yours truly,

"H. Macartney, M.D." **"H. A. BURGEVINE.**

I may mention that in later years Sir Halliday always spoke in favourable and indulgent terms of Burgevine, of whom he held a higher opinion than the rest of mankind. As to his having had any part in Burgevine's downfall, there is no reason whatever for entertaining the least suspicion. Macartney held the post of military secretary to him for less than two months, and the only definite advice he ever remembered giving him was the sound one to obey the orders of the Chinese authorities when they called upon him to transfer the army to the Yangtse. The incidents of the 4th January were due solely to the conduct of Burgevine himself. He had no European companion when he visited Takee. His assault on that individual was his own act, for which no one else could be brought in as sharing the blame.

Reference has been made to the fact that the Chinese authorities wished Macartney to have the command of the Ever Victorious Army in succession to Burgevine, but there is no reason whatever for supposing that this intention was due to any intriguing on his part. The Chinese inclined to Macartney because he could speak Chinese, and was courteous and conciliatory in his dealing with them, and no doubt if General Staveley had sanctioned instead of opposing his

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nomination he would have accepted the post. But on this occasion he was not personally desirous of incurring the responsibility, which would have been very great. No one had a quicker eye for the difficulties and disadvantages of a position than Sir Halliday Macartney, and he knew very well that to accept the supreme command of a force which contained among its officers several who were his seniors in rank in the British Army, and who, moreover, belonged to the combatant arm, would be to involve himself in trouble, anxiety, and not unlikely entail the ruin of the very plans which he had formed with regard to securing a permanent position in China. For it must be remembered that, unlike the others, he had burned his ships. The Horse Guards did not extend its special favours to assistant-surgeons who cut themselves adrift from its authority, and there could be no return for him to the service he had quitted if his career in China were summarily ended by either his own fault or an excessive belief in his natural capacity.

There is no reason whatever for imputing to Sir Halliday Macartney in December, 1862, or at any period, the vanity of thinking that he was a "born general." He had at that time seen something of real warfare, and had shown himself a brave man under fire, but he had had no experience whatever of leading troops in the field, and it would have been altogether opposed to his habitual cautious way of looking at things for him on this occasion to have risked his whole future by accepting the perilous task of commanding the Ever Victorious Army. Later on, when the command was not merely offered to him but accepted by him, it was different, for he then possessed the experience and the knowledge in which he was lacking when Burgevine was removed. Burgevine's suspicion that he fell not by his own misdeeds but because Macartney wished to oust him, was just as baseless as General Staveley's idea that Macart-

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ney was intriguing to prevent the realisation of his plan to give the command to Captain Gordon. There never was any thought in Macartney's mind¹ of pitting himself against Gordon, whose special fitness for the work to be done in the campaign with the Taepings he was the first to recognise.

The two months or more during which Captain Holland held the temporary command were marked by at least one important occurrence which calls for brief notice. The negotiations in reference to Burgevine's successor occupied a week, and it was not before the 15th January that it was officially announced that Captain Holland had been placed in command of the force. As the force had been inactive for several months before Burgevine's resignation, the Chinese were naturally anxious that it should accomplish something as a justification for the heavy expense to which they were put on its account. No sooner had things settled down a little at Sungkiang, and the men had been put in good temper by the payment of all arrears which were due by a Chinese official the day before Captain Holland took up the command, than it was decided to take the field again at the first favourable opportunity. Before this date the commander of the force had acted very much on his own inclination, but now it was necessary to await Li's formal instructions. On 1st February, Captain Holland received an order to capture Fushan, and four days later he sent one of his regiments and some artillery under the command of Major Brennan to accomplish this task. Fushan turned out to be stronger in every way than was expected, and all that Major Brennan could do was to make desultory attacks on the place, all of which were repulsed. He was still

¹ In support of this I will quote two sentences from the letter to M. Villars, given at the end of chapter seven: "It was no disappointment to me that I did not get the command. . . . This perhaps with a juster appreciation of what I was best fitted for than that of the Chinese who offered me the appointment."

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engaged in this unprofitable task on 15th February, when news reached him of the catastrophe now to be described at Taitsan, whereupon he withdrew to Sungkiang.

It was while the operations at Fushan were still doubtful that Captain Holland received further orders from Li Hung Chang to attack Taitsan, which had been the scene of the great disaster in May, 1862, described in the previous chapter. It is proper to mention that General Staveley sanctioned this attack. Li Hung Chang himself thought that there would be very little fighting, because he had received overtures from the Taiping chief in command at this place to surrender. He looked for one of those demonstrations resulting in a cheap triumph which constitute the ideal of a Chinese strategist. As he had eight thousand troops under General Ching and his brother close to the place, he conceived that the arrival of the troops from Sungkiang was all that was required to secure its surrender. It took some days for Captain Holland to prepare for this movement, as in the event of Taitsan not surrendering, a bombardment would be the only way of bringing the garrison to reason, and consequently he had to take with him as strong an artillery force as he could get together. This amounted to not fewer than twenty-two mortars, howitzers, and 32-pounders, but as there was water communication direct to Taitsan their conveyance in boats was not attended with great difficulty. The infantry, numbering 1700 men, marched by road, and reached on 13th February the neighbourhood of Taitsan, where they joined the Imperialists. On the 14th the garrison of the place was reinforced by a large body of Taepings from Soochow, and the cheers that greeted the advent of this succour were followed by the commencement of a heavy bombardment, as it thus became perfectly clear that Li's hopes were not to be realised.

After four hours' bombardment a breach was declared practicable, and the ladder-party dashed forward followed

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by a strong column. On arriving within forty yards of the wall the whole body was brought to a halt by a deep and wide ditch, filled with water, which had not been seen. No bridges were available, and the troops presented an exposed mark to the fire of the Taepings. A few officers and men crossed the ditch by using a ladder as a pontoon, but they were all shot down, and after suffering heavily the men retired as rapidly as they could. To make matters worse, the boatmen in charge of the craft which had brought up the guns were seized with panic, and this added to the confusion on shore. Captain Holland then decided to retreat, but in the confusion of the moment he made a mistake which explained the gravity of the total disaster. He ordered the light guns to be embarked instead of keeping them on land to cover the withdrawal of the heavy artillery. Two of the heavy guns then stuck in the mud and could not be extricated. After a desperate effort to save them they had to be abandoned. The loss in men was very heavy. Five English officers were killed, and one died of his wounds. Fourteen other officers were wounded, and the loss in rank and file exceeded three hundred killed and wounded.

There is no doubt that this defeat was due entirely to bad management and to the neglect of reconnoitring the position to be attacked. In consequence of it peremptory orders were given to Captain Holland to abstain from all further action until the duly appointed British officer should arrive to take over the command from him. It will thus be seen that Macartney revealed some of his characteristic prudence in not unduly urging his Chinese friends to insist upon their demand that the command of the army should be placed in his hands. Most probably his native common sense would have saved him from committing the blunders of Captain Holland, but at the same time he would have been driven by Li's impatience to attack Taitsan at a moment when the

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forces of the Taepings were practically unbroken and undiminished. How formidable a place Taitsan was may be gathered from the fact that it was the scene of three grave disasters to the Imperial forces.

Macartney, personally, took no part in this unfortunate operation, for, although he was still nominally attached to the Ever Victorious Army, his principal occupation was now in assisting Li Hung Chang in various ways. One of the terms of the arrangement between Li and General Staveley was that the former should control the supply and purchase of the arms and ammunition of the corps, and in this particular direction Macartney was able to render him excellent service in seeing that he was not swindled. It was in consequence of the experience he acquired in this way that Macartney eventually conceived the idea of a Chinese arsenal; but that matter must be left for a subsequent chapter. In regard to Macartney's work in the interval between the Burgevine incident and his taking over the command of Sungkiang on the transfer of the main force to Quinsan some months later, it will suffice to quote General Gordon's description of its nature and extent: "Macartney drilled troops, supervised the manufacture of shells, gave advice, brightened the Futai's intellect about foreigners, and made peace, in which last accomplishment his forte lay." That summary is necessarily somewhat anticipatory as a matter of chronology, but it is introduced here for the purpose of showing that even at this early period of their association Macartney was Li Hung Chang's right-hand man.

CHAPTER VI

CAMPAINING WITH GORDON

Gordon assumes command—Leaves Sungkiang—Macartney at Sungkiang—His regiment—His first arsenal—His various employments—The capture of the *Kajow*—Macartney's victories—Correspondence with Gordon—The capture of the *Firefly*—Macartney's marvellous escape.

I DO not propose to describe over again Gordon's campaigns against the Taepings, which have been described in three of my previous works. The main object of this chapter is to reveal and make clear the part that Macartney took in them, and to thus put the reader in a proper position to judge the sensational incidents that accompanied the surrender of Soochow and the massacre of the Wangs. It is the more necessary to make all the facts and circumstances of this period clear beyond question and dispute, because Macartney's share in them was made the subject of gross misrepresentation, first at the hands of Gordon himself, who atoned by apology and retraction for his offence at the time, and, secondly, at the hands of later writers who did not take the trouble to examine the truth or trace the refutation of an old slander before printing it.

On 25th March, 1863, Gordon entered Sungkiang and took over the command of the Ever Victorious Army. His letters to his family¹ show how serious was the situation which his appointment terminated; for in one of them he wrote: "If I had not accepted the command I believe the

¹ See my *Life of Gordon*, pp. 78-9.

force would have been broken up." As this was not the intention of the Chinese authorities, it reveals the determination of the British general in command at Shanghai to withdraw his assistance unless Captain Gordon were given the command. The same Government dispatch that sanctioned his employment allowed British officers to volunteer for service with the Chinese, and a few weeks after his arrival at Sungkiang Gordon was joined by two officers, among others, of the 99th, viz. Captain Clayton and Lieutenant Stephens. At the same time Macartney received the official *Gazette*, dated 9 January, 1863, recording his resignation of the British service, and leaving him thus completely free to remain in the Chinese service.

The Imperial forces having suffered a third reverse at Taitsan in the middle of April through the gross incompetence of San Tajen, Li's brother, Gordon was requested to try and capture that place. His success in this difficult task on 1st May was his first achievement, and marked the beginning of his military reputation. In accordance with its usual practice, the Ever Victorious Army returned after this success to its head-quarters at Sungkiang for the purpose of disposing of its plunder. Gordon wished to employ it in an attack on Quinsan, but the men threatened to mutiny. On this occasion he was obliged to give way, but with the mental reservation that he would abandon Sungkiang as the head-quarters of the corps at the earliest possible moment.

Sungkiang was associated with all the bad traditions of the force. An idea of what they were may be gathered from the fact that in Ward's time coolies were employed to clean their arms, and it is also deserving of notice that none of the men would carry their own rations. The place was full of hangers-on and the parasites of a mercenary corps, so that any strict discipline was impossible. In his attempt to improve this state of things Gordon was opposed by some

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of the older officers of the corps, who sent in their resignations. Gordon succeeded in holding his own, and towards the end of May he marched out of Sungkiang with the firm intention of never returning there. His objective was Quinsan, a town of considerable natural and artificial strength lying to the east of Soochow. After an attack which occupied several days, Gordon captured this place on 31st May. He at once issued an order that the Ever Victorious Army was to remain at Quinsan instead of returning to Sungkiang. On this announcement the men broke out in mutiny, and it was only after Gordon had caused the ring-leader to be shot that order was restored. The transfer of the force from Sungkiang to Quinsan had a direct influence on Macartney's career. Up to that point his work had been desultory and his position vague—for the military secretaryship lapsed with the fall of Burgevine; but on the withdrawal from Sungkiang that place passed directly under the control of Li Hung Chang. Arrangements had to be made for its security, as the Taepings might attempt to seize it when they learnt that the foreign-drilled force had quitted it. Li then nominated Macartney Commandant of Sungkiang, and authorised him to train a regiment on European lines as its garrison. Macartney's proposal that the Chinese should make a beginning with the manufacture of ammunition and projectiles for themselves instead of buying from the foreigner was also approved, and a small sum of money was placed at his disposal for the purpose. On taking up the command at Sungkiang Macartney received the Chinese grade of Colonel, and some of the Europeans spoke of him in this and the ensuing years as Colonel Macartney, but Sir Halliday did not value the title at more than it was worth, and never used it himself.

The following fragment in his own handwriting, which I found among Sir Halliday's papers, gives some interesting particulars of the founding of his first arsenal :—

"It was at this point when, having received permission to leave the English service, I joined Li Hung Chang. My first act was to point out to him the exorbitant rate which he was then paying for ammunition, and the enormous sums which would be required for ammunition should he proceed as he ought to do in reorganising the Imperial forces under his command. As much as 30 taels had been paid for a common 12-pounder shell stolen from an English gunboat, and 19 taels, or £6, was the price given for 10,000 very inferior percussion caps. I pointed out to H.E. how European nations had large establishments for the manufacture of these things, and if China really understood her own interest she would have hers also. Perfectly recognising the force of what I urged, Li Hung Chang was afraid that with Chinese labour the thing was not to be attained. I undertook to show him that it could, and after some time produced a shell, some fuzes, and friction tubing. Whilst seeking to lay the seeds of the new establishment I had undertaken the charge of two regiments of infantry and one battery of artillery. Without indicating their source, at the next visit of the English General, Staveley, Li laid them before him and asked his opinion of them, and this was so much in their favour that he immediately gave me authority to employ fifty workmen and make a commencement in an adjoining temple.

"This was at once done without an engine, cupola, or indeed a single tool beyond a hammer and a file. A melting apparatus was extemporised out of the clay from an adjoining field. When the artillery was sufficiently advanced, and after I had made a sufficiency of ammunition, I invited the Taotai to be present at target practice. The result of this was so favourable that I was soon afterwards required to take the field, which I did, and with the support of a native force succeeded in taking the towns of Fangching and Si-dong."

The garrison left in Sungkiang was composed of about one thousand Imperial troops or "braves," and it was Macartney's task to turn them into disciplined soldiers. He set about it with characteristic energy, and, by the admission of his critics—for he had many in this part of his career as later on—he achieved no small success. This would have been the greater if he had not been constantly interrupted

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in his regular work by being entrusted with various commissions of very different import by Li Hung Chang, who looked to him to get the Chinese commanders out of their scrapes arising from continual disagreements and squabbles with Gordon. Still, notwithstanding these distractions, Macartney's regiment made good progress, and before the summer was over it was not very much behind the level of the regiments of the Ever Victorious Army. He had no regular staff of European officers to help him, but Gordon lent him Lieutenant Searle, R.A., to train his gunners.

In the course of June a serious dispute arose between Gordon and the Chinese commander, General Ching. General Ching was very disappointed at not getting any credit for the capture of Quinsan, and in being deprived of the plunder of the place by Gordon's occupation of it, and by its having been converted into his head-quarters. He wanted Gordon to return to Sungkiang, and when he refused showed his displeasure by systematically thwarting all his plans, with the result that operations came to a complete standstill. But General Ching at last went too far. His troops fired on some of Gordon's force, and when Ching refused to apologise, Gordon was on the point of taking the law into his own hands at the moment that Macartney reached his camp, sent up express by Li Hung Chang to make the peace. Ching, a peppery but plucky individual, was then induced to apologise, and the storm blew over. It was on this occasion in particular that Macartney showed himself, in Gordon's words, "a good peacemaker."

The quarrel with Ching was the salient feature in the events of the month of June. Disputes with Li Hung Chang as to the payment of the force marked July, and Gordon seriously contemplated resignation. In the letter of 7th August, quoted a little further on, he says: "Tell the Futai I swear I will not remain unless he pays up the Bills." It is probable that his resignation would have be-

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come an accomplished fact but for the striking incidents now to be described.

Macartney, as has been stated, had to make frequent journeys from Sungkiang to Shanghai, and for this purpose he had under his orders a small steamer named the *Kajow* (the abbreviated form of Kiao-chiao). On 2nd August he returned to Sungkiang on board her from one of these periodical visits, but some time after he had quitted her one of the Europeans attached to the boat came running to him with the news that a band of European and Chinese rowdies had captured the *Kajow*, and were making off with her in the direction of Soochow. At the moment General Ching was encamped near Sungkiang, and San Tajen also held a convenient position close to the canal. There was, therefore, a very fair chance of recapturing the lost steamer, and Macartney hastened through the town to intercept it. Owing to the supineness of the Chinese officers named, the *Kajow* was not intercepted, and made its way across the Yansingho lake to Soochow. At the same time that Macartney was informed of the loss of the *Kajow*, he learnt that the band which had captured it was led by Burgevine.

We last mentioned Burgevine at the time of his removal from the command in January. In February he went to Peking, and succeeded in obtaining from the authorities there a sort of order in writing to Li Hung Chang to reinstate him in the command. This Li flatly refused to do, and General Staveley supported the refusal. Burgevine then settled down in Shanghai, entered into relations with the Taeping leaders, and acted as their intermediary with foreign merchants for the supply of arms and ammunition. It was well known that he was a dangerous and discontented man, and, as early as 10th July, Macartney wrote to Gordon: "I have positive information that Burgevine is plotting mischief. He is enlisting men for some enterprise, has already enrolled about three hundred, and has even chosen

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a special flag for his force." Burgevine got wind of this warning, and wrote Gordon a letter begging him not to believe any rumours that he might hear to his detriment. This assurance Gordon, out of a chivalrous consideration for his unlucky predecessor, accepted, and when the Chinese wanted to arrest Burgevine as a disturber of the peace, Gordon went bail for him. Burgevine, having made all the use he could of Gordon's easy good faith, threw off his disguise, seized the *Kajow* in the manner described, and joined the Taepings.

The following letter was written to Macartney by Gordon in reply to one informing him of the loss of the *Kajow* :—

"**MY DEAR MACARTNEY,**

"I am too occupied in looking after Kahpoo to be able to push up the River after the *Kajow*. We have had four days' consecutive severe fighting there, and the Rebels have now retired. They had the American Howitzer of Burgevine's, and fired shell, and had also a great many Europeans.

"I send you an account for *Kajow* Repairs, which you can settle when convenient.

"Tell the Futai I swear I will not remain unless he pays up the Bills. He has no idea of the danger he is in.

"Will you either [sic] send all my Small Arm Ammunition to Shanghai to Lloyd. Sungkiang is not safe for it.

"Yours truly,

"7 August, 1863.

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—You had better keep the *Sycee* now, she would only be in my way up here. Send Lieutenant Searle of Artillery back here, and oblige. C. G. G."

The defection of Burgevine, accompanied by a large body of Europeans, and his capture of the *Kajow* with a valuable cargo of arms and ammunition, signified an immense accession of strength to the Taepings, and nullified many of the results Gordon had accomplished in the previous three months. These events put an end to his idea of resigning,

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and in the following letter he refers briefly to the general situation after Burgevine had joined Mow Wang in Soochow :—

“ QUINSAN, 9 a.m., 11 August, 1863.

“ MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

“ I arrived this morning from Kahpo, the Rebels having retired since we drove them back on the 9th August, and I think they are now all in the city again.

“ One thing I am convinced of is, that with their foreign assistants they will prove more than a match for the Imperialists, who ought to take every precaution against surprise.

“ When you have finished with my Blue Books, please to send them back to me.

“ Spies say that thirty Europeans ran away from Soutchow towards Chanzu on the 9th August, and that Mow Wang had beheaded three others. Chung Wang is said to be very anxious to get back to Soutchow, but the Tien Wang will not let him.

“ Yours truly,

“ C. G. GORDON.

“ P.S.—The Spies say that the Rebels have sent emissaries to Shanghai to buy a steamer which is expected shortly. The Custom Houses had better look out and have steps taken at Shanghai to get information, not that I expect they will ever show much energy there.”

In an official dispatch, written on a slightly later date, Gordon said: “There is no knowing what an immense amount of damage might have been done if the rebels had had a more energetic man than Burgevine,” but, even as it was, he considered that the Taepings plus the European adventurers would be more than a match for the Imperialists. He was so apprehensive that he asked Macartney to send his ammunition stores into Shanghai, and he removed his heavy guns from Quinsan to Taitsan, where General Brown, General Staveley’s successor, placed a guard of British troops over them.

This incident had other consequences. Having thoroughly organised his small corps at Sungkiang, Macartney got the

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permission of Li Hung Chang to take the field, and to effect a diversion with it against the Taepings still remaining in the southern part of the province of Kiangsu. Gordon was too much occupied at Quinsan and before Soochow to deal with the rebels on the southern section of the Grand Canal, and he was relieved when he learnt that Macartney had taken this task off his hands. On 23rd August Macartney left Sungkiang at the head of his regiment, seven hundred strong, to attack the town of Fung-ching, a place larger than Kahding. It was captured after a stiff fight, and Macartney led the storming party. The *North China Herald* published the following comments on the affair a few days after its occurrence : "The following account of the attack on Fung Ching, sent to us by an eye-witness, seems to us to warrant the most sanguine expectations as to the ultimate success of Dr. Macartney and his troops." There was another remarkable feature about this success. These Chinese troops were furnished with bullets for their muskets and shot for their cannon out of the small arsenal Macartney had extemporised in Sungkiang.

Having captured Fung-ching, Macartney proceeded to attack the stronger position of Seedong, thirty-five miles from Sungkiang and near the town of Ka-shing, the centre of the silk district. Here the Taepings were aided by some of their European allies, but notwithstanding this he scored a second and complete success, capturing 350 prisoners, including four Europeans. His subsequent operations resulted in clearing all the southern districts of the rebels, who retired into Chekiang, where they were summarily dealt with by Tso Tsung Tang and the Franco-Chinese contingent shortly afterwards. Having thus ensured the complete security of Sungkiang, about which Gordon himself had been anxious, Macartney returned there, and during the months of September and October devoted much of his attention to the development of the arsenal. It was soon

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turning out shell at the rate of one hundred daily, and by the middle of October Macartney was able to leave with all his available troops and a considerable ammunition train for Soochow, which had now become the centre of attack. At this juncture the *North China Herald* published, on the 13th October, the following interesting announcement: "We have good reason for asserting that the highest confidence is placed by Gordon and Macartney in each other." It is important to bear that statement in mind in view of the events that followed.

During the month of October negotiations were in continual progress between Gordon and Burgevine for the latter's surrender, and it will suffice to say here that Burgevine left the Taepings on the 18th October. The other Europeans serving with the rebels had already abandoned them, so that after the date mentioned the Taepings had no European assistance. It may also be mentioned that during this period the stolen steamer, the *Kajow*, was accidentally blown up. Burgevine's poor reputation was further damaged by his betrayal of the Taiping cause, and it was made clear that he could not be constant to either side.

We are now approaching the concluding stages for the recovery of Soochow. The following correspondence which passed between Gordon and Macartney will give the reader an interesting glimpse of their relations at this period, and at the same time reveal the important part taken by Macartney in the campaign.

"**MY DEAR MACARTNEY,**

"It was only a piquet affair¹ to-night with us. I do not know what the rebels meant. It will make no differ-

¹ Chung Wang made a vigorous attack at dusk on 24th, and drove in a picket. The village where it was stationed was, however, retaken. Gordon's official report contains no reference to Macartney, but merely states: "I sent the Adjutant-General, Major Kirkham, with the 1st regiment and the steamer *Hysen*, to drive them out of their position, etc." In this fight Macartney and Kirkham inflicted a loss of 1500 on the enemy.

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ence as to sending the troops to-morrow ; they will start at 7 a.m., with *Hyson*, and at Patachow I expect you will have a serious fight, and therefore, if you think Patachow safe, send as many guns as you can. Take care about your howitzer and its fixings, for I broke two trails yesterday from not giving the howitzers sufficient play. Whatever you do, do not risk the stockades at Patachow. I am very glad you will go, and I do not think you will find Kirkham intractable. Look out, for you will have a hard fight. If the steamer can go she will greatly aid you, and if the delay of two days is made I do not care, if you can get the steamer through the bridges.

"Yours truly,

"*25th October, 1863.*"

"C. G. GORDON.

"LEW-DOW SI-TONG-TING SAN, 6th November.

"MY DEAR GORDON,

"Owing to the non-arrival of the gunboats I did not get off on the 1st as I intended, but the next morning saw us going down from Woo Lung-chiou towards the lake. The same night we anchored at the Kapoo mouth. Having lightened the steamer of everything we did not want, we got over the shallow water near the mouth with some difficulty. The gunboats rushed on as usual, and when we got into the deep water they were nowhere to be seen, a fog having set in which hid them from our sight. The number of boats which we passed in steaming away towards the south was extraordinary; there were trains of boats at intervals extending quite across the lake from Tsee-tsz San towards Ping Wang and other places to the south of Wokeang, more than enough to have bridged the East Li-ho over without leaving any intervals between them. Those people, although long haired, seemed to be as much in terror of the rebels as if they had been clean-shaved Imperialists. Some of them whom we questioned said that they came from Wang-ching, a place on the island of Tsee-tsz San, that batches of rebels from Soochow and other places had just visited their district in quest of rice, and that they were now flying from them with their families and everything they could stow away in their boats. After going as far as we considered the gunboats could have gone since they parted company with us, we anchored well down the lake rather to the east of Lung-tong-ting San.

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"About this place we encountered rather an uncommon object, namely, an old man sailing, or rather paddling, across the lake in a bath-tub. We brought him on board; he was a very stupid old man, and could tell us nothing except that he was making the best of his way towards he knew not where, that the rebels had been down on him, and, by way of proof, pulled off a dirty cloth from his neck and showed that his throat was partially cut. The gunboats did not make their appearance that afternoon, but the next morning, when the haze cleared off a little, we saw them at anchor about six or seven miles behind us. Having picked them up we proceeded southwards again, and when just about to round the most southerly point of Tung-tong-ting San, we were fired on from a rebel stockade on the eastern side of the lake. The gunboats were immediately within range, and commenced firing on it. I determined to let it alone unless it either commanded the pass or protected rebel gunboats. I found the latter was the case, and so moved up the *Firefly*, supported on each side by a gunboat on which I had mounted a 12-pounder howitzer and an ammunition 12-pounder. After four rounds from each of these guns the rebels left the two stockades which they had erected and escaped in great disorder, leaving nearly every flag they had behind them. I set the stockades (which were principally made of wood) on fire, and gathering the men together again set sail. From the beginning of the affair until we were again under steam there did not elapse more than two hours. The gunboat men, who had made up their minds for a day's looting, were not prepared for such a quick move, and got under way in not a very good humour. Two of the best rebel gunboats were brought on, the others were set on fire. We anchored in the afternoon under the south-western point of Lung-tong-ting San. The next morning (the 5th) I set out for Lew-dow, a place to the south-west of Si-tong-ting San, but had to put back again, the gunboats not being able to follow on account of the wind and the sea that was on; both of those they might have overcome if they had really tried, but, accustomed as they are to smooth creek water, the difficulty seemed to be insurmountable, so they put back. We were no sooner at anchor again than looting commenced, which was however quickly stopped by sundry severe floggings to my own men, and a threat if that were not sufficient that the more severe process of decapitation would be enforced. I gave the mandarins commanding the gunboats leave to do this with my men,

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and told them I would do so with theirs. They appeared to approve of these measures, but I could clearly see that looting was quite as acceptable to them as to their men. Be that as it may, looting was at an end. By noon, the wind moderating a little, we got again under way for Lew-dow. This place was about three months ago the head-quarters of three Chang Maou chiefs, who had there, my pilot tells me, more silver than all the gunboats with me could carry away. There was but one of those chiefs there now, he said, and all the silver was gone. This chief had at Lew-dow about five hundred men and twelve gunboats, which brought him in the rice and the fruits of the neighbourhood and collected a tax on boats passing through certain of the passes between the islands. On passing along the south coast of Si-tong-ting San we observed four rebel gunboats trying to distance us. We steamed after them; two escaped, and the others ran into the mouth of a creek, where we captured them, though their crews escaped into the mountains. I was rather glad of those boats, for some of my men were in boats very badly adapted for the seas of the Li-ho, keeping us back much, besides endangering the lives of the men who were in them.

“Yours sincerely,
“HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

“PATACHOW, 8 November, 1863, 12 noon.

“MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

“I am now starting for Waiquaidong, having vacated Waliungchow, and shall concentrate my force off the N.W. of the city. I hope to attack and get a position on the main road from Souchow to Wusieh about the 11th or 12th of the month, and then will endeavour to communicate with you as to the final arrangements.

“If I leave Waiquaidong before the *Tsatlee* arrives, I wish to put on board of her the 12-pounder howitzer now on board the *Firefly*, and the ammunition. This I would do at Waiquaidong, and will leave orders for the same. I intend sending the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* to you for the Taho lake, and taking the *Firefly* up to the north with me. I shall accordingly send the *Hyson* down to Waiquaidong as soon as I can, and give Davidson instructions to come down to you at Patachow. I have also given orders for attention to be paid to your demands for coal from Waiquaidong.

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Will you explain to Ching that I am going to send for the 8-pounder howitzer, as we shall want it for the breach? I hope that the *Hyson* and *Tsailiee* with the 12-pounder howitzer will suit you. I will give their captains strict injunctions to carry out your wishes, and although very sorry not to have seen you or heard of your expedition, I do not like in this late part of the season to delay any longer the attack. I expect that we ought to be in a position to breach about the 20th or 25th November.

"Yours truly,

"C. G. GORDON."

We have now to describe one of the narrowest escapes in the course of Macartney's adventurous life. A few days after his letter from Lew-dow to Gordon, Macartney had to go to Shanghai to obtain from Li the money for the payment of the force. It happened that Gordon was sending his wounded to Shanghai on the *Firefly* steamer at the same time. It was accordingly arranged that Macartney should travel by the steamer, which stopped for the purpose at Quinsan. At this moment Gordon was preparing to attack the outer defences of Soochow, and he ordered the captain of the *Firefly* to return without delay, so that the vessel might take part in the operations. His instructions to the captain were that he was to remain only two hours in Shanghai before commencing his return journey. At Quinsan the *Firefly* picked up Macartney as arranged, but instead of going on board the steamer he travelled in his houseboat, which was taken in tow by her. They reached Shanghai without incident, and the steamer was left lying off Tongka-doo, two miles away from the British settlement. Captain Ludlam, the regular commander, had resigned, and this was his last trip, so the command for the return journey devolved upon Captain Dolly. It may also be mentioned that in the usual way the houseboat was detached on anchoring from the steamer.

Macartney got the money, and arranged for its being put

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and to board his houseboat. He then went to several places ~~appro~~ne settlement, and called on General Brown, who was ~~that~~ing up to see Gordon, and expressed a wish to travel by mod. *Firefly*. At his request she was therefore delayed for ~~Thi~~ couple of hours, and Macartney and Captain Ludlam ~~mr~~lined with the General at his quarters. The evening turned ~~s~~ out very wet, and General Brown then decided to put off his departure till the morning. As Gordon was extremely irate when the *Firefly* did not return at the expected hour, and found himself obliged to alter his plan of attack, it may be stated here that Macartney had no voice in the matter of her delayed departure, which was due exclusively to General Brown's orders, and to the deference shown to them by Captains Ludlam and Dolly.

We left the *Firefly* lying off Tongka-doo. At midnight on 13th November, the day of her arrival, while she was waiting for her passengers with steam up, some seven or eight foreigners, accompanied by two blacks and seven Cantonese, boarded the vessel, and closing the hatches on the four foreigners in her seized the steamer and got her under way. The persons on board were Captain Dolly, Lieutenant Easton of the Artillery (E.V.A.), Mr. Martin the mate and Mr. Perry, the engineer. Among those who seized the ship were three men named Lindlay, White, and Hart, and before they had got very far on their journey a dispute took place among them, Hart being killed and his body thrown overboard. It is unnecessary to follow the course of the *Firefly*'s journey, except to state that she did not join the Taepings until the 28th of the month.

We must now return to Macartney. Early in the morning of the 14th he proceeded to Tongka-doo, reaching it some time before the hour at which General Brown was expected. He found the *Firefly* gone, but his houseboat safe with the silver on board. Subsequent investigations proved that the conspirators had intended to capture him and the

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money, and when they placed those on board the ~~For the~~ under hatches they were in the pleasant belief that ~~I~~ had captured the man and the spoil, for which purpose ~~under~~ whole plot had been formed. They did not sail away empty handed, for the *Firefly* had on board a 32-pounder gun and a large supply of ammunition. The Taepings also paid them 20,000 dollars for the boat.

The subsequent fate of the prisoners will show what this fortunate escape signified. The *Firefly* was employed by Chung Wang in several operations against the Imperialists, and during this period the four unfortunate prisoners were kept in confinement on board her. Many weeks later Gordon, on capturing the town of Changchow in 1864, found the steamer abandoned and practically wrecked. Close by the spot was a temple, and some one observed on the wall a roughly drawn hand, traced apparently with the end of a burnt stick, and with the forefinger pointing downwards, and underneath it a date. The place indicated was dug up, and there were found the charred remains of the four Europeans captured on board the *Firefly*. It was learnt afterwards that they had been burnt to death by order of one of the Taeping leaders, and there is no doubt that if Macartney had been captured with the *Firefly*, as was originally hoped, he would have shared their fate.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOOCHOW MASSACRE

Description of Soochow—Capture of East Gate stockades—Proposals for surrender—Mow Wang—His murder—Lar Wang—Scenes on the city wall—Massacre of the Wangs—Macartney at Lar Wang's palace—Gordon's movements—Keeps Lar Wang's head—Scene at Quinsan—Gordon's slander on Macartney—Gordon's apology—Contemporary comments on the incident—Some later correspondence.

FOR some time past it had been clear that the fate of the Taiping cause was wrapped up in the possession of Soochow. With great patience Gordon had carried out during the summer of 1863 the minor operations preparatory for the main task, and early in November he was ready with his concentrated force, and such indirect aid as he might receive from the Imperialists under General Ching, to begin the assault of the great rebel stronghold. The task was no easy one, although rumours of the probable surrender of the Taiping leaders were in the air, for behind the walls of Soochow there were at least forty thousand armed rebels, and Soochow was itself a place of no inconsiderable strength. The following description drawn by the pen of a contemporary writer will bring the scene before the reader's eye :—

" Further than the eye could penetrate in the misty morning stretched the grizzled walls of Soochow, a city celebrated for ages in the history of China for its size, population, wealth, and luxury, but now stripped of its magnificence, and held by an army of Taiping banditti against the Imperial forces. To the right and left, mile

after mile, rose the line of lofty wall and grey turret, while above all appeared not only the graceful pagodas, which have been for ages the boast of Soochow, and the dense foliage of secular trees—the invariable glory of Chinese cities—but also the shimmering roofs of newly decorated palaces confidently occupied by the vain-glorious leaders of the rebellion. The proximity of the rebel line became apparent with surprising suddenness, for, following their usual custom, they greeted the rising sun with a simultaneous display of gaudy banners above the line of their entrenchments. The mud walls they had thrown up in advance, scarcely distinguishable before, were now marked out by thousands of flags of every colour from black to crimson, whilst behind them rose the jangling roll of gongs, and the murmurs of an invisible multitude."

Gordon proposed to begin his attack by assaulting the stockades outside the Low Mun or East Gate. They were really formidable, and Gordon decided for the risky but tempting plan of a night attack at two in the morning of the 27th November. His intentions, unknown to himself, were revealed to the enemy by one of the many traitors or spies in his force, and the result was a repulse with considerable loss. It had been arranged that Macartney, who was with his force at Patachiao, should co-operate by making a false attack on the position in his front, but through some mistake in the hour this feint was not made till after the main attack had failed. Macartney was under the impression that four o'clock and not two was the time appointed, and it seems that the same traitor in the Ever Victorious Army who warned the Taepings purposely misled him as to the hour. There were many persons in the force who played a double part. Gordon renewed the attack on the 29th November, preceding the assault by a heavy bombardment, and after one check he succeeded in capturing the whole of the stockades. This meant that the capture of the Low Mun itself would be a matter of no difficulty or uncertainty if further operations became necessary, but as a matter of fact

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the fighting outside Soochow ended on the 29th November
with the capture of the Low Mun stockades.

For some little time General Ching, an ex-Taeping himself, had been in negotiation with Lar Wang, one of the principal rebel leaders in Soochow, for its surrender. Lar Wang was ready to surrender, but his colleague and nominal superior Mow Wang was opposed to the idea, and wished to fight to the death. It was Mow Wang who had made such a good defence at the Low Mun stockades, and their capture had discouraged his party, while it had proportionately encouraged that of Lar Wang. Two days after this fight Lar Wang evacuated by agreement the stockades in front of the north gate, which were then occupied by General Ching. Still, the final decision to surrender had not been passed by the Wangs in council, and Lar Wang stood in danger of losing his head if Mow Wang retained his ascendancy.

Such was the exact position of affairs when, on the 4th December, the Wangs met in the yellow-roofed palace of the Mow Wang to take counsel together. It was in a sense their last banquet and their last council. Two Frenchmen (Radinor and Bertrand), who had been a long time in the Taiping service, escaped to General Ching's camp during the afternoon, and gave the following graphic description of the tragedy which had happened a few hours earlier.

"They stated that at 11 a.m. that morning Mow Wang had sent for Lar Wang, who had an hour's amicable conversation with him; that, after that, all the other Wangs, viz. Kong Wang, Sing Wang, Pe Wang, etc., came in, and Mow Wang had a dinner prepared for them in the inner hall; that after the dinner they had offered up prayers, and then arrayed themselves in their robes, crowns, etc., all except Sing Wang; that they adjourned into the reception hall; that Mow Wang had seated himself at the head of the table, which was on a raised dais, having Lar Wang on his left and Kong Wang on his right, Sing Wang leaning over the back of Kong Wang's chair; that Mow Wang had got

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up and made a speech to the Wangs, and that they had answered in succession, Lar Wang not speaking ; that the discussion seemed to get angry, and that accordingly they (the two Frenchmen) had gone into their rooms, which were close by.

"Very soon after they heard a great commotion and cries of 'Tsah ! tsah !' (kill, kill); that one of the Wangs (Ning Wang) rushed into their room with his crown off and robes torn begging for safety ; that Lar Wang stood at the door and kept the others off him ; that they had got out of the room and gained the courtyard, now full of soldiers plundering on all sides. They saw the body of Mow Wang on one side of the threshold and his head on the other side, and saw the Wangs mounting their horses and riding off to their troops. They managed with difficulty to get out of the Fu Mun, where the death of Mow Wang was yet unknown, and escaped into Ching's lines."

From various sources it appeared that Mow Wang suspected Lar Wang, and sent for him to keep him until he could get hold of the other Wangs with safety ; that Kong Wang and Sing Wang had made preparations against Mow Wang, which prevented the latter from carrying out his idea for that day, and that therefore he tried to effect his purpose under the cloak of ceremony. However, Kong Wang and Sing Wang settled at dinner to kill Mow Wang, and told Lar Wang of it, who did not exactly approve or disapprove. The other two insisted, as they said it was not safe to delay. For this reason Sing Wang, in order not to be encumbered, did not array himself in his robes. Mow Wang's discourse was to the effect that the Kwangsi and Canton men were more faithful than the other rebels (this alone must have been very distasteful to the other Wangs, who, with the exception of Ning Wang, were all Honan and Hupi men). He went on to say that no trust could be placed in the Imperialists, etc. The other Wangs answered in succession and the discussion grew warmer, till Kong Wang got up and took off his robes. Mow Wang asked him what he was about. He then drew

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a small, two-edged dagger and stabbed Mow Wang in the neck. Mow Wang cried out, and Kong Wang stabbed him again in the back. He fell forward over the table, and was seized by Sing Wang and the others and dragged off the raised dais to the threshold, and his head cut off either by Kong Wang or a Tiench-wang (an expectant Wang).

The murder of Mow Wang removed the only obstacle to the surrender of Soochow. On 5th December Lar Wang surrendered the north gate to General Ching, and the two took the oath of brotherhood. A convention was also signed, and among its stipulations was one requiring the Taepings to shave their heads. It is also important to note that Lar Wang and his associates were promised not merely their lives, but employment in the Imperial service. Gordon had been to some extent a party to these negotiations, for he had impressed on both Li Hung Chang and General Ching the necessity of granting good terms to a brave enemy. He intervened in a special manner to save the life of Mow Wang, with whom he had carried on some correspondence in reference to Burgevine, and Li Hung Chang agreed that this chief should be handed over to Gordon as his special prisoner and protégé. Mow Wang's murder by his own colleagues nullified this part of the arrangement, and it cannot be too clearly stated that in no other particular was Gordon an active party to the convention between the Imperialists and the Taepings for the surrender of Soochow.

As soon as the surrender was arranged, Gordon, foreseeing the impossibility of restraining his own force from plundering the place once his men got inside it, decided to send them back to Quinsan as quickly as possible. He accordingly demanded two months' pay for his troops as a reward from Li Hung Chang, which that individual flatly refused to provide. It was one of that minister's axioms of state-craft through life always to commence with a flat refusal.

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Here Macartney's good offices were called in, and by his efforts General Ching was induced to provide a sufficient sum for one month's pay. On this payment being made the Ever Victorious Army marched for Quinsan, but as they passed Li's camp the soldiers made a hostile demonstration, and worse might have happened if Gordon and one of his officers had not stood on guard. The important point to be borne in mind is that when the incident now to be described took place Gordon had sent the bulk of his force away. He kept with him a few officers, his bodyguard, and the steamers *Hyson* and *Tsatlee*; but the steamers were, practically speaking, away from him also, for he had sent them round to the south-west gate, where he intended to join them for the purpose of a cruise on the Taho Lake in search of the captured *Firefly*. As the reader may think that this would not be a matter of any length of time, it may be stated that the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee*, owing to the bridges and other difficulties of navigation, did not reach the south-west gate till late in the evening of 6 December, the day of the massacre.

Having got rid of his troops and made all his own arrangements, Gordon went into the city and proceeded to the palace or residence of Lar Wang. He saw that chief, and he offered, if he had any misgivings as to his safety, to take him on board his steamer. But Lar Wang replied that all was well, and Gordon left him perfectly satisfied. On Gordon's way back Lar Wang and the other Wangs passed him on their road to Li Hung Chang's camp, where a banquet was to be held in celebration of the surrender of Soochow. The Taeping chiefs were all laughing and talking loudly as they rode, apparently unarmed, on their little Tartar horses to the place of their destiny. This portion of the story may be ended at once. They were received by Li Hung Chang in his own camp, which was within a palisaded enclosure. After a short conversation Li made an

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excuse and retired, the gates of the enclosure were then shut, and the nine Wangs were killed by troops held in readiness for the purpose. Their bodies were then thrown over the palisade, and either before or after this act the victims were decapitated.

After the Wangs had passed him Gordon proceeded to the wall of the town, which furnished a convenient promenade, much safer, too, than the streets, for the place was still full of armed Taepings. Here he was joined by Macartney, whose own little corps was in occupation of the Patachiao stockade, and having a good deal of time to wait before his steamers could get round, Gordon was glad to meet a friend with whom he could discuss the events of the day. In the course of their walk they reached the east gate, from which the Futai's camp could be seen, and both observed a considerable crowd round the enclosure, but attached no special importance to the fact at the moment.

Half an hour later a considerable body of Imperialist troops passed through the east gate shouting loudly and firing off their muskets. Gordon remonstrated with the officers at the conduct of their soldiers, stating that it was contrary to the terms of surrender and that it was calculated to lead to disorder. There is no doubt from other evidence that this protest was of little avail, and that the plundering of Soochow there and then began, but in the superior dramatic interest of the other incidents this comparatively minor matter has been overlooked.

Soon after the passage of the first party of troops, General Ching himself came to the east gate at the head of a strong detachment, but on seeing Gordon he turned pale and seemed confused, for it was thought that Gordon, as well as his men, had departed. By this time Gordon was himself more than a little apprehensive, and addressing General Ching through his interpreter, he said, "Well, how did it go off? Have the Wangs seen the Futai?"

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Taken off his guard, or confused between the sudden question and his own knowledge of what had occurred, Ching hastily replied, "They have not seen the *Futai*."

"What!" rejoined Gordon; "that must be nonsense. I saw the Wangs myself ride out of the city, going to the place of rendezvous in Li's camp, and spoke to them."

Ching then corrected himself by saying, "Oh, yes, that is all right, but they have not shaved their heads and want to retain half the city," adding that it was the western half, the nearest to Chung Wang's relieving army.

Gordon, whose fears abated as quickly as they rose, replied, "That won't do. They must conform with what was agreed upon." He then turned to Macartney, and said, "Will you go to the Lar Wang's palace, and tell him that this cannot be, and meet me afterwards at Wuliungchow where I am to join the steamer?" Macartney accepted the mission.

Reference was made in the preceding chapter to the cordial relations between Gordon and Macartney, but the following incident, first described in the *Life of Gordon*, reveals most clearly the confidence Gordon placed in Macartney's character and capacity.

Some weeks before the fall of Soochow, but at a moment when it had become clear that the place could not hold out much longer, Gordon approached Macartney and said: "I want to speak with you very privately, and as I do not wish any one to hear our conversation, will you come on board my boat?" When they were both on board Gordon ordered his Chinese sailors to pull out to the centre of the lake before he would say a word. Having thus rendered secrecy assured, Gordon spoke as follows:

"Macartney, I have brought you out here so that nobody should know of our conversation, and that we might speak out as man to man. I must tell you, in the first place, that as soon as Soochow falls I intend to resign the command and

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return home. With that intention in my mind, I have been anxiously considering who was the best man to name as my successor in the command of the Ever Victorious Army, and, after the most careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that you are the best man. Will you take the command?"

This unexpected question was the more embarrassing to Macartney because, long before Gordon was appointed, rumour had freely credited him with coveting the command of the Ever Victorious Army in succession to Burgevine, and, as a matter of fact, the Chinese authorities had wished him to have the command. However, nothing had come of the project, and Macartney, after his post as Burgevine's military secretary had ceased to exist with the treason and dismissal of that adventurer, was appointed to a separate command of a portion of the Imperialist forces. The course of events had now, in an unexpected but highly complimentary manner, brought the realisation of any hopes he may have entertained on the subject within his reach. He replied to Gordon as follows :

"As you speak so frankly to me, I will speak equally frankly to you, and tell you something I have never told a living person. Rumour has credited me with having aspired to the command of this force, but erroneously so. My ambition was to work myself up at Court, and only to take the command if forced on me as a provisional matter and as a stepping-stone to my real object, which was, when my knowledge of the language was perfected, to acquire at Peking some such influence as that possessed by Verbiest¹ and the other French missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I should never have mentioned this to you lest you should not have believed it, but now that the command is at my feet I may make this avowal without any hesitation as to your accepting it. As you really think I can

¹ Verbiest was a Belgian, not a Frenchman.

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best succeed to the command of the force when you resign it, I am perfectly willing to accept the task."

To which Gordon replied, "Very well, then. That is settled." With this private understanding, as to which nothing has been published until this moment,¹ the conversation closed with a final injunction from Gordon of profound secrecy, as, should it become known, he might be unable to get certain of his more ambitious officers to take part in capturing the city. When Gordon, therefore, turned to Macartney and asked him to proceed to the Lar Wang's palace and inform him that the terms of the convention must be carried out, it is necessary, in order to throw light on what follows, to state what their relations were at that moment. Gordon had selected Macartney as his successor in preference to all his own officers.

When Gordon asked Macartney to go and tell Lar Wang that he must comply with the conditions of surrender, he therefore had recourse to the services of the man in whom he had thus shown in a signal manner that he felt the most implicit confidence. It is necessary to make this clear, for their next meeting was the tragic one in Quinsan more than a day later. Macartney had been mounted, but he lent his pony to Gordon and proceeded on foot into the city. The streets were full of armed men, and his rate of progress was not rapid, but at last he reached the Lar Wang's palace. On approaching the building he noticed some signs of confusion, and when, on passing through the gateway, he asked one of the attendants to take him at once to his master, he received the reply that the Lar Wang was out. Macartney was never a man to be turned from his path by a conventional excuse or objection, and addressing the servant in a peremptory tone, he said :

"The matter is of the first importance. I *must* see the Lar Wang. Take me to him at once."

¹ 1896.

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Then the servant of the Taeping leader did a strange thing. "You cannot see my master," he said; and, turning his face to the wall so that no one else might see, he drew his open hand in a cutting position backwards and forwards under his chin. This is the recognised Chinese mode of showing that a man's head has been cut off.

Being thus apprised that something tragic had happened, Macartney hastened away to Wuliungchow to keep his appointment with Gordon, and to acquaint him with what had taken place at the Lar Wang's palace. But no Gordon came, for reasons that must now be explained.

Soon after Macartney and Ching had left him, Gordon turned to his interpreter and asked him what he thought of things. The interpreter replied that he feared "something improper had occurred." Gordon, struck with the remark, decided to go himself to the Lar Wang's palace, and arrived there after Macartney had left. He found all in confusion, and Lar Wang's uncle, a chief named Wangchi, occupied in removing the women and children to a place of safety, for the Imperialists had begun pillaging. Wangchi begged Gordon to help him, which he did, but when they were all lodged safely in his house, Wangchi refused to allow Gordon or his interpreter to depart. The principal captor of Soochow was thus a prisoner in the hands of the Taepings during the evening and night of 6th December. Early in the morning of the 7th he was released on his assurance that he would send in his bodyguard to protect Wangchi and to restrain the Imperialists from further pillaging. This must have been the very moment to which the following description by Induna (*The Nines*, 15 February, 1893) relates:—

"The Chinese had been looting the place all night long. . . . About five hundred lay murdered about the streets, men, women, and children, some shot, others with their throats cut. . . . Gordon, on the morning of the 7th December, looking like Horatius, was guarding the gate of Soochow."

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Up to this point, although the worst might be feared, Gordon did not know definitely what was the fate of the Wangs. While waiting on the wall above the gate for his steamer, which had to be brought back from Wuliungchow to take him to Quinsan, Gordon's attention was drawn to some dark objects on the other side of the creek lying against the Futai's stockade. At his request Prince F. von Wittgenstein, who was attached to his force, crossed in a small boat to discover what they were. He returned with the information that they were headless bodies, whereupon Gordon crossed himself and recognised that they were the Wangs. The body of Lar Wang could not be identified, but Gordon brought back the head with him, and preserved it for some vague purpose. The other remains were given decent burial. Gordon then wrote a furiously-worded letter to Li Hung Chang, upbraiding him for his cruelty and breach of faith. In this much Gordon was perfectly within his right, but he went beyond his province in calling on Li to give up his office and to restore to the Taepings what they had surrendered. Having written this indignant letter and left it, as he states in his official report, at the Futai's boat, Gordon steamed off on the *Hyson*, which arrived during the morning, to Quinsan, bearing with him Lar Wang's head, wrapped in a silk scarf, as the terrible memorial of the deed for which he chose at this moment to hold himself morally responsible.

The tale now returns to Macartney. After waiting at Wuliungchow some hours for Gordon, confined, as we have seen, at the time in Wangchi's house, he proceeded in the first place to Li's camp to learn for himself the truth. But on arriving there he was informed that the Futai was not in it, and that no one knew exactly whether he had gone, but no concealment was attempted of the fact that the Wangs had been massacred. After this Macartney proceeded to his own camp near the Patachiao bridge. He

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reached it late at night, and on arrival he was informed that Li Hung Chang had come there for concealment or protection. But Macartney was then so tired that he did not attempt to see his visitor or guest that evening. Nor did Li press himself upon him until the arrival in the course of the morning of Gordon's letter written, as stated, immediately after the discovery of the bodies of the murdered Wangs. Then Li sent for Macartney, and, placing a letter in his hands, said, "I have received that letter from Gordon. Translate its contents."

After perusing it, Macartney said, "This letter is written in a fit of indignation. You and Gordon are and have been friends, and I am also the friend of you both. The most friendly act I can do both of you is to decline to translate it. Let me therefore return you the letter unread."

"Very well," replied Li, "do as you think best; but as I am not to know the contents I do not wish to have the letter. Please keep it."

Sir Halliday Macartney kept the letter, which remained in his possession for some time, until, in fact, he handed it, with an explanatory account of the whole affair, to Sir Harry Parkes, as will be explained further on.

After this point had been settled, Li Hung Chang went on to say that he wished Macartney to go and see Gordon at Quinsan, and speak to him as follows:

"Tell Gordon that he is in no way, direct or indirect, responsible in this matter, and that, if he considers his honour involved, I will sign any proclamation he likes to draft, and publish it far and wide that he had no part in or knowledge of it. I accept myself the full and sole responsibility for what has been done. But also tell Gordon that this is China, not Europe. I wished to save the lives of the Wangs, and at first thought that I could do so; but they came with their heads unshaved, they used defiant language, and proposed a deviation from the convention, and I saw

that it would not be safe to show mercy to these rebels. Therefore what was done was inevitable. But Gordon had no part in it, and whatever he demands to clear himself shall be done."

I never gathered from anything Sir Halliday Macartney ever said to me that he had any serious misgivings about this mission when he undertook it. His relations with Gordon were, as has been shown, of a specially cordial and confidential character, and even if he failed to induce Gordon to abandon the threatening plans he had described in his letter to Li Hung Chang, which was in his pocket, there was no reason to apprehend any personal unpleasantness with one who had given the clearest proof of friendship and esteem.

As I cannot give the full text of the original letter from General Gordon, I content myself by stating that its two principal passages were that Li Hung Chang should at once resign his post of Governor of Kiangsu, and give up the seals of office to Gordon, so that he might put them in commission until the Emperor's pleasure should be ascertained; or that, failing that step, Gordon would forthwith proceed to attack the Imperialists, and retake from them all the places captured by the Ever Victorious Army, for the purpose of handing them back again to the Taepings. When Gordon went so far as to write a letter of that character, which, it must be admitted, was altogether beyond any authority he possessed, it must be clear that the envoy, who came to put forward counsels that were intended to restore harmony, but that by so doing might assume the aspect of palliating the Futai's conduct, could not count on a very cordial reception from a man of Gordon's temperament, whose sense of honour and good faith had been deeply injured by the murder of the rebel leaders.

Still, Macartney accepted the mission imposed upon him by Li Hung Chang without hesitation, and hastened to

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carry it out without delay. It was late in the day when he saw Li Hung Chang, but having procured a native boat with several rowers, he set off in the evening, and reached Quinsan in the middle of the night. Gordon was then in bed and could not be disturbed, and while Macartney waited he drank some coffee that Gordon's servant made for him, which he much needed, as he had left Soochow without having broken his fast since the early morning. After a short time, and before day had really broken, Gordon sent down word that he would see him, and Macartney went upstairs to an ill-lighted room, when he found Gordon sitting on his bedstead. He found Gordon sobbing, and before a word was exchanged, Gordon stooped down, and taking something from under the bedstead, held it up in the air, exclaiming :

“Do you see that? Do you see that?”

The light through the small Chinese windows was so faint that Macartney had at first some difficulty in discovering what it was, when Gordon again exclaimed :

“It is the head of the Lar Wang, foully murdered!” and with that burst into hysterical tears.

At once perceiving that any conversation under these circumstances would do no good, Macartney said he would retire, and see Gordon later. Some hours afterwards breakfast was served in a large room downstairs, where there were present not only many of the officers, but also several European merchants and traders of Shanghai, who had been in the habit of supplying the force with its commissariat requirements. Gordon came in, and Macartney took a seat beside him. After a few minutes' silence Gordon turned to Macartney, and said abruptly :

“You have not come for yourself. You have come on a mission from the Futai. What is it?”

When Macartney suggested that so public a place might not be the most suitable for discussing such important

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matters, Gordon said, "There are only friends here. I have no secrets. Speak out."

There was no longer any honourable way of avoiding the challenge, and Macartney described exactly what has been already recorded as to Li Hung Chang having come to him with Gordon's letter, which from friendly motives he had declined to translate, and stating that Li took the whole responsibility on himself, and would exonerate Gordon from the least complicity in the affair, with which the Chinese statesman averred Gordon had nothing to do. Macartney went on to urge with regard to the measures threatened by Gordon in expiation of the massacre that they were not justifiable, and would not in the end redound to Gordon's own credit. In conclusion, he said he felt sure that "a little reflection would show Gordon that to carry on a personal war with the Futai would be to undo all the good that had been done. Moreover, you must recollect that although you, no doubt, have at this moment the military force to carry out your threats, it will no longer be paid by the Chinese authorities. You will only be able to keep your men at your back by allowing them to plunder, and how long will that prove successful, and what credit will you get by it?"

Gordon here stamped his foot, saying he would have none of Macartney's mild counsels. To which Macartney replied, "Mild or not, they are the only ones your minister at Peking and our Queen will approve. Nay, what I advise you to do is even that you would yourself do if you would but reflect, and not let yourself be influenced by these men sitting at your table."

To these undoubtedly prudent representations, supported as they were by at least one of those present, Mr. Henry Dent, who got up and said that, in his opinion, Dr. Macartney's advice ought to be followed, while the others who wished the war to go on from interested motives re-

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mained silent, Gordon did and would not listen. The hot fit of rage and horror at the treacherous murder of the Wangs, kept at fever-point by the terrible memorial in his possession, was still strong upon him, and his angry retort was, "I will have none of your tame counsels," and there and then ordered the *Hyson*, with a party of infantry, to be got ready to attack the Futai, at the same time offering Macartney a passage in the steamer.

On hearing this decisive declaration Macartney left the table, and hastening to one of Gordon's officers, who was a personal friend, he begged the loan of a horse and a pair of spurs. Having obtained what he wanted, he set off riding as hard as he could by the road, which was somewhat shorter than the canal, so that he might warn Li Hung Chang as to what was going to happen, and also bring up his own troops to oppose the advance of Gordon, who actually did move out of Quinsan with the intention of carrying out his threats, but returned there when the flotilla had proceeded half-way to Soochow.

By this time he had fortunately reflected on the situation, and a sanguinary struggle was averted. Gordon came to see that his honour was not in the slightest or most remote degree involved, and that China was not a country to which the laws of chivalry could be applied; but before he had reached this stage of mental equilibrium he had penned a most regrettable and cruelly unjust dispatch, not about Li Hung Chang or any one involved in the massacre, but about Dr. Macartney, whose sole fault had been that he wished to make peace, and had advised Gordon to act in the very sense which he afterwards himself adopted.

In a dispatch to General Brown, commanding at Shanghai, which appears in the Blue Book (China, No. 3, 1864, p. 198), Gordon wrote: "I then went to his (Li's) boat, and left him a note in English, informing him of what my intention had been, and also my opinion of his treachery.

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I regret to say that Mr. Macartney did not think fit to have this translated to him. . . . On 8th December the Futai sent Mr. Macartney to persuade me that he could not have done otherwise, and I blush to think that he could have got an Englishman, late an officer in Her Majesty's army, to undertake a mission of such a nature."

When the Blue Book was published with the dispatch referred to, Dr. Macartney took no notice of it. Some time afterwards he met the late Sir Harry Parkes, then Consul-General at Shanghai, and he described what I have set forth in the same language. Sir Harry Parkes, than whom England never had a more able or more courageous representative in the Far East, at once said, "This is very interesting. Sir Frederick Bruce is coming down shortly. I wish you would write out what you have told me, so that I might show it to him." Dr. Macartney wrote out his narrative, and with it he sent Gordon's original letter to Li Hung Chang. Those documents have never been published, but they should still exist in the Shanghai Consulate or at the Foreign Office. Sir Frederick Bruce's (brother of the Ambassador, Lord Elgin, and himself the first British Minister at Peking) comment after perusing them was: "Dr. Macartney showed very great judgment and good sense, and no blame attaches to him in this matter."

A considerable period intervened between the breakfast scene at Quinsan and Gordon's next meeting with Macartney. In that period much had happened. Gordon had forgiven Li Hung Chang, done everything that Macartney had recommended as the right course in the memorable scene at Quinsan, and by some of the most remarkable of his military exploits had crushed the Taeping rebellion, but the two principal actors in this affair had not crossed each other's path.

Six weeks after Gordon had brought his operations in the

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field to an end at Chanchufu in May, 1864, he returned to Quinsan, and Li Hung Chang, wishing to do him honour, asked him to an official breakfast at his yamen in Soochow. At the same time (July) Li Hung Chang said to Macartney, "I have asked Gordon to breakfast. I know you and he have had some difference. How would you meet him if you came too?"

To this question Macartney replied, "I would meet Gordon exactly as Gordon met me. It is true that Gordon did me an injustice, but I am quite ready to blot it out from my memory if Gordon will admit it. Gordon acted under a strong feeling of excitement when he was not master of himself, and I have no more thought of holding him strictly responsible for what he wrote at such a moment than I would a madman."

Li Hung Chang said, "Very well, then. I ask you to come to breakfast to meet him." On Macartney's return to his house he found a letter from Gordon waiting for him. In this letter Gordon admitted that he had done him a wrong, and was prepared to sign any paper to that effect that Macartney might prepare.

Macartney thereupon replied to Gordon, pointing out that the mere publication of a letter of retraction was not an adequate reparation for an injurious statement which had been given a wide circulation, and to a certain extent placed beyond recall by appearing in an official publication, but that if he might publish Gordon's own letter offering to do this in the *North China Herald*, he would be satisfied, and the matter, as far as he was concerned, might be considered at an end. To this course Gordon at once acquiesced, subject to the omission of one paragraph affecting a third person, and in no respect relating to Sir Halliday or his conduct. This letter, which the editor of that paper stated he "published at Colonel Gordon's request," on 23rd July, 1864, read as follows:—

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"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"SHANGHAI, July 5, 1864.

"It is with much regret that I perceive in the last Blue Book issued on China affairs a report from me to General Brown on the occurrence at Soochow, which report contains an injurious remark on your conduct.

"I am extremely sorry that I ever penned that remark, as I believe you went out of your way on this occasion wholly on the same public grounds which led eventually to my taking the field myself, and I can only excuse my having done so by recollecting the angry feelings with which I was actuated at that time.

"It will be my duty to rectify this error in other quarters, and in the meantime I beg you to make what use you may think fit of this letter.

"Yours truly,

"C. G. GORDON."

On the next day Gordon and Macartney met at breakfast at the yamen of the Futai Li Hung Chang, and Gordon at once came up to Macartney and said :

"Do not let us talk of the past, but of the future. I am one of those who hold that when a man has wronged another he should seek opportunities through his life of making him redress. Now you are founding an arsenal at Soochow, and I am going back to England, where I have a brother in the Arsenal at Woolwich. From him I can get you books, plans, and useful information. I will do so."

Gordon was as good as his word. He sent Macartney expensive plans and books, besides most valuable information. He also promised to write to the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief, admitting that he was not justified in his criticism of Dr. Macartney, who had acted in every way becoming an English gentleman and an officer. Thus ended the misunderstanding between the two Englishmen who rendered China the best service she has ever obtained from foreigners ; and knowing both these distinguished men intimately, I have much pleasure in testifying from my own

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knowledge to the accuracy of the following statement of Sir Halliday Macartney to myself, that "after this, Gordon and I remained firm friends evermore."

In order to complete this episode I am giving as fresh and confirmatory evidence the expressions of English opinion in Shanghai on the incident at the time. The reader will see that they corroborate the narrative practically dictated to me by Sir Halliday in the summer of 1896.

Gordon resigned the Chinese service in December, 1863, because, as he stated, he would not serve with men who committed such acts of cruelty and treachery, or under a Government that condoned them. The decision as that of a man whose chivalrous humanitarianism had been outraged was applauded, but the *North China Herald* also found reasons of a worldly nature for supporting his decision. The supreme selfishness of Li Hung Chang had disgusted every English critic, and his appropriation of all the credit of a campaign to which he and his colleagues contributed nothing but money had raised a feeling of resentment. A circumstance that seemed likely to bring home to him the realities of his own situation, and to depose him from his pedestal of self-glorification, was therefore doubly welcome to the English community in Shanghai. Gordon's resignation in December, 1863, then, was greeted with applause, but nothing, the reader will be careful to remember, was known at this moment of the Quinsan incident or of the dispatch to General Brown reflecting on Dr. Macartney.

On 16th February, 1864, Gordon, for sound, practical reasons, which, however, were far removed from the sentiments that obsessed him on the 7th December, resumed the command, and naturally enough the papers which had praised his chivalrous and righteous indignation at the end of 1863 found it difficult to approve, much less applaud, his surrender to the practical exigencies of the hour, personified

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in the cynical and unscrupulous Li Hung Chang. Still, in February, 1864, nothing was known by the public in Shanghai of the personal attack on Dr. Macartney. It was not till June, 1864, that the Blue Book containing the offending dispatch reached Shanghai from London, whereupon the *North China Herald* (18 June, 1864) published from the pen of a distinguished authority on Anglo-Chinese relations—happily still living—the following forcible and illuminating article :—

“Gordon’s Memo. relative to the execution of the Wangs at Soochow, which was published in the *North China Herald* of the 12th December, created, as our readers are fully aware, much excitement, and elicited numerous indignant protests against the treachery of the Futai. Passing by the abstract question of right and wrong involved, passing by in like manner the questions whether the Futai was not, according to the Chinese standard of honour, fully justified in ordering the execution of the rebel leaders, and whether Gordon had any right to make the promise which the Futai afterwards violated, it is at any rate evident that Gordon was eventually led to view the matter in a manner different from that in which it first presented itself to him. The simple fact that, without any substantial guarantee that such a contingency should not a second time occur, he again took the field, and carried out the wishes of the perfidious Futai, is, in itself, sufficient to prove that a change gradually passed over the spirit of his dream. Gordon may perhaps have heard that Ching (in spite of his assertion that ‘the Lar Wang had run away’) had in truth some reason for ‘looking pale,’ for that he had not only superintended, but had on his own responsibility ordered, the execution which has heaped so much popular displeasure on the Futai. Whether this be true or not we do not venture to say, but our readers may not be aware that a short time before his death Ching informed Macartney that he, and he alone, had been the prime mover in the execution. He did not pretend that the Futai was ignorant of the proceeding until the entire affair was over, but he asserted definitely that it was he who gave the order in the first instance, ‘For,’ said he, ‘had the Wangs not been executed the next *Gazette* would have contained an order for my decapitation, and probably for the degradation and death of the Futai.’ Be this as

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it may, Gordon, having in common with every foreigner to whom the tale was told expressed his horror at the slaughter of the Wangs, was at length pacified, and pursued for the Futai that course of victory which we have from time to time traced in these columns, and which, if it had been followed out on either of the western continents, would have rendered Gordon one of the heroes of history. It was therefore with much regret that we read in the last parliamentary Blue Book on China the following passages which find a place in the Memo. dated December 12th, and forwarded by Major Gordon to Major-General Brown:—

“I then went to his (the Governor's) boat and left him a note in English, informing him of what my intention had been, and also my opinion of his treachery. I regret to say that Mr. Macartney did not think fit to have this translated to him.

“On the 8th December the Futai sent Mr. Macartney to persuade me that he could not have done otherwise, and I blush to think that he could have got an Englishman, late an officer in Her Majesty's Army, to undertake a mission of such a nature.”

“Notwithstanding this burst of indignation, a few weeks sufficed to persuade Gordon to accept the representations originally made by the Futai through Macartney. We cannot see how the mere fact of Macartney being entrusted with a message intended to smooth matters gave Gordon cause to blush. But admitting this excessive sensibility to the disgrace in which an Englishman involves himself when he attempts to assist the Chinese Government by his services, it is worth while to refer back to the circumstances which led to Major Gordon's blush, and to his report of the phenomenon to Major-General Brown. In the passage quoted above Gordon refers to certain ‘intentions’ which he had entertained. These intentions, as expressed by Gordon himself, resulted from the natural excitement into which the events of the few previous days had thrown him, and could not have suggested themselves except under some such extraordinary circumstances. They were, amongst other things, to attack Ching, to retake Soochow and the other cities, to depose the Futai, and to elect five commissioners to execute the office of Governor until advices could be received from Peking. When these propositions first came to our knowledge we took the view which we have expressed above, and our readers will doubtless look at them in the same light. Indeed, the absurdity of the

entire thing is so evident to one who sits down calmly to consider the propositions either separately or collectively, that Gordon's penetration could not have failed to guide him to a right decision so soon as he had an opportunity of exercising his cool judgment. As to the first, we need only say that the 'Ever Victorious' would have had but a very sorry chance against Ching's army. As to the second, even admitting (a very rash admission, by the way) the possibility of recapturing Soochow and the other cities from the Imperialists, Gordon would by such an attempt have lowered himself from the lofty position he then and now holds to that of an ordinary filibuster. The third proposition lacked the important element of possibility, for it will be evident to the least informed on Chinese matters that no five men could have been found to accept the honour which Gordon would have thrust upon them. Hardly could the report of their presumption reach the throne before a swift fate would have overtaken them. An inexorable doom would have been instantly pronounced on men who dared to take from a foreigner an appointment conferred by the Emperor alone. Then, again, such acts would have necessitated one of three things—either a third Chinese war, or the repudiation of Gordon's acts on the part of the English Government, or a repudiation of the Futai on the part of the Chinese. The English Government could never have demanded the last alternative—all principles of justice would have forbidden it. Which of the former two would, therefore, have been accepted? We leave our readers to judge. Either would, in our opinion, have proved most disastrous in its results. Yet it was in order to stem the tide of imprudence which was carrying Gordon headlong to these fatal rocks that Macartney was deputed by the Futai to represent matters in a somewhat more favourable light. We may further remark that at the moment when Macartney incurred Gordon's displeasure by his attempt to prevent the dangers which the latter was creating for himself, there were present at least three other Englishmen, one a Treaty Consul, the second an officer in the Army, the third the head of a mercantile house in the settlement. We do not know what opinions were expressed by the last-mentioned gentleman, but we are informed that the British officer and the Treaty Consul were unanimous in combating each hasty resolution as expressed by Gordon. These gentlemen, therefore, share the honour of causing Gordon's blush of indignation. We consider it, however, a matter for sincere congratulation that

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(if Gordon's opinions still remain unaltered) he has sacrificed his private feelings, and permitted himself to perform deeds of valour for which his countrymen at least find no reason to blush."

A little over a month later Gordon's letter was published "by request" in that paper (23 July, 1864) as already stated, and the following leading article expressed what may be called the final word on the incident when it was fresh in everybody's mind :—

"The step taken by Gordon in animadverting severely on Macartney's 'conduct' after the capture of Soochow and the slaughter of the Wangs, may be very easily accounted for if we take into consideration the state of excitement into which such events must have plunged the most phlegmatic of mortals. Gordon no doubt pictured to himself in glaring and exaggerated colours the questionable position in which the faith and honour of a British officer had been placed by the Futai's course of action. He felt that the eyes not only of the Chinese and the foreign residents in China were fixed on him, but that likewise the whole civilised world, so far as affairs in China claim attention in the West, looked on him as the representative of what foreigners are, and considered itself more or less pledged by whatever he should consider it right to do. Standing in this position of trust the occurrences which attended the capture of Soochow were eminently calculated to throw Gordon off his balance —to make him declare in his anger that all men were liars, and that, so far as he was concerned, the Chinese should never again obtain the aid of his arm or of his head. While Gordon was in this frame of mind, brooding over the disgrace in which at the time he believed the Futai had involved him, he was, naturally enough, not in the most favourable state of mind for the reception of counsel based on conclusions which had been calmly thought out by men who felt no more than an ordinary regret for the sanguinary incidents of the day. The gentlemen who were present in Gordon's boat before Macartney's arrival, and consequently before the occurrence of any misunderstanding between Gordon and Macartney, had expressed opinions directly opposed to those entertained by the former. To one just smarting under the infliction of such a blow as the slaughter

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of the Wangs must have been to Gordon's sensitive mind, recommendations to remain calm, to do nothing rashly, to make the question a diplomatic one, and so on, must have been gall and bitterness. To him, then, Macartney, who although himself much moved at the sad ending of what else would have proved an almost bloodless triumph, yet by all the arguments at his command supports those recommendations of patience and resignation which had been dwelt on by Gordon's guests. Shortly afterwards, and before it could have possibly been discovered how completely both native and foreign opinion exonerated Gordon from any share in what was then considered the Futai's treachery, the dispatch to Major-General Brown, in which Macartney was severely spoken of, was written. In it occurred those passages upon which we have already commented, and which are to be fully accounted for by the state of disgust into which Gordon had been thrown by what he considered a wanton act of deceit and cruelty. When, however, the necessity for that act became in some measure understood—when it became evident that unless he again took the field British interests must suffer, and all the steps already gained be lost—then Gordon practically acknowledged the value of those suggestions which had seemed unsuitable at a time when any further joint action with the Futai seemed impossible. It is thus evident that, had the true state of the case been from the first fully understood, Gordon would have at once decided on the course which he eventually followed out, his resolves would have taken the shape which the advice of his friends assumed, and the clause relative to Macartney would not have found its way into the report laid before Major-General Brown. Under these circumstances Gordon, by publishing the letter, which will be found in another column, does no more than those who know him would have expected. In that letter, as will be seen, he exonerates Macartney from any imputation of conduct unworthy of one who had before held a commission in Her Majesty's service, and offers a full explanation of the circumstances which led to the insertion of the injurious paragraph. We congratulate Macartney upon the full reparation which Gordon has made for the injury which an imputation proceeding from his pen must have inflicted. On the manner in which the discussion has been closed we do not comment, as we consider the spirit which suggested Gordon's letter to be above all praise."

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I may conclude this chapter by quoting two letters from Sir Halliday Macartney, written many years later to private friends in reference to this passage in his life. The first of these was to M. Paul Villars, the able and distinguished London correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* :—

“HOLLOWTON, CASTLE DOUGLAS, N.B.,

“16th September, 1896.

“MY DEAR VILLARS,

“About five-and-twenty years ago, on the capture of Soochow, I was unjustly censured by the late General Gordon in connection with a mission I undertook to him from Li Hung Chang, the Governor of the Province of Kiangsu. The mission had reference to the circumstances which induced the latter to depart from the conditions on which the city of Soochow surrendered, in executing the princes whose lives he had promised to spare. Gordon was much incensed at this, and called on Li Hung Chang to give up to him his seals of office in order that they might be put in commission until the Emperor's pleasure could be taken on the subject of the Governor's conduct and the appointment of a successor to him.

“This was Gordon's demand, and the penalty for Li Hung Chang's non-compliance with it was to be, that he would take the field against him, punish him, and take back from him the cities he had captured for him from the rebellious Taipings.

“It was for denouncing this foolish project and for the unpalatable advice I gave him that I incurred Gordon's displeasure, and was censured by him in a dispatch which, in the heat of the moment, he addressed to the General commanding the British Forces in China, and which afterwards was published in a Parliamentary Blue Book.

“The wisdom of the advice for which I was thus blamed was afterwards justified by events and by his following it in every particular ; but the injustice he had done me, though he had frankly admitted it, and in the noblest manner sought to make amends for it, has, through an overlook, let us hope, of his kinsman and biographer, Mr. Egmont Hake, been allowed to operate against me, for in the book he published some years ago he not only referred to my supposed offence, but neglected to take notice of the retraction and reparation Gordon had hastened to offer me as soon as he became aware of his mistake and the injustice he had done me.

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"At page — of Mr. Hake's book the incident is thus alluded to:—

" " — — — —

"There are, perhaps, few who could fill in the name for which the blank is left, but to those who would care to do so, an opportunity will be given on the publication of a work which will soon make its appearance, and of which I have asked the publishers to send you an advance copy.

"The work I refer to is a *Life of General Gordon*, by Demetrius Boulger, the writer who for many years, and through thick and thin, has sought to gain for China a fitting place in the estimation of the nations of the West.

"But what the devil am I driving at? I think I hear you ask. It is this: There are about a dozen or so pages in the book that are devoted to the incident to which I have referred, and I want to ask you to give them prominence in a little review of the book, which I should feel obliged by your writing for the *Figaro* or *le Journal des Débats*.

"It is not that I greatly care to have the aspersions unjustly cast on my name removed. I am not a man that greatly cares what people may say or think of me so long as I have the approbation of myself. Had it been otherwise, I should not have allowed a quarter of a century to elapse before doing what is now to be done by the work of Mr. Boulger. No; I have another object which will best be served by my laying aside for a moment my habitual policy of self-effacement. I think it might contribute to the realisation of the object I have in view were my name brought forward at present in the Press in connection with that of Li Hung Chang, and to have it shown that my acquaintance with that much-belauded dignitary was not that of yesterday, and that I played a certain rôle in China long before I entered on the devious ways of diplomacy. I had been marked out for the command of the 'Ever Victorious Army' before the appointment was given to Gordon, and most likely would have succeeded to it on the defection of Burgevine had it not been that I had not then received the necessary permission to retire from Her Majesty's service. It was no disappointment to me that I did not get the command, for, as you will see when you get the copy of Boulger's *Life of Gordon*, my ambition led me to look for distinction in another field than that of military glory. This, perhaps, with a juster appreciation of what I was best fitted for, than that of the Chinese who offered me the

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appointment and of Gordon, who considered me the most suitable, of all the men then in China, person in China to succeed him.

"I should feel much obliged if you could render me the service for which I now ask.

"I have been down here for the last three weeks, and hope I may be able to remain for at least a week more. I am, however, doubtful as to this, for my minister has had a paralytic shock, and I live in hourly fear of being summoned back to London.

"What are the Powers going to do with the unspeakable Turk? I think they ought to do something, and that it would be as well if they could come to an agreement that the time for the application of the Grand Old Man's bag and baggage policy had at last arrived. The Turk can serve, but he cannot command. This is a truth that sooner or later we must come to recognise. But whom is he to serve? The Russians or the English? I am inclined to think the former.

"Yours very sincerely,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"P.S.—I have not got Hake's book with me, so cannot quote the passage in it where my mission to Li is referred to."

The second letter was written in 1900 to the late Mr. Archibald Michie, an able writer on questions affecting China, in which country he had resided many years :—

"MY DEAR MICHIE,

"6 September, 1900.

"I was glad to learn that you were engaged upon your reminiscences of China. You know the country so well that anything from your facile pen cannot but prove most interesting, more especially now when everybody is bent on endeavouring to solve the Chinese puzzle.

"I do not know that I can be of much use to you in helping you to fill up the hiatus which you find to exist between the time when the rupture and the reconciliation of Gordon with Li Hung Chang at Soochow took place. I do not know whether the reconciliation arrived at was in consequence of the advice I gave to Gordon on the occasion of the dramatic interview I had with him at Quinsan, but

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I know that what he then blamed me for counselling him to do was what he actually did some months later. An account of that interview was given by me to Parkes in writing, and this has been shown to Sir F. Bruce. The *amende honorable* made by Gordon to me followed soon after Parkes wrote to me telling me that he had just shown the memo. to Bruce, who, alluding to the censure Gordon passed on me in the dispatch he addressed to the Secretary of State for War with regard to my mission to him from Li Hung Chang, stated that on that occasion I had acted with very good judgment and good sense, and that there was no blame attachable to me. I have always considered that it was Bruce who brought Gordon to see this, and to make the noble apology he afterwards offered me for the wrong he had done to me. Thus ended the second mission of pacification I was sent on by Li Hung Chang to Gordon, the first having been that in which Gordon threatened to throw up the command unless either Li himself or some mandarin of standing were sent to make up the difference that had occurred between him and General Ching, the Commandant of the Imperial Forces in Kiangsu.

"I am afraid you will have some difficulty in clearing Gordon from the charge of being at times capricious. Parkes once retailed to me an instance of this. He had gone up to Feng Wan, there to see Gordon on some matter which required their joint pressure in Shanghai with the Taotai. Gordon refused to go back with Parkes, alleging that he could not be spared from the camp for some days, and all the entreaties of Parkes failed to move him from the position he had taken up. Parkes left for Shanghai much disappointed, but what was his astonishment on entering the Taotai's yamen to report this want of success to find Gordon in serious conversation with that functionary.

"It turned out that no sooner had Parkes issued from one gate of the camp than Gordon, calling for his boat, emerged from the gate on the other side, and got down to Shanghai by another way.

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"HOTEL CECIL, STRAND, W.C., 8 September, 1900.

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"I am very much obliged for your interesting letter, which tells me more about Gordon than I knew before.

[REDACTED]

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I see, however, I was a little off the scent in surmising that it was directly through your persuasion that he resumed active service under Li Hung Chang. I am much obliged also to Mr. Boulger for his kind offer of assistance to fill the hiatus referred to, but, as you say, it is not the only hiatus requiring to be filled up in order to render Gordon coherent, and as he comes into my notes in a quite incidental way, I could not go into the matter in any detail, so that the brief notice I have given will be quite sufficient for my purpose. If I might merely say that you advised him to reconsider his decision it would suffice—just in so many words.

"Events in China must have given you something to think about. It is a difficult, complicated, and even incredible situation. Russia is, of course, the only Power whose policy is compact. She can wait, and if the others would get sick of the business and clear out the game would be in her own hands. To leave Peking would be fatal to all but Russia. She does not need to care whether there is a Government or not—indeed, anarchy would be no detriment to her general policy, though it might force her hand inconveniently early.

"Yours very truly,

"A. MICHIE."

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE IN SOOCHOW

Transferring the arsenal to Soochow—Purchase of the Sherard Osborn flotilla machinery—Some reminiscences—Adventure at Nanking—The “Red Devil”—Lar Wang’s family—An act of humanity—The Chinese marriage—A Taeping princess—An instructive psychological study—Macartney’s name in China.

AS soon as things had settled down in Soochow after its capture, and the Taeping prisoners had been either absorbed in the Imperial army or sent to their homes, Li Hung Chang moved into the city and took up his residence in the palace that had been occupied by the Mow Wang. At the same time he ordered Macartney to establish himself and his regiment in the same place, and consequently Macartney also went to Soochow and fixed his residence in the house that had been the Lar Wang’s. During the ten weeks that Gordon remained inactive at Quinsan between December, 1863, and February, 1864, the Chinese Governor was kept fully employed by the task of removing the traces of the rebellion from the fine city of Soochow, which Marco Polo had compared in its prime to Venice. Macartney was also much occupied in the transfer of the small arsenal which he had established at Sungkiang to Soochow. This he did at the request and with the financial co-operation of Li Hung Chang.

Reference has been made to the fact that while at Sungkiang Macartney manufactured for the use of his small force

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powder, shot, and shell. But of course these operations were on a small scale, and were chiefly interesting as marking the commencement of an important movement in China. At first Macartney had a very small staff picked up in haphazard fashion in Shanghai. He once described how he obtained his principal carpenter. During one of his visits to Shanghai he noticed a man working very diligently at his shop door making a wooden case. The man was thoroughly engrossed in his work, and paid no attention to what was going on around him. Macartney said nothing on the first occasion, but when he passed the next day and found the man similarly engaged and not less absorbed in his work than before, he stopped and addressed him somewhat as follows :

" My friend, you seem to work very hard, and I suppose you make a good deal of money?" To which the Chinese replied, " I work all day, but I am lucky if I make a few pence." Macartney said, " If you like to come with me to make boxes or cases like those you are engaged upon, I will give you regular work and three times what you say you earn.' The man accepted the offer and became Macartney's principal carpenter, proceeding with him from Sungkiang to Soochow and later on from Soochow to Nanking.

When the arsenal was removed from Sungkiang to Soochow a change was made in its system of organisation. At the former place it was merely part of the dépôt of Macartney's force, and the work was done in a comparatively small building or temple, but on the removal to Soochow it assumed larger dimensions, and was located in the compound of Lar Wang's former residence. But the resources available for purposes of manufacturing arms and ammunition were still strictly limited, and on its original lines it would never have become of any great importance. It was due to Macartney's promptitude in seizing a favourable opportunity that it acquired the larger dimensions which invested it with all the importance of a State arsenal.

To explain this circumstance it is necessary to go back to the summer of 1863, when the Chinese Government had contracted for a flotilla of gunboats with the English authorities as the nucleus of a proposed fleet. The command of this flotilla was given to Captain Sherard Osborn, a brilliant naval officer and an able man of letters. The flotilla arrived in China in the month of September, 1863, and the Chinese expected that it would be able to render effective service in crushing the rebels. Unfortunately the boats were too big and could not proceed up the creeks. They were, therefore, for the immediate purpose contemplated by the Chinese, quite useless. Disputes of various kinds followed between the English organisers of the fleet and the Chinese authorities at Peking, but all that need be said here is that they resulted in the cancelling of the contract and the return of the ships to Europe. With the ships there had arrived the machinery and equipment for the supply of ammunition and material to the flotilla, and Macartney hearing of this fact, and of the likelihood of its also being sent back to Europe, strongly advised Li Hung Chang to purchase it. This was in January, 1864. Li Hung Chang was quite willing to take part in the transaction, but instead of doing it on Government account he arranged for the purchase by means of a small syndicate, of which Macartney himself was a member. The purchase was effected, but the following correspondence will show that it was attended with no little difficulty, and that Macartney had to display considerable business acumen in not paying too much for the portion of the machinery which he acquired :—

" SHANGHAI, Tuesday evening, 26th January, 1864.

" DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,

" I would feel particularly obliged if you would have the cases of machinery very carefully examined when opened at their destination, Soochow, and the contents of

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each properly checked. Mr. Shanks feels confident that the whole of the articles enumerated in the invoices will be found when you open the cases, as they have not been disturbed since their arrival from England.

"Permit me to suggest that the shortest mode of checking the contents would be to compare them with the invoice as the cases are opened, and not to wait till each machine has been properly set up.

"Please see that Mr. Chester is present when the examination is going on.

"Yours truly,

"To Dr. Macartney."

"GEO. J. W. COWIE."

"Soochow, (undated, evidently *February, 1864*).

"MY DEAR MR. COWIE,

"I have completed the examination of the machinery, and am sorry to find so much of it deficient.

"By more narrowly looking to the castings, numbers were found which at Shanghai were thought to be wanting. In this way we succeeded in discovering Nos. 312 and 316, 17, 18, 19, and 20.

"When I last saw you, together with Mr. Shanks, I mentioned that No. 311 of the cupola, 305 and 306 of the shaping machine, as well as 358 and 365, comprising the whole of the moulding machinery, were missing. Mr. Shanks then stated that some part of the Whitworth machinery had been repacked in London, and hoped that though the numbers might not correspond with the invoice, still the articles would be found present. I much desired that this would prove so, but after carefully opening the cases and examining their contents, not a trace of the missing machinery has been found. Indeed, this is no more than might have been anticipated; it is unlikely that the contents of so many heavy cases could have been stowed away in cases so well packed as this machinery appears to have been.

"Mr. Chester, who has been present at the opening of each case, informs me that he remembers the moulding machinery being sent home again in the *Ballarat*. This is most likely correct, as Mr. Hart, of the Customs, the other day informed the Futai that certain parts of Whitworth's invoice had been ordered home again by Captain Osborn so as to render the remainder incomplete and of no use. There is no doubt of the fact, but the explanation, I should

think, must be incorrect, for Captain Osborn, even if capable of such petty spite, must have known more about machinery than to suppose that the absence of a moulding machine could influence the completeness of a lathe or a boring machine.

"What I have said regarding the shaping machine is equally applicable to 311 belonging to the cupola. I submit the following, and run the risk of being able to get such things as are wanting made in Shanghai.

"For the shaping machine, that two-thirds of the cost of the whole machine should be allowed; for the cases 305 and 6, that for 311 of the cupola, the sum of taels 150 be deducted as an equivalent.

"I enclose a statement of how the account will stand supposing you accept of my offer.

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"STATEMENT OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT.

	£ s. d.
"Invoice cost of eight cases moulding machinery missing	1636 10 0
"Proportion of packing and railway expenses on the same	113 0 0
"Allowance two cases shaping machine, two-thirds of £120. 17s., the invoice cost	<u>80 11 4</u>
	<u>"£1830 1 4</u>

"Invoice value of machinery, £3324. 2s. : taels 10,000, or the sum for which it was sold.	
"At the same rate, £1830. 1s. 4d. would be in taels	6385.97
"Estimated value of case 311	150
"Valuation of two centres belonging to lathe missing	<u>30</u>
"Total value of missing machinery to be deducted , ,	<u>6565.97</u>
from taels 10,000, or the selling price.	
"Balance taels	3434.03
"Amount advanced	5000
"Amount to be returned taels	<u>1565.97</u>

"Case No. 300 taps and dies, belonging to my invoice, having been sold at auction by mistake to Mr. Howgate, my agent, the sum taels — paid for it by him will have to be returned *in addition* to the above.

"H. M."

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"SHANGHAI, Tuesday, 23rd February, 1864.

"MY DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,

"I duly received your letter (without date), written at Soochow, respecting the missing cases of machinery.

"I have also received from Mr. Chester his report on the examination of the contents of the cases delivered to you from the godown on the Soochow creek. On comparing the two statements I find there are only one or two slight differences which are not at all material. I was very much disappointed to learn that so much of the machinery was missing, and at the same time being unable to refer to anyone here who could throw any light on the subject.

"If the missing cases were ordered to be sent back again to Europe by Capt. Osborn, we may rest satisfied that he must have had some good reason for adopting such a course. However, I am almost certain they must have been shipped unknown to him, as he did not, to the best of my recollection, say anything to me about the invoice being incomplete. It is just possible that the cases were never landed from the *Ballarat*, and in the hurry of dispatching this vessel from Shanghai their presence on board might have been overlooked. Mr. Chester, too, though he informed you the cases had been sent on board, might have mistaken them for cases of stores which were shipped. In consideration of your having agreed to take over the whole invoice, presuming it was correct, and so saving Mr. Shanks and myself the trouble of finding separate purchasers for the different goods enumerated therein, was the circumstance which principally induced us to part with the very valuable machinery at cost price, or Sh. tls. 10,000; and as it turns out now that the portion, of which we have given you delivery, does not amount in value to one-half this sum, we think it only fair that you should pay a reasonable percentage, say 10 per cent (the amount Capt. Osborn desired us to obtain) on the cost price of the goods you have received. Please to give this proposal your favourable consideration.

"On examination of your statement we find a slight error has been made in the conversion of the sum £1830. 1s. 4d. into taels of Sycee. Taking Sh. tls. 10,000 as the equivalent of £3324. 2s., then £1830. 1s. 4d. at the same rate is equal to Sh. tls. 5505.45 only instead of Sh. tls. 6385.97.

"Annexed hereto I send you a statement of a proposed settlement which I hope you will at once consent to, and so

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conclude this matter. Capt. Osborn would, I feel certain, be very displeased with me if I parted with the small portion of the goods delivered to you at less than the percentage above-mentioned added to the cost price, and on reflection you will doubtless view what I am asking as perfectly reasonable under the circumstances.

“Yours very truly,
“To Dr. Macartney.” “GEO. J. W. COWIE.

“STATEMENT OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT.

	Foreign Currency. £ s. d.	Native Currency. Sh. Tls.
“Invoice cost of machinery	3324 2 0 or	10,000
“Invoice cost of machinery of the missing articles	<u>1830 1 4 or</u>	<u>5505.45</u>
“Invoice cost of goods actually delivered to you	<u>1494 0 8 or</u>	<u>4494.55</u>
“Add a fair allowance, say 10 per cent.		<u>449.45</u>
“Deduct value of two centres missing	30	4944
“Deduct amount paid by Mr. Hoggart for taps and purchased at auction	133	<u>163</u>
“Amount received of you on account		<u>4781</u>
“Amount to be returned		<u>5000</u>
		<u>219</u>

“E. & O. E.
“GEO. J. W. COWIE,

“SHANGHAI, 23rd February, 1864.

“N.B.—This is the statement referred to in Mr. Cowie’s letter to Dr. Macartney of this date.”

“MY DEAR MR. COWIE, “Soochow, 4th March, 1864.

“I duly received your letter of the 23rd ult. proposing for my consideration the addition of 10 per cent to the cost of such parts of the Osborn machinery as have turned up.

“I have given this proposal my best consideration, and, after making due allowance for all that you have advanced in support of it, I am sorry I am unable to comply. The case, perhaps, is a hard one so far as your principals are concerned, but it is at least not less so in regard to mine.

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"You will not have forgotten that on my first interview with you on the subject of this machinery I stated that in agreeing to buy the whole invoice I was in reality buying many things which I had already, and therefore did not want. The engine, boiler, lathe, cupola, and fan all come under this head. It was altogether to get the moulding machinery and other parts of the invoice that I consented to buy these, and now when the cases come to be opened it is principally the very parts which I really required which are either wanting or incomplete, whilst those which I stood in no need of are present and all right.

"Reference to Whitworth's invoice will show you what a large proportion the latter bears of the cost of the machinery which I have actually received. Whether Capt. Osborn's motive for sending home the missing machinery be well or ill founded, the affair as it turns out is, as I have said, as unfortunate for me as for him. It is under these circumstances that I think the only course to be pursued in the settlement of the affair is that the conditions of sale only should be observed.

"Yours truly,
"H. M."

"MY DEAR MR. COWIE, "Soochow, 17th May, 1864.

"On the 4th March I replied to your letter of 23rd February declining to the proposal which you made regarding the missing machinery.

"I have not heard from you since, and lest my letter should have miscarried I now enclose you a copy.

"I am just sending in my quarterly account to the Futai, and will feel obliged by your refunding the amount due me, viz., taels 668.45, so that I may be able to include it in my statement.

"The simplest way of doing this will be to place it to the credit of my iron account at Wignall and Co's.

"I am, my dear Mr. Cowie,
"Yours truly,
"H.M."

However, the end of it was that Macartney got his machinery, or all that he paid for. The most difficult part of the task then remained to be done. This was to put it together, and it gave Macartney much anxiety and trouble.

When Li Hung Chang saw the cases and pieces of iron and steel lying on the ground, he said sneeringly that the things were useless and that the money had been thrown away. Macartney rejoined asking him to wait a little, and not to come again until he sent for him. He then set to work to construct his workshop, and when he had got it all ready he asked the Governor to pay him a visit to inaugurate the arsenal. He had arranged with his staff that on the ringing of a bell the machinery should be set in motion. Having led Li into the workshop and allowed him sufficient time to look round the silent hall, Macartney gave the signal, and at once the machinery was set in motion. Li Hung Chang was immensely impressed, and undoubtedly the incident greatly increased Macartney's reputation with him. Li's original scepticism did not, however, prevent his appropriating the whole of the credit to himself in his official reports to Peking.

As the *North China Herald* of the 22nd April, 1864, wrote on this subject :—

"Macartney too, in another way, has rendered him (Li Hung Chang) valuable service. A year ago Li was induced by his persuasions to establish a shell factory, of which he undertook the superintendence. The project has been carried out successfully through great obstacles, and the Soochow Arsenal now supplies the greater portion of the ammunition used by the Futai's force. On the break up of the Lay-Osborn expedition Macartney succeeded in obtaining a portion of the machinery which was brought out from England with a view to supplying ammunition for the Chinese fleet. This he managed to get into perfect working order, and is turning out shot and shell at the rate of from 1500 to 2000 a week. Besides shell, fuses, and detonating tubes, several mortars have already been manufactured, and it is hoped that before long muskets and caps will be added to the list. It is impossible to overrate the importance to the province of an establishment of this nature, and great praise is due to Macartney for the perseverance with which, in spite of so much discouragement, he has brought the Arsenal to this advanced stage of utility. We hope that his

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efforts will be appreciated by the Futai, and that he will give credit to whom credit is due. We are assured that the Arsenal has attracted the favourable notice of the Peking authorities."

The following interesting letter from his friend Dr. Jamie-
son throws light on his relations with Li Hung Chang in
connection with the arsenal, and contains also some sound
general advice :—

“*North China Herald* Office,

“MY DEAR MAC,

“SHANGHAI, 14 August, 1865.

“In glancing over one of your back letters I find you asked me how an official-looking envelope with enclosure, addressed to you, came into my hands. This I have not answered yet. It was forwarded to me by Edwards along with a dozen or so of the letters written by Gordon to people in Shanghai and other places in China and Japan, which Edwards asked me to distribute.

“The youngster leaves for Soochow by this morning's tide, or late to-night, I don't know which. I should not have bothered you about him had I thought you were going to be bored by the Futai's dispatch. But really were I you, although I should be devilish angry, I should not look on the explosion as worth much notice. The same principles prevail throughout the empire, and govern the practice of small swells and big swells alike. Look at the *Peking Gazette*, and there you will find this very man Li praised up to the skies to-day and threatened with untold penalties the next, e.g. in the Nanking garrison case. The tyranny practised on him he, of course, tries to practise on others, but I don't think anything that has been put into his head by Ting can tend to loosen the bond which unites you to the Futai, and that bond is purely self-interest. I don't suppose you have acquired, or indeed care to acquire, any personal interest or affection on the part of Li. When something that chimes in better with your wishes or sympathies turns up, I presume you will cut what you are at now; and in the same way, if the Governor could find a better man than you he would cut you at the end of the month. But it is the impossibility of his getting any one competent to take your place that is your best guarantee that your present position will be held at your service so long as you choose to keep it. The more we learn of these

fellows the more we are disgusted. The highest and most intelligent (?) official is the sport of any idle and designing tattler such as Ting, but it is only in rare instances that any one of more importance than their worthless selves suffers by either their malice or their wavering disposition. I dare say the Governor will explain the whole thing when you see him, and make renewed protestations of friendship and good feeling, just as sincere as any he has on previous occasions made.

"Yours very truly,

"R. A. JAMIESON."

Sir Harry Parkes was so much struck with the work accomplished by Macartney in Soochow that he sent him a request, as President of the Chinese Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, to read a paper on "Work with Chinese Mechanics," but unfortunately Macartney was too much occupied to acquiesce.

Major Story supplies me with the two following incidents as happening at Soochow at this period, which will give the reader an idea of the thoroughness with which Macartney devoted himself to his work.

"On one occasion while visiting him at Soochow, I came late in the day into his quarters in a wooden house on the first floor, and found Fire playing on the floor, his three dogs looking very woebegone, their coats being badly singed, and his own flannel jacket and pyjamas hanging in rags about him. I inquired what had happened, and he told me that he was making some powder composition for fuses or rockets, and was pouring from a tin into the composition which was boiling on a coal brazier, when the mess overboiled, hence the trouble.

"Another time that I visited him he put me up. My bed, a truckle one, was laid on some four boxes. As a favour he begged me not to knock about the room or be restless, because my bed supports were constructed of boxes containing fulminate. I slept in my boat in preference."

At the time of the capture of Kahding by the British troops, Macartney had saved the life of a Chinaman by rescuing him from drowning in the moat of that place,

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This man became his devoted personal servant, and took part in the following adventure. Although Macartney had now practically given up all idea of commanding a force in the field, Li Hung Chang attached much importance to his opinion on military matters. After the fall of Soochow the capture of Nanking represented the principal task before the Imperialists. It was the place of residence of the Tien Wang, and the Imperialists had been besieging it more or less loosely for some years under the command of the Viceroy, Tsêng Kwo-fan, and his brother. Li was very anxious to have Macartney's opinion on the position there, and as to the chances of the early capture of the place. It was accordingly arranged that Macartney should visit Nanking, and he proposed to get into the city in the character of a European merchant anxious to sell arms to the rebels. Steamers from Shanghai were continually passing Nanking *en route* to Hankow, and they were even allowed to stop at Nanking in the daytime. The only condition that the Taepings made was that they should not attempt to stop during the night, and frequently the steamers passed the Taeping forts with lights out to avert being fired on. Macartney took his passage on board one of these boats accompanied by the servant whom we have mentioned. Owing to some delay in navigation the steamer did not approach Nanking until after dark, and then the captain explained that for the reason given he could not possibly stop to let his passengers land as intended. But Macartney insisted that he should at least be put on shore somewhere near the city.

When it was safe to do so the steamer slackened speed, and Macartney, with his servant and a coolie carrying provisions, was put on shore in a small rowboat. There was no landing stage to be found, and the three had to get ashore as well as they could, wading through mud to the bank. At last they reached an embankment or raised causeway, and as it was pouring rain Macartney took a red

blanket from his attendant and drew it over his head and shoulders. After walking for some time the party was challenged by a sentry, but as he did not know to which force he belonged, Macartney merely replied that he was a foreigner who had come on business. The sentry allowed them to pass, and a little distance further on he entered a small encampment where all the men were fast asleep. Macartney awoke one of the men with his foot, and the soldier on seeing the strange-looking being in front of him could at first only ejaculate, "A red devil!" This aroused the camp, and Macartney, calling for tea, said he had come to see the general, and had lost his way.

By this time Macartney had perceived that he was in an Imperial camp, and that there was no prospect of carrying out his original plan of visiting the Taepings. Having drunk his tea he made the best arrangements he could for passing the night, telling the soldiers to be ready in the morning to give him an escort to the camp of the general in command. This was Tsêng Kwo-tsiuen, brother of Tsêng Kwo-fan, and uncle of the Marquis Tsêng of a later period. On reaching his head-quarters Macartney produced the safe-conduct given him by Li Hung Chang, which he carried for safety sewn in the hem of his trousers. Tsêng Kwo-tsiuen gave him a very friendly welcome and invited him to dinner, but in the interval between the invitation and the hour appointed he changed his mind, thinking that he was conferring too much honour on a European. He accordingly sent his excuses, alleging that he was indisposed and that his guest must dine alone.

Macartney replied that he had no objection to dining alone, but he certainly would not eat a meal when the host was absent. As the General did not turn up, he therefore ordered his servant to prepare the best dinner he could for him under the circumstances. Although Tsêng Kwo-tsiuen would not entertain him, he supplied him with an

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escort for the purpose of reconnoitring the Taeping positions, and Macartney indicated the best points for attack, and even drew up a plan of action for the purpose of carrying the town by assault. The proposals he recommended were followed in the main when the city of Nanking was captured on the 19th July, 1864. The recapture of the second city in the Empire put an end to the Taiping rebellion, which had disturbed the whole of Central China for over twelve years.

The closing incidents in Burgevine's career belong to this period, and may be briefly described. After his abandonment of the Taiping cause he was allowed to leave China on his giving his word of honour, through the American representative, Mr. Seward, that he would never return. Considerable stir was made when, once more breaking faith, Burgevine, at the head of thirty rowdies, landed at Ningpo in June, 1864. Shanghai opinion as to his chances was calm and contemptuous. The leading paper said : "His display will be very feeble and his career a short one." He attempted little and accomplished less, but it was not until the spring of 1865 that, on leaving the settlement at Ningpo, he and his party were captured by the Chinese authorities. Rumours were at first current that he had been sent to Soochow and cruelly tortured to death. Macartney, resident in the place, was able to disprove the rumours, and shortly afterwards positive proof was obtained that the boat in which the prisoners were being conveyed to Nanking capsized in crossing a river, and that Burgevine was drowned. Such was the end of an adventurer who, with a little more consistency and honesty of purpose, might have played a great part in China.

An important incident in Macartney's life has now to be described, and it requires more than ordinary delicacy in treatment. In order to appreciate the facts it is necessary to go back to the murder of Lar Wang, and to some incidents

that followed the establishment of Imperial authority in Soochow. Lar Wang was murdered, but his family and children were saved by the efforts of his uncle Wangchi, assisted by Gordon, as described in the last chapter. His son Tchin-tang was protected by Major Bailey, an officer of the Ever Victorious Army whose services Gordon had lent to General Ching, on the day of the massacre, and Tchin-tang afterwards became the protégé of Macartney, with whom Bailey left him for safety. In this manner Macartney became acquainted with and interested in the family of the late Taiping chief.

The convention for the surrender of Soochow had never been carried out through the murder of the Wangs, and the Imperialists chose to regard it as a captured place rather than one surrendered on terms. A good deal of looting therefore was done, and some of the inhabitants were massacred, but the two principal Chinese officials, Li and Ching, prevented the general massacre that was customary on such occasions with the Taepings as well as the Imperialists. They felt that they could not safely flout European opinion at Shanghai by adding another excess to that already committed, more especially while considerable Taiping forces remained in the field. But although they restrained their soldiers they could not prevent their claiming their accustomed loot, among which figured the girls of the captured town. This claim was put forward by the men not only of Ching's army, but of Macartney's own special force, and as the latter occupied the section of the town in which the residences of Lar Wang and Wangchi were situated, it was no light task that lay before Macartney to avert the usual consequences. He, however, succeeded in protecting the two families of Lar Wang and his uncle by adopting the only feasible course of claiming the inmates of Wangchi's house as his own personal loot. He thus saved the female relations of the murdered Lar Wang from be-

[REDACTED]

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coming the slaves of his own men. That was what
happened in Soochow in the last few weeks of the year
1863.

I think it as well to introduce here three letters of later date from Gordon on account of their references to Tchin-tang, who became attached to Macartney's staff and accompanied him to Nanking. They are also interesting as showing that the reconciliation between the two men was complete, and that Gordon remembered his promises to help Macartney in his arsenal work.

Undated [1866].

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"Your brother wrote to me the other day asking me where you were. I told him I had not heard for some time from you, but referred him to Jamieson. I hope you are well. I got Hart to obtain the money expended in the estimates and books from Li Futai, so hope you will have had no trouble about it. I was very sorry to see poor Bailey's death. Remember me to Doyle, Tchin-tang, and all my old friends. Let me hear how you get on from time to time. I shall send this to Gundry, who I hope will forward it. Poor Pickwood died six days after his return to England. I liked him always. I hope you will read the enclosed. It is a matter we have much reason to be anxious about. Remember me to Li Futai. Has he been behaving well of late? What has become of all the Rebels? Let me know what is going on, for though I never shall see the country again, I am interested in its welfare. Hart went out on 19th September. I saw him once or twice only, and had but little talk with him.

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON."

"30 November, GRAVESEND [1866].

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"Just a line to say I am trying to get more information (and to show you I have not forgotten you). I do not know when Browne R.A. will get me the details of the rocket manufacture, but I will send it, D.V., when he does. I see Holdsworth now and then, and I saw Kirkham lately;

he has lost his all (£3000) by Fisher's failure, and is going to try his fortune in Egypt. I hope you are getting on well, and that you were suited with the exploder. Take care of the wires, for they are dangerous to handle, and you might get killed by an incautious handling. Keep the main matter in mind, and in good time God will reveal Himself to you. Your heart and mine and all of our friends are alike, and it is He alone who can change them. Wait on Him and He will do so. If we have any wish or desire to be at rest and at peace with Him, we may be sure He gave us that wish, and with it will give us what we seek for, and what a blessing it is when realised. I would often like to see you, but it is better as it is. Good-bye, old fellow, and do not knock yourself up with too much work. I saw Moffatt the other day ; he is at Netley Hospital, close to Southampton, where I live.

"Yours sincerely,
"C. G. GORDON."

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"J. U. S. CLUB, 8.1.'67.

"Just a line, which ought to have gone before, to tell you that Hart paid me the money I had advanced for books and estimates to Li Futai and yourself. I was very glad to hear that you had been nominated Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Nankin, and hope it may be the commencement of a new era. Let me know if there is anything I can do for you. Tsungli, at Tientsin,¹ wants to make an arsenal, and wrote to me about it. I recommended them to ask you to see to it. It is for the Pekin people. Remember me to Tchin-tang (Lar Wang's son), and thank him for his letter. I hope you are well, and am sure you think over what I wrote about. Time will come when we *must* think of them ; better do so now that we are in health.

"Yours sincerely,
"C. G. GORDON."

The conclusion of the Taeping rebellion and the establishment of an arsenal at Soochow on a sufficient scale to employ all his energies and to give full scope to his ambition resulted in Macartney's becoming convinced that his future

¹ At the end of 1866, Tso Tsung Tang established the Arsenal at Foochow under two French directors, MM. Giquel and D'Aiguebelle.

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life lay in China. His ambition, as he told Gordon in their memorable conversation on the lake, was to acquire in China, and eventually at Peking, the position and influence that Verbiest, Schaal, and other Catholic missionaries had possessed there in the reigns of Kanghi and Keen Lung. To accomplish this meant permanent residence in China and the abandonment of any thought of returning to Europe, save, perhaps, for a rare and brief holiday. In everything that Macartney did he was "thorough," and as he was not a priest his thoughts, once he made up his mind to settle down in the land, naturally turned to marriage. But if he married an English or other European lady, however, that would be to interfere with the realisation of his main plan, which was to gain an ascendancy over the Chinese. He felt that by taking the usual course in marrying a lady of his own race and religion he would be raising an impediment in his own path, and that he would in all probability destroy by his own act the chances of success in the career, difficult and dangerous as under the most favourable circumstances it must prove, that he had marked out for himself.

The reader will perceive that in these circumstances there was really only one alternative before him, and Macartney adopted it without probably taking into account all the consequences that would follow from his action should the scene of his activities ever again be changed from the Celestial Empire to his own country. In 1864 that contingency possessed no practical meaning. Macartney, voluntarily and of set purpose, had fixed his home and his ambition not merely in China, but among the Chinese. It was, therefore, in strict harmony with his views that he should take unto himself a Chinese wife.

Motives of humanity had led to Macartney's saving the female members of Lar Wang's family from his soldiers, and his position of protector of the household of Wangchi

made him known to its different representatives. Besides, Tchin-tang, who was employed at the arsenal as a kind of aide-de-camp to the director, was constantly passing to and fro between Macartney's abode in Lar Wang's old palace and the new house of his sisters and other relations with Wangchi. In this way it was brought about that Macartney came to the decision to marry one of the members of Wangchi's household, whom I have always understood to have been a daughter of Lar Wang, and consequently a sister of Tchin-tang.

The lady was consequently a member of a distinguished and even princely family, and the union that Macartney proposed was not one of those temporary alliances then far from uncommon in the Treaty Ports, but a regular Chinese marriage according to all the requirements of the social customs and laws of that country.

In support of this statement, I may quote the following passage from a letter to myself, written by Mr. E. Starkey, of Chinkiang, whose friendship with the late Sir Halliday Macartney dates from this period :—

"Of his family relationships he (Macartney) at all times, and to his nearest friends, spoke with reserve, but I think there is no doubt that his wife (*to whom he was married under Chinese rites only*) was the daughter of a Taiping chief or official, and that she came to him at the capture of Soochow. As there was an indiscriminate massacre of the besieged, it is probable that he rescued her from death."

There is no doubt that the lady in question was of high rank among the Chinese, and that his alliance with her added to Macartney's importance and position among them.

Mr. Joseph Thomson, who resided in Macartney's house in Nanking in 1871, describes the lady as of good appearance and of intelligence, although she lived strictly apart and did not receive visitors. In the letters also which Macartney received from his intimate friends (I may

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name in particular the late Dr. R. A. Jamieson, of Shanghai) she is always spoken of with respect, and there is frequent reference to Mrs. Macartney as "the tai-tai," which is the feminine form of the honourable designation of "tajen."

To his cousin Lady Crichton-Browne, who was his greatest *confidante*, Macartney frequently after his return to Europe spoke of his Chinese wife and family in terms of warm affection.

Mr. Starkey adds: "You are no doubt aware that Mrs. (Chinese) Macartney lived quite apart in Sir Halliday's Kung Kuan (official residence) at Nanking, and was never presented to his friends, though this may have been simply a strict adherence to Chinese family etiquette."

There is one further point on which I must dwell for a moment. Some one has circulated the sensational story that Macartney's Chinese wife was a relative or connection of Li Hung Chang. There is no truth whatever in this statement. As Mr. Starkey puts it, "Her relationship to the Li Hung Chang family may be taken as a myth, otherwise *I should certainly have known it.*" Sir Halliday Macartney told me and others with his own lips that she was the near relative of the Lar Wang, and the only detail on which there is the smallest ground for doubt is whether she was that chief's daughter or some other near relative. My own conviction, as I have stated, is that she was Tchin-tang's sister.

Having begun the story it will be well to finish it here. The union formed in December, 1864, at Soochow was still existent in December, 1876, when Macartney left China for England with the Kwoh Embassy—only temporarily, as he believed, but permanently as it proved. During the whole of that period, and whilst in England until her death in 1878, Macartney treated this lady as his wife, and it was from himself that I acquired the information that she was

the near relative of the Taeping leader Lar Wang. In fact, in the many notices published in the press at the time of the Kwoh Embassy, there is no concealment of the fact that the wife of its Secretary was, as the papers put it, a Taeping princess.

Macartney's family by this union consisted of one daughter and three sons. The sons have married English wives, and the daughter has an English husband. The eldest son, Mr. George Macartney, C.I.E., is a distinguished member of the British Consular Service, and holds the responsible position of Consul-General at Kashgar, where he has done first-rate work. It is not going too far to say that if England has any reputation left in Chinese Turkestan, the vast region north of Cashmere, it is due to the energy and tact of Mr. George Macartney. In the bringing up of his first family the late Sir Halliday Macartney displayed the same high moral attributions which he revealed in connection with the Chinese marriage that has now been described with such fullness as the available information allows of, and that formed the most striking incident of his residence at Soochow.

Before closing this chapter, which deals with the intimate relations between Macartney and the Chinese, it will interest the reader to learn how the Chinese used to call him. The name Halliday Macartney was, of course, unpronounceable in their language, and also unintelligible to their ears. For ordinary purposes, then, they simply contracted the first name into Ho, and the second name into Ma. Macartney was, therefore, addressed sometimes as Dr. Ho, the form used by the Marquis Tsêng in his earlier letters, but more usually as Dr. Ma. It was also necessary for him to receive a more correct official designation, and Li Hung Chang settled that it should be the abbreviation of the surname into Ma, with the addition of an honorific appellation still bearing some resemblance to the remaining English

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syllables, and the words he chose from them were Kha-li. The characters selected signify "learned man." In China and on his Chinese card Macartney's name then read Ma-Kha-li. Li Hung Chang was also sponsor to Mr. George Macartney, whose name in Chinese is rendered Ma-Chinieh, the latter part of which may be translated by the phrase "May the family profession be handed down to him!"

CHAPTER IX

REMOVAL TO NANKING

Li appointed Viceroy—The camp at Feng-Wong-Shan—Arsenal removed to Nanking—The Porcelain Tower—The Nienfei Campaign—Macartney as Commissioner for Foreign Affairs—Tsêng Kwo-fan—Macartney's correspondence with contractors—Relations with his employés—Letters home—Macartney as a letter writer—Macartney attends Lady Tsêng—Massacre at Tientsin—Li at Tientsin—Macartney's first visit to him—First mention of Marquis Tsêng—Death of Tsêng Kwo-fan.

THE new establishment had not long settled down to its work at Soochow when a fresh change of scene became necessary through the promotion, in the summer of 1865, of Li Hung Chang from the Governorship of the province of Kiangsu to the Vice-royship of the three provinces, included in the name of Kiangnan or the Two Kiang, at Nanking. There was one unusual feature about this appointment. Li was a native of Anhui, the third of the grouped provinces, and by the law of China no man may be appointed Governor or Viceroy in his native province. That this rule was broken in the case of Li was proof of the great ascendancy he was acquiring in China. The departure from Soochow raised the question as to what should be done with the arsenal founded under the patronage and with the subsidies of Li Hung Chang. On this point the Europeans who were interested in the question expressed some doubt, but Li himself had none. He was resolved that his promotion should not lose him either his arsenal¹ or the services of the Englishman who

¹ Independent testimony as to what the Soochow Arsenal had done is contained in a letter dated 10 January, 1865, written by Lieutenant Giquel, the

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had been at his right hand so long. When Li went to Nanking, then, in 1865, Dr. Macartney, his staff, and the material and fabric of the arsenal, went with him.

After the break-up of the Ever Victorious Army in the summer of 1864, a small Anglo-Chinese force was established in a camp at Feng-Wong-Shan, and several British officers were left with it, among whom may be named Major Winstanley and Major Story, the latter of whom, however, left in April, 1865, to rejoin his regiment in South Africa. Li wished to take this trained corps with him to Nanking, but as the opinion was prevalent that he meditated a *coup d'état* that would place him on the Dragon Throne the proposal was generally opposed, and Li found himself compelled to abandon it. The trained corps remained in Kiangsu and was not broken up till 1872, by which time Li had been promoted to the Viceroyship of Pe-Chih-li. The following letter from Major Winstanley, written at the period of the removal to Nanking while the future of the force was undecided, contains some interesting references to the work of the Soochow Arsenal, and brings out the difference between Macartney's absolutely honest proceedings and the lax and corrupt ways of the Chinese officials themselves :—

“ FENG-WONG-SHAN CAMP,

“ 25 May, 1865.

“ MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

“ Received this morning with many thanks your information respecting the probable manner in which the Futai would view the approaching changes which must shortly occur in the camp. We have here no news save the appointment of Sir Rutherford Alcock to Pekin and the removal of Sir H. Parkes to Japan ; this last event will,

French officer who subsequently founded the arsenal at Foochow, from which I take the following passage :—“ I have to thank you for the fuses, the percussion caps, and the note you had the kindness to send me. I examined the former, and read the latter with much interest. The result you have obtained is remarkable, and you have certainly established your arsenal on the footing most profitable to China, by making it a school where mandarins can learn how to make munitions of war.”



Photo. Thomson, New Bond Street, London, W.

HALLIDAY MACARTNEY AT NANKING
(Wearing Crimea and China medals, also the Ever Victorious Army gold medal)





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however, materially affect the camp, it is difficult to say how seriously, it depending so much on his successor whom we have not yet heard named. Hart, Commissioner of Customs, was here the other day, and has no doubt ere this seen you. The General is expected in Shanghai about Saturday, and I presume will come here, also most probably pay a visit to the Futai. He will probably offer —, but I do not think he has been correctly informed of the size and nature of the camp or of the Futai's sentiments on the matter.

"Possibly, if — has ordered out his wife and family, etc., he may think himself bound to support him, but of course this can be only matter of conjecture.

"All your remarks as to change of officers and system are most certainly too strong to be argued against, also the necessity of a residence of some months at the camp before an officer can be of really any use *at all*, and then only in the event of working hard, which seems to be about the last idea they entertain, shooting, I fancy, being more the notion. — leaves us this week for Ningpo, and I shall be the only officer in the camp remaining who has had any experience in it, having been here the first day it was formed. — has undoubtedly conceived very extensive views with regard to this institution, and has visions of several thousand men under his command, but I hardly conceive the Futai holds the same views. He is, however, the only one of the candidates who could pretend to be at all permanent, having, I believe, endeavoured to effect an exchange into a regiment remaining in China; but even that is of course always liable to sudden change, more especially in the face of the rumoured approaching difficulties with America. In such a case all officers in the service would be withdrawn, no doubt immediately. — could only stop a year, and although I must own I have a greater partiality for him as a gentleman than for —, — I hardly know. I cannot conceive any one less fit for the post, and I know in that case I should have the work without the command. On the score of position or conduct I do not think British authorities, civil or military, can make any objection to me, and my having been in the service is a guarantee for my knowing military usages. As to acquaintance with Chinese drill and Chinese officers and soldiers, on the departure of the 67th there will not be any one left with the least pretensions with the exception of myself.

"'Yu,' one of the mandarins here, visits Soochow in a few days. He was in a great state of alarm when he heard

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you were going to send some shell here. In fact, I imagine he has some commission on ammunition furnished—the result of which is, we have 36 kegs powder *useless*, a 400 yards' charge, sending just 3 yards; tubes, 9 out of 10 of which are useless, and the 10th hangs fire; shell without holes in them, filled with concrete and blacked over; in fact, when I have expended the English ammunition in our store I shall have to abandon practice altogether. This is literally no exaggeration. He ('Yu') has promised, if your shell prove better, to use them. I will keep him to this. Could you send us some tubes? I must conclude my long letter by thanking you for your kindness in endeavouring to further my interests, and remain,

"Dear Macartney,

"WILLIAM WINSTANLEY."

The site selected for the arsenal at Nanking was on Yu-hua-ta, or the Porcelain Tower hill. That so-called "wonder of the world" had been seriously damaged and partly demolished in 1842 by the wanton acts of English officers and soldiers, and it had subsequently been allowed by the Chinese to fall into decay. It had also been injured during the siege in the Taiping war. In one of his letters Macartney states that he built himself a residence out of the ruins, and with the addition of modern doors and windows brought from Shanghai, his house was not merely the most comfortable in Nanking, but quite equal to the accommodation of European guests. The Porcelain Tower hill lies outside the wall of Nanking at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the south gate, and according to the description that appeared in the *North China Herald*, the arsenal was built of the bricks of the Temple which surrounded the Pagoda. Macartney's residence was surrounded by a wall and included a large compound. It stood in the midst of fields, but before Macartney left a large suburb had begun to spring up in the neighbourhood.

The arsenal itself, although the nearest building to it, was at a distance of three hundred yards from the residence.

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Here were not merely the workshops and the men's quarters, but also the barrack for Macartney's bodyguard. As a colonel in the Chinese service he retained the right to maintain at the cost of the State a personal force of thirty men. He was very tenacious of this privilege, and we shall see later on that when Li proposed to withdraw it he offered to pay and clothe the force himself, knowing well how much it contributed to maintain his dignity among the Chinese. The arsenal and the personal establishment of Dr. Macartney represented then as distinct as it was an important part of the city of Nanking.

At this time there can be no doubt that Macartney's influence with Li Hung Chang was at its highest point. They had been closely associated in important matters, and in any difficulty Li could and did turn to the director of his arsenal for advice, instruction, and help. A very striking proof of the confidence felt by the Chinese satrap in Macartney has now to be mentioned. Li Hung Chang had been given, or by his own representations had got, at Peking all the credit for the suppression of the Taiping rebellion. A subsidiary rising had broken out in 1866 in the province of Shantung, and the rebels there, owing to their being mounted, had been called Nienfei. The local levies were defeated, and the Imperial commanders sent against them met with no success. As the Mohammedan rebels in Kansuh and the north-west generally were also gaining ground at the same time, the Court at Peking became alarmed, and in its apprehension ordered Li, the national champion, to come to its help and exterminate the Nienfei.

He showed no great eagerness to obey the summons, for he was never a son of Mars ; but at last, in October, 1866, his excuses being exhausted, he quitted Nanking at the head of a considerable army, including the trained troops from Feng-Wong-Shan under Majors Winstanley

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and Doyle, and taking with him vast supplies of material and a certain number of cannon turned out from the arsenal. In token of his general confidence, or perhaps out of a momentary gratitude for the formidable train he had provided him with for the campaign, Li Hung Chang appointed Macartney joint Commissioner with Ma, the Foo of Nanking, to carry on any negotiations with the Foreign Treaty Powers during his absence. There had just then been a good deal of trouble in the relations between the Consuls and Li Hung Chang, and Macartney's appointment was hailed with considerable satisfaction in Shanghai. During the six months that he served as joint Commissioner until the arrival of Tsêng Kwo-fan in March, 1867, things went smoothly, but the improvement was only transitory. Li Hung Chang did not return to Nanking till later, and then only for a brief space. None of the other Chinese officials could brook these important matters being entrusted to a foreigner, and they were delighted when Tsêng Kwo-fan arrived. All that Macartney had been able to accomplish during his residence up to this stage was entirely due to his direct personal intercourse with Li Hung Chang, and, as the *North China Herald* (November, 1866) truly wrote: "Had there been a mandarin between Macartney and the Viceroy the arsenals on which Li so much relies would have had no existence."

The Nienfei rebellion took a longer time to overcome than had been expected, and it was not till the year 1869 that complete success was achieved, thanks mainly to the co-operation of the trained brigade. The following letter from a correspondent at Shanghai, dated 4th April, 1869, shows what wild rumours were in circulation during its progress:—

"News has reached this of continued serious disasters, and that the track of the remnants of the Taipings in conjunction with the Nienfei can be seen from the Yangtze by

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the desolation they leave behind, and Doyle's brigade is said to have joined them. They are said to have captured a place called Tung-ting, some seventy-five miles above Nankin, with a large number of gunboats, etc. The *Confucius* could, I think, easily dislodge them, and numerous bodies of Cantonese and Europeans will join from this, taking up arms, etc., if not stopped by guard steamers on the river. If these robbers are allowed to increase they will get formidable. They have, it seems, Europeans amongst them. When it is considered that at Hong-Kong the Cantonese threatened to *sack* the place, *defying* the *military* and *naval forces*, putting the colony into great alarm, so much so that a bodyguard went to escort the Governor from the theatre during the performance, then what if these desperate men make a sudden dash on Nankin where the soldiers are said to be not very loyal? And these rebels at last advices seem to be not two days' march from there. The captains of the Imperial steamers are not loyal men, and would care little to injure the Nienfei (I refer to American captains). Look at the case of Captain F. (who has now the *Shanse*), and who actually towed a boat up to the Taipings with arms to Nankin—mentioned in the *Teping-Teinquok*. These skippers curse the mandarins from the bottom of their hearts."

The following letter, written three months later by Major Doyle himself (whose extraordinary spelling is left as in the original), disposes of these rumours, and throws light on the true course of the campaign :—

" 5 July, 1869.
" CHU LIEN CHEW,
" SHANTUNG PROVINCE,
" TEMPRERY HEAD QARTERS,
" LEE FANTI.

" MY DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,

" It is with much sorrow that I learn of Cpt. Woolly's death from the Mandarin today, but it was what I have been expecting. I have had a long march with the governor and his convoy across the Hoonan chasing the Rebels, but we could not come in with them; but it is one good thing the govonor has done, he has driven them in to Shan tung, and they are now close to the sea if the Imperial

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army will only keep them there. The govonor has sent a order down for the stemers to go round to the Seaboard of the Shantung and shell the rebbels camps—they are close to the sea. The govonor is staying at the above named City on the grand Canal, in it (Shantung) about 1000Li from here (yantz Keng River). But Li was marching with the strength of some 70,000 men, sending his army away from here in different directions to take posesion of the main roads and to keep the rebbels from escaping if possible, because he has got them in a nice trap. I am sorry to say I am not very strong after the march, but I find myself getting better. I am glad to tell you that the two men that was reported killed, Watters and Murphy, is all right. They were at this place 3 days previous to my arriving, and the force is gone further. Welch is all-right. I have seen a nice English man up here of the name of Martin, and have also been speaking to Luccas, a French man, that stopped at Taking, his force is gone further north. The Govonor is thinking about remaining here 2 or 3 months ; he is living in a large and nice House out side of the City ; the stockade is close to him. He has got water connected to his place, what he had not in the late Head Quarters of (Cho Ho Jan).

“Yours truly,

“JOHN DOYLE.”

Macartney was entrusted by Li Hung Chang with the distribution of a sum of money to the family of the Major Wooley referred to in the preceding letter. Major Wooley was an officer in the force operating against the Nienfei, and the following letter is interesting as showing the careful and conscientious way in which Macartney dealt with the matter :—

“SIR,

“NANKIN, October 14th, 1869.

“On the death of the late John Wooley, formerly a bombardier in R.A. and latterly a major in the Chinese Service, the Viceroy Li ordered a sum of 300 dollars to be presented to the family as a mark of his appreciation of the services Major Wooley had rendered, as well as a compensation for the loss which they sustained by his death, and appointed me to settle the details of its bestowal and to hand over the money.

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"On inquiry I found that Major Wooley's only relations consisted of an aunt and a sister, with whom for a long time he had not been on friendly terms, and an illegitimate child to which he was much attached, born to him by a native woman who lived with him until the last. Inasmuch as this was a Chinese gift, and as the terms on which he cohabited with this woman were allowable by the laws of China in the sight of which the child was legitimately born, I determined in the bestowal of the money to follow the course I considered most in accordance with the wishes of the deceased, and the law of China rather than the law of England—in short, to give the money to the child he loved rather than to the relatives by whom he believed he had been wronged. Besides, his own child rather than his aunt and sister is included under the word 'family,' the term employed by H. E. Li.

"With a view of carrying out this resolution, I have since the death of Major Wooley been, with the assistance of his executor, endeavouring to make such arrangements on behalf of the child as would secure its being reared as a European and receiving a Christian education on the basis of the interest of the money, and if necessary a part of the principal going to the fostering hand or institution, whilst the remainder would be given to the child on its attaining a certain age and when she got married. Until within the last ten days I never anticipated any difficulty in carrying out this arrangement, and certain schemes had recommended themselves to my acceptance, but they have at the last moment been all overthrown by the obstinacy of the child's mother, who will on no account give up the child. Her character would not justify me in giving the money over to her for the child's benefit. Whilst her determination to take it away with her into the country, where supervision would be impossible, prevents me from appointing guardians who would, as long as the child was alive and properly attended, from time to time make advances for its support and education.

"I very much regret this, as the poor child, even if allowed to live, will, as the prejudices of the people do not allow of its being received in marriage, most likely be trained up to anything but what could be desired. The mother and child left this place on the 8th, and up to the last moment I hoped to bring the mother to consent, but without effect. Nothing now remains but to give the money to Major Wooley's English relations, and for this purpose I beg now to hand it

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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over to you. I am informed by the executor, Mr. Collison, that the estate of Major Wooley is insolvent. I need not inform you that as H. E., the Viceroy, bestowed this money on the *family* of Major Wooley, it can only go to them and not to the liquidation of his debts.

"Enclosed will be found a cheque for 300 dollars for the purpose above referred to.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"To John Markham, Esq.,

"H.B.M. Consul, Chinkeang."

I will conclude this part of the subject with the following letters from Gordon relating to this period :—

"GRAVESEND, 7 August, 1866.

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"I have just seen Jamieson, and he has gone over to Ireland. He is looking rather worn and weary, as we all do on returning from China. I was glad to hear you were doing so well as he seemed to say, and hope better fields are opening to you. I shall always be glad to hear of you and your doings. Hart is to be married on 10 September, and leaves for China on 19 September. Dick leaves on 26 August. Moffatt is at Netley Hospital. I hope you will make any use you can of me if you want any information as to matters in the military line. Remember me to Li Futai or Chetai. You have never told me how they like the magneto electric machine.

"I hear that Bailey is dead. Poor fellow, I am very grieved to hear it; he was a brave and plucky fellow. I hope you are not going to stay out too long; there are other more important matters than the ephemeral success of this world, which can never satisfy us, however successful we may be. Take care of yourself, and believe me, with kind remembrances to Lar Wang's son, Doyle, etc., etc.,

"Yours very truly,

"C. G. GORDON."

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*"GRAVESEND, 24 December, 1869.***"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,**

"I saw in the *L & C Express* a notice that you had succeeded with Hale rockets. This made me think, what will appear to you too late, how far I was justified in giving the information, and I do not feel comfortable in the thought. As far as the information on other matters goes it little signifies, but I think that the Chinese ought to give Hale something for his patent. I have not any communication with him on the subject, as knowing him for many years I have not spoken to him about it, but I think the old man, who is not well off, ought to be remunerated. I leave the question with you, as you would not wish to wrong him or any one, and now I want you to see that at no time you will let the papers and drawings I sent you fall into the hands of any one ; if you would destroy the originals after tracing them, it would be satisfactory to me. Let me know how you are getting on, and let me know if you think the Chinese would present a better front against Europeans than they did before they had your help and that of the other arsenals. Have they any trained men of experience, and what, in fact, do you think of their affairs in general ? I had hoped to see you ere this, but fear you will not like to come home yet. Good-bye, and all happiness to you. I enclose Hale's address ; do not allude to me with respect to him in any way.

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"Remember me to Tchin-tang and all old friends."

The incidents of life at the arsenal were not devoid of excitement and variety quite apart from the more important events occurring on the larger stage of Anglo-Chinese relations. In August, 1867, a serious explosion occurred at the arsenal through the carelessness or inquisitiveness of a young mandarin who had been sent there to learn the work. In making some injudicious or unwarranted mixture of chemicals in the shell department, he blew himself and four of his colleagues to pieces. A little later Macartney, having had a good deal of trouble with his scratch pack of European workmen, determined to bring out some men from Wool-

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wich who were properly trained, and this step was rendered the more necessary by the growing importance of the arsenal and the armament it turned out. His difficulties with his staff will be referred to; they were preceded by disputes with his contractors at Shanghai, who apparently thought that any quality of articles would do for the Chinese arsenal, until they were undeceived by the sharpness with which its director discovered their shortcomings, and the firmness with which he insisted that right should be done. The following letters give a good idea of Macartney's perspicacity, as well as of his scrupulous integrity :—

"A. B.— L—.

"NANKIN, March 18th, 1867.

"DEAR SIR,

"I exceedingly regret the trouble that has been given on both sides with regard to the iron and wood contained in your invoices of the 28th December and 19th January, but can only attribute it to the vague form in which these invoices are made out, a form which would seem the best calculated to lead to disputes and delays. Instead of the iron and wood being described as so many bars and planks of this and that sort, of this and the other measurement, it is all slumped together in such a way as to make it impossible to come to any certain conclusion as to on which side lies the error in the event of there being any discrepancy between your weights and measures and those of my storekeeper here.

"If instead of the very unusual manner you adopted you had stated that there were so many bars of this and that size, I could have detected at once where the difference lay in the event of there being any, but so far from this being done you do not seem to have had any clear notion of what has been sent at all, for the list of sizes you have since sent up is altogether at variance with those received. Besides indicating at once where the difference in weight lay, a detailed list of sizes and weights would have enabled me to demonstrate at once whether my scales or yours were at fault, for given a bar of iron of any particular size it can easily be found by calculation within sufficiently near limits what would be the weight of it. With a detailed account I need not have even waited for the arrival of the goods before

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paying the accounts, or at least the greater part of them, but the accounts being rendered in the form they were I had no other alternative than to do as I have done, for, apart from uncertainties about the correctness of the weights and measures, I could not from either your letters or your invoices make out that what was sent was anything like what I wanted. In your first invoice the iron is vaguely described as bar iron weighing 13,323 lbs., whilst the wood is vaguely stated as consisting of so many thousand feet. In one of your letters you inform me that to prevent disputes (I suppose between you and the seller) you had taken them all at the average measurement of $21 \times 12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. As several of the planks were stated to measure thirty-one feet, you gave it as your opinion that you had got a very liberal allowance when they were all invoiced at the above figures.

"With an account so very indefinite, with such vague and unsatisfactory grounds for striking an average, I could not venture to act on the assumption that all was right. Besides, how was I to find out whether the proportions of the different goods were those or nearly those which I required? If you had stated you had sent so many ash and so many oak and beech planks measuring respectively so much, I could at once have seen the way in which you came to your total, and said at once and definitely, in the event of discrepancy in measures, that such and such planks did not measure so and so. When the totals only are given, it is impossible to distinguish between errors of measurement and merely clerical mistakes. In one of your letters you state that the above-mentioned average was taken after an allowance had been made for defective ends, whereas it turns out that *even with these ends included*, and when the measures are taken to the utmost fraction, the planks will not stand $21 \times 12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.

"Supposing it not to have been evident to you from the beginning, I think I have said enough to make it obvious to you now that the trouble and delay that has taken place in coming to an arrangement concerning these accounts have all been of your own making. After what I wrote on a previous occasion about the selection of iron you sent me, I will not further allude to the matter excepting to take notice of your determination not to act on any future occasion unless your orders are more definite than they were on the last occasion. I don't think that there was anything particularly vague in the order for so many tons of flat, square, and round iron consisting of a fair assortment of

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the usual sizes of these three kinds of metal. My object in giving you some room to work in was to prevent delay in corresponding with me that would most likely have occurred if I had tied you down to a certain number of bars of the different sizes. Unless being more explicit with the order for *iron* would have been attended with better results than my attention to this point in giving the wood and steel orders, I don't see that the result would have been very different. As far as the latter is concerned, you know very well that not a bar of that sent was of the size or *kind* of steel which I ordered; and with regard to the wood, I doubt much whether you know exactly how far the order and the manner in which it was carried out agree with each other, for you have not favoured me with even the number of planks of the several kinds; and as for the quality of it, I don't think I need say anything more about it. I ordered first-class timber, and appear to have got for the most part what I had rejected over and over again on former occasions.

"The very vague manner in which you invoiced this article as well as the iron first led me to fear that all was not so satisfactory as it ought to be, and I much regret my fears have been so fully justified by the result. I have already remarked on the quality of that contained in the first account, and now regret to say that the sixty-five planks contained in the second, *though charged at a higher rate*, are no better, there being some planks through which the finger may almost be thrust through and through, and my foreman, Mr. Warden, informs me that there is not a *plank* in the whole of the two parcels which would be accepted for the quality ordered and invoiced to me. I am quite aware of the difficulty of obtaining at present in Shanghai ash, oak, and beech woods of first quality, and am quite ready to give you credit for obtaining the best you could get, though I regret you executed the order at all. Your remarks as to the present value of the wood, or rather what might be got *now for the best planks in the lot*, do not at all bear on the point, this wood having been bought three months ago. The same remarks may be made regarding the prices of steel and iron obtained at Dent & Co.'s auction the other day. They are interesting as bits of news, but have nothing to do with the question at issue.

"I have been considerably annoyed by some of the remarks in your late letters, particularly those contained in your letter of the 26th ult. To say the least it is unbusi-

nesslike and quite uncalled for to make such an appeal to me as that "you feel confident that Col. Macartney will deal honestly with you, so that you may not be the loser by the shipment to Nankin." I am at a loss to see how my honour can at all become involved in the matter, the transaction being one of quite an ordinary mercantile nature. If the measurement be deficient and the quality of the goods not what it ought to be, you surely do not think that I could or ought to wrong my employers to save you from the consequences of what I can only term a want of businesslike precision and attention to my requests? I am not wanting anything from you but what I can prove that I am entitled to, and you surely do not think that I ought, in the interests of my employers, to allow any considerations whatever to interfere with my doing the best I can for them. Instead of receiving from you such an appeal to my honour, I expected that you would have furnished me with such an account of the goods as I ought to have got at first, and having done so, that you would have demanded that I would state in what particulars it was wrong. But so far from doing this, and before the matter was inquired into, you make the extraordinary offer of sacrificing your commission in lieu of or in settlement of my claim. If you were as certain of the correctness of your account as you ought to have been, you surely would not, if it had mainly been for the sake of the principle involved, have made such an extraordinary offer. One would think from your manner that you were either not entitled to the amount of your invoice or could not obtain justice from the authorities, and so would gladly accept anything that I would consent to give. If you had been in the habit of dealing with the long-haired Wangs I would, from your conduct, have thought that you had forgotten that their dynasty is extinct, and still imagined that you were dealing with them instead of me.

"I am quite averse to this manner of settling the matter. If I have a claim you ought to pay it, but still retain your commission. Your commission has nothing to do with the matter. You might as well offer to let me have the paint or the oil or any other item mentioned in the account for nothing.

"There are a lot of other points in the above letter to which I would refer were the writing on this greasy paper you sent me not so laborious, for writing really becomes a labour when each letter has to be touched up and written over and over again. You state that to please the 'Gods' at Nankin

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you are willing to give up your commission. Is this a proper way of putting the matter?

"Why should the Chinese Government pay 3.50 taels picul for iron, picking it out, when they can buy small quantities *picked out* at the stores for 3.50 taels per picul? Again, why should they pay 3.50 taels, as you say they ought, when they can buy it in quantity at the stores for 2.50 per picul?

"And let it not be forgotten that 'in quantity' will be taken to mean something less than about twelve tons, the amount of your invoices. Again referring to your letter, how does it come that ship-chandlers can pay coolie hire, as you own they do, and still sell at the above prices? How do they do all these things and still keep running accounts with their customers? Let it be remembered that these prices are not those to which they may be beaten down by a keen purchaser. They are their own unsolicited offers. At the above prices I can really get *picked* iron, which is more than I think I have just got up from you. Besides, the iron is really good. People who sell in retail manner and can seldom "slump" it have to keep a good article, otherwise their customers would never return to them after the first transaction.

"It is quite true that when down at Shanghai I bought some wood from Thorndyke. I note what you say you could have done, and wish you had done it instead of buying the Japan boards, some of which I must say was the coarsest lumber I have ever bought. I can assure you that only the fear of beholding some morning another sample of it on the pier at Nanking compelled me to buy the wood myself instead of asking you to do so for me. The wood I got from Thorndyke was such as you could not, I think, surpass in quality as much as 50 per cent., and I doubt much whether better is to be obtained in Shanghai, so I think you have been misinformed as to its quality. Now I have done for the meantime, and I hope for altogether, with a disagreeable business. It is one that I would gladly have avoided discharging, but the tone and the manner of your letters compelled me to do it, and it will perhaps be as well in the future that it has been done, for it will doubtless tend to a better understanding. I have often felt much indebted to you for the trouble you have taken in executing commissions and inquiries for me that brought you more trouble than profit. In return again, I have endeavoured to put as much business in your way as I could. The pur-

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chase of the pine that I got from Thorndyke would have been put in your hands only that at the time that I made the purchase I was dissatisfied at the planks you had sent up; and for another reason, it was necessary that I should actually see the wood in order to enable me to judge of its suitability for my purpose.

"I am sorry, very sorry, if the delay in remitting the balance of the account causes you any trouble, but I think you will see that I could not do otherwise. Let me have detailed invoices as on former occasions of the wood and iron, and the names of the parties from whom you got them. In future this had always better be done. It seems to be the custom of Shanghai as I know it to be the custom of Liverpool and other places at home."

"Let me know when the teak may be expected. I think I will want a good deal for the bodies of the forty gun-carriages which I had hoped might have been got out of the round oak logs. They were, however, mostly too far gone to the bad to allow such large cuttings to be got out of them."

"I see you have bought a pump for me. Is it a pump or a hydraulic lifting jack? A mere pump will be of no use to me."

"I return the library books with thanks. I would have sent them down before only for the difficulty of getting anything on board a steamer. A steamer lying at Nankin bears the same relation to me as one does to you down about Woosung."

"I hope you will at once send me the invoices of the wood and iron, and I will at once make you a remittance. You ought to get a good allowance from the seller of the wood, for faded and rotten, especially as the best of it is but indifferent material."

"Yours truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"I have bought a lot of tiles at 4 taels per dozen from *Store.*"

Writing to the same person from Nanking on 8 May, 1868, on a different matter, he said: "I duly received your favour of the 28th ult. enclosing specification of Hong-Kong engine. I have made up my mind to get a 35 or 40 horse-power engine—this is consequently too small. I return the specification with thanks.

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"I am very sorry that the case has been taken out of the hands of the court; it seems to me a simple breach of contract, and cannot be submitted to arbitration. If Mr. — had been sure of his case he would not have consented to its being withdrawn. It is absurd to say he did his best to perform what he had promised, otherwise there is no security against rashness in promising, if a man is to be held absolved from his agreements because he did his best to carry them out. He ought to have known what he could do before he bound himself to it. . . . Be good enough to send me invoice of stores sent up by machine boat. The cord invoiced as machine is reported to me to be perfectly rotten and not to be machine at all, but which has been made out of old rope."

The following letter illustrates another trait in Macartney's character, his love of accuracy and his mastery of detail:—

"Messrs. Morgan Brothers,
"London.

"TIENTSIN, 3rd April, 1871.

"DEAR SIRS,

"I duly received your favour of the 13th January, enclosing subscription accounts of the *European Mail* and *British and Foreign Mechanic*, amounting to £2/8/9 and £1/8/6 respectively, which have been passed to your credit.

"I think you have made a mistake in calculating that 11,200 lbs. of sheet copper would suffice for the manufacture of ten millions of military percussion caps.

"The caps alone would amount to nearly that quantity, and (as you are most likely aware) a large proportion of the copper sheeting remains after the punching of the caps, so this will have to be allowed for in ordering the quantity of sheeting necessary for the manufacture of ten millions of caps. This loss amounts to about one-third of the weight of the sheeting, and in the present mode of manufacturing caps is unavoidable. Besides this, there is an allowance to be made for badly formed caps. The amount of this, unlike that of the first mentioned cause of loss, is accidental, and depends upon the amount of care bestowed by the workmen and the efficient working of the machines.

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"My calculations were founded on the actual product of one ton of sheeting, which was as follows:—

One ton of sheeting made	<u>1,407,276</u>	caps,	lbs.	oz.	drs.
at 962½ to the lb.	.	.	1462	1	13
leaving in the shape of perforated strips	.	.	777	14	3
or as much copper as (at the above rate, 962½ caps per lb.) would suffice for the manufacture of	<u>748,716</u>	caps.	<u>2240</u>	0	0

According to the above, ten millions of caps at 962½ per lb. would weigh	.	.	.	lbs.	10,389
and in their manufacture would leave in the form of refuse copper	.	.	.	lbs.	5,527
The weight of copper sheeting necessary for the manufacture of ten million caps.	.	.	.	lbs.	<u>15,916</u>

To this I added 7 per cent for badly formed or broken caps, raising the quantity to 17,029 lbs.

"I dare say 7 per cent is a rather high rate to put down against this, but it is not easy to get Chinese workmen to keep the machines in the same good order, and pay the same attention, as Europeans would do. It was with a view to determining the difference between these two that I requested you to endeavour to find out the proportion of bad caps made in the forming process, and of those afterwards spoiled in the pressing in of the composition.

"From the above you will see that five tons of copper sheeting, the amount ordered by you, will be altogether insufficient for the manufacture of ten millions of caps.

"Be good enough to send me eight bugles such as are used for giving the word of command in the artillery and infantry. As they are intended for military duty, they need not be got up in any way different from those in common use in Her Majesty's Service.

"I would also like you to send me an electric clock—Mosley & Co., 296 Oxford Street, W.C., advertise one at the price of £5. Probably this would be of a very plain style, so I would be willing to pay double this amount (if it should be necessary) for one of a better and more handsome kind. The battery must be well covered in so as to prevent the fluids from being spilled, or the connections from being deranged by persons fingering it. You will, perhaps, better understand what kind of thing to send me when I tell you it is intended as a present for a mandarin. The working parts

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of the battery and the clock ought, therefore, to be as much as possible beyond the reach of being interfered with. As the works are of such a simple nature, they ought, in order to look well, to be as ornamental and well finished as the limit will permit of. It had better be made up and sent along with the bugles by some steamer coming out via Suez Canal.

"As you will see from the heading of this letter, I am just now at Tientsin. In a few days I will return to Shanghai, whence I will make you a remittance to cover the cost of these things.

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

His relations with his English employés also gave him a certain amount of trouble and anxiety. The following gentle reproof to one of them for getting intoxicated suggests the *suaviter in modo* :—

TO MR. FAIL.

"I find myself compelled to write you this letter, although if the immediate case alone influenced me perhaps I would relieve myself of the disagreeable duty by endeavouring to avoid noticing it at all; but I have another reason for not acting thus, and I am the more conscious of its being my duty not to let the occasion pass without remark, because of having for some time back been sensible of a shirking on my own part in not having alluded to the matter sooner, which, had I done, I feel certain both this letter and the immediate occasion for it would have been uncalled for or had no existence.

"Not long before sending off this evening, the boy who usually attends the second drilling machine came to me and complained of your having beaten him. Under other circumstances, and if my object in writing had been mainly or altogether on account of this, I would have made further inquiries before writing you, but, as I have said, I make this rather the occasion than the cause of addressing you, and wish less to refer to that complaint than to the state in which you were when I saw you a short time previous to receiving it.

"During the present year it has often pained me to observe the state of partial intoxication in which you sometimes appeared in the shop, and that not unfrequently quite

early in the day ; but out of regard to your feelings I feigned not to observe it, and hoped for an opportunity of putting you on your guard by means of Mr. Grant or some of your more intimate friends ; but such an opportunity never offered itself, so I am now forced to do it myself. I feel certain I need do no more than merely allude to the matter to induce you to correct a habit which so little becomes your position, and is, under the attendant circumstances, so exceedingly dangerous. I have said that I take blame to myself for never having mentioned the matter to you before, for by doing so I would have saved you from the exposure which you have unconsciously been incurring. A year ago the mild form of excess to which I have alluded would not have given rise to so much surprise, but now that the slightest approach to intemperance among the hands attached to the arsenal is fortunately so very rare, the least excess on your part cannot but originate remarks and comparisons which your position over them renders not only more injurious to your reputation, but less capable of being excused.

"I am sure I need say no more. I am almost afraid I have said too much, for unless I am much mistaken in your character, I need only hint at the matter to have it amended.

"6 August, 1869."

"H. M.

But the replies to Mr. Bebbington's complaints and demands chiefly denote the *fortiter in re* :—

"Mr. George Bebbington.

"NANKIN, 15th June, 1869.

"DEAR SIR,

"In replying to your letter of the 12th inst., submitting to my consideration your claims for an increase of wages, I am sorry that I am unable to admit the truth of much, and the relevancy of a great deal more of what you urge in support of your right to an augmentation.

"It is surprising to me that you should have placed the matter on grounds which to most men would appear suggestive of the opposite of what you argue from them.

"I will refer to them in the order in which they occur. With regard to what you state Mr. Pearce informed you, I would ask you, supposing the communication as stated to have been made to you, is it likely that a man of your intelligence would have failed to realise the importance of the promise, and omitted to have had it included in the

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agreement? Is it likely that Mr. Pearce, who though employed by me acted much more like your advocate than my agent, would also have made such an important omission as to forget to have inserted a promise that actually influenced such a fundamental point as the amount of compensation to be received?

"If Mr. Macartney (Ebenezer) ever made such a promise to Mr. Pearce, he surely could have had no objection to its being made a part of the agreement. Why, then, was it not? With all these reasons for its being inserted, is it not evident that its absence is due to the promise never having been made?

"But even if the matter were otherwise, I would refuse to give it a moment's consideration, for when a written document exists, it so obviously must be considered the rule of our procedure that my surprise at your resting your claims for an increase of salary on other grounds is only equalled by the extraordinary fact that in the whole course of your long letter this document is not once referred to, either in support of your claim or as giving colour for even one of the false expectations which have been to you the cause of so much disappointment!

"Much of what I have said with regard to the first part of your letter will also apply to the second. I have never heard of the rule which you allege prevails in Turkey, and believe applies generally to other countries; but I would consider it a strange thing if, on inquiry, I should find that departing from agreements in any individual case was so common as to constitute a rule; for what use is an agreement unless it is to be observed? Agreements are not easily to be departed from, for every such departure impairs the validity of the remaining clauses. If I can depart from the agreement for your advantage, why may I not do it for my own? You will, I think, find on inquiry, that when an advance has been given in the cases referred to by you, the agreement was not *infringed*, but that a *provision* was made in it *to that effect*, and that a correspondingly smaller wage was in the first instance promised and received.

"Be that as it may, the practice of Turkey or elsewhere cannot be considered by me as superseding a special agreement, though in the event of there being about it anything obscure and requiring explanation, I might accept it as a means of enlightenment.

"I am surprised at what is stated in the third part of your letter, and all the more so because it seems to prove

nothing and to have been gratuitously inserted. What is the work on which you are employed, and how does it demand greater skill and involve more responsibility than you expected? I know not *what* you expected, but if without sufficient or *any* ground for your anticipations you still persisted in forming them, who is to be blamed if they are not realised and disappointment is the result? The agreement is plain as to the nature of the duties which might be required from you. You surely do not mean to imply that you have been put to, or been required to perform *anything* inconsistent with them? If so, what is the use of talking about what you fancied, dreamt, or expected? But even had the agreement been less plain, there are certain circumstances which ought to have prevented you from falling into the mistake you seem to have done.

"If you really ever were under the impression that to a great extent I was furnished with the machines and tools required for the manufacture of rockets, it must have appeared strange to you that you were required to obtain, and that I should be willing to pay for, drawings of rocket machinery; not only of the more recent and improved kinds, but also of the old, simple, and now discarded machines formerly in use.

"Though I fail to see how the fact bears upon your claim for an increase of wages, I may say that you were correctly informed that I had been employed in unsatisfactory attempts at rocket manufacture; but the cause of this was not, as you seem to imply, due to the imperfection of books or the want of information on the subject. This is proved by some of the rockets having acted in *all ways* as well as the best of the same size made at Woolwich. We have not as yet accomplished anything better, and I assure you I will feel proud if with the new machinery we can commence by *equalling* the best of those made with the rude means then at my command.

"Yours, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"Dr. Macartney.

"18th June, 1869.

"SIR,

"In answer to your inquiries respecting my health, I have no bodily complaint particularly, but felt so unsettled that I thought it best to absent myself from the shop until I could compose myself, as it was useless my attempting to do anything until I felt different than at present.

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

"G. BEBBINGTON."

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To which Macartney curtly and tersely replied:—

Same date as above.

"I have just received your note informing me that your ailment only consisted in an unsettledness of mind, and that you felt it useless attempting to do anything in the way of work until you can compose yourself. I deeply sympathise with any one who is so much at the mercy of his feelings, but cannot look upon it as a valid reason for your being absent from the workshop; so, therefore, both on account of the work that is being delayed and for your own sake I hope you will make an immediate effort to free yourself from a state that is unbecoming in a man, and which, if indulged in, will only tend to make life miserable to you as it advances.

"H. M."

In March, 1867, Tsêng Kwo-fan took up the office of Viceroy at Nanking, whilst Li Hung Chang, still employed against the Nienfei, received the post of Governor-General of Hukwang (the two Hu, i.e. Hunan and Hupeh) at Hankow. Macartney's relations with Tsêng were very friendly, although neither so cordial nor so intimate as those with Li Hung Chang, but, as these two high officials were close allies, Macartney's position remained secure and comfortable. The following letters throw light on this period, which was made interesting by the first mention of railway and mining schemes in China.

"CHINKIANG, 7th June, 1868.

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"Your letter of the 1st inst. came to hand last Friday (5th), and I am much obliged for your advice regarding coal mines, etc.

"Tsêng passed through here yesterday on board the *Confucius*, accompanied by Ting. The object and result of his visit to Shanghai have not yet transpired as far as the public are concerned.

"Winchester sounded him on the subject of the mines, but failed to elicit any distinct expression of opinion; his son was also spoken to on the subject, but with a similar result. An effort was made, I believe, by some of the Yankees to get Jenkins the working of the mines. It has not been successful, however, as far as I am aware. I am

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extremely anxious that we should get the lead in the approaching opening of the mines: as you justly remark, all the progress that has been made in China is the result of British energy and enterprise, and it is too bad under such circumstances if other nations are to reap all the rewards.

"Your idea of getting Markham to pay a farewell visit to Tsêng Quo-fan is a capital one, but unfortunately it came too late to be tried. Markham left on Friday morning for Chefoo, and your letter came to hand only in the evening. It thus missed him by a few hours. Had it arrived before he left I think I could have prevailed on him to do the thing.

"He is *for the present*, however, succeeded by W. N. Lay, who is a Vice-Consul, but *he* is only here temporarily, and will probably be succeeded by an assistant in a couple of weeks. What would you think of *his* visiting Tsêng Quo-fan?

"I wrote to Kingsmill yesterday, giving him several extracts from your letter, and telling him to send up the boring machine. I pointed out to him the necessity of keeping the affair to himself, but he is pretty well convinced of that already.

"By the way, on thinking over the whole affair, it seems to me that the best thing that could happen, perhaps, would be to prevail on Tsêng Quo-fan to open and work the mines himself if you would take the chief management. . . . If the mines are really good they would give Tsêng such a revenue as he never dreamt of, especially if the iron mines prove valuable.

"Sincerely yours,

"J. M. CANNY.

"Halliday Macartney, Esq., Nanking."

" 26 Foochow Road, SHANGHAI,

" 21st November, 1868.

" MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"I was very sorry to hear of your serious losses, more especially of that of your official seal. However, as the latter has been replaced, you are all right so far. I should not be surprised if your box of papers was stolen for the purpose of discovering whether you had written anything against the Viceregal interests in the Yangchow and Hwei-quan affair, or whether you were in communication with Medhurst. If Ting were at the bottom of it, as I confess was my first idea before I saw that Li conceived the

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same notion, his object would probably have been partly to criminate you, and partly to inconvenience you by carrying off policies, bills of lading, etc., regarding anticipated goods or authorisations of expenditure. I hope no papers of this kind have been lost. You know as well as I do what the event of the negotiations has been, and how they were carried out. Of course, it would have been to your interest had the fleet¹ not gone up, but Tsêng replacing your Kuan-feng is sufficient to show that he did not blame you unjustly for the course circumstances took. Let me know how you stand with Ma, &c.

“R. A. JAMIESON.”

In November of this year Sir Rutherford Alcock went to Nanking on board H.M.S. *Adventure*, and accompanied by two other ships. Dr. Jamieson refers to this visit in the letter just quoted. On 25 November an entry in the diary that Macartney fitfully kept in China shows that he visited Sir Rutherford on board ship at Hsia Quan to arrange for his visiting the Viceroy next day. This Viceroy was Li Hung Chang, who had again come back to Nanking, as Tsêng had had to go into retirement through mourning in the spring. Tsêng's departure gave rise to an extraordinary outburst of popular feeling—his route through the city being lined with altars on which incense braziers were smoking and candles burning “just as if he were a god.”

Among other distinguished visitors this year to Nanking were M. Ladislas Hengelmüller, of the Austrian Legation, whom Sir Halliday met long afterwards in London, and the late Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, for whom he collected curios, as shown by the following letter :—

“PEKIN, October 9th, 1869.

“MY DEAR MR. MACARTNEY,

“Many thanks for yours of 19th September, and many more for the intelligence it conveys of the very interesting relics you have so kindly collected for me. I have

¹ Three ships of war were sent up the river to Nanking, and there was a good deal of war talk over the Yangchow affair where missionaries had been molested.

also heard from our Senior Naval Officer of the safe arrival at Shanghai of the two cases, which, although late for *Rodney*, will be in ample time for *Ocean*, which will shortly follow her to England. You must have had great influence with the priest to have extracted such treasures from his chest, which if opened by a *silver key* you must kindly let me know further particulars.

"Thanks, too, for not having resigned all thoughts of the signet stone, if I may do so without being thought avaricious after all you have already provided me with from the same locality.

"I arrived here the other day with the Duke of Edinburgh, my tender, the *Salamis*, being the only one available for bringing H.R.H. up to Tientsin. However, the Prince is travelling, while in China, strictly incog. I am sorry to think that my relief has already arrived at Hong-Kong. Many thanks for kind wishes, and hoping that we shall soon meet in the old country,

"Believe me,

"Very sincerely yours,

"HENRY KEPPEL."

On the subject of his entertaining foreign guests, among whom were the Grand Duke Alexis and Admiral Possiet, Mr. Starkey gives me the following details: "He had added a small wing in semi-foreign style to his official residence, and here he entertained his foreign guests. He had a constant succession of foreign visitors, more or less distinguished, mostly travellers from Europe. As you no doubt know he was most hospitable; the visitor, whatever his standing or nationality, was always freely welcomed to his table and the best his house could afford, and as Mac's was practically for many years the only available foreign lodging in Nanking, it may be imagined that his resources were at times severely tried, more especially as Chinkiang was then the nearest depot for foreign provisions. He was wont to say in his dry way that he found he could not teach these gentlemen anything about China that they did not know already, and they appeared put out when he sometimes

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attempted to set them right. He used to say that, in fact, their knowledge of 'things Chinese' was in inverse ratio to their length of stay in the country."

The Tientsin massacre in June, 1870, when a large number of French men and women were brutally murdered, led to a further change in the posts held by the Viceroys. Tsêng Kwo-fan was summoned to Peking, but his counsels appear to have been warlike. At least he did not know how to give way gracefully, and despite the Franco-Prussian War and its calamities, France was disposed to proceed to extreme measures. English diplomacy, as far as it could, supported France, and in October Li Hung Chang was appointed Viceroy of Pe-Chihli with orders to settle the affair. Chung How's Embassy of apology to Paris was then sanctioned.

On Li's departure from Nanking, Ma became Viceroy of the Two Kiang, but he had only been a short time in office when he was assassinated, in July, 1870, by an ex-Taiping who had a grievance against him. Tsêng Kwo-fan then resumed the post of Viceroy at Nanking, which he held till his death. Although peace seemed assured, the undertone of the Chinese was very warlike. Macartney was ordered to increase the output of the arsenal, supplies of saltpetre and sulphur were sent him from various parts of China, and the authorities purchased cannon and sniders in Japan, where a lull in the struggle between the Mikado and the daimios had left a surplus of arms in the hands of the foreign merchant. Finally, in the spring of 1871 Li Hung Chang sent orders to Macartney to come to Tientsin for the purpose of inspecting and reporting on the Taku Forts. The following letter gives some particulars of the visit :—

" 28th Feb., 1871, 1st *China Moon*,
" T. C. 10th year.

" MY DEAR CANNY,

" We had quite a summer passage up to Tientsin ; the Capt said at no season of the year had he ever had a

smoother one. The weather, though warm and pleasant by day, is still very cold at night. Though I have been compelled to rough it in a way that would be intolerable to most people, I am happy to say that on the whole I feel much benefited by the trip. Though I have had to walk and ride more than I would have preferred; I have experienced but little inconvenience from it. The climate would appear to be exceedingly well adapted for the healing of wounds. The trivial though very annoying affection from which I was suffering at the time I left Shanghai has improved in a remarkable manner. This can only be imputed to the virtues of the climate, for since I came here I may say no treatment whatever has been adopted.

"I inspected the powder works a few days after my arrival. I would rather have avoided this, but Li insisted. For the last three days I have been examining the forts. I leave this to-morrow for Peitang; thence I return to Tientsin.

"At Tientsin I live amongst a people who are little brought in contact with foreigners and therefore cannot be considered to be partial to them; still, it seems to be a very generally entertained opinion amongst them that the massacre business was not settled in a very satisfactory manner. The people seem to be surprised to think that a man of Tsêng Quo-fan's experience could have been so much imposed on as he was. The persons who were executed were tortured into making confessions. In this way it is said that fourteen were but little implicated in the affair, and that the principals are still at large. One of them, a small official named Maou Hwai, has the reputation of being a very bad person, and is still employed in one of the Yamens here. It is said that the gongs which assembled the firemen were sounded by his order. It appears to be quite true that the families of the persons executed each received taels 500. This money is said to have come from the Che-hsien. It is possible that he did this to keep them from retracting their confessions at the last moment. He probably thought that the foreigners might be satisfied if a number of those said to be principally concerned were put to death, and not persist in requiring the punishment of the Che-foo and himself. I am inclined to think that there was no purchasing of substitutes. If the persons whose lives were exacted had been persons of position and of influence, it is very possible that such a plan of getting them off might have been employed; but as they were of the most common sort, there was no reason why the officials should

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have gone to the expense of paying so much money to put one rowdy in the place of another.

"I hear that the Black Sea question has been settled. The Russian Consul told this to Li a few days ago.

"Please don't mention my name in connection with anything that I have stated in this letter; some matters have come to my knowledge since I arrived at Tientsin that confirm me in an opinion that I half entertained before coming here, viz. that the Chinese officials know more of what goes on behind the scenes in newspaper offices than people generally suppose.

"Excuse this hurried note; the paper is so greasy that I can scarcely make a mark on it.

"Yours very sincerely,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

On returning to Nanking Macartney again came into touch with Tsêng Kwo-fan, and their relations were rendered more cordial by the services he was able to render Lady Tsêng during a somewhat serious illness.

He describes the incident in a letter to his friend Dr. Jamieson :—

25 June, 1871.

"MY DEAR JAMIESON,

"If I were nearer you I would kowtow nine times for having allowed your letters, and your kindness in sending me the reviews and the forgotten papers, to remain so long unacknowledged. Though I have been exceedingly busy since my return it would be absurd to say that I have been so much so that I could not find time to drop you a note like the present; equally unjust would it be to plead forgetfulness, for nothing has been more present to my memory; not a day has passed in which I have not added my quota of the good intentions which are said to form the pavement of the infernal municipality. That I have not carried them out was because I proposed to myself too much for the time at my disposal. I contemplated sending with my letter an instalment of the work to be translated, and, waiting for an opportunity to accomplish the latter, let slip many a one in which I might have overtaken the former. It would be some satisfaction if, after waiting so long, I had now succeeded in my intention, but I have not. This is due to dis-

covering on looking into the matter that another arrangement will have to be made perfectly different from what would be necessary in the case of European soldiers, and to the fact that there exists no book which could be suitably translated either wholly or in part as it stands, or without making such extensive alterations as would amount to rewriting the work altogether. I much regret this, as it will delay the translation somewhat later than I had anticipated. I hope, however, that I may be able to keep you supplied with matter from about the time of the demise of the cycle, supposing that to occur at the end of this month.

"What prevented me from getting on with it as I anticipated was the illness of Lady Tsêng and my having had to attend on her daily since my return almost until the present. This took fully one half of my time, whilst the other was, as you might suppose it would be, fully required to get up my back work, private as well as official. I am happy to say that my attendance on the old lady has resulted in raising the foreign practice of medicine much in the eyes of Chinese, rather too much, indeed, to be quite convenient to myself, for the effect of it has been to inundate me with applications from Mandarin friends asking me to undertake all kinds of impossible cases. The other day, for instance, I was visited by a Honan Mandarin who is esteemed the first penman in China, and who writes tui tzs which readily sell in any part of the Empire for a dollar a letter. This man's complaint consisted of a failing in the legs, the cause of which was not difficult to discover as he was considerably over seventy years of age. Another case was that of a lady with similar claims to what has been styled a crown of glory. Her complaint lay in the eyes, which had become somewhat dim and fearfully small and bleared. The first of these venerable personages walked with the assistance of a stick, and tottered along so slowly that I was surprised to hear that his hand still retained the cunning of which mine is so lamentably destitute. Strong must be the love of life when people so old and feeble still wish to cling on to it. It cannot be that they fear death, for what is that but a prolonged sleep?"

"Yours sincerely,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The following interesting letter to his cousin, Captain McNeillie, of Castle Hill, was written at this time, and throws a good deal of light on the situation. China was

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clearly preparing for war, and if it were to be with England, Macartney expresses therein his determination to return home until the conflict was over :—

“NANKIN, July, 1871.

“MY DEAR COUSIN,

“After a lapse of so many years you will be not a little surprised at receiving a letter from me ; but if your experience has been anything like my own, you will not think it strange that we should never have interchanged letters since as students we parted in 1858, for it would seem to be the rule that intentions and performance in the way of letter writing are to each other inversely as we regard the person. Looking back on those whom I have met, I find that it has over and over again occurred that I have kept up a correspondence more or less regular with persons to whom I was perfectly indifferent, whilst, as in the present case, I have dropped or never opened correspondence with others for whom I have felt something more than a passing regard.

“Why this should be I know not, unless it be that in proportion as we are intimate so does the difficulty of writing all that we wish to say increase. We have not always the time nor are we always in the humour to write all that we wish to say. We have to wait for favourable moments, when time and humour combine to enable us to say what we feel. It is not so with letters to persons to whom we are more neutral ; for them we have a stock of cut-and-dry expressions, a set of printed forms we have only to fill up and thus finish the matter. It is not because rare moments have not occurred to me, but that I have a duty to perform that I now write. Let us, however, first shake hands, and express the hope that the ocean may not separate us much longer, but that I may soon be able to settle down somewhere near you.

“I assure you that I contemplate this with diminished pleasure because of the changes which have taken place since I left England, and of these not the least to be regretted is that which has so recently happened in your own family. Though a thing to be expected, I could not but feel deeply grieved at the news of your father’s death, and I daresay I feel it all the more because of the tendency which absence fosters of leading us to forget the effects of time and to think of things always remaining as they were—the young still young, the old not increasing in years. I do not like



Photo, Thomson, New Bond Street, London, H.

MACARTNEY'S HOUSE AT NANKING



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to contemplate the changes which I know will meet me if I ever return, to think of what is, what was, and what might have been. . . .

"I expect you would have been much surprised to hear that I had thrown up the medical profession and entered the service of the Power against which I came here to fight. The political atmosphere of China is now becoming much clouded, and I would be more surprised to see another year pass without war than to see it at any moment break out. Great preparations are now being made. I have just returned from a survey of the Taku Forts. I assisted to destroy them in 1860, in 1871 I am acting as military engineer in repairing them. Should it be with England that the Chinese next cross bayonets, of course I will have to resign, or at least retire from their service until that war is over. In that case I may probably be home ere long, otherwise I do not contemplate returning for two years more. Then I shall do so for good and all.

"I am sorry to tell you that E. [his brother] has not received so much benefit from the change to this country as I was led to hope he might. For the last six months particularly he has been very poorly, so it is his intention to return to England as soon as the hot weather has sufficiently moderated to allow his doing so in safety. He will probably leave this about the end of September, and it will depend on how he bears the voyage whether he goes straight home or remains in the South of France to pass the winter. I am glad to say that I have stood the climate and campaigning in a remarkable manner. Little did I think when I heard of the porcelain pagoda at Nankin as one of the existing wonders of the world that I would one day live on the site of it and build a house for myself out of the ruins, and introduce steam and construct one hundred powder-guns in the ancient capital of China !

"I hope you and Isabella are quite well. I often think of Castle Hill, where I have met so much kindness and perhaps spent the happiest hours I have ever known. To her, to Isabel and Emily Halliday, please let me be kindly remembered.

"Your affectionate cousin,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

This letter to one member of his family may introduce the subject of the closing passages in the life of another. In

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the spring of 1869 he was joined by one of his brothers, Ebenezer, the clergyman, whose health was not robust, and who it was thought would benefit by a change to a warmer climate. This did not prove to be the case, and in the spring of 1871 it was decided that Ebenezer should return to Europe. The decision was come to too late to save his life, but the whole story is told in sufficient detail in the following letters :—

“ MY DEAR MAC,

“ SHANGHAI, 6th July, 1871.

“ You need not by any means take pains to excuse yourself for not writing, as I know how crowded with work you must have been after your absence. If Tsêng is overflowing with gratitude for your skill exhibited on his wife's corpus, suggest that he ask Wade to get you some English distinction—knighthood, for example. I am not at all sure that you would not get it if it were demanded ; the English Government would think that such a request from Tsêng must mean great friendliness and admiration, and a devil of a lot of things besides.

“ It would at this season be far too hot all the way home for your brother to start for England via Canal. I think he would hardly be comfortable if he left Shanghai earlier than October. But if he went round the Cape in a first-class tea-ship, which is the way I should choose if I had plenty of time to spare, he might go whenever he liked. If you think a change to Shanghai would do him good, we will make him very welcome and take every care of him. At the same time, you know that at this season Shanghai is very exhausting. Just at present by luck we have cool days, but last week the mercury rose to 102°, and never fell by night below 89°. Make your comparison, and if you think he would be better off in Shanghai send him down to us.

“ Yours very truly,

“ R. A. JAMIESON.”

“ MY DEAR MR. GARDNER,

“ NANKIN, 17 August, 1871.

“ I am sorry to have to inform you of the death of my brother, Mr. E. H. Macartney. I intend taking him to Chin Kiang for interment, and have written to Mr. Starkey asking him to make the necessary arrangements for the funeral taking place on Monday at 5 p.m.

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"I shall be in Chin Kiang as early as possible before then in order to go through the usual formalities, and in the meantime will take it as a great favour if you would allow the grave to be prepared according to the instructions which I have given to Mr. Starkey and with which he will acquaint you.

"Yours very sincerely,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"*Memo.*—Died at Nankin on the 16th inst., at 11.40 p.m., of diarrhoea and general debility, the Rev. Ebenezer Halliday Macartney.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY, M.D.

"NANKIN, 17 August, 1871."

"SHANGHAI, 21 August, 1871.

"MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

"I won't bore you with a long letter, and indeed would not write at all except to tell you how very sorry both Mrs. Jamieson and I are to hear of your brother's painful illness and death. His case, as you describe it, is certainly a puzzling one. You do not say whether you made any stethoscopic examination. It suggests chronic tubercular pneumonia. The general depression of vital energy would account for the (atonic) constipation, to be followed by irritative diarrhoea when low tubercular inflammation was set up in the intestine. The craving for fat is very suggestive of that deficiency of the blood in 'seroline,' upon which Hughes Bennett lays so much stress as characteristic of tuberculosis. My object in entering on this little discussion is to lead you to think that no treatment would have been successful, for I know from experience that when one very near and dear dies under any person's hands, there is a strong tendency to blame oneself for not doing something or another which, after the event, suggests itself as of possible service.

"Many thanks for the trouble you took about the Liu Li amidst your anxieties.

"Yours very truly,

"R. A. JAMIESON."

With the three following letters Macartney's correspondence at this period may be concluded. They are interesting from the personal point of view quite as much as for the light they throw upon current events. They and the others

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I have given would entitle their author to a high place in the limited ranks of epigrammatic letter writers :—

“MY DEAR CANNY,

“NANKIN, 14 February, 1872.

“The messenger with your letter arrived here about 11.30 a.m. yesterday, but being out making mandarin calls I did not see it until evening, when I was too wearied to reply to it. I have been out again to-day, and can scarcely bring myself to take up a pen to write.

“The Master is said to have loved ceremony, but I am sure that if he had undergone the half of what I have done during the last few days, he would have more than once cried, ‘Hold, enough !’

“I hope that I may look upon it as a sign of things having changed, that I have had such a great number of swells calling this year, and that amongst them were some whom I never courted and who have always been noted for their hostility to foreigners.

“Please let me know on what terms Wei Yuan-cheang thinks he might obtain the loan of which you speak. I never saw the man, but judging from an instance in which, through Cowie, I had agreed to make him an advance, he appeared to be a man who put too much faith in the efficacy of Chinese tactics.

“H. M.”

“MY DEAR CANNY,

“NANKIN, March, 1872.

“You ask me how I liked Cernuschi.¹ I need not say well, for how could it be otherwise since he paid me the compliment of stating that it was quite a pleasure to find a person who, like me, knew something of China and the Chinese, because he had been perfectly astounded at the ignorance of merchants in China and Japan of anything pertaining to these countries and their inhabitants. His secretary chimed in, telling me that some of the reputedly oldest inhabitants in Japan thought to put them up to a thing or two, but found instead that the sojourners of these short months in the country knew an infinite deal more about it than the whole resident community put together. It occurred to me to think, though I did not tell them so, they had better get out of the country as soon as possible,

¹ In the Diary is this entry: “Cernuschi, a French financier and proprietor of the *Soleil*.”

because it seemed that people understood China and the Chinese in the inverse ratio to the time they had studied them, and the opportunities they had had of becoming acquainted with them.

"Cernuschi was anxious to learn the nature of the Taiping movement, and I don't know he was quite pleased to hear that they were a predatory horde without any of the elements from which might have been evolved order and stability. I am afraid I rather put my foot in it when in return for my communication I asked him what was the real nature of the Commune? Cernuschi said nothing, but his secretary commenced to tell me; but I soon perceived him to be at a loss what to say, so helped him out by adding that I supposed they wanted what never was and never could be. If Cernuschi was one of the Chiefs of the Commune, as I have since been informed he was, I can easily understand how this statement should have terminated as it did our conversation on the objects of the Commune. I can scarcely believe that I have not been misinformed, for it is contrary to all experiences for a man of position and pecuniary resources to advocate anything like a social levelling. In youth, and when we have nothing to lose and all to gain, we cry put them down; but a little older, and with some money in our pockets, we shout down with them, push them down, kick them on the head if they come up here.

"Cernuschi was no sooner gone than I had a visit from another great man, the Vice-Consul at Chin Kiang for the great American nation.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"MY DEAR GUNDRY,

"NANKING, August, 1870.

"When your letter of — arrived on Thursday afternoon I was just thinking about whether there was still time to write you before dinner. I felt so much ashamed at having allowed such a long period to pass without writing that I could not touch it, and so much afraid of the scolding I imagined it contained that I feared to open it.

"I wished that it had not come to hand until I had sent off the letter which I had so long intended to write. I felt quite put out, and debated with myself whether I would not let it lie until I had carried out my purpose of writing. At last I mustered up courage and opened it. There was not a word of the dreadful scolding I expected to find! Your

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request that I should drop you a note, however short, and not wait until I could write you a long letter pleased me, because it showed me that you were quite aware that my silence arose from a wish to do more than I could find time for, and not to my having forgotten you altogether.

"I have lately discovered one thing of which before I was ignorant, that is, that it would be better that I never promise at all, for a promise to write, if I cannot do it at once, becomes a bugbear, and instead of tending to effect its performance actually prevents me from attempting to fulfil it.

"If I had not promised you a letter, I am sure that, during the time which has elapsed since I last wrote, you would most likely have had half a dozen. I would have taken up my pen to say chin chin, and ended by writing I don't know what or how much. It is different when I write according to promise, for then I wait a fitting opportunity for one of those rare moments in which time and disposition concur to make writing pleasant. Waiting for this, one chance after another is passed over as unfit or insufficient, until shame, as in the present case, compels me to snatch a moment not half as opportune as many of those which have been condemned as unfit and allowed to pass. Each delay renders the performance more difficult, interest becomes dull, and the mind resolves in making up for loss of time by increase of matter. New subjects also arrive calling for notice, and thus our task squares and cubes and multiplies itself, until opportunities of hours instead of minutes are demanded for its performance. If the latter have hitherto been so few it would be futile were I to delay waiting for the former or an opportunity commensurate with the requirements—so rich in intentions and utterly bankrupt in performance I write a line asking grace from my creditors and permission to commence business afresh. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The last letter covered a very full account of the work of the Nanking Arsenal, which eventually formed the basis of an article published in the *Times*. I find the following extract in Macartney's diary for the year 1872:—

"16 February. It is now ten years since I told Li Hung Chang what a change would come over China with regard

to arsenals, and the correctness of my anticipations justifies me in making another statement with regard to scientific education. China has long been famous for her scholars, but —see what the encouragement of art has done for England. It is now necessary that China should begin to study the subjects which engage the minds of the world, if not for the development of her resources, at least in order to direct her arsenals. Workmen have not time to devote to science, the men of leisure must attend to this. Encouragement ought to be given to such men as Woo Tajen."

In a memorandum written about the same time Macartney describes the importance that the Chinese attached to good armament ; but he seems to have had doubts himself as to whether the Chinese had made any serious progress at this time in military strength. The memo reads :—

"Whilst still smarting from the humiliation caused by their reverses in 1860, the Chinese were not slow in perceiving the important influence on the result exercised by the superiority of our arms. Their ignorance of the conduct of warfare on scientific principles perhaps led them to overestimate it and impute to our Armamentaria what a more clear appreciation of the circumstances would have shown to be due to the bravery and skill of those who wielded and directed them ; nor is it surprising that the Chinese should be willing to impute their losses to anything rather than appear to own the possibility of our military system and personnel being superior to their own. In the base craft of the mechanic they were willing to acknowledge our excellence, but they would not submit to compare our generals with theirs in strategy, ability to command, and all the qualities that go to make the great military captain ; for the Chinese say exchange the arms, or put them on a level as to them with us, and then they would drive any foreigner into the sea. They had the strong battalions God is said to favour, and give them Armstrongs and the Enfield and they would chain Victory to their colours. Of nothing were they so convinced as this, so Rebel and Imperial contended with each other in the market for the purchase of foreign arms, and the avidity with which each party equipped his battalions showed how little the Chinese allow old honoured traditions to stand in their way after perceiving a change to be necessary or expedient. No prejudice in favour of the matchlock

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or gingall interfered to prevent their being exchanged for the more efficient rifle, musket, and mountain gun.

"There was no aversion to them on account of their being foreign inventions ; on the contrary, this so much constituted their recommendation that anything with a hole in it, provided it was emblazoned with a crown and foreign characters, was eagerly bought at prices that made the sale of arms the favourite business of the day, and placed even opium speculations at a discount. Some part of the respect paid to our arms seems to have communicated to ourselves, for notwithstanding the soreness felt at our march to Pekin and the burning of the Summer Palace, the foreigner was not then such a hated personage as our diplomats and our missionaries have since made him. Though in time of war the foreigner then travelled anywhere irrespective of its being held by Rebel or Imperialist. Everywhere he was honoured and respected, and sometimes might have been seen the curious spectacle of the native of the country travelling under his escort, trusting to him for the protection of the immense sums of gold and silver brought by him for the purchase of tea and silk. What a change has come over the spirit of the dream ! How our ministers have improved matters until it is scarcely safe to go beyond the beat of the municipal police, until the mandarin insults us in our very homes !"

As has been mentioned, after the recovery of Lady Tsêng Macartney's relations with the Viceroy's family were very cordial. It was then that he made the acquaintance of his son, with whom he was closely associated in later years. On 19th January, 1872, Tsêng Khe Kang (to give his full personal name) called on him to have a long talk, during which he referred to a complaint by his father about a paragraph that had appeared some time before in the *Daily News*. The Viceroy requested Macartney to see the error rectified, but I have failed to trace the particulars. At the same time young Tsêng brought him a present of a canister of Hang-chow tea, which Macartney declared in his diary "to be first class."

The next reference to the Tsêngs is on the 12th March,

when the following entry in the diary describes the death of Tsêng Kwo-fan :—

"After dinner I was hastily summoned to go to the Yamen, and asked to go on horseback and quick. On arriving there at 8.15 I found the Tsung Tang (Viceroy) dead and the room filled with his family, the chief mandarins of the city, and no end of servants. I was told that he had been at his dispatches till 5 p.m., when he was seized with another shock, from which he died between six and seven o'clock."

Tsêng Kwo-fan was the most powerful man in China. At the time of his death all the Viceroys had served under him and were his nominees. If he had wished, he might have made himself emperor. There was no question about his patriotism; but opinions as to his policy towards foreigners differed, even among those most closely connected with him.

A fortnight after his death a very distinguished Chinese visited Macartney—no one less than the descendant of Teentze, one of the Four Masters. The following extract from the diary refers to the visit :—

"26 March. Received a visit to-day from Chang-Tseen-tsze, the representative of the Teentze over 2000 years ago. He is thirty-three years of age, and a very good-looking fellow —fine eyes, prominent nose, full lips, well marked eyebrows, oval face, fair complexion, clear skinned."

The relations between Macartney and the two great satraps Tsêng Kwo-fan and Li were illustrated by the complimentary scrolls he received from them. It is a tribute of special esteem among the Chinese to send their friends a silk scroll having a piece of their own writing—beautiful calligraphy being a fine art in China. Two such scrolls used to hang in Sir Halliday's study in Harley Place. One was from Tsêng Kwo-fan, the other from Li. That from the former read :—

"Your writings are in scope vast in the extreme. For discursiveness they may be likened to the alternating waves of the sea."

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"You will ascend the steps (and rank yourself with the names) of the ancients.

"The above to His Excellency Halliday Macartney,

"TAOTAI."

The one from Li, similarly addressed, was hardly less flowery :—

"Of deep sagacity and impulsive honour, your rule of action to those near as to those afar is one.

"By proficiency (in science) you have gained the path of reason, and no subject exists of which you cannot probe the first cause."

Macartney was always very fond of animals, and his house was never without a considerable number of dogs and cats. Major Story mentions his three dogs in the room which was the scene of the explosion at Soochow, and I may give his own account of the death at Nanking of a puppy to which he was much attached. It is an extract from his diary for 11th and 12th March, 1869 :—

"Took the small black-and-tan pup with me to try the effect of change of air on its distemper. It is now very bad; fits more frequent, but does not throw back and shake the head so much as the red dog did. The disease seems to be a kind of tetanus occurring intermittently; fits come on by a motion of the jaws, like that of an animal seeking to extricate something which is sticking in its teeth. The lips are raised up, showing the teeth in front, whilst at the wicks or angles of the mouth they are spasmodically drawn back and then allowed to spring forward. At the same time the tongue is frequently protruded and withdrawn again, as if the animal were licking its lips. If observed closely, the tongue at these times will be seen to be doubled and bent under at the tips—that is, the tip is bent under. The ears are frequently twitched during the fits, and between them are always abnormally erect. The eyes are fixed and distorted more or less, and always, even after a fit has passed, seem more open than usual. When the fit is bad and in the advanced state of the disease, the head and neck are rigidly bent back—great flow of frothy saliva during the gnashing period. Stools may escape involuntarily during the fits. The nose

is dry excepting at the very orifices of the nostrils. The least thing, such as a noise or anything that frightens the animal, may bring on a fit. In all four cases observed by me there was at first a good deal of excrement from the eyes in the mornings, a short and noisy kind of breathing, with occasional sniffing. At first the animal rapidly recovers from the fits, the next moment frequently commencing to eat or run about as if nothing was the matter. The fits come on without warning, sometimes even when the animal is engaged in eating; as soon as they pass, it often at once returns to its food. The erectness of the ears and abnormal timidity ought to lead us to suspect the existence of fits or their early advent. I don't think the animal is sensible during the fits. . . . The little black-and-tan pup had a fit of about an hour's duration. The most of the time the head was bent back. Sometimes it would partially relax; then another fit of gnashing and foaming would set in and bring it back again. During the depth of the fit the eyes were fixed and staring; as it got over it the animal would wink and move the muscles of deglutition. The angles of the mouth, even when expression returned to the eyes and the power of winking, always remained more or less retracted. The animal seemed much in danger of being asphyxiated by either saliva running into the bronchii or mucus secreted in them.

"8 p.m.—Tongue protruded, twitchings of angles of mouth, eyes more alert, as if the animal recognised things; eyelids moved naturally. The ears are not equally erected; the left is most sized, and constantly twitching.

"12 March.—The black-and-tan pup died, never having entirely recovered from the fit which seized it last night."

Mr. Starkey supplies the following incident:—

"He was very fond of animals. An old Arab mare that he had from his campaigning days was an honourable pensioner out at grass. When, on his return from Tientsin in 1871, he found that she had died through the neglect of his mafoo (groom), he is said to have thrown himself on the ground in a paroxysm of grief. He had some beautiful Peking pugs given to him by Li, and one or more of these always accompanied him on his river journeys."

CHAPTER X

THE NANKING ARSENAL: SECOND PHASE

Macartney at Tientsin—Tour in China's Holy Land—Struggles with Lieu—Scores a victory—Another explosion—Visits Europe—Arsenal on his return—Correspondence with Li Hung Chang—Toan as bad as Lieu—Guns burst at Taku—Summoned to Tientsin—The inquiry at Taku—Refuses to acknowledge fault—Resigns Chinese service—Various projects—Tibet or tea?—The Margary Affair—A new prospect.

I HAVE been able to describe the life and work at the Nanking Arsenal for the first five years almost entirely in Macartney's own words by means of his diaries and letters, and I propose to adopt the same course with regard to the second and concluding period. The principal incidents of the first phase were difficulties and differences with his workmen and contractors; those of the second were more serious as he became involved in disputes with his Chinese colleagues, which culminated in a breach with Li Hung Chang, and his resignation of the post of director of the Nanking Arsenal, which he had then held for ten years.

Although Li Hung Chang had finally left Nanking the arsenal there remained subject to his authority, and Macartney had to deal with him as well as with the Viceroy of Kiangnan. The bulk of the guns and other weapons of war were sent north to Tientsin for the armament of the Taku Forts and the equipment of Li's field force. Various schemes were suggested to enlarge the arsenal and add to its importance, and among these was the formation of a rocket and torpedo branch. It was in connection with these

changes that Li requested Macartney to come to Tientsin in October, 1872. The story of this visit is told with sufficient completeness in the following extracts from the diary. They describe not only the visit to Li Hung Chang, but a tour through the country of Confucius and Mencius, which may be called China's Holy Land.

" 1872.

" *November 8.* This morning we rounded the Shantung promontory. The sea calm, a little rain.

" Arrived at Chefoo about 4 p.m., stayed an hour, then left, the weather in the meantime being threatening and ominous looking. We had scarcely got outside the harbour before it began to blow; the sea soon rose, and the ship pitched and rolled in a very unpleasant manner. After trying to make head against the storm for about two hours, we put back and anchored under shelter of a mountain, where we lay pretty quietly all night.

" I was much surprised at the amount of shipping in the harbour. There were several steamers, a good number of foreign-rigged vessels, and quite a fleet of junks. I am inclined to think that Chefoo will one day be a great place. If China should follow Western tastes as she is now following her inventions, it will certainly be a great watering-place for the population of Pekin. The dirty character of the people, however, almost forbids us to think of the possibility of the Chinese enjoying a wash. If railways were once introduced into China one would soon be made between Chefoo and Pekin, which would have the effect of taking away the importance of Tientsin, for ships would scarcely navigate the troublesome waters of the gulf and up the Peiho if there were any other way of introducing goods into the country. Passengers certainly would not go round by Tientsin in preference to taking railway at Chefoo. Again, it will be rendered important as soon as China gets a fleet, for where on the coast could it be so well placed so as to shelter itself from storms and protect the capital?

" One thing that interested me was the number of foreign-rigged and Chinese-owned ships; these mostly fly the flag of Siam and carry one or two Europeans. The grasshopper-like head-boards, which are characteristic of Chinese junks, are attached to these vessels, which in all other respects are clean, well-rigged, ship-shape vessels. There

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were also some Chinese Government steamers built in the country and manned entirely by Chinese. One of these, with more boldness than discretion, put out at the same time we did. But as she was going south she would have made better weather than we did. Steamers and European-rigged ships built and owned by Chinese all in ten years! No small stride. The competition and example of the European have doubtless a strong influence on the Chinese. Snow fell during the night. Hills white.

"Nov. 9.—This morning made another attempt to breast the storm. Again driven back. Left Chefoo this evening. Sea running high, rolling, etc.; unpleasant.

"Nov. 10.—The sea still very rough. Very unpleasant steaming; was really sick for the first time this voyage. Very little sleeping all night owing to the pitching and rolling of the steamer.

"Nov. 11.—Did not rise this morning or take any breakfast. About noon arrived off Taku Forts. Weather very cold. Pilot states that there was ice last night. Too little water on the bar. Will have to wait for to-night's tide, when, after discharging about half our cargo into a small steamer, the *Millet*, it is expected we will be able to cross the bar and enter the river. 11.15: Pilot considers water on the bar sufficient, so we leave; got into the mouth of the Peiho about 12.30. Fine moonlight—piercing cold; we continue our course up the river. The captain thinks we will reach Tientsin to-morrow morning early. I sent a letter ashore for Loh-yung-quang asking him to send Yungtsien up to help me in finding a house.

"Nov. 12.—Arrived at Tientsin about 10.30 a.m. The men-of-war which are to winter here are busy housing themselves in.

"Sent Lan Tsing off to the Yamen to see whether he could hear anything of Yungtsien or my horses.

"11.30 a.m.—The mandarin passenger informs me that there is a Chinese announcement on the bund to the effect that my Kung Quan has been settled at—. Lan Tsing has not yet returned. I am glad to think that I have some place to go to, and hope it may be a comfortable one.

"1 p.m.—Kinsan has seen the Kung Quan, and gives a disheartening report of it. Lan Tsing returned, unable to tell me anything about Yungtsien; he, however, reports the arrival yesterday of the horses.

"3 p.m.—Left the ship; met Tsoh-sung-sang, who has been attending to my Kung Kwan. Arrived at the Kung

Kwan about 4.30 p.m. It will do very well. It is quiet and clean, though bare and cold. Sent Lan Tsing in search of the groom and horses.

"Viceroy left Tientsin, but has left a message for me with Lieu Tajen.

"Paid messing on board the *Sze Chuen* 7 days 14 dollars; gave the servants 4 dollars.

"Nov. 13.—Called on Lieu Tajen and Woo-tung-ling. Saw the former, and made arrangements with him for the next three days. To-morrow to visit the Viceroy's wife. Next day to dine with him, and the day after to fire rockets and visit Chinese man-of-war.

"Tsoh-chu-yun showed me some torpedo material. The battery contains twelve cells, carbon and zinc joined together so as to immerse and take them all out together. The wire is three strands enveloped in an india-rubber tube loosely fitting, so loosely, indeed, that it can easily be pulled off. The fuze is the platinum wire system. It is very well made, simple, effective, and not liable to be deranged. This is something like what it is: a thimble-shaped piece of beech-wood about an inch in length and five-eighths in diameter; the bifurcated wire rests in the hollow of the thimble, in the lips the wood; into each of these the poles or terminals of the wires are inserted. In this way fuzes can be made, kept ready, and applied to a torpedo almost as readily as a cap to a percussion musket.

"Nov. 15.—Went to Lieu Tajen's, dined, and then with some other mandarins went to Woo's camp to fire rockets. The two 24-pounder head-shell rockets lighted at the end of the tube and burst—that is, the shell burst; this result I attribute to the coldness of the weather.

"Nov. 17.—Visited Kung-tulan-yeh at the Hai Quun Szi in the morning, and in the afternoon went to Woo-tung-ling's camp to inspect Gatling gun.

"Nov. 19.—Wei Taotai called, the same Wei who acted with Qui Sheantung at Foochow. Lieu Tajen sent me letters of introduction to two mandarins at Paouting Foo; in this and in many other ways he has been very kind to me since coming here.

"Nov. 20.—Left Tientsin for Paouting to-day by boat.

"Left Tientsin about 3 p.m., and got clear of the boats and houses, when we anchored for the night.

"Nov. 21.—Had a good deal of difficulty in getting the boatmen to start; they said they could not see the way on account of the fog, and feared the wind. I pressed them,

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telling them we could sail by compass, for I had one. After much ado they started ; the fog cleared up a little; we could occasionally see islets in the flooded country. Towards afternoon we anchored on a long spit of land, where we were taken in tow by one of a set of boats with large sails, which went very fast. At night we came to anchor at a small place. All night long the wind blew a gale. In the morning (22 November) it moderated. When we sought to get in tow again we found the big boat had given us the slip. We, however, got taken on by another which brought us on to Soochow chien, the place where we had been told we would have to leave our boat and take a smaller one. We were, however, told our boat could go on well enough to Paouting.

"Next morning, 23rd, the boatmen said positively that they would go no further. I was as positive, and said I would wait until the lake froze so that they would certainly be frozen in, whereas if they went on there was a good chance of their getting back to Tientsin before the ice set in. It is now afternoon of the 23rd, and we are still at the above place. There is an appearance on the part of the boatmen of giving in.

"24th Nov.—Changed boats. The new boat guarantees to put us ashore at Paouting foo in at most three days. The old boat, in order to get rid of us, paid 3000 cash—the difference between what I was willing to pay and the new boatmen wanted from me.

"Nov. 25.—The boat engaged yesterday had not gone further than about 40 li when she ran heavily upon a sunken pile and quickly went down. Lan Tsing and I had gone ashore to walk to the next station, where we arrived all right. The night was bitterly cold, so I went into a meau to wait there until Tsing went back to see what was delaying the boat. After dark he returned, informing me that she had gone down, but that everything almost had been saved and brought on in good order. Hsu was asleep at the time, and before he could be awakened the water got into his bed. Went to an inn. The name of the place is Seau Paouting, the residence of a Hsien. The city, however, has only mud walls.

"Nov. 26.—Sent to the Hsien this morning for a boat to take us on, but found that none could be got here with the exception of small open boats. Further on, however, he said about 10 li distant, there was a place where we could hire boats of larger size, and that he would send a man with

us to assist us in doing so. This was agreed to, so we started in a small boat loaded down to the water's edge with men and baggage, passed on through tracts of broken ice, and arrived all right. Hired a boat, promising to pay an exorbitant rate for its use. We were so much at the mercy of the boatmen that we could do nothing else, for the man whom the Chi Hsien sent to assist us proved of no more use than if he had been made of wood. He could merely say in a weak manner what we had told him to say.

"*Nov. 27.*—Arrived at Lew Yeh Meau to-night, within 15 li of south gate of Paouting; creek small and much impeded by salt junks; passed two water gates—there is another between this and Paouting foo.

"All day we have been passing through lake of flooded land; in the midst of the water we occasionally passed plots of land very little raised above the water level, for the cultivation of indigo.

"Passed a walled city, which was formerly a Hsien city, but is not so now, the Mandarin having been removed to —, which is now the Hsien city of this district. It was found that two Hsien cities so near to each other did not pay, or were not required, so the two governments were joined into one. This hsien is so well, not to say expensively constructed, that it seems a wonder how the money was raised, supposing its foundation to have been due to some adventitious circumstances.

"*Nov. 28.*—Arrived at Paouting foo. Called on Yeh Taotai. Removed from boat to an inn in the city near the Viceroy's Yamen. The city walls high and well made, in excellent repair; the streets wretched and filthy beyond measure, even up to the door of the Viceroy's Yamen. Viceroy expected here at the latest by the 4th prox., so I have determined on waiting his arrival here.

"*Dec. 4.*—Went out this afternoon for a ride, going out of the city by the west gate, and passing round by the south side to the east gate, by which I came in again.

"*Dec. 7.*—Went out to meet the Viceroy this morning. Met him at a place about 40 li from Paouting foo. After some conversation on different subjects he asked me to call on him to-morrow afternoon at 4 o'clock.

"*Dec. 8.*—Governor sent Chang tajen this morning to say that he would see me after the firing of the rockets instead of this afternoon as arranged, and to ask whether they could be fired to-day. Replied they could not, and settled 10 o'clock to-morrow for firing them.



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"*Dec. 9.*—The rockets, which had been on the Kang since yesterday morning and which had been heated all through to a temperature of 100°, were this morning taken out and fired in the presence of the mandarins deputed by the Viceroy. These were Pung the Chintai of Ta ming foo, Chang and Hsheng, commanders of encampments at the east gate, Pung the Chintai of Ching ting foo; Yeh Tung Ling, commanding cavalry at Leu Yeh Maou. The rockets were fired from a raised plane of twenty to twenty-five feet high (a tai). The first fired was the spherical-headed one. It seemed to go off all right; it was heard in the air though no one saw it; all thought it had gone away to an immense distance. After a little, however, an explosion like that of a shell took place just under the front face of the tai. I examined the place; the mark was too shallow, I thought, to be that made by the bursting of the shell, though I cannot see what else it was; beside the place was a little piece of the tin strap with which the shell was fixed to the rocket case. Though I think this must have been the shell, I am at a loss to see how the fuze was kindled and how so little impression was made on the earth by the explosives. The second rocket, with elongated fixed head, made first graze about 800 yards in front, ricochetted twice afterwards, then burst at a distance from the tai of about 1500 yards.

"*Dec. 10.*—Sent in my dispatch relative to foreign workmen and the buildings required for them. Returned the call of Hsheng tajen and called on Yeh tung ling. This mandarin, Hsheng, is the one who commanded the troops (native) in Khading when we were besieged in it by the rebels.

"*Dec. 11.*—Received visits from Yeh tung ling, Chang and Hsheng, Ching Tung Chintai. Called on the latter and on the Taming Chintai.

"*Dec. 18.*—Saw the Governor to-day for the fourth and last time; took dinner with him and Li-lo tajen, during which and afterwards had a long talk on various subjects. This morning, before I went to see him, he sent taels 100 on account of travelling expenses.

"*Dec. 19, 2 p.m.*—Left Paouting foo for Nankin and travelled 50 li. My party consisted of Hsu-seang-sung, Ling-tao Maou, Kinsan, two grooms and two cart drivers—3 horses (saddle), 4 mules drawing the carts.

"*29 Dec.*—Halted to-day and breakfasted at Wan-shang hsien, a place mentioned in the Szeshu. Many fine pai low

span the streets, two of them near the east gate, the finest I ever saw.

"Reached Chu-fu hsien, the residence of the Kung family, and the place where the sage is buried.

"Dec. 30.—Visited the tomb of Confucius; afterwards called on the Kung Yeh but did not see him; saw the Meaou.

"In the evening the Kung Yeh sent a servant to express his regret at having been unable to see me when I called on account of having guests.

"1st January, 1873.—Left Chu-fu hsien, and at midday halted at Tsai hsien, the residence of the family of Meng-tze. Went and saw the temple erected to his honour."

The two following letters, written shortly after his return to Nanking from this northern trip, complete the details given in the Diary :—

"NANKIN, 21st March, 1873.

"MY DEAR KINGSMILL,

"I have not had time to write you since I came back from the North, though I ought to have found at least as much as would have sufficed to thank you for your attention in getting the tombstone erected over the grave of my brother. I have not seen it, for, being much later in getting back than I had made provision for on setting out, I was compelled to hurry on to Nankin.

"I do not know whether you have heard that I made a detour of two days in order to visit the classic grounds of Chu-fu hsien and Tsai hsien, the one the tomb of the great sage, and the other the home of Mencius. It would take up too much time to tell all I saw and all I thought on the way down, but I may say the conclusion I formed was that the Chinaman is a low animal, and the country, in spite of its many great natural capabilities, a very poor one.

"Now I come to tell you that my object in writing is to ask you to order for me some doors and windows for a house which is about to be put up here for the European workmen. With some difficulty I have got the mandarin architect who is to put it up to agree to the doors and windows being made in Shanghai as in the case of those of my own house. The whole structure, site included, is not to cost over T2000; 500 of this has been set aside for the doors and windows. This sum is insufficient for the number of doors and windows as hereunder stated if

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charged at the same rate as those of my house, so we will have to use the pruning-hook somewhere. I would not like the windows or the venetians and the frame into which they are hinged to be made any lighter than those in my house, but the panelling and mouldings of the wood which line the cheeks of the insides of the windows might be less elaborate. I daresay the thing can be schemed somehow or other. Look over the annexed list and let me know whether I am right in this or not. I enclose a plan of the proposed building, from which you will see how nearly I shall be run for funds in order to complete it at the sum stated. In living at Nankin, Europeans experience the great disadvantage of having their wants put in comparison with those of China, instead of those of other Europeans, as they would have at any of the ports frequented by Europeans. The houses which my men occupy at present, uncomfortable as they are, would still be counted good enough for mandarins of comfortable standing, so the Chinese cannot see why they are not good enough for foreign artisans. The 2000 which is to be expended now has been saved on the amount of money given me to pay wages, for I might as well have asked for I know not what as try to get them to improve the quarters now occupied by my men.

"Yours very sincerely,
"H. M."

"MY DEAR KINGSMILL, "NANKIN, 7th April, 1873.

"Many thanks for your attention in putting the doors and windows so promptly in hand. I hope the contractor may be equally quick in putting them through, for I am anxious to see the houses fairly on the way before I leave for England; otherwise there will be no security for their being done in a proper manner.

"I observed that you sent Gundry an extract from my letter, and was glad you did so. For when the mandarins who show any consideration for foreigners are so few, it is only fair to give those who form the exceptions credit for what they do. If the Shunpan and such-like Chinese priests would sometimes take up a subject and evince the contempt which foreigners feel for such childish observances, and show that it is rather a matter about which the Chinese for their own credit should set about reforming than one that foreigners can set about, the annoyance being too childish

and paltry for most foreigners to take notice of, it would do good. No stronger proof of the narrowness of their pretensions to politeness can be found than that they are the only people on the face of the earth who, presuming to be civilised, would condescend to such pettiness.

"There are countries, no doubt, where the jealousy or the covetousness of the wild man would lead him to lift his club and strike you down with it, but there are none in which the parents would systematically debauch the naturally kindly instincts of their children by making them the cloak for their own cowardliness. There is something extremely characteristic in this feature of the Chinese. Here is the same feature that we have so often observed since the burning of the opium at Canton to the present day. When the Chinaman feels that he has been aggrieved he flounders about in an attempt at revenge, and finally falls upon an expedient which, instead of hurting the head of his enemy, comes down with greater severity on his own. He burned the opium thinking to injure the foreigner, but hadn't he to pay for it ten times over again? The last instance of his singular blindness is one which will reflect more heavily than the burning of a few chests of opium, for what amount of money can we put in apportion to the debauching of the minds of his children, by the effect on them of a dastardly example set them by those they most love and at a time when the mind is most plastic. It would be vain for us to expect that the Chinese Government, out of consideration for us, would put a stop to the custom of abusing foreigners whilst peaceably going about their business, but they may be shamed into doing it out of consideration for themselves. Foreign ministers living at the capital may take blame to themselves that foreigners, themselves not exempted, are still unable to pass a crowd without receiving more or less cause of offence. The consul never passes into the city to see the Taotai without hearing something disrespectful, and it was but the other day that the English minister was flagrantly insulted in the very capital of the Empire. True, the Government expressed regret at the circumstance, and would have promptly beheaded the wretched devil who was the cause of offence. Of course, Mr. Wade was not so barbarous as to accept the barbarous offer, for he knew too well that the man's offence consisted only in having called out at the wrong time a lesson which perhaps he had been learning from some official, for just as the parents prompt their children it is

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but too probable that the mandarins instigate the people to call names at foreigners as they pass.

"The success of Chang, the Acting Viceroy of Kiangnan, in causing the Prince Alexis to be treated with becoming consideration, proves what may be done when the mandarin does not intend to take the way not to do it, and it is to be hoped that instead of cutting off the head of some unfortunate wretch, they will follow his example and endeavour to teach their subjects better manners.

"Yours, etc.,

"H. M."

The Chang referred to in the letter to Mr. Kingsmill as having received the Grand Duke Alexis, who was accompanied by Admiral Possiet, and as manifesting a fair spirit towards foreigners, has since become famous as Chang Che Tung, the still living Viceroy at Hankow.

One of the results of Macartney's visit to Li Hung Chang was an arrangement for Macartney's proceeding to Europe with the object of increasing the equipment and the staff of the arsenal.

"In making modern guns," writes Mr. Starkey, "Macartney was much hampered by a want of skilled foreign foremen and books, and he often spoke of the shifts he was put to to get information, as it would have been fatal to his position had he shown ignorance in these matters. It also added greatly to his influence that the Chinese all believed, for some years at least, that everything produced in the arsenal was his own invention!"

It was astonishing to everybody how Macartney, without any engineering training, could run an arsenal and gun foundry. But if he had no training he taught himself a great deal, and he developed an innate natural skill in engineering matters. He invented a really remarkable electrical aneroid and chronometer combined while at Nanking. At another time he devised the works of a clock on original lines, and although not an engineer he was very skilful at engineering, and the bulk of the arms and

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munitions he turned out at Nanking was regarded by European experts as first-rate.

Before this journey could be undertaken a very important matter had to be settled. For some time Macartney's relations with his coadjutor, Lieu Taotai (not the same man as the one mentioned in the diary at Tientsin), had been strained and disagreeable. On his return from the North an open rupture ensued, and while Lieu made unscrupulous representations to Li Hung Chang about Macartney, Macartney rejoined by declaring in his representations to the Viceroy that either he or Lieu must go. I find in his diary the following entry : "Lieu became quite furious, more like a wild beast than a man, when I denied him the copy of the dispatch sent to the Viceroy yesterday. I never saw him in such a state before, excepting during his insane fits."

The dispatch in question was an important detailed description of the work of the arsenal, and explained the causes of the deterioration in the quality of the products:—

"7th April, 1873.

"In December last, when I had the honour of an audience of Y. E. at Pau ting foo, Y. E., alluding to ammunition made at Nankin, demanded from me the reason why, instead of improving as time advanced, it was unable to maintain the former reputation which it had earned. I would fain have avoided explanation, and taking the blame on my shoulders returned to Nankin, and with renewed effort endeavoured to improve on what was defective. But on further consideration, feeling that all my efforts in this direction would be futile unless certain alterations were made in the management of the arsenal, at the next interview I had with Y. E. I informed Y. E. that it arose from the inattention of the Chinese to the advice of their foreign instructors, and that unless some change took place in the management of the arsenal the evil would not only continue but increase.

"It would have been easy for me to have shown that the evils complained of were unavoidable in the present state of matters, but fearing to compromise my colleague by

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doing so, I contented myself with merely stating the cause in a general way. Y. E.'s mention of the inferiority of the things now produced by the arsenal was not the first information I had had of the fact, and though I felt acutely the just censure you passed on them, it was no more than I had felt over and over again on discovering them myself. I was also deterred by the thought that, though capable of being so easily remedied, it was still beyond my power to do it unless I had more power over the workmen and some way of making them obey orders. On my return to Nankin I faithfully repeated to my colleague not only what Y. E. ordered me to tell him, but also every particular of the several interviews which I had the honour of holding with Y. E. He, instead of thanking me for what little I was able to say in his favour, blamed me for not having said more, and even hinted that I had said things in opposition to him, which Y. E. knows I did not. The result of this has been a state of matters which it would be criminal in me to conceal, because they so much concern the interests of the arsenal.

"I shall one after another take up the principal causes which impede the improvement of the arsenal, and produce the results of which Y. E. with such justice has complained, and I shall begin with my own position in the arsenal. In the commencement Y. E. assigned to me the duty of attending to the work whilst in course of execution. As long as Y. E. was at Soochow, or within easy reach of personal interviews, I had nothing to complain of; my colleague never interfered with it, and what I said was quickly attended to; but after Y. E. was called away to serve in distant places, little by little my duty was interfered with, and practices took root which I could not overcome without risking the friendly relations between me and my colleague. Men were taken from positions to which I had assigned them, whilst others were appointed to them without my consent and sometimes in direct opposition to my wishes. A set of men called Chin Kung were appointed without a single feature to recommend them; their appointment was attended with much injury to the establishment. They made friends and took dislikes to certain workmen, and according as a man happened to belong to the one class or the other, he was rewarded, had his pay cut, or was dismissed altogether. Thus they, instead of I, came to be the real awarders of rewards and punishments. So far has my good opinion of the man not been of service to him in getting promotion,



Photo. Thomson, New Bond Street, London, W.
MACARTNEY'S CHINESE COLLEAGUE AT NANKING



and it has so frequently been the opposite, that I have ceased to make mention of any of whom I thought well, because my approval of his conduct and ability was certain to be turned to his disadvantage.

"I need not show Y. E. the absurdity of making these appointments, for what can be plainer than that it is folly too apparent for a man to superintend what he really does not understand? It is easy for a workman in the presence of such to keep up an appearance of working, and still be doing no more than if he were in his bed. There is no necessity for this when a workman is put on to a job, it is easy to tell whether he has idled or not. The amount done is the measure of his diligence. Let a man feel that your opinion of him depends on this, and that on it depends whether he will be retained or dismissed next month, and there will be little chance of his idling. The workman's mind is kept in a perpetual dread that you may be displeased with the work done, and he consequently more and more exerts himself to produce more. It is different with him when there is a Chin Kung. When the day is finished he ceases to have any fear of questions about the work done, for he can appeal to the fact of the Chin Kung not having found fault with him as a proof that he did not idle. But the Chin Kung was not only objectionable in this way. He sometimes, instead of preventing the men from idling, was the cause of their doing so. I have frequently found one of them surrounded by five or six workmen holding long communications with them. He was flattered by the attention they gave to what he said, and the workmen were of course glad to listen to him instead of plying their tools. This practice has been put a stop to, so I mention it as one of the abuses to which the system is liable. Instead of seeing that the orders I gave were carried out, they in many cases stood in the way. Friends and countrymen were introduced in great numbers. Against this in itself I have nothing to complain, for there is no reason why a Kiangsi man should not be as good a workman as the men of other provinces. It was, however, attended with this inconvenience, that fault could not be found with them without Mr. Lieu considering it as a personal affront offered to himself. Sometimes these men were dishonest and stole things from the arsenal, and though in some cases the parties were well known, those who knew them refused to come forward and accuse them, fearing the consequences to themselves from convicting a relation or tung sheng of the mandarin,

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If these thefts had consisted only of raw material, it would not have been so bad, but they sometimes consisted of parts of the machinery and articles which had just been finished or were in course of formation. Many instances of theft occurred, cases of arsenal goods having been discovered in the shops of the local blacksmiths and brassmen, but I will mention but one. In the . . . moon of . . . year there was taken from the cap-room about 30 lbs. of sheet copper. I had no suspicion of any of the cap manufacturers because they knew that they were accountable for caps and waste copper equivalent to the amount of copper issued. I expected that my colleague would take up the matter, because, being a Chinaman, he could have investigated it with more chance of success than I could have done. After waiting with this object and seeing that he did not, I felt that if such a thing was allowed to go unpunished the thieves would wax bold and take away other things. To be successful it was necessary that my efforts should be kept most secret, so I chose some men from amongst the rest and urged them to the utmost to recover the stolen copper. Each day I received their reports and noted them. After two months' unsuccessful efforts I put all these reports together and determined on pressing a shopman in whose hands some of the copper had been found, but who professed to have forgotten from whom he got it. Thus pressed he stated that it was sold to him by a Kiangsi man, and though he did not know his name, he could identify him from his having subsequently come on several occasions beseeching him to keep the copper hid because I was making the most stringent search for it. Brought to the accused he at once identified the man. I made a prisoner of him until Lieu Taotai should come to the arsenal, when we could consult about punishing him. When he came to the arsenal he sent for the prisoner and without reference to me awarded him a slight beating and discharged him. He then sent for the man who had been mainly instrumental in discovering the thief and abused him as if he had actually been the thief himself. I need not remark that such treatment would have the effect of preventing any workman from assisting in a similar manner in future. Last year when the dismissal of several parties was reported to Y. E. for stealing copper Y. E. commented on the lightness of the punishment, though there were others who were even more to blame because of their position, rank, and their share in the business who got off lighter still, not having even been reported to Y. E.

"Chin Kung men made no pretensions to being tsai hangs, so that they could not judge who amongst the workmen were clever and who were stupid, yet still Mr. Lieu was guided by them in rewarding, punishing, or dismissing the workmen. In this way the Chin Kung became a more influential man than the European workmen, whose good or bad opinion of a workman's abilities made but little difference to him one way or another, excepting when the workman, having been commended by a European, it made a difference to his disadvantage, as it has sometimes done.

"As evidencing the worthlessness of these men in looking after the workmen, I may say I have frequently found workmen asleep. I have seen them smoking in the face of the Chin Kung. The key with which the copper was stolen must have been made under their eyes, and still they knew nothing about it. Copper, iron parts of machinery, have been stolen; in not a single instance of which was the theft discovered by them. Again, they have been seen standing by whilst the workmen were washing preparatory to leaving, although the bell had not gone, and they never checked them, although this was contrary to the rules of the place.

"Then if these men being 'wai hang' cannot guide the workmen; if being 'wai hang' they cannot tell whether the workman is really doing a necessary thing or merely appearing to do so; if the workmen are sometimes to be seen sleeping and smoking their pipes in their presence; if things are stolen, and they are never instrumental in discovering the thief—what use are they? On the contrary, they cause the idleness of the workmen and prevent me from finding fault with the amount of work done.

"Another source of great annoyance to me and loss to the arsenal is the way that the coolies are directed and do their work. Though the number of these is perfectly ample for the work to be done, it is nearly the same as if there were no coolies in the place. Eight times out of ten when they are wanted there are none to be got, and often when they are to be got they are so long in coming that, unable to wait for them, I have had to take the workmen to do the particular act, or otherwise a machine would have to be stopped until they came. When I applied for coolies I meant them to be employed in assisting the workmen to lift heavy things up and down from the machines, and do other kinds of unskilled labour as they were fit for, and thus enable the skilled and highly paid artisans to remain at their work. Instead of this their labour is frittered away I know not how,

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Some would be employed properly enough, others at work they should have nothing to do with, whilst the rest were I know not where. It has sometimes occurred that when coolies were badly wanted in the shop, and could not be found anywhere, I have found them following my chair to see upon whom I called, at other times for hours at a stretch watching my house to see who went in and who came out. I would not have cared about this or mentioned it had it not been that I knew that whilst they were so employed the workmen employed at high wages were doing their work whilst the engineer was away and coal was burning to no purpose. I would not have Y. E. think that I am now speaking of an exceptional case, but one of everyday occurrence; indeed, it is so common, that now, when it is only a lift or a pull at a rope, the coolies are never asked for, because they either cannot be got at all, or in time.

"This is a most important point, one that is the cause of much expense and delay to the arsenal, so I recommend it to Y. E.'s attention. No more coolies are wanted—all that is wanted is a system. They ought not to be employed in business that does not belong to them. They ought to be made to enter the works every morning at the same time as the artisans, and be always ready when called. In such a place there is always something to do in cleaning machinery, cleaning castings, taking the sand out of shells; instead of this they remain in their quarters, sometimes doing nothing at all, other times doing work there which they had carried thither. I have known them thus employed whilst sitting on their beds. I need not say how impossible it is to look after men thus employed or to keep a check on them. This practice is either known to the Chin Kung, or ought to be; if they know it and do not check it it is bad; if they don't it is equally so.

"When last I saw Y. E. I stated that much inconvenience took place owing to the great length of time the boats were in returning from Shanghai with stores; some boats have just returned after being away two months. During all this time the arsenal was deprived of the services of fifty coolies, which were altogether unnecessary. Why were they sent? If to put things on board, was it not foolish to deprive the arsenal of the services of these men during two months, when the wages of a single one would have sufficed to hire coolies at Shanghai? If they are not sent to put the things on board, the number sent is too many to take care of the boat, and in the absence of the Wai Yuin, who does not

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accompany the boats, but comes and goes by steamer, they have every opportunity for carrying on smuggling. There is no room to doubt this because the boats on a late occasion were seized by the Li Kun Chutz, and on being examined were found to contain goods to a large amount—\$1000 it is stated. I cannot vouch for the amount, but can for the fact of which there is "pnau," the circumstance having been reported to the Viceroy.

"It is no part of my design to criminate any one, or to say all that might be said; my wish is simply to show Y. E. the causes which impede the development of the arsenal. Those whom I had instructed in a certain business, and who had become expert in it, have been removed and new men put in their places who know nothing of the things to be attended to, and made them wrong before I had noticed the change. It is easy to instruct a man to do a thing, but what is the use of doing so if as soon as this has been done he is changed for some one else? Who can become responsible under such circumstances?"

"H. M."

Before a reply could arrive to this dispatch Macartney received a request from Li Hung Chang to reply to certain definite charges of high-handed conduct generally, and especially in dismissing a Chinese employé which Lieu had brought against him. Macartney's forcible rejoinder was as follows:—

"NANKIN, 20 April, 1873.

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Y. E.'s dispatch of the — calling for an explanation of the following accusations made against me by my colleague Lieu Taotai. With the exception of the fact itself, the whole story is such a tissue of misrepresentations that it is difficult to understand how it could have been made unless it was intended to mislead. Some parts of it are quite untrue, while in other parts there is such a suppression of truth as to communicate to the circumstance a very erroneous impression of the motives which influenced me in putting away the young man. I have not been shown the correspondence which led Lieu Taotai to make the accusation, and I can only surmise that it arose out of my explanation of the reason why the munitions of war made here are not so good as they ought to be, and as all sides acknowledge

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they once were. If it be meant to show that I already possess the power of dismissal which I informed Y. E. it was necessary that I should have in order to remedy the evil complained of, the circumstances hereafter detailed will show how false it is. If I am correct in thinking that this was the object of L. T. in making the accusation, I hope the following circumstantial account of the affair will show Y. E. how diametrically opposite is my position.

"In the ninth year of T. C. (i.e. 1870) a wrong custom had insidiously crept in of the workmen making hammers and chisels, rules and other little tools constantly in use. Much time and material were lost in this way; each man followed his own fancy in making these things, and often wasted much time in producing a mere toy that would never be useful for anything. But what was worse, the thing being made in this clandestine manner remained in the possession of the maker, on whom there was no check for it had not been stolen. When tools which had been issued to the men in the regular manner often disappeared, it is not likely that the same should not occur to those of which there was no account. I had often found fault with the men for this clandestine manufacture of little things, and was determined to put a stop to it. I state this minutely, because it was the cause which led to the dismissal of Shen chow foo's son. On the afternoon of Saturday the 10th of the seventh moon of the ninth year of T. C. I was going through the moulding shop when I observed young Shen sitting on a box filing a hammer, which the blacksmiths had made for him at his own request. I told him to leave off, and asked him if he did not know of the order against workmen making their own tools. I pointed out to him that while he was so employed his moulding working was standing still, and that through his being a moulder and unacquainted with a fitter's business, he could neither make such a good hammer or such a cheap one as if a fitter had been employed on it. I repeated to him the order I had before given that if he was short of any tool he was to report the circumstance, and, if it was necessary, one would be made for him and issued to him after it had been included in the list of tools belonging to the moulding shop. The lad left off working at the hammer and set about his proper business of moulding, but the next morning when I entered the shop I found he was sitting on his box and engaged as before. I spoke more roughly to him this time, and again he put aside the hammer and commenced his work.

On account of this inattention to my command, I had my doubts as to whether he would not resume it again, so in the afternoon of the same day suddenly entered the moulding shop and found him engaged as on the two former occasions. Lieu Taotai was sick at the time, or I would have sent him to be punished by him, so I ordered him to come with me to be punished at my office. He refused to come along, and was so obstinate that, after punishing him with fifty, I ordered him to leave the arsenal.

"I was sorry at being compelled to do this, and if I could have got out of it in any other way I would not have done so; but I had been so obstinately defied and set at naught that I had no other alternative. Lieu Tajen has imputed my action to my listening to a one-sided story reported to me by some European, whereas the circumstances were exactly as I have stated them. There was not even a European in the building, or at work in the arsenal, when any part of what I have related took place—for being Saturday afternoon when I first found fault with him, they had all, according to the usage of the arsenal and other places, left off for the day. The second and third times occurred, as I have said, on Sunday, when, as Y. E. is aware, the Europeans do not work at all. So far, indeed, were the Europeans from influencing me in the matter, one of them actually came to me the next day and interceded for the lad's being received back. I did not need to be supplicated to favour, for I was but too much inclined to favour him of my own accord. This disposition towards the lad did not arise from the regret of losing a clever hand, for in spite of what Lieu Taotai stated on this head, he was not a skilled moulder, or anything but a raw apprentice, as Y. E. will easily believe when I state that when dismissed he had only been ten months engaged in the business of sand-moulding, whereas in Europe years are considered to be required to learn the trade. What, then, was the cause of my regret at losing the lad, and of the preference for him shown by the foreign workmen? It was due entirely to the activity and willingness of the lad. The European moulder said he was so different to most of the men who wrought together with him.

"Supposing that he had been the skilled hand represented by L. T., I would have acted just as I did. It was necessary to make an example of a man who so daringly challenged my authority. I felt so strongly on the point that I stated at the time I could not hear of his coming back,

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and would rather request Y. E. to appoint me to something else sooner than brook it. I did this because I knew attempts would be made to restore him to his situation on the return of Mr. Lieu. The lad tarried about Nankin for some time in the hope that Lieu Tajen might reinstate him, but was disappointed in this, for L. T., when he regained his health and resumed his place in the arsenal, gave him to understand that he could not. Being a native of Woosih, the lad returned to his home, and was engaged in the cultivation of the family lands.

"After he had been thus engaged for several months, his father, who is the head Chinese moulder in the arsenal, came to me and represented that his son, being thus occupied, could not bring in so much money as before, and that consequently the family was less comfortable. He therefore prayed me to give him a letter of recommendation to some one in Shanghai, where he might be employed in his profession. Shen chow foo was the man who assisted me to make the first shell which was ever made in China—the one I made preparatory to Y. E. sanctioning the establishment of this arsenal. Not only on account of this, but on account of his being in every way a good man, I was anxious to assist him, especially in remedying, as far as he was concerned, what with so much reluctance I had been compelled to do; so I gave him a letter, which resulted in his son's being in the first moon of the tenth year employed by the firm of — of Pootung. In this letter I explained how reluctant I had been to put away the lad, and how willingly I would have re-employed him had it not been for the necessity of setting an example. I said I would look upon his employment by them as a favour done to myself, and that they could pay him what was right. What he was employed at I never asked and never knew until that matter was brought up by L. T.

"I have now laid before Y. E. the whole account of the circumstance, without in the slightest degree distorting or suppressing it.

"Y. E. will observe that it differs very materially from that given by L. T. In the first place, in the dismissal being my own act, committed in the absence of L. T. It cannot therefore be proof of his attention to my wishes. Secondly, it did not occur in consequence of my attending to the one-sided statement of any Europeans, because they interceded for him and the whole affair came under my own observation. In the third place, the lad was not a skilled hand sand

moulder, as asserted by L. T., but only an apprentice of ten months, and if he received more wages in Shanghai than he got in Nankin, that only proves what every one knows, that wages of all kinds are higher there because living is so. In the last place, he was not recommended to Chang San immediately after being dismissed from Nankin, but after he had been for months labouring in the fields about his own home, and then it was only at the earnest intercession of his father that I gave the letter which got him into employment. These facts were either within the knowledge or within the reach of my colleague when he made the accusation, and I cannot understand why he should not have stated them rather than make a statement which, as I have said before, is true only in the general, false in its particulars, and glaringly so in the impression it is calculated to leave on the reader of it.

"I am very grateful for the opportunity which Y. E. has given me of answering these charges, the more so because I have sometimes thought that statements have been made to my disadvantage without my ever having an opportunity of replying, though I might perhaps have done so as successfully as I hope I have done in this. I have received so many favours from Y. E. that I am emboldened to ask you to request from me an explanation of any other thing which has been reported to you and that requires explanation.

"I remain, Your Excellency's
"Most obedient, humble servant,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The next reference to the subject is in a letter to Mr. Edgeworth Starkey, a friend then and still residing in Chin-kiang. It is dated 24 May, and is to the following effect :—

"I have requested Li to remove either me or my mandarin colleague from the arsenal because I will not work in conjunction with him or continue in charge of it. This may stand in the way of my getting away, though I continue to hope to the contrary."

The dispatch mentioned contained the following paragraph :—

"Y. E. did me the honour to consult me as to whether it would be necessary to appoint some one to act in my place

[REDACTED]

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during my absence. When at P. I would have said without hesitation that there was no reason for suspicion, but since then things have so changed that I can no longer say so. I have by this opportunity laid before Y. E. a statement of how matters stand, and the arrangements to be made will depend on whether Y. E. removes me or L.; but in either case, I think it would be well to send some one that he may begin to learn. Should Y. E. refuse my request, I think I may say that for the short time I shall be away you need have no apprehension. I have made arrangements for the casting of the large guns. I have got the Krupp shell all in course, so that all that will be necessary will be to keep the men to their work and let things go on as at present. There need be no fear about the Europeans. In the early days of the arsenal, when Europeans had to be engaged in Shanghai and when you had to take what you could get instead of selecting what suited you, there might have been difficulty, but since Y. E. sanctioned my employing men from England this has been different, and the present set of men are, whether as regards ability or orderliness, the best I have had.

"The work they know, and only require to be allowed to do it."

One of Lieu's suggestions to Li Hung Chang had been that a Chinese mandarin should accompany Macartney on his European tour in order to watch and report on his doings. Li Hung Chang seems to have been caught by the idea, but Macartney was much too clever to play the game into his enemy's hands by offering opposition to the proposal. On the contrary, he affected to welcome it and to point out the arguments in its favour, as the reader will be able to judge from the following passages of his letter to Li on the subject:—

"I was glad to hear of Y. E.'s intention of sending a mandarin with me to Europe, as whatever may be your object in doing so it cannot but be attended with the best results. If he make a special study of arsenals his experience will afterwards be of the greatest value, for he will not only learn something connected with manufactures, but will also learn somewhat of the system on which these places are conducted with such economy and success. This is a thing

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of much importance now that these places are becoming so great and their expenditure so considerable. I have no hesitation in saying that under a proper system such as he will observe, their expenditure could be reduced very much, for it is due to good management alone that European ammunition is made so cheap that, after paying higher wages to the workman than we pay, and after all the expenses of such a long carriage, it is still cheaper than we can make it.

"With regard to the expenses, these will depend on the number of countries visited and the amount of places visited in each, together with the style to be kept up, for in Europe, as in China, it is possible to do things in different ways. The number of Chinese who have gone to Europe is still so small that it is scarcely possible for a mandarin to travel in a private capacity ; he must, therefore, for the credit of the country which sends him, spend more and live in a higher style than otherwise would have been necessary. To enable me to give a correct estimate, I have endeavoured to get some particulars as to the expenses of Pin tajen, who went to Europe some time ago. He was about the same rank, and his expenses would have been somewhat about what ours will be.

"I have been disappointed in this expectation, but as I am going to Shanghai to-morrow I may be able to obtain some information, and will write immediately from thence. In the meantime, I enclose an estimate of what I think would be sufficient to do the six months' journey in a simple and unostentatious manner. The course I intend pursuing, if it harmonises with the business of my colleague, is to go to England via Japan and America. In England I would visit the Government Arsenal for making guns, small arms, and chemicals, together with the works of Armstrong and Whitworth and the steel works of Bessemer. In France I would visit Paris and the principal Government arsenals. In Prussia, the works of Krupp, etc., and then go on to the Vienna exhibition, which is to conclude with trials of ammunition and arms of all countries. As Austria is convenient for joining the return route, I would not again return to England, but from that country set out for Suez.

"Though it is not indispensable, it would much contribute to our opportunities of observation if the ministers at Pekin of those countries were informed of our intention to visit their arsenals. In this way we shall have passed seven countries and passed round the world and picked up an

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amount of information with which I hope to show my gratitude."

The following letter records the result of the duel with Lieu—a signal victory for Macartney :—

"**MY DEAR MR. COWIE,** "NANKIN, 18th June, 1873.

"You will be glad to hear that I have been successful in turning Lieu Taotai out of the arsenal. The struggle was a hard one, for he fought me with tooth and nail, endeavouring to the best of his ability to strengthen his position by raising up amongst the mandarins the antipathies against the foreigner of which they are all so susceptible.

"During my absence at Shanghai he forged a key of the lock which I keep on the arsenal seal. What do you think of that being done by a mandarin holding the rank of Taotai? His successor is Toan-seou-hoo, an able and good man, whose father made a name amongst the Ningpo mandarins. Yang ching tuh will know him either personally or by reputation.

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

Among other matters, Macartney was very much interested in the development of trade with the Upper Yangtse, above Hankow and Ichang. The following letter from a gentleman entrusted with a photographing mission, subsidised through Macartney's influence by the Viceroy, is an interesting early reference to the grand future that still has to be realised on the Upper Yangtse :—

"**DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,** "HANKOW, July 17th, 1873.

"I will take my chance of your getting this note before you leave the Celestial Empire for the old country, just to inform you of my safe return from the Rapids, and after the most fatiguing and troublesome journey that could possibly be taken. You must have some idea of what a Chinese mob is, and I will now back my experience against that of any one else past, present, or in the future. My journey up was by the Tun-ting Lake and the Typing Canal, returning the whole way by the river. In many of the

towns and villages the people were very quiet, but all the cities supplied a most ruffianly concourse of gaping bipeds who showed most decided anti-foreign feeling, and I think it was most fortunate that, owing to your kindness, I was provided with such an excellent passport, or I might have fared badly enough. On two occasions I was obliged to ask the mandarins for a couple of their men to guard the horrid dark chair, and even with this precaution it nearly got pulled to pieces. I have it patched up, but the Celestials have destroyed its beauty, and I fear Mr. Saunders will grieve over its veteran and melancholy appearance. Owing to this huge encumbrance I was but enabled to get views along the river bank, and in consequence the views give but a poor idea of the truly beautiful country above Ichang. The time of year also was not the best, as the rapids were changed by the high water to an ordinary appearance, but rushing very swift and fearfully strong. If ever Ichang is opened up to foreigners it will be a beautiful residence, and, judging from the nature of the country, a very healthy place too—in fact, not at all a likely place for an M.D.

"The tis. 200 you paid me on behalf of the Viceroy sold for tis. 203 Shanghai, and I have so advised Mr. Saunders. I hope your projected trip to old England will enable you to return to Nanking invigorated in mind and body, so that if I have the pleasure to again sit at the same board with you, we can recommence our arguments and adjust our differences to our mutual satisfaction, which if not logical, is at least the most pleasant.

"Yours truly,

"Dr. Macartney,

"Nankin."

"D. K. GRIFFITHS.

On the departure of Lieu, Macartney completed his arrangements for his visit to Europe, and it is hardly necessary to say that no Chinese colleague was appointed to accompany and embarrass him. He left enough work in hand at the arsenal to keep the staff employed during his six months' absence, and he impressed on his new mandarin colleague, Toan, that all that had to be done was to maintain the general discipline of the establishment and to leave the artisans to their set tasks.

When these details were arranged and all impediments

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seemed removed, an accident nearly put an end to the projected trip, and to Macartney's own career. On the 24th July, whilst mixing or examining a composition for a fulminate, an explosion occurred, and Macartney was seriously injured in the face. His escape was a narrow one, and one of the curious after-effects of the injury was the in-growing of the eyelashes, which threatened to impair the sight.

Mr. Starkey supplies me with a very graphic account of this accident :—

“ In the year 1873 he was experimenting with a new fulminate for percussion caps in his little laboratory at the arsenal. The stuff suddenly exploded, and he was severely burned about the chest and face. He must have carried the scars to the grave. One eye was badly injured, and for some weeks it was feared he would lose his sight. Being very hot summer weather he was in jersey and trousers ; the former garment was burned off, and he was in a most pitiable state, with no one to help. There was, of course, no doctor in Nanking in those days. He scribbled a line in pencil and sent it down to me at Chinkiang asking for cotton, oil, etc. For some time his life was despaired of. I heard this afterwards, as in his usual stoical way he made light of the affair. But his fine constitution and indomitable will pulled him through.

“ As illustrative of the reckless ignorance of the Chinese, Mac told me that, notwithstanding his recent dangerous experience, some of his assistants attempted to experiment with the same fulminate. He had previously strongly dissuaded them from handling it, but in vain. He, however, insisted that they should conduct their work in a building separated from the arsenal in case of another explosion. They had been in this building but a few minutes before the stuff exploded. Most of the young men were killed, and he described the spectacle of the others running about screaming, with their flesh hanging in shreds, as one of the most awful in his life.”

Still, the accident, as it turned out, was not of a gravity to prevent his journey, and in its consequences it rather tended to hasten his departure so that he might have skilled advice on the subject of his injury in England with as little

delay as possible. The matter is referred to in a letter to Mr. James Borland, written from Edinburgh on 23 November, 1873, from which the following passage is taken :—

"I have been here since Thursday evening. Yesterday I submitted to a slight operation on one of my eyes, which consisted in taking the eyelashes growing inwards, and drawing them through small holes made in the skin close to their roots, so as to alter their direction and prevent them from sweeping over the eyeball and irritating it. Dr. Argyll Robertson, who performed the operation, regretted that I had any eyelashes extracted in London, for it prevented him from making a cure of the evil at one sitting. I am not, however, like Dr. R., apprehensive of the eyelashes returning and bothering me. I think their abnormal direction was merely the result of the spasmodic closure of the eyes at the time of the accident, and when those which Critchett took out grow again they will take their natural position."

There is no need to linger over the return to Europe, which he had left fifteen years before. Taking his daughter with him for the purpose of leaving her at a school in England, he sailed from Shanghai on 1 September, 1873, reaching Marseilles on 17 October. He then proceeded to Vienna, where an exhibition was being held in which one of the most important sections was devoted to military armaments. At the end of the month he was in London, and after a few days' stay there he travelled on to Scotland to see his parents. For two months he made his headquarters at Auchencairn, making occasional visits to the North of England to inspect iron and steel works, and then early in February, having completed the serious part of his mission by entering into relations with some of the large exporters of machinery and metals for the purpose of enlarging the scope of the Chinese arsenals, he again turned his face eastwards, reaching Shanghai on 18 March, 1874, and Nanking a week later, after an absence of nearly seven months.

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During his absence more had happened than he seemed at first to have realised, for a systematic plot had been set on foot to undermine his position and supplant him in the direction of the arsenal. The two communications I am about to quote give his first impressions, and show that he did not at once perceive that Toan was playing the same game as Lieu had done previously. That the English workmen had got a little out of hand, too, while he was away is not surprising, and the following reprimand speaks for itself :—

“NANKIN, 16th April, 1874.

“MR. GREEN,

“Please intimate to your brother and Mr. Reid that they are on no account to leave the arsenal after coming in at noon and morning until the regular hour for leaving off work. This intimation is made in consequence of the mandarin having again complained to me of the frequency with which Mr. Reid goes back to his room during working hours. I much regret Mr. Reid’s having given grounds for these complaints, especially as I had, through you, so recently spoken to him about leaving his work, and trust this will be the last time I shall have to speak to him on the subject.

“Though I spend nearly as many hours within the arsenal as any of you, it is not once in six months that I have occasion to go out for any of the purposes which might be alleged by Mr. Reid as requiring him to visit his quarters.

“Yours truly,

“HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

A more general statement is contained in a letter to a Shanghai merchant, dated Nankin, 6th May, 1874 :—

“NANKIN, 6th May, 1874.

“I had a fine passage out, and found on my arrival at Nankin that in my absence things had gone much as I had anticipated they would. The Europeans and the mandarins had of course come to loggerheads, but that was to be expected when there was no buffer between them. The opening of the Chin Kiang coal mines, which was anticipated would come off soon after my return to China, has been

indefinitely postponed owing to a popular opposition instigated by a few of the so-called literates who instead of being a blessing are a curse to the country; but the prejudices against mining are not general in China, for in some provinces coal, iron and other minerals are freely excavated. This is the case with Gnanhwei and Kiangsi, two provinces under the same Viceroy as that of Kiangsu, where the stupid opposition above alluded to occurred.

"My mandarin colleague and some other influential officials possess property in Gnanhwei which produces good iron.¹ They are anxious to turn it to account. Besides this the Government entertains the idea of making the mineral wealth of the country pay for the greatly increased Military expenditure which the general use of European war material now necessitates. They think the arsenals might work the mines so as to supply their own wants besides throwing as much material into the market as would defray their working expenses. It will probably be some time before their expectations are realised; but be that as it may, they are prepared to make the attempt, and I have been asked to see what it would cost to commence iron manufacture on the smallest scale that it could be made to pay. I have told them this would require 100,000 taels, and they are disposed to go to that amount if inquiry should prove the correctness of this opinion. In coming to my conclusions, I am mainly influenced by the opinion expressed by Truren in his great work on Iron Manufacture, page 251, to the effect that iron-works on a proper basis can be established at a cost of £20,000 for any blast furnace employed."

Incompetent Chinese workmen had also been employed, and in a complaint to Toan he declared that "they had broken more machinery in two months than had been done in the previous ten years."

A few weeks after his return Macartney was summoned to Tientsin by Li Hung Chang to give an account of his mission. He found there his Chinese colleague Toan, and

¹ These expectations proved illusory. In July and again in September Macartney employed an European engineer with recent experience in Japan to prospect for iron and coal. The only discovery made was a carbonaceous shale of no use except for the burning of limestone. It is described in another passage as "very worthless."

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other Chinese connected with the arsenal. There are some entries in the diary on the subject, and there is no doubt that Macartney returned from his visit a little discouraged and disconcerted by Li Hung Chang's somewhat chilly reception. There was clearly something in the wind, but what?

The diary contains the following entries :—

“ 1874.

“ *June 19th.*—Saw the Viceroy to-day, and fully discussed sundry matters connected with arsenal. Toan-seou-hoo was in an inner room listening. I went on as if unconscious of his proximity. Told Governor of the purchase by me of cap copper, foil machines, cartridge machinery. Told him that he would be better without a single European in the arsenal if Ting lai wun was retained. Exposed some of the mistakes of Toan, Ting, and Wang, and defended the Europeans against certain statements adverse to them that had been made by certain persons. I asked him to demand from me an explanation regarding anything with which he was dissatisfied, assuring him that he would find my excuse as ready and as satisfactory as those given by me in the case of the Lieu-tso-yu accusations. I informed the Governor that I would leave Tientsin on Sunday morning in the *Shansi* steamer.

“ *June 20th.*—Called upon Lieu Sheang-ling, and tried the caps brought from Nankin ; they pierced 8 thicknesses of paper. Found one of his people had spoiled the torpedo connections of No. 1 Torpedo. Talked over with him about cartridge-making machinery ; told him it would cost in England about 11,000 taels, and would arrive about end of year. Got from him sample of Gatling cartridge, American pattern. Loh-tsing wants some more battery cells and some torpedo connections, also some gun-slides.

“ Called upon Toan-seou-hoo, and told him I would leave to-morrow in the *Shansi*. Told him what I had arranged with Governor and Lun shang tung about cartridges and cartridge machinery. Some small recapping machines wanted.

“ Wang Yang-tsung called again.

“ Charles Hill told me of the application made to him by Li's secretary and Lun-shang-tung for commission on the dredging machine about to be bought. He said Sung

Tautai and Lieu-tze-tsien were partners in the houses of Dias and Nils Muller, now Lieu had changed to Peilo Krupp's agent."

His suspense as to what was coming was not of long duration. Writing to his friend, Mr. T. Kingsmill, on 30 July, 1874, he said :—

"I received a dispatch from Li the other day that has annoyed me much. It proposes the withdrawal of the soldiers I have always had to attend upon me, and accuses me of being ambitious and usurping, besides being disinclined to allow the Chinese to learn.

"It orders me to make arrangements to get on with one¹ European, who being approved of by Toan is to be bound by an agreement to serve for a certain number of years. Clauses are to be inserted authorising his salary to be cut in the event of his not giving satisfaction. I wonder where we shall find a man who will submit to this. I am preparing my reply. I will neither submit to the withdrawal nor reduction of my guard. Neither will I undertake the responsibility of conducting the work with only one European. Don't mention this matter to any one."

Macartney's reply to Li Hung Chang's dispatch was first a dignified but unsparing denunciation of the charges brought against him, an and exposure of the methods of his Chinese colleagues ; and, secondly, his formal resignation of his post. The first document, although written at the end of August, was not forwarded to the Viceroy until the second, dated 19 November, was drawn from him by the personal affront, against which its writer indignantly and with all his force protests.

"NANKIN, 24th August, 1874.

"To His Excellency,

"The Viceroy of Chihli, etc., etc.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"On the 27th July I had the honour to receive the dispatch which your Excellency addressed to me on the subject of arsenal management, and was exceedingly sorry

¹ The permanent staff was composed of four Europeans and two hundred Chinese.

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to find that I had incurred your Excellency's displeasure, besides grieved to think that after spending so many years in your service your Excellency should still know so little of my true character as to think me capable of the charges imputed to me, a wilful and fixed determination not to impart instruction to the workmen serving under me, for you not only blame me because of the backwardness of the artisans engaged in the arsenal, but state that this is the result of my desire to keep them in a state of ignorance. If it should be asked how otherwise account for the fact first reported by me to your Excellency, viz. that in the whole arsenal there are not more than ten men who have any title to be called mechanics, I reply, that if I had had the entire management of the personnel of the arsenal that question might be asked with some justice, but as I had not it fails to be apposite.

"When I had the honour of an audience with your Excellency at Pautingfoo in 1872, I informed your Excellency that, with the exception of the Kiangpeh men sent to learn engineering in 1866, there were almost no others who could really be considered as mechanics. Your Excellency was justly annoyed and much disappointed on hearing this, and demanded to know the reason of it. I was unwilling to enter into a full explanation of the causes which led to this, and merely stated that it arose from the inattention of the Chinese workmen to the instructions of the foreigners engaged to teach them. All that time the arsenal was filled with the friends and relations of the mandarin superintendent, who worked or stood still just as they pleased. Some of them were quite incapable of doing anything on account of their not being tradesmen at all. Every department was hampered by these men, but the Chinese foremen in charge feared to complain of their inefficiency, because the mandarin superintendent invariably took their part and discouraged their being reported to him. So much was this the case that even when valuable parts of machinery had been stolen and sold for old metal, the subordinate departmental overseers refused to tell, although they knew quite well who had taken them.

"But it was not only the nepotism of the mandarin that produced and encouraged inefficiency, the Chin Kung also had their favourites and enemies among the workmen, and the mandarin being much guided by them they exercised a more powerful influence on the advancement of the men than the foreign foreman whose duty it was to

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report on their conduct and capability. In this way it frequently occurred that the best men were kept in subordinate situations, whilst the most indolent and undeserving were advanced in pay and position. But it was not only the opinion of the foreign foreman that was sacrificed to the opinion of the Chin Kung, for it more than once occurred that mine met a similar fate, and so well was the disposition of the mandarin to disregard my nominations understood by the workmen, that it has on several occasions happened that when my intention to recommend a deserving workman for promotion has become known to him he has besought me not to do it lest instead of doing him good it might do him harm. With such a state of matters was it strange that men did not learn? I was reluctant at the time alluded to, to make all this known to your Excellency, fearing to criminate my mandarin colleague and breed dissensions between him and me that might make matters worse than they were. But as things could not be allowed to go on in this unsatisfactory manner, I proposed to your Excellency a measure which, in my opinion, would have entirely remedied the evil. That was that the Chinese workmen, whilst continuing to be engaged and paid by the mandarin superintendent, should only be retained and dismissed by me. With such a power it would be my own blame if good men were ever allowed to leave without sufficient reason, or bad and inefficient ones were retained to obstruct the work of the arsenal and set a bad example to their fellows. Though your Excellency justly concurred in thinking that I could not properly be made responsible for the work of the arsenal unless I had some real power over the workmen, and agreed to invest me with the power asked for, it is well known that, owing to the train of circumstances which afterwards occurred, nothing was done with that result. I was in hopes by this expedient of pursuing the friendly relations which had so long existed between the mandarin superintendent and myself, and which it was so necessary for me to maintain on account of the difficulty which I, being a foreigner, would have in carrying on a correspondence against him, or in avoiding being made a victim to the misrepresentations of him and his friends. My endeavours to avoid a rupture with Lieu Tajen were unavailing. I was compelled to report to your Excellency the irregularities, to some of which I have above alluded. An inquiry was made into the truth of my statements and in every case they were substantiated. Lieu Tajen

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was removed from the arsenal, and Toan Tajen was sent to replace him. All this is on record, and being so, it was not without astonishment and surprise that I read in the dispatch under acknowledgment, the words, 'if you really meant your foreign employés to instruct the Chinese workmen, how comes it that after so many years they are still unable to do without foreign assistance?' Methinks with all the circumstances which have been placed on record before us, reasons might have been found without imputing to me unworthy motives. Again, it seems to have been overlooked by your Excellency that although the arsenal has been over ten years in existence the men engaged in it have not been necessarily all that time under instruction. As a matter of fact they are comparatively few who have been in it since the commencement, the greater number having been changed over and over again many times.

"Under these circumstances is it more reasonable to look for apt mechanics than it would be to look for ripe scholars in a school that, though opened for many years, has had its pupils changed at every term? In Europe an apprenticeship of seven years is considered necessary to learn the profession of an engineer, and after that years of experience must elapse before a man can be called a skilled mechanic. The Kiangpeh men, whom your Excellency deputed to the arsenal in 1866, are good mechanics and, as I have said, comprise almost all the men in it who can justly be called so. This is not because they are men superior in ability to the others, neither is it because of their having received any special attention, for they have had no instruction or advantages to which the others had not access in equal degree. As regarding them no charge could be brought against the Europeans for unwillingness to teach them, because they *have* been taught and are good mechanics. The only cause of their excellence is their never having been changed. If the other men had been retained in the same manner your Excellency would now have no occasion to lament the fewness of your skilled hands. Whether you would be able with them to carry on *efficiently* the business of the arsenal unassisted by Europeans is another question, and one that may be doubted, since Russia and some other European countries, whose people are at least as clever as the Chinese, cannot yet dispense with the services of Englishmen and Frenchmen in their manufacturing establishments. If this be the case with countries whose people have been reared amidst machinery and whose education has[adapted

them for understanding the principles of its construction, I am afraid your Excellency is premature in thinking the Chinese can conduct things effectively without foreign assistance. Your Excellency must be aware of this because it cannot have escaped your penetrating mind that when you have inquired into anything, even the simplest matters connected with foreign engineering, gunnery, or war material, you have found there were principles connected with them which required an effort from even the highest minds to comprehend them.

"Returning to the subject of my alleged unwillingness to instruct, I am at a loss to understand how, in the face of so many facts to the contrary, it can be advanced, or what other means of instruction there exist other than those adopted. Are not the things manufactured in the arsenal made by Chinese hands directed by foreign instructors, and is there any better method of teaching an art than that of actually causing the pupil to engage in the practice of it? The master might talk for ever about how the pupil should hold his pen and move his hand, but unless he compelled him to put his teachings into effect he would never be able to write a line. In the arsenal, from its commencement, it has always been my custom to cause anything new to be first done by a foreigner, and afterwards continued by a Chinese who had been set to watch him. If the first efforts of a learner were successful, the work was accepted, if not, it was rejected; and other defects having been pointed out to the pupil, he was ordered to do it over again. This is analogous to the master giving a theme to the pupil correcting his mistakes and making him write it over and over again until it is perfect. I know no other means of so effectively communicating instruction; no other method is employed in the foreign engineering establishments at Shanghai, which still succeed in teaching Chinese to become very fair artisans.

"I am surprised that the subject of compounding combustible stores should in particular be mentioned as one in which I had manifested a desire to withhold instruction, and assure your Excellency that there is no ground for the charge, and that those who represented it to your Excellency must either have known nothing about the matter or been guilty of wilful misrepresentation. I can speak with the greatest confidence on account of the instructions on this branch of manufacture having always been delivered by me personally, for this being a section of arsenal work which

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is quite distinct from engineering, the men engaged by me being simply engineers knew nothing about it.

"The proper manufacture of these stores being a most important thing, no pains have been spared by me in order to teach it thoroughly. I have over and over again explained to the men engaged in making them the principles to be observed, and endeavoured to arrange things so that the chain of men employed in the different processes might be a check on each other, and I have also issued such tools to them to work with as would make it almost impossible for them to make a mistake unwittingly. Unless this were done there would be no guarantee for the work being honestly performed, for the nature of the work makes detection impossible, no amount of inspection, nor indeed any means short of trial by combustion, being capable of discovering whether a fraud has been committed or not. However effectual, this method for obvious reasons can only be performed in a comparatively small number of cases. In order, also, that the men might from time to time be able to verify the equality of their manufactures, I have erected apparatus for testing it. I have, in short, spared no pains in order to make the workmen conversant with their duties, and the produce of the department as effective as possible.

"With regard to the compositions themselves, in nearly every instance for several years they have been made by Chinese themselves, with only an occasional glance from me to ensure their being all right. From all this it will be obvious to your Excellency how untrue it is to say that instruction in this department has been either superficial or neglected.

"I have an exception to make to the rule above alluded to, the making of rocket composition having always been entrusted to the Europeans, never on account of there being anything secret about it, but on account of the importance of the work and the great expense which it would have involved in order to try them in such numbers as would have been required to keep a check on their mode of preparation. During the time I was in England last year, Ting lai wun asked the European entrusted with this duty what the rocket composition consisted of, but did not receive it, the European stating that although he was quite willing to communicate it to Toan tajen, he could not give it to him. Perhaps it was this circumstance which, being misrepresented to your Excellency, led to the charge of wishing to conceal from the Chinese a knowledge of the compositions

in general. The European, Green, had no other reason for adopting the course he did than a desire to mark his displeasure on account of the overbearing manner in which Ting had conducted himself to Europeans as well as Chinese from the first day he entered the arsenal. I say to Europeans and Chinese, for he has behaved as rudely to the one as to the other. The workmen are almost universally disaffected towards him, and as showing this I may mention that on my return from Tientsin in July last I found a great many of the best workmen, including the Kiangpeh men, in open mutiny against him, standing round the doors of the arsenal and refusing to enter and commence work. I need not enter into any particulars with regard to this, as they have doubtless already been fully reported to your Excellency.

"It was simply on account of this that Green refused the information requested, for he knew it would have been in vain for him to conceal a knowledge of the rocket composition, because, the materials employed being all received from the stores, any one could have ascertained the proportions employed by merely adding up the issues that had been made of salt, sulphur, etc. Besides, there are so many other means of obtaining any given receipt that it would be futile in any one endeavouring to conceal it; and, again, the knowledge of this is such an insignificant part of what is required to be known in order to succeed, that no one but a person altogether ignorant of the subject would attach such importance to the mere knowledge of it. To know the component parts of any particular substance is one thing, and to be able to arrange them so as to form it is another, as any one would soon find were he to endeavour to make Krupp's steel if he knew no more than that it consisted of such and such proportions of carbon and iron.

"In reply to what your Excellency says about the uselessness of the foreign artisans employed by me, I have nothing to add or subtract from what I said about them in my dispatch of 23 April, 1873, and again repeated in my interview with your Excellency in Tientsin in July last. I assure your Excellency that the reports you have heard to their disparagement are without the slightest foundation. I mention this not only with regard to the two men W. and John Green still employed in the arsenal, but also with regard to the other two men, Lyon and Reid, who soon after I left for England last year were reported to your Excellency and recommended to be dismissed by the mandarin superintendent. Lyon, the American, was a good

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man for all kinds of small work. Originally he had an engineering establishment of his own, employing no less than forty workmen, but in consequence of a fire by which it was burned down he was compelled to go abroad and work for others. Mr. Fails, who for many years was the manager of the Shanghai Arsenal, having been an apprentice of his, he came to China and obtained employment in the establishment, when, owing to his aptitude for small work, Fung tajen employed him for several years in the musket department. Surely Lyon must have had some ability or he could never in a country like America, so famed for its engineers, have risen to that position he once held. He could not have been so useless as he was represented to your Excellency, otherwise Fung tajen would not have retained him so long. Reid, the other man who has been lately dismissed, was, without exception, the best general moulder that ever wrought in the Nankin Arsenal. He introduced many improvements into it, but in particular one by which the consumption of fuel for drying moulds was reduced to less than one-half of what had formerly been required. This may be proved by an examination of the amount of charcoal required now and previous to his being engaged in 1872. Besides, it is on record, having been reported to your Excellency towards the end of that year.

"I was exceedingly sorry that after your Excellency had been at the trouble of coming out to personally witness the working of the Gatling guns they should have acted so imperfectly, but would beg your Excellency in judging them not to forget that they were the first attempts made in China to manufacture them, and that from the number of their parts, 260 in all, it is a matter of extreme difficulty to ensure their working at all satisfactorily; the over screwing of a bolt, a little rust or viscosity in the oil, being capable of rendering them temporarily unserviceable.

"The two Gatling guns sent back here have not yet arrived at the arsenal, but there is not the slightest doubt that they can be made to work all right, and that without much trouble. Two others have since my return been finished. A few days ago they were tried in the presence of Toan tajen, when they fired, the one sixty-five and the other eighty rounds, in very quick succession, and without the slightest hitch or stoppage. On examining the empty cases, however, the men found among them several cartridges which, either from something defective in them or from the weakness of the lock springs, had not gone off. These amounted to

nine in all, three belonging to the lot of sixty-five and six to that of eighty-one. The two guns, with those returned from Tientsin, when thoroughly overhauled, will be sent to Tient-sin for trial and examination. The parts of three others are well advanced, one of them being complete in all its parts, requiring only to be joined together. Meanwhile, pending further instructions from your Excellency, they have been put into store. Should your Excellency decide on continuing the manufacture of this species of gun, no apprehension need be entertained, for the experience now acquired will doubtless render the attempt quite successful.

"One by one I have taken up the different points alluded to in the dispatch under acknowledgment. I hope it has been made evident to your Excellency that, whatever other shortcomings I may be chargeable with, I cannot justly be charged with ingratitude for the many favours I have received at your hand. For some years it has been a sense of these that has kept me from requesting permission to resign. Last year, when in England, it was only the consideration of what was due to your Excellency that enabled me to resist the strong solicitations of my friends and return to China.

"I was the first to recommend to your Excellency the establishments which have since increased so much and proved of such service to the country. FuzeS, shell, friction tubes, guns, rockets, and torpedoes I was the first to manufacture. These things are now made so easily and in so many places that there is danger perhaps of the difficulty which beset their first manufacture being forgotten or imperfectly recognised. What is done with such ease to-day was not so a dozen years ago.

"There are none of these things which have not been made equal in quality to the very best to be obtained in European countries, though, owing to the causes I have already referred to, I was unable to construct such an organisation as would secure their being uniformly so for any continued period, and this will always be the case so long as the mandarin superintendent, being ignorant of the principles of their construction, still presumes to interfere actively with the routine of the arsenal. I am not of opinion that the arsenal can be carried on efficiently with only one European, or indeed with less than the number heretofore employed. It might without any at all go on for a time without any apparent change, but it will sooner or later inevitably occur that one thing after another will go wrong,

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and the quantity of the work will diminish and degenerate. And, again, it matters not how numerous or how effective the foreign staff may be, the workmen will never learn as they ought to do, or the manufactures be able to compete with those imported from foreign countries unless the principal foreigner has such a position as will place him above being actively interfered with by his mandarin associate. This is a most important matter, and one that is fully proved by experience, for in every business in which Chinese and Europeans have been associated for the performance of business after the European method, it will be found, if we examine, that the measure of success that has characterised it is the measure of actual power put into the hands of the European. For examples of this we have only to look to the Chun Chen Chün under Gordon, the Customs under Lay and Hart; but, not to go farther than the arsenal with which I am connected, was it not always most effective when the proximity of your Excellency invested me with a power to overcome obstructions which often proved too much for me when your Excellency was removed to a distance?

"I do not consider that as things are now managed in the arsenal here, more particularly if deprived of European assistance, that I can be of any further service to your Excellency, and therefore as soon as the machinery purchased by me in England arrives and my accounts are all rendered, I will beg your Excellency's permission to resign. During the many years I have had the honour to serve the Chinese Government, I have endeavoured to justify the good opinion your Excellency has frequently expressed concerning me, and if the charges brought against me in the letter under acknowledgment be all that my enemies can say against me, I may perhaps presume to think I have been successful. I have endeavoured to the fullest of my ability to advance the arsenal entrusted to my care, and those who can best appreciate the difficulties with which I have had to contend will give me some credit for what I have effected, and deal justly with me regarding those things which I might perhaps have done but did not.

"I regret the course your Excellency has taken in depriving me of the guard which had hitherto been allowed to attend on me, and which constituted the only manner I had of outwardly manifesting the position I enjoyed under your Excellency. If the explanations given in this dispatch are successful in showing the unfounded nature of the charges of which it is the subject, I hope your Excellency

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will reconsider your decision and allow me still to preserve it until my resignation is given and accepted. If, however, this cannot be acceded to, I request your Excellency to allow the guard while receiving my pay to wear as formerly the uniform of your Excellency's bodyguard.

“I have the honour to be
“Your Excellency’s
“Most obedient, humble servant,
“HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“NANKIN, 19th November, 1874.

“I have this morning received from Toan-tajen a copy of a dispatch which he is said to have just received from your Excellency, stating that as he and Ko tajen had been appointed as joint superintendents of the arsenal, whilst to me had been assigned the position of foreign instructor, or foreman over the workmen, your Excellency could not consent that the soldiers of your Excellency’s bodyguard which have hitherto formed my retinue should continue to do so any longer.

“I was not previously aware of Toan-tajen’s commission as Tsung-pan, your Excellency’s dispatch informing me of his appointment to succeed Lieu Taotai having merely stated that he was to act as my colleague or Hweipan; and as for Ko Taotai, though aware of his having come to the arsenal to reside, I have not, otherwise than by the copy above alluded to, received any information of his connection with the arsenal at all.

“As your Excellency cannot but be aware of the impossibility of my, under any circumstances, consenting to act as foreman to the arsenal, I cannot but look upon its being offered to me as an indication of your Excellency’s wish that I should resign the office which I have so long held, and if I am correct in drawing this conclusion, must express my regret that your Excellency did not prefer the more direct course of intimating that my services were no longer required.

“For the last two or three years I have continued to serve the Chinese Government rather because of a sense of duty which I owed the arsenal than because of any wish I had to continue longer in the service, and during that period I should at any time have hailed an opportunity of resigning could I have done so with your Excellency’s per-

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mission and without the appearance of having consulted my own convenience rather than the interests of the arsenal. Under these circumstances it can easily be imagined how deeply I feel the indignity which has been offered me by the course your Excellency has pursued.

"I have therefore no alternative but to request that your Excellency will be pleased to accept my resignation. In making this request I would also wish to be considered as doing so in order to escape the responsibility of the wild, costly, and abortive attempts at manufacture which are now being made in connection with the arsenal.

"I have received many expressions of your Excellency's approval as well as proofs of your Excellency's kindness, and for those I will for ever feel grateful.

"Chinese as well as foreigners have accorded to me the honour of having been the first to render assistance to your Excellency in establishing in China those manufacturing institutions which have already done so much for the country, and with which the name of your Excellency will for ever be associated. In the pride I shall feel at having been a participator in this great work, I will endeavour to forget that I could not, like Gordon and Giquel, retire from it without any but pleasant recollections.

"I enclose a dispatch which I addressed to your Excellency in August last, and copies of a correspondence between Toan tajen and myself, which will explain why it has until now been kept back. In sending these papers with my resignation I have no other object than that they should be put on record.

"Yours, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"To His Excellency

"The Viceroy of Chihli, etc. etc."

No reply came to these dispatches, and Macartney's resignation was not accepted; neither was his guard withdrawn. There were rumours even that he was again going to prevail over his enemies, for, although Li Hung Chang had just escaped a war¹ with Japan about Formosa, the state of the arsenal in Toan's hands was, even in his opinion, unsatisfactory. Perhaps he felt a little remorse, too, at the

¹ Macartney's comment in his Diary was, "No war with Japan, but the Chinese do not come very nobly out of it."

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treatment offered the man who had done so much for him. Perhaps, and more probably, he was pleased and propitiated by the photographs of himself and his mother, referred to in the following letter to Mr. Joseph Thomson about this time :—

“NANKIN, 14th November, 1874.

“I am glad to hear of the safe arrival of the portrait of Lady Li. I hope you may be as successful in its enlargement as in that of her son, the Viceroy of Chihli. I am, however, not free from fear as to this ; she is horribly ugly, and no one likes to be told he has a cast in his eye or has a wart on his nose. On the other hand, how can you flatter an old Chinawoman who has as different ideas from you as to the curve of beauty as the square to the circle ? What a pity 'tis the peach-bloomed cheek of youth should shrink and shrivel, warp and wither, until what was lovely shocks and appals us. Why should not all that is godly in man's look be left him until he might with it enter into the presence of the gods ?

“H. M.”

The following communication from Mr. Starkey relates to this period :—

“During the later years of his work in the arsenal Macartney was greatly hindered by the jealousy of the native officials. There was a taotai always attached to the works, but being always a man without any scientific knowledge he was entirely dependent upon and, in fact, made subordinate to, M. This directorship, if it had been held by a Chinese, would have provided an exceptional chance for squeezing (as it has ever since M. left).

“The intriguing became so bad that M. decided to interview his old chief, Li Hung Chang, and ask that either the obstructive officials be removed or that he be relieved of his charge. He went to Tientsin for the purpose. Notwithstanding his great influence, and while still professing to be his great friend, Li declared that he could do but little to help him. On Macartney's return to Nanking he found that an attempt had been made during his absence to supplant him, and it was even said that a new manager had been appointed. Macartney, however, after a while, put an end to these conspiracies, and had one or two of the principal officials transferred elsewhere. This alone is a proof of his marvellous

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insight into Chinese crooked ways, and of his indomitable character, which never knew defeat. At this time more than one attempt was made on his life—once, at least, by poison—but he seemed to bear a charmed life.

"I may add that his ambition was unbounded. He told me that he was resolved to do something in life to earn a title. He felt himself capable of the highest achievements. Indeed, he considered that his Chinese life rather thwarted than advanced his career."

During this period of uncertainty Macartney derived considerable satisfaction from the constancy of young Tsêng, who had become the head of his powerful clan. He wrote in his diary: "Young Tsêng is showing a desire to be acquainted with our language and usages. May he keep his leaning towards the barbarians when he gets office."

The following letter, written shortly after the death of his mother, Lady Tsêng, belongs to this period :—

" HUNAN, 24th Nov., 1874.

" MY DEAR DR. H. MACARTNEY,

" When I was at Nankin I bore the mournful dress, could not come and see you. now I write a few words to salute you. Thank you very much, I have received all things, which you sent to me for my servant, please send me the rest when you have fixed. Now I stop at home very occupied, but am very well, I hope and wish you a good health, other I write a letter for my brother in law Chen sonsun send to you please and see that.

" I am

" Your very trury

" GEARKHAN ZEND.

" chinese tseng keetseh."

The situation of affairs now took a dramatic form. On 5 January, 1875, two 68-pounder guns made at the Nanking Arsenal burst in the Taku Forts, killing several soldiers. The mysterious death of the Emperor Tungche—who was undoubtedly poisoned by order of the Empress Dowager—about the same time somewhat distracted attention from the

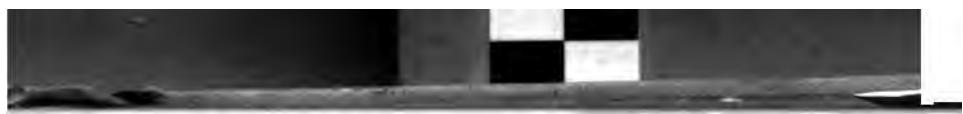


Photo. Thomson, New Bond Street, London, H.
SCENE AT THE NANKING ARSENAL



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affair, which indirectly served the purpose of Macartney's enemies. Macartney himself does not seem to have realised his peril, and when he was summoned by Li to Tientsin at the end of February, encouraged by the promised support of Liu Kun-yi, the new Viceroy at Nanking, who told him to speak out to Li, he does not appear to have had any misgivings. The following letter to a friend at Shanghai reveals this confidence :—

“NANKIN, 26th February, 1875.

“I had a communication from Li two days ago in reply to one I addressed to him in January last. No notice has as yet been taken of my request to be allowed to resign, but I have no doubt the cause of my being sent for is in some way connected with it. Li's brother informs me that the changes in the administration of the arsenal which I have stated to be necessary will be made; but one can only reckon on matters celestial when they have actually occurred.”

Various circumstances, including a series of torpedo experiments on the Yangtse river near Nanking, when those made under Toan's directions would not explode, retarded Macartney's departure for the North. Besides, Li Hung Chang had other things to think of than the arsenal affairs, or even the bursting of guns in the Taku Forts. The murder of Mr. Margary, an interpreter in the Consular Service, on the Burmese frontier, on 19th February, 1875, had produced a rupture between England and China which threatened to entail the most serious consequences. The Chinese authorities seemed more inclined to argue than to settle, and even Li's desire to preserve the peace was doubted. Perhaps the failure of the guns in the Taku Forts to answer expectations contributed to a peaceful settlement by shaking his faith, which had been great, in home manufactured articles. But it did not make him any the more friendly disposed towards Macartney.

Having finished the necessary work at Nanking, Ma-

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cartney sailed for Tientsin on 8 May. He had heard of the guns bursting, but he did not attach much importance to the incident, as it was currently believed that the Chinese gunners had either double charged the guns or used an inferior kind of powder. It did not appear that he could personally be involved in the matter; and besides, Li's brother had told him that the Viceroy intended to adopt his proposals. It was therefore in a hopeful frame of mind that he travelled to the North.

He reached Tientsin on 12 May, and on the following day he had an interview with the Viceroy. Li was in a bad humour, so runs the entry in the diary, and he made it clear that in his opinion guns had no right to burst, especially in the Taku Forts. Macartney's answer was to recommend that a party of inspection should proceed to the forts to examine and test the guns, and that Li's gunnery instructor, Herr Lehmayr, a German, should be one of the party. This proposal was accepted. On the 17th and 18th May the two European officials with two high Chinese officials visited the forts, where the burst guns still lay as they had fallen after the explosion. An examination of them clearly revealed a flaw in the metal.

On the second day Macartney decided to test the remaining guns in the South Fort by firing them himself. He selected one for the experiment. Two discharges were made satisfactorily, but on its being fired a third time the gun burst, fortunately without injury to any of the spectators. Macartney then tested the four remaining guns with gutta percha, and expressed the opinion that it would be a useless risk to fire from them as they were sure to burst. In this opinion all the members of the party concurred. On their return to Tientsin the Viceroy received reports from the other members of the commission. These were shown to Macartney, and at two interviews with Li, who by this time had become "more placid," the Viceroy

pressed him to admit his guilt, and to "petition the Throne for punishment" in the orthodox Chinese form. This Macartney flatly refused to do, the entry in his diary for 26 May being, "Told the Viceroy that I declined to say more than I had said about the burst guns, but that I would put it in the form of a dispatch."

This dispatch, which Li's American secretary, Mr. Pethick, put into Chinese, read as follows:—

" YOUR EXCELLENCY,
" TIENTSIN, 1st June, 1875.

" I have the honour to acknowledge Y. E.'s dispatch of — enclosing the reports of the officers appointed by Y.E. to inquire into the cause of the explosion of the guns which burst at Taku last year. I have carefully studied these reports, and in general concur in the opinion arrived at, as well as acknowledge the intelligence and the impartiality with which these officers conducted the trying and responsible duty entrusted to their care. The conclusion arrived at by one and all of these officers may be summed up as consisting, in their opinion, that the guns were constructed after the model of the English guns they were intended to represent, and that the accident was to be altogether imputed to the inferiority of the metal of which they consisted and the fact of their having been issued from the arsenal without having previously been sufficiently tested.

" Whilst defending the manner in which the guns were constructed, I have all along admitted not only the inferiority of the metal, but also the responsibility attaching to me for having made use of it. I do not, therefore, now seek to justify the great mistake I committed in employing it. I may, however, be allowed to say a few words, if not in justification, at least in explanation of the circumstances which led to its committal. In — Y. E., ever alive to the interests of this great Empire, being desirous of arming its forts with ordnance similar to that of the American Government, a kind of artillery which at that time was considered amongst the most powerful in the world, ordered me to make arrangements with a view to the construction of guns of a similar nature. I therefore, after considering the matter, purchased machinery of suitable dimensions, and engaged men who had had much experience in the construction of guns of large calibre. The preparations for such an

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undertaking were necessarily in proportion to the greatness of the work to be accomplished, and thus it happened that before we were in a position to make a start at gun making a large portion of the time for which the foreign artisans were engaged had elapsed. One of these men had already evinced signs of the disease which afterwards proved fatal to him. I was therefore anxious to precipitate matters, lest he might die or have to be invalided before he had completed the work for which he had been engaged. This would really have been a most unfortunate circumstance, for much delay would have occurred before another man could have been brought out from Europe; besides, it might have occurred that the new-comer might not have approved of the preparations which had been made and insisted on others being undertaken. I was, for these reasons, anxious to make a beginning, but when the metal came to be examined it was found to be so inferior that guns of the American pattern, which required iron of a very superior description, could not be undertaken. I had previously consulted with my colleague, Lieu-tajen, and informed him that as most of the iron which at that time was obtainable at Shanghai came out to China not so much as an article of commerce as in the form of ballast, it seldom occurred that amongst it there could be found any suitable for gun-making. There were not at the time the same facilities of communication and of obtaining goods from Europe as those which now exist, and therefore many months would have had to elapse before suitable metal could have arrived. As the construction of American ordnance had for these reasons to be temporarily given up, it occurred to me that some guns after the English model might be made. The English guns were smaller than the American ones we had intended making, and a description of iron inferior to the fine American metal had as yet always proved sufficient for them. Y. E. is well aware that the difficulties of construction increase with the size of the gun, and that there are several kinds of English guns which correspond in having a bore of 8 inches in diameter. After much deliberation I undertook the manufacture of one of the smaller descriptions of this kind of gun. In adopting this procedure I was influenced by the consideration that whilst my colleague, with whom the purchase of the iron lay, was ordering suitable metal for the American guns, the Chinese workmen would be gaining such experience as would enable them to undertake the construction of the large guns it was intended to make with more con-

fidence and less risk of failure. The rapid strides which about this time took place in the perfection of steel and wrought iron ordnance threw cast iron guns in the shade, and led to their being superseded by guns of these metals, so I never had an opportunity of utilising the experience thus obtained. The English guns made at this time were each fired four times with 20 lbs. of powder and a shell filled with iron borings, which made it nearly equal in weight to that of a solid shot of the same dimensions. I am perfectly aware that such testing cannot be considered conclusive of the guns' durability, but under the circumstances it was impossible to put them to the same proof as I know guns made in European arsenals are subjected to. Mr. Lehmayer in his report has alluded to this, and stated the custom which prevails in the establishment of Mr. Krupp at Essen. This cannot, however, be accepted as what in my case was fitting to be done, for it should be remembered that the Krupp guns are made of steel, whilst those on which Mr. Lehmayer was reporting were of cast iron. To have fired these guns two or three hundred times would have been to exhaust them, even if it did not burst them, for the average duration of cast iron guns does not much exceed four or five hundred rounds, whilst many of them, although made of the best metal and in the most careful manner, fine away before they fire more than a fourth of that number. If, then, such a test be unsuitable, what is the test to which they ought to be subjected? In England and in France whilst cast iron guns were the trusted arms of the nation they were subjected to the following proof: A number of guns, usually ten or a dozen, used to be cast the same day. Much pains were taken to make them in every respect in exactly the same manner. The moulds contained the same thickness and description of sand, the iron was exactly the same, having been melted in the same furnace with the same fuel on the same day and in the same space of time, for a difference in any of these particulars would have originated a difference in the endurance of the gun. A difference in the kind of sand or in the thickness of the mould would have caused the gun to cool more quickly or more slowly, thus producing a difference in the grain of the metal. The kind of metal or fuel employed, as can easily be imagined, would make a difference in the result, but it is not so easily understood how this should be effected by the nature of the weather or the rate at which the fusion of the metal was accomplished, yet it is an undoubted fact that

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such is the case. The guns, having thus been made in as nearly the same manner and under the same circumstances as possible, are turned and bored, when one of them is taken as a sample of the others.

"This one is submitted to severe and prolonged trials, which if it resists are received as conclusive of the suitability of the others, which are only fired once or twice with the ordinary charge they are intended to fire. Should it, on the contrary, occur that the gun selected for experiment fails to stand the test, the others are all in like manner considered unreliable and condemned. In all cases the gun chosen for experiment is condemned, even though it should have stood the proofs without manifesting the least sign of weakness. This is done because it is considered that the severe strains to which it has been subjected have impaired it so much as to render it worthless.

"If such be the manner pursued in foreign arsenals, why was it omitted in the case under consideration? Merely because it could not be carried out, the size of the Nankin Arsenal and the appliances at my disposal not admitting of more than one gun being cast at once. The guns which burst, being made at different times and under different circumstances, any test applied to one could not be taken as an indication of the strength of the others.

"I have now stated the circumstances under which the guns which burst at Taku were manufactured, though I do not mean in the least to justify the error I have committed. I hope that the explanation that I have made may, to some extent at least, be received in extenuation, and, however mistaken I may have been, I trust your Excellency will be able to gather from the above that my fault arose rather from an error of judgment than from either carelessness or a want of due regard for the important interests which your Excellency committed to my care. I would, indeed, be deserving of the most severe censure Y. E. could pass on me if, after having received so many expressions of Y. E.'s favour, I did not to the utmost apply such measure of ability as I may possess to your Excellency's service.

"I acknowledge that in accepting such defective metal for the construction of the guns in question, I committed an error which neither the reasons I have assigned nor any imaginable circumstances should have led me into. My resignation having been in the hands of Y. E. since a time long prior to the failure of the guns, I am unable to make any promises for the future, but for this, to my regrets, I

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would now have added the assurance that, in the time to come, Y. E. might rely on my doing all that in me lies to compensate for the sad misadventure which is the subject of this dispatch.

"I have the honour to be

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"H. M."

To this dispatch Li, after a delay of five weeks, made the following reply in the form of an official order:—

"Li, a Senior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Earl of the First Rank, and Governor-General of the Province of Chihli, communicates the following instruction:

"A Report from Brig.-General Lo, commanding the Garrisons at Taku, is on record, stating that on the 5th day of January, 1875, two 68-pounder cast iron shell guns which had been made at the Nanking Arsenal and were mounted in the North and South Forts at Taku burst simultaneously, killing five men and seriously wounding thirteen others—officers and privates; and that there were two other large guns made by the Nanking Arsenal which could not be used again because they were considered unsafe.

"Instructions were at once sent to the Superintendent of the Nanking Arsenal, Toan Taotai, with Mr. Macartney, the manager, to make a searching investigation into the matter and send up a perspicuous report that action could be taken thereon. In due time a report was received from Toan Taotai enclosing an account by Mr. Macartney of the manner of making guns, and the causes of the bursting of guns, after considering which orders were sent for Mr. Macartney to come to Tientsin and himself test the guns. Later on, instructions were given for Wu Taotai of the Ying Wu Chu, Liu Hau-Tang of the ordnance department, Drill Inspector Lehmayer a European officer, and Mr. Macartney to proceed together to Taku, and again test the large guns from the Nanking Arsenal. Mr. M. himself loaded a gun with powder and shot, and at the third discharge it burst. He then said that the remaining four cast iron guns would certainly burst, and this furnished ample proof that these guns had been improperly cast.

"Mr. Macartney has since reported that the cause of these guns bursting at Taku was the inferior quality of the iron

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used in casting them ; nor were the guns sufficiently tested at the Nanking Arsenal, for which facts he does not wish to exculpate himself. The iron used for casting these guns was that used for ballast in foreign vessels, and was quite unfit for making guns. If, indeed, it is ever used for such purpose, its proportion is never more than one-tenth. The purchase of iron was no concern of his—it was attended to by Lieu Taotai. But there were two advantages in view when casting these guns. One was that something could be going on in the arsenal whilst proper iron was being obtained ; and the other, that in casting these guns the workmen could gain such experience as would be useful when they came to cast large ones. The guns that burst were not cast at the same time, hence the testing of any one of these guns only sufficed for that single gun, and was no criterion for any of the others. He does not seek by these statements to evade his responsibility, but rather to explain the peculiar circumstances under which these guns were cast. His fault was an error of judgment, and such an one as could not be justified, whether here or in foreign countries ; but in this he has not shown ingratitude for favours received nor a want of due regard for his position and reputation. Had he disregarded the important interests entrusted to his care, he could not have demurred to any punishment thus incurred.

" In fine, he was indeed at fault for permitting such unsuitable iron to be used, and thus producing guns that would be liable to burst. But all that has now been said cannot excuse the error committed. Previous to the bursting of any of these guns he had asked leave to resign, but he has not yet received permission to do so.

" Such is the substance of Mr. Macartney's report.

" Now it appears that ever since Mr. M. offered his services to the Government, and during his management of arsenal affairs, he has received a very liberal salary, and has repeatedly been recommended for his merits. It was, therefore, to be expected that he would put forth his best efforts in return. The responsibility of making guns at the Nankin Arsenal was vested in him, and since he was aware that the iron used to cast these large guns was unfit for the purpose, he should have ceased casting such guns, or should have submitted them when cast to repeated trials before sending them to Tientsin to deal death and injuries to so many of the soldiers as they have done. Such trifling in serious business and consequent failure in military matters is a most serious offence, such as would make a Chinese officer or artisan

answerable to the law for the lives lost ; and even if treated more leniently according to foreign law, dismissal from office would be the punishment of the offence.

" But since in his report Mr. M. has admitted that his fault cannot be justified, and taking into favourable consideration his long and faithful services, his lack of proper appliances and skilled workmen, as well as his early application to resign, any further proceedings are remitted as a mark of favour.

" He is directed to return at once to the Nankin Arsenal, and wholly transfer his affairs without delay, and when the deputy in charge reports to this effect, Mr. M. may then vacate his office and return home : for thus will be shown the indulgence extended to those from afar.

" These instructions are accordingly issued, and on receiving them said officer will comply with and not evade them.

" July 7th."

In this manner terminated Macartney's official connection with the Nanking Arsenal which he had founded in succession to those at Soochow and Sungkiang ten years before. It was not the ending he had contemplated, but the impossibility of working with jealous and self-seeking Chinese colleagues had long been clear to him. Hence his resignation months before the incident in the Taku Forts. With regard to the bursting of cannon, the reader will be interested in knowing that twenty years later an Armstrong gun burst at the same place, and Macartney was consulted as to the best steps to be taken to show the Chinese that such accidents are not wholly to be avoided. But although Macartney's official connection with the arsenal had ended, his work there was not over, for the Chinese authorities in charge found they could not dispense with his services and advice. He continued, therefore, to live in his house at Nanking, and his informal connection with the arsenal gave him much occupation, without responsibility it is true, and also without direct reward.

But this state of things could not long continue, and he

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turned over in his mind various projects. One of these was to become a tea planter, and he made inquiries in London as to whether there would be a sufficiently constant demand for first class tea at ten shillings a pound. The reply was not encouraging, and the scheme, if it ever took more definite form than the idea, was abandoned. The next project was of a different order, and possessed a special attraction for him. Indeed, he became quite fascinated with the thought, and abandoned it with reluctance when the more substantial advantages of a post on the Kwoh Embassy were offered him. This was nothing less than an attempt in the disguise of a Chinese to get into Tibet and visit Lhasa. He was confident in his ability to succeed, and thus to emulate the French priests Huc and Gabet. The young Marquis Tsêng appears to have been aware of this plan and to have promised such assistance as he could, and owing to the influence of his family this must have been great. This was the period when the remarkable travels of the late Mr. T. T. Cooper in Yunnan and Szechuen were attracting so much attention ; and with better chances and credentials Macartney felt sure of greater success.

This was indeed his uppermost thought when in October, 1875, Li Hung Chang summoned him to Tientsin, as he wished to discuss the question of the proposed Chinese Embassy of apology and regret for the murder of Mr. Margary to England. A new prospect was thus opened up to him.

Here again the friendship of young Tsêng was exercised on his behalf, and the following letters, written during this trying and critical period for Macartney, provide an appropriate ending to the present chapter.

“ HUNAN, Foreigners 21st May, 1875.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND MACARTNEY,

“ I have received your letter long time ago, with one
dictionery one nice book, and one figured Lady, that is
your Queen Victoria, finest embroidered. I like and thank

you very much. Please excuse me, I have not replied to you as I ought, because I am very busied ; in the other I ruminate some good success for you. I think you had better to go and see Lee chung dang who called you ; perhaps he will give you some good employment, as I think, and I will write to him too.

" Suppose you will have not any good employment, must have patience, and wait ; when I will go out, will be able to invite you and teach me many foreign things, then we will stop together again. Sufficient now you have got some salary for your expense.

" My brother and brother-in-law send you their respectful compliments. I am glad, and hope that you will be happy in your issue. I conclude,

"Yours very truly,
"faithful friend,
"GEARKHAN."

" HUNAN, 24th October, 1875.

" MY DEAR FRIEND MACARTNEY,

" I received your lamentable letter of september at the end of last month. Indeed I am sorry. Excuse me so long time I have not answered you, because am very occupied in my business for grave of my ninth aunt, for marriage of my sister.

" I think you must have patience, you had better to wait for my answer. I have sent my letter to Li tsung tang as you know ; not received reply from him yet, I expect answer in this instant. When I received it, I will send you immediately. If you want to go to England with Ko tajin, or to Yune nang, everything else it is, you wait my answer. I desire all your thing will be prosperous. Thank you, I have received nine watches you sent to me, but I desire to have another watch for myself ; good machinery, and key is fastened with watch, as of those six watches key's form. Pray you to settle accounts and send to me, how much money I owe you. I will pay you sending the money.

" P.S.—I have a friend who stope long time at my house, now he is gone home, therefore pray you send your letter to me with a little more your writing, so I can easily read it. My brother and brother-in-law send their compliments.

"Yours truly,
"friend GEAR KHAN."

CHAPTER XI

THE KWOWH EMBASSY

Macartney again summoned to Tientsin—Kwoh Sung-tao—How Margary was killed—Opinion of Chinese Army—The paper man craze—Graphic description of Chinese executions—Views on the power of Japan—Delays and doubts—A rival pretension—Sir T. Wade's support—Chefoo Convention—Macartney appointed—Change of route—Some experiences on the journey—Destination : Portland Place.

THE displeasure of Li Hung Chang at the bursting of the guns, and at Macartney's firmness in refusing to petition the Throne for punishment, as a good Chinaman would have meekly done, taking his chances of the consequences, cooled down after writing the order of dismissal dated 7 July, 1875, quoted in the last chapter. He again thought of what this faithful Englishman had done for him, and being a practical man he realised that he might also be able to render further useful service. Li himself was in a difficult and dangerous position. The negotiations with England on the Yunnan affair, as the murder of Mr. Margary was now called, were not making much progress, and Li's own position at Peking was very precarious. One day he was the arbiter of China's fate, the next he was on the verge of ruin and in danger of losing his head. Besides, he was dealing with a novel situation, for although China had been temporarily represented abroad by the roving Burlingham Mission in 1866, and by Chung How in the embassy to Paris in 1871, the embassy to England was intended, or at least thought likely, to become a permanent resident Mission in Europe.



Photo. Thomson, New Bond Street, London, IV.
LI HUNG CHANG IN 1870



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Li felt the need of independent and competent advice on many matters in connection with the embassy, and there was no one to give it to him save Macartney.

That was the conclusion forced upon him by his own study of the question, and at such a moment young Tsêng's letters, written in support of Macartney's claims on Li himself as well as on the Chinese Government, found him in a particularly receptive mood.

In October, 1875, then, he telegraphed to Macartney asking him to come to Tientsin without delay, but without mentioning the matter on which he wished to see him. Macartney left Nanking on the 29th October, arriving at Tientsin on the 9th November, and was received by Li on the day of his arrival. Li explained the project for the embassy to England, and added in flattering terms an offer to his ex-director of arsenals to join it. The next day Macartney called upon the designated envoy, Kwoh Sung Tao, to present his compliments and make his acquaintance. Altogether, Macartney saw Li on five occasions during this visit, which terminated on the 29th of the month, and it was arranged between them that Macartney should accompany the Ambassador as English secretary and interpreter.

At that moment it was believed that the embassy would start at an early date, and Macartney hastened back to Nanking to make his own personal arrangements. Before leaving he presented the following report to Li, giving certain information that had reached him as to the exact manner in which Mr. Margary met his death. This narrative was dated Tientsin, 24th November, 1875, and its accuracy in the main was confirmed by Mr. Grosvenor's official report published a few months later :—

"In conversation with your Excellency yesterday morning, I mentioned having heard a report relative to the manner in which Mr. Consular Interpreter Margary met his death; and as it in some respects differed from the account of that event which up to this time has been generally

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received, Y.E., wishing to sift the matter, requested me to put it in writing, which I have now the honour of doing. Since seeing Y.E. I have made further inquiries on the subject, and have now ascertained that Mr. Charles Schmidt, of the firm of Buchister & Co., of Shanghai, was, as I suspected, the foreigner in whose hearing the mandarin from Yunnan was said to have made the statement alluded to in the report. I have myself seen Mr. Schmidt, and from him received the following account :—

“A short time ago, Mr. Schmidt, being in the company of some mandarins at the Government Powder Mills at Tientsin, had his attention attracted by a conversation which was going on, but to which he had paid no regard until the speaker, a mandarin of the rank of Chuhien, who had recently arrived from Yunnan, pronounced the name of Li-hsieh-tai. It appeared from the account of the mandarin narrator that as soon as Mr. Margary’s approach became known, it was determined by some officials to put him to death. Not, however, immediately on his arrival, but, for some reason not stated by Mr. S., after some outward show of kindness had been manifested toward him. Mr. M. was accordingly on his arrival asked to a banquet and suitably entertained. The next day also he was similarly invited, but this time he was not to be allowed to leave the house of his host alive. Attendants had been told off in proportion to the number of servants by whom it was considered Mr. M. would be accompanied, and these, at a given signal, two claps of the hand, were to enter, seize, and execute Mr. M. and his party. The treacherous programme was faithfully carried out, and Mr. Margary perished.

“The mandarin from Yunnan is alleged by Mr. S. to have stated that Li hsieh tai, though holding Chinese rank, was not a Chinese but a Burmese, and one of the mandarins who had been listening to the circumstances I have recited called Li-hsieh-tai a Yuing neung, or hero. At this stage of the conversation Mr. Schmidt, making some remark, I think he said in allusion to Li-hsieh-tai’s Burmese origin, the subject was suddenly dropped, the mandarins, according to Mr. Schmidt, appearing to feel confused and annoyed at his having understood and been listening to what they had been saying.

“In narrating the above I have endeavoured as much as possible to confine myself to what Mr. S. stated, and not allow any information previously in my possession to influence the manner in which I have related it. It will be

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observed that Li-hsieh-tai is not positively asserted to have been the person who ordered Mr. Margary's execution, though this may be inferred from his being commended as a hero.

"Mr. Schmidt could not tell me the name of the Yunnan official alluded to, but yesterday, on returning from the funeral of the Hon. Mrs. A., Mr. Schmidt, who accompanied me, received a salute from a tall, portly mandarin whom we encountered on the Bund, and as soon as we had passed him, Mr. S. said, 'That is the man from Yunnan.' I can, of course, give no opinion as to the correctness or otherwise of Mr. S.'s story, but believe him to be so conversant with the Chinese language as to preclude the possibility of his having misunderstood the conversation. I may also state that his firm, being so much mixed up in business transactions with the Chinese officials, it is in the highest degree improbable that he would have invented it. I have myself been able to confirm his statements, for having made inquiries as to the existence at Tientsin of any officials from Yunnan, I have ascertained that there is here at present a mandarin of the name of Pien-shu-yih making arrangements for the founding of the tribute copper which it is expected will soon again begin to arrive from Yunnan.

"Pien-shu-yih answers to the description of the mandarin whom Mr. S. pointed out to me, and he is known to have passed along the Bund about the time I met the latter, so there can be little doubt about the identity of the copper agent and the mandarin seen by Mr. Schmidt at the Powder Works.

"I have marked this memorandum as *private* and *confidential*, for though I first heard of the circumstances to which it refers in a public manner, your Excellency can easily understand why I shoud desire my name to be kept secret.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"TIENTSIN, 24 November, 1875."

More than twelve months were to elapse before the mission left for England, and during that long interval it often seemed as if it would never start at all. Before describing the closing phases of that matter I will give three exceptionally interesting examples of Macartney's correspondence



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during the last year of his residence at Nanking, while he was awaiting the summons to escort the embassy to Europe.

The first of these documents gives his impressions of the Chinese Army, which will not supply those who were fond of representing Sir Halliday Macartney as a believer in the strength of China with an argument in support of what they imagined to be his views, but which were really a delusion of their own. Other evidence will be adduced later on to show that Sir Halliday believed not in the strength, but in the want of strength of China as a military Power. The following letter was written at the request of Mr. Alfred Hippisley, who asked for information for the purposes of his *Handbook on China* for the then forthcoming exhibition at Philadelphia :—

“ MY DEAR HIPPISLEY,

“ NANKIN, 20 March, 1876.

“ I have deferred replying to your letter until now, in the hope that further inquiry might enable me to speak more positively with regard to some of the points on which you request information, but for anything I have gained by doing so I might just as well have answered it at once. It is exceedingly difficult getting anything like correct information on matters connected with the country as a whole, and the army amongst the rest.

“ The Chinese can scarcely be said to have an army at all, their military force consisting rather of a number of provincial corps than of one general army bound together by a similarity of organisation and directed by one chief (commander).

“ Previous to the Taiping rebellion there existed an organisation more like that of European countries than that which now exists, but owing to its having fallen into such a state of disorder, the troops forming it, and who really were soldiers, proved so inefficient that they were eclipsed by the raw levies which were then raised, and which ultimately supplanted them.

“ In the military affairs of the provinces great latitude is allowed to the local authorities. The Viceroys raise and dismiss soldiers according to their facilities of paying them and what they consider to be the necessities of the times.

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They are thus always changing. This, together with the universal custom of overstating the number of soldiers, makes it difficult to form anything like a correct estimate of the military force of the Empire.

" 1,800,000 (Mr. Hippisley's figures) would, I think, be an extreme estimate for the number of soldiers, or men so-called, performing duties more or less military, such as mandarin attendants, police, etc., and certainly there is nothing like this number of soldiers, or men, residing in camps, engaging in military exercises and subject to military discipline.

" Taking the province of Kiangsu as a basis of calculation, the number would appear to be much less. I have summed up all the camps situated in different parts of the province, and come to the conclusion that even if each contained its full complement of 500 men there would not be in them all 100,000 men.

" 70,000 is probably about the strength of the army of Kiangsu, and yet this, from its importance, opulence, and openness to attack, is one of the most numerously garrisoned provinces in the Empire. Taking, then, Kiangsu as an average of the military strength of the eighteen provinces, we have $70,000 \times 18 = 1,200,000$, or 600,000 less than the number assigned as the military force of the Empire. But even this number would be misleading if we took it as a gauge of the army China could bring into the field.

" For without organisation, equipment, and means of transport it would be impossible to move and feed them, and consequently they could not fight. Even in small numbers they could not be moved to any distance with the necessary stores required to meet a foreign enemy. Though China has mainly, or I might almost say entirely, devoted her attention during the last ten years to the improvement of her artillery, she could not march a battery of field-guns, were she required to do so to-morrow, for such a short distance as from Tientsin to Pekin. All that has been said to the contrary notwithstanding, I do not think China has made so much progress in her military affairs since the last war, or that the European arms with which she has supplied a portion of her forces would counterbalance the gain to foreigners which the clearer understanding of her position has given them as her possible assailants. The road to Pekin in 1860 was a *terra incognita*, now it is as well known as that to Greenwich. With regard to the number of men drilled in the European manner and the number armed with breech-

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loaders, I can say nothing definite beyond the fact that, though a great number of soldiers are camped near to Nankin, there is not one which has a breech-loader, and with the exception of a few artillery, which were formed under foreign instruction, there is none which can be said to have even a rudimentary knowledge of fire drill. There are some camps in which you would be told the troops are instructed in the European manner, but all that this amounts to is a bastard parody on the manual and platoon exercises carried on in combination with spear drill and billhook pirouetting.

"The manufacturing places are the arsenals of Tientsin, Shanghai, Nankin, and Foochow. That of Tientsin is rather a P. F. than an arsenal, and those of Shanghai and Foochow may be more properly termed dockyards, being shipbuilding places. That of Nankin is more strictly an arsenal than any of the others.

"The Yangtze Forts have been built out of the provincial exchequers, each province paying for its own. With Chihli, however, it has been different; other provinces, to wit those of Kiangsu and Leanghoo at least, having contributed their quota.

"I do not think they can be divided into provincial and imperial, as their revenue comes from the governments in which they are situated, and any of them may be called on to furnish stores for other provinces. The Foochow Arsenal, having a Commissioner appointed from Pekin, may be with more justness called imperial than any of the rest.

"The arsenal of Tientsin is directly under the Viceroy of Chihli, and generally supplies only the demands of that province.

"That of Shanghai is directly under the Taotai and Viceroy of Kiangsu; not, however, that of Nankin, which, though its revenue comes from Kiangsu, acknowledges only the Viceroy of Chihli. Very little of its manufacture goes to Kiangsu, the main part going to Chihli, but orders have been received from the Imperial Government to supply other provinces such as Kansuh.

"I do not think that any of the gunboats are the private property of Li. I never knew but one boat, a small one called the *Fee lung*, which belonged to him. The same may be said of his troops, none of which are maintained at his private cost. The troops in Chihli which do not strictly belong to the Pekin establishment are untrained in the European sense, and it would be difficult to imagine anything more ridiculous than much of their so-called drill.

This is the more surprising as there are men among the mandarins who have seen service and must know what drill would be useful and what evolutions would be practicable during war. I have called this surprising, though it would only appear so to those unacquainted with their extraordinary inaptitude for conceiving a system or applying a multitude of details so as to produce a general effect, and if they are deficient in the power of organisation, they are equally so in carrying out for any length of time a system which has been taught them, and which they perfectly understand. As yet there has not been, even in the army of Li Hung Chang, the slightest attempt at organising the Chinese forces on a European basis. The war in 1860 showed them the power of our artillery, and since then attempts have been made to improve this arm of the service. It has been different with the infantry, where, with the exception of small forces near the treaty ports, instruction has not extended beyond the manual and platoon exercises. The nature and the advantage of European infantry evolutions are so little understood that I have heard mandarins of high rank express an opinion unfavourable to their utility as compared with their own. With such opinions prevailing in high quarters it is no wonder that the Chinese army is what it is.

"Until China is prepared to accept the European system in its integrity, and follow the example of Japan in making a radical and complete change in her military system, nothing but disappointment can result from the attempts of her leaders to reform it. Her own disjointed and effete organisation must be altogether overthrown, as any attempt to improve it by combining such unharmonious elements as those of Europe and China will be nothing short of an attempt to weld iron and clay. To prove this to them they must again cross arms with some European power, for their leaders are too ignorant to understand this, and were it otherwise their influence in times of peace is insufficient to obtain for them a hearing.

"There are other features presented by the present state of the Chinese army which I would have liked to touch upon, but time does not permit."

The next letter gives an exceedingly graphic account of what was called the Paper Man craze, which broke out in Nanking and other places on the Yangtze River in the

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spring of 1876. Many Chinese had their pigtails cut off in a mysterious manner, and it was generally believed that these outrages were part of a scheme to get up an agitation and outcry against the missionaries. Chen and Chang mentioned in this letter were supposed to be two of the chief instigators of the agitation.

"MY DEAR GUNDRY,

"NANKIN, 11th April, 1876.

"Though I have been away from home for the last ten days, and of late in many ways put out of my 'stride', I am not going to plead this as an excuse for leaving your letter so long unanswered. I am, indeed, much to blame, and hope you will pardon my lack of punctuality.

"The Viceroy set out from Nankin on his annual tour of inspection of the province on the 2nd inst. For some time previously he had been sitting almost the whole day hearing the case of Chen-quo-jai and Chang-che-lin, and before he went away issued a decision confirming that of his predecessor Liu Kun Yih. Chen-quo-jai is, therefore, a free man again, which is rather surprising, because when Shen pao chen determined on rehearing the case, it was generally thought by people who understood the case that the pitcher having gone once too often to the well, the extraordinary career of this turbulent chief was well-nigh ended. It was commonly considered that Liu Kun Yih, in trying the case, had allowed himself to be influenced by feelings hostile to Chang-che-lin, and that the re-examination of the case by Shen pao chen would result in the tables being turned on Chen-quo-jai. This, however, has not been so. Shen pao chen's decision confirms the guilt of Chang-che-lin, and adds another to the many instances which go to prove the utter uselessness of Chinese appeals. Chang-che-lin has been sentenced to death by strangulation, but as in China the property of a felon is not liable to confiscation, and as Chang-che-lin is said to be enormously rich, it may happen that his gold will still prolong his life. China does not, as with us, supply the prisoner with a covered van to convey him to and from the court during trials, so Chang-che-lin might daily have been seen being led up to the yamen with a cloth about his head to hide the shame he felt on account of his altered position.

"There is something very curious about the rigour with which China punishes in some cases, and the indifference

she exhibits in others. The law is seldom put in force, because of abstract considerations regarding justice; for once that it is so enforced, in a dozen cases, the mandarins are instigated to act either by revenge or cupidity—the one on the part of the injured, the other on that of the officials themselves. There are scores, I might almost say hundreds, of cases of murder and manslaughter committed every year without being inquired into, although the mandarins are perfectly cognisant of them. Where there are no relations to pursue, or any money to be got hold of, the mandarins and their retainers are but sleepy guardians of the people.

"For the last fortnight Nankin has been in a state of excitement scarcely inferior to that which influenced it at the time of the Tientsin massacre. Whilst walking in the streets or sitting in the tea-houses, people are said to have been seized by an unseen hand and deprived of their queues. The first cases appear to have occurred under such peculiar circumstances that the act was imputed to a supernatural agency. A man, rejoicing in his braided pride, is sitting apart from a number of others, but clearly in their sight, all at once discovers that it is gone, and this without his having felt anything or the spectators having seen any one approach him! The blame has successfully fallen on the 'spirits,' the missionaries, and the votaries of the Peh lien Kiaou, or the secret society of the White Lily.

"During the reign of the first of these opinions the unfortunate loser of his queue thought he was about to die, and rushed off incontinently to obliterate the effect of the unhallowed touch by shaving the remaining hair clean off. There is no doubt about the genuineness of the excitement, for people might be seen going about the street, some with their heads clean shaved, whilst others wore cabalistic characters attached to their clothing, which the Augurs had told them would secure them from harm. Another class, although they had never heard of the disclosures of Kattie King, yet still unbelieving in spiritualistic materialisations, tied their queues about their heads, or, reversing the order of nature, marched about with their tail in front of them, clutching it firmly and holding it to their breast in the event of their meeting a foreigner, more particularly if he were a missionary.

"Some of the brethren of the weird science which flourishes amongst you, some of those who can raise a spirit or lay a ghost, might come up and investigate this matter, otherwise the missionaries may, in addition to collecting

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eyes for the photographers, have added to their duties that of gathering chignons for the ladies. In Europe and America we would probably attribute this excitement to the playful larkishness of some Theodore Hook ; but that genius is unknown in China. The black-haired race is too indolent to go to the trouble of manufacturing occasions of mirth. The mandarins know it is one of the virtues of their countrymen to be content when they have got a bed and a bellyful, so spare themselves, and are frugal in the expenditure of energy.

"Whether then the cry be that a missionary has boiled a baby, or a merchant has hashed up one to make opium, the mandarin never falls into the mistake of attributing the rumour to the influence of frolic. Poets may have accused the Chinaman of being *peculiar*, but no one ever charged him with indulging in fun. There being, then, no devil and no missionary in the matter, to what can we attribute all this trouble about tails ? Beware, ye mice, beware, for the owl is not dead, and does not sleep because there is no tell-tale rustle 'mong his plumes. Soft footsteps are treading on yours, foot for foot, and keen eyes are peering unseen into yours, for your chiefs have seen the paper man that was found on the Tou mun chiaou. They say it was red as blood, that its one hand grasped a sword, and the other a pair of shears. The shears to lop off the badge of China's subjection, the sword to strike down him who imposed it !

"Now, do you ask why Chen-quo-jai, the swashbuckler, is free? And being free, do you ask, who on the walls, who on the Viceroy's yamen door night after night, sticks up the papers the mandarins pull down at morn early, before they have met the eye of the people?

"Read one of these :

"Heads of the Taiping state! you know where the grave of your chief is. Render your homage at it, and then come and meet your young master on the nine dragon mountain in Kiangsi. The years of man are numbered ; for is it not said that they are threescore and ten ? Dynasties also have their day, and it is whispered amongst the people that of the Ta Tsing chaou has seen its, and is near its end.'

"It would be idle to say that such as Chen-quo-jai could upset it, but it might not be so much so to say that he might be the convenient tool, the unconscious moulder of the occasion for some more subtle spirit to make use of. No satrap of the Empire would ever trip up his master and boldly vault into his seat like our European throne-seekers.

No, that would not become the genius of the Chinaman which delights in finesse. The idea of paternal Government has strong root in China, and cannot be ignored by any one who seeks to be the object of it. He must make the people think the dynasty is dead, and that he only consents to mount the throne to preserve the country from disorder. Chen-quo-jai or such men might easily be made the tools for familiarising men's ears to the idea of a change. Does no one already use him? Under whose protection does he live? For has he not oftener forfeited his life than is common in this country of cheap death warrants?

"I have just been told that a number of American missionaries who visited the Ming tombs the other day were followed by a party of four soldiers, who were sent to see whether they really went to see the tombs, and not to commit to the winds the paper men above alluded to as having been found on the Tou mun chiaou and other bridges in the city.

"I omitted to tell you that Chang-che-lin's sentence is that he be executed by strangulation. Prisoners sentenced to this mode of death are counted to have been favoured above those who are merely ordered to be decapitated, though most people, amongst Europeans at least, would come to the opposite conclusion. The preference in the two methods arises from the fear Chinese have of entering Hades in a mutilated state. It does not seem to matter his going in with his neck stretched three or four inches beyond its proper length, but to walk up to his ancestors carrying his head under his arm appears to be in the highest degree unbecoming. Listen to the details of the manner of a Chinese execution by strangulation, and judge whether the wretch does not purchase the right of making a state entry into hell at rather a high figure. One would think if one's breath had to be suddenly cut short with a rope it would not matter much how, provided it were done quickly. The heathen Chinese is peculiar, and must have his own way of being choked. The rope being well greased is adjusted like a handkerchief, and the ends taken hold of by two good strong fellows pulled in opposite directions until you would think all was over with the prisoner in this world. But to kill him right off in this abrupt manner would be counted disreputable, so he is summoned back again after he has been well three-parts of the road into the undiscovered country whence, with us at least, no traveller ever returns. The object of bringing him back is probably with the view of

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accustoming him to the process ; be that as it may, as soon as he has got over the surprise of finding he has got to do the whole thing over again, the rope is again adjusted and the pulling repeated.

"He is generally pulled back three or four times, after which he seems to get accustomed to it—at all events, it is to be hoped that he has come to like it—and he is let in among his ancestors for ever.

"There is another way, a *shorter* road, you may go if you have got money and will pay out a little. This consists in getting one of the aforesaid lusty lads to watch for the moment of maximum strangulation, the instant of supreme agony, and then give you a friendly kick on the belly which all at once sends you so far on the journey that it is in vain to think of ever being able to call you back again.

"Does the existence of this manner of punishment prove that the Chinese have changed the state of matters discovered in the prisons at Canton by Wingrove Cooke ?

"Yours very sincerely,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The third and concluding one of these letters gives the writer's views on the situation between England and China at the moment when war seemed only too probable and about five weeks before the signature of the Chefoo Convention. Perhaps the most interesting passage in it is that clearly defining the difference between Japan and China, and recording Macartney's "confidence in the power of Japan to exist and adapt herself to the new order of things":—

"MY DEAR DUNNE, NANKIN, 7th August, 1876.

"I am much obliged to you for your very interesting letter of the 31st ult., and for the two slips containing your leaders in the *Evening Courier*. I am glad to hear that the Government continues to support and strengthen the hands of Sir Thomas, for I can imagine nothing which in the present state of matters would be more disastrous to our position in China than the exhibition of a desire to abate even one jot of the demands we have made. Right or wrong, and at whatever cost, these must be insisted on, for to do otherwise I am firmly persuaded would only be to

patch up a hollow peace which would neither advantage the Chinese nor ourselves. We have gone much too far to accept less than we have asked. The Chinese would benefit not less than we would do if they received such a lesson as would show them that foreign demands rather tend to increase than diminish when met by a policy of duplicity and equivocation. No doubt but Sir Thomas Wade has the best of reasons for the course he is now pursuing, reasons which would commend themselves to us were they but known to us; but unknown as they are to us, it is difficult to keep from feeling surprised at the delay in bringing matters to a point which has occurred since the receipt of Mr. Grosvenor's report. Only two explanations present themselves to me, viz. that the result of the inquiry has been more favourable to the Chinese than was formerly expected, or that home politics make it desirable that we should keep our hands as free from Asiatic complications as possible. I can scarcely believe in the first of these. The fact of Colonel Browne's party having been attacked by a large force of Chinese soldiery can never be denied or explained away; and this, even supposing the mission should have failed to convict the Futai or some other high official, is enough to justify all that has been written or done by Sir Thomas Wade. Our demands might then continue to be pressed with the same justice as before.

"The state of Europe might, and no doubt is, such as to require us to move with much caution. For can you imagine a more awkward situation for England to be placed in than to be at war with Russia and China at the same time?

"From the troubles she has caused us when professedly acting in conjunction with us, we may divine those which would follow a declaration of war. Unhampered by any such considerations as guided her in her underhanded assistance of service, she would openly assist China in every possible manner; and even if she could do no more than lend her a few officers, our difficulties in China would be not a little increased.

"But supposing that a European war were imminent, are we forced either to go to war with China on the same scale as in 1860, or endeavour to back out of our present position with as much honour or as little disgrace—it may be, as possible? I think not. For the satisfaction of our demands it is not absolutely necessary that we make war on China on the same scale as in 1860. Without another soldier than we have now in the country, we might seize and hold such a



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place as would compel China to grant our demands. The force we have now in China is sufficient to occupy Nankin, and so command the Yangtze that the country would be divided into two parts. This done, a blow would be struck at China which would be second only to the occupation of Peking. The prestige which the occupation of Nankin would bring us would be invaluable; and in the present state of the country how could you better paralyse the Government than by dividing the North from the South?

"But, say you, it would upset the Government and overturn the dynasty. Well, if it did, we ought none the less to do it. I hold it to be altogether a mistake for us to allow considerations of the rottenness of the dynasty to influence our policy. You will not save the dynasty by your forbearance, for a thing so effete only exists by sufferance, and can never be resuscitated. When a Government is so rotten that it will not stand the shocks to which it is incident without falling to pieces, it has seen its day, and can neither be damaged nor repaired, for it is already dead. But is it so certain that the Tartar dynasty would succumb to the blow? I have already indicated I think not, for though it has seen its day, and must, despite of all European galvanisers, go the way of so many others, it would survive the shock and, like other low organisms, continue, though half dead, still to live on. In Chinese dynasties, as in Chinese crockery, there is an almost inconceivable power of being tinkered. The cracked vase which may have been dashed into a thousand pieces may still be so patched and tinkered up as to tell of its antiquity, though it may never again hold water.

"There is a danger also in allowing China to think that her rottenness is her strength, lest she defy you and presume, like a woman or a priest, to brave you in the protection of their petticoats. But is it certain that China must go to the wall? Would it not be possible for her to discard her traditions and accommodate herself to the conditions of the times and live? I doubt it. History does not give us a single instance of a people who had ever *declined* from a high position among the nations of the world and again resumed their place among them. The very greatness of their traditions being hostile to the grafting on of a new civilisation prevents this. The old ideas prevent the ingress of the new, stand as insulators, breaking the circuit and preventing the pulses of the world from being felt.

"I have confidence in the power of Japan to exist and adapt herself to the new order of things, but in Japan we

have no exception to the rule, for she does not come under it. When she commenced the new regime she had not seen her noon, and, like China, declined far on towards night. She was still the land of the Rising Sun. She took to the new food of her own accord, and as if she felt a craving for it. She did not, like China and Turkey, wait until it was forced upon them, and when all the power of assimilation was gone.

"I must here pull up and beg your pardon for wandering so far from where I intended going when I set out.

"Yours truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

To return to the course of events. On 3rd December, 1875, Macartney left Tientsin on his way back to Nanking. The note in his diary reads, "Nearly frozen in and got down the river just in time." He was back in Nanking on the 16th of the month, and began to make his preparations for an early departure, but his patience was to be sorely tried. The prolongation of the negotiations during the greater part of the year 1876, until no solution save an appeal to arms seemed to remain, made the prospect of any Chinese embassy at all appear doubtful. But another and unexpected cause of uncertainty intervened to render it dubious whether, even if there were an embassy, Dr. Macartney would accompany it. Li Hung Chang personally had promised him the appointment as its secretary, but the Viceroy of Pe-Chih-li, powerful as he was, was after all not the Government of China. There were others who coveted the appointment, and they had the advantage of being nearer the place where the final decision would have to be made, for Macartney was fixed in Nanking while all the negotiations were being carried on between Chefoo and Peking.

The Imperial Customs Department, controlled by Sir Robert Hart, put forward a claim to fill up the post by nominating one of its staff, and a nomination was actually

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made by it. Li Hung Chang resisted this pretension and demanded the confirmation of his own selection, but it was always somewhat doubtful whether he would remain very resolute in his decision. The correspondence that follows points to his having thought at one moment of getting out of his promise by suggesting that the embassy was too uncertain an affair to make it worth Macartney's while to wait for it. It also shows that in the final decision made between Dr. Macartney and the nominee of the Customs the influence of Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister at Peking, was exercised in favour of the former and probably turned the scale. The correspondence referred to may be introduced with another note from the Marquis Tsêng :—

" HUNAN, 10th March, 1876.

" MY DEAR DR. HO,

" In the 4th Feb. I have received your kind letter of 28th December last year, with a travelling bag and two dressing cases, which bring from Hankow salt officer Cheng shangtsai while I was gone to the Provincial city and taken very busy on my own business; therefore I did not reply to you quickly please excuse me. In last year ending, I having received Lee Chung dang's letter. he has not angry with you now. and just now I have heard, that Goh sung dau to be trust a chief consul, and need go towards the England. do you want go with him? have you receive a document from the prime minister Lee? I impedance long distance in my country, cannot fully examine. please to tell me. The bag and cases are all, beautiful, and are certain great value. thank you very much. you must write a bill, and sent for me. I am hope you with your wife and children, all in health.

" I am Yours very truly,

" GEARKHAN.

" I am desire a smallest seal. trouble you engage an engraver make it for me. either to engrave Gearkhan, or only use two alphabets G. K. with some other flowery.

" I am written again."

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The next document is Macartney's statement to Li Hung Chang :—

"I am much obliged to Y. E. for the interest you have manifested in me since I left the Imperial service. With regard to the appointment of Secretary of Legation, I have not by any means become impatient at the delay which has occurred in the dispatch of the Mission, because from the beginning I was prepared for it. Y. E. may indeed remember that when asked whether I would wait beyond this summer should it not then go, I answered that, provided that it was understood that, if it went at all, when it did go I would be the person selected, I would wait.

"I am still of that resolution, so that unless Y. E. has determined on some other person accompanying the Mission if it should go, I will gladly run the risk of its not going at all. I am the more inclined to this because of my name having already been mentioned with the matter.

"In the event of the Mission not going at all, I have thought of proposing to Y. E. a manner in which I think I might show Y. E. that I am not ungrateful for the favours received. Y. E. having no embassy in London, it is really necessary that you should have some one residing there in an unofficial capacity who would keep Y. E. posted with political moves, new inventions in military affairs, for the accounts which are published on these affairs are not always to be relied upon, and many of them never reach the papers at all, or if at all, not until they are being superseded or till they have been much copied.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The following letter to a Chinese official contains interesting matter :—

"MY DEAR MR. KUNG,

"NANKIN, 9th May, 1876.

"Two days ago you read to me an extract from a letter you had just received from Li Tsung tang intimating that as the dispatch of the Kwo Sung tao embassy to England was still attended with so much uncertainty, His Excellency was willing to release me from my promise to wait for it, and that I might consult my own convenience in returning to England or in continuing to wait for the embassy. In writing to Li Tsung tang, I shall feel obliged by your presenting him my thanks for the kind considera-



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tion evinced by H. E. in making this communication, and at the same time tell him that, as I was from the first aware of the uncertainty which attended not only the time of departure but the dispatch of the embassy, I am by no means impatient because of the delay which up to the present has occurred.

"Tsung tang may indeed remember that when asked whether I would continue to wait for it should it be found impossible to send the embassy away in the spring or the summer of this year, I replied that provided that when it did go I should be the foreigner selected to accompany it, I would willingly remain. This is still my resolution, strengthened if anything by the fear lest, as my name has already been mentioned in connection with the embassy, my leaving China before anything was definitely decided regarding it might be interpreted into a want of confidence in me by the Chinese Government.

"I am of opinion that an embassy must necessarily go to England with regard to the Yunnan affair, and provided that the communication you read to me from Li Tsung tang is dictated merely by considerations concerning my convenience, and that it is not the desire of Tsung tang to bestow the appointment on any other foreigner, I am still prepared to wait, and should after all no embassy be sent, I will not consider that I have any ground of complaint because of the time I have lost.

"There is another matter which I wish you would mention to H. E. Having been a long time in H. E.'s service and received many proofs of his kind consideration, I would like to show that I am not ungrateful for them. I have private affairs which prevent my doing so by further service in China, but it has occurred to me that I might even more effectively promote the interests of China on my return to England.

"China has as yet no embassy in England, and unless it be her intention never to establish one, she ought to have some agent there whose duty it would be to keep her posted with regard to subjects of a political or military interest—some one who would superintend the execution of any contracts which had been entered into with foreign merchants in China, who would collect information on any subjects which might be indicated, and generally attend to matters concerning her which were not of an official nature.

"This is a most important matter, and most countries which have not an embassy in England have such an agent who attends to such matters as I have referred to.

"Should H. E. entertain this proposal, I will, with his permission, do myself the honour of visiting him at Tientsin and submit the details of it for His Excellency's consideration.

"Be good enough to mention these matters to H. E., and at the same time present to him my best wishes for his welfare, and the expression of my continued attachment to his interests.

"Yours very sincerely,

"H. M."

The following letter to a private friend may be inserted as completing the description of the period of uncertainty :—

"MY DEAR —,

"NANKIN, 13 June, 1876.

"I don't know whether you ever read Dickens' novel entitled *Great Expectations*, in which he depicts the evil effects of living in a state of suspense ; but if you have, you will in some measure be able to understand why, wishing to write you, I have from day to day deferred doing so until now. In my last letter I think I told you of my having been summoned up to Tientsin to meet the Ambassador who has been appointed to the Court of St. James' with a view to my being appointed to accompany him as Secretary of Legation. Though I felt flattered at my being selected, and most proud of the appointment, I am now, because of the delay which has occurred and the uncertainty which still overhangs the whole matter of the embassy, almost inclined to regret having been mentioned in relation with it.

"But for it I would now most probably have been in England, whereas I am still here, and with no more definite knowledge of when I shall get away than I possessed six months ago. I have been waiting expecting that every day would bring some more definite information, but until about a fortnight ago, when I heard from the Viceroy that nothing had really been decided on, I was without any. For the last four months I have been in daily hopes of hearing that the Margary affair had been settled, and that a date could be fixed for the departure of the embassy. Some of the members of the expedition have just returned, and, if report be true, the result of it is such as to place a settlement farther off than it was this time last year. This is the suspense which I have alluded to, which has made me incapable of doing anything. As soon as my name was mentioned in

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relation with the embassy, Sir Thomas Wade, the English Ambassador at Pekin, made some remarks that were very gratifying to me. He said he knew no one more fitted for the office of secretary, and no one he would rather see obtaining it than myself. He felt assured that I would do my duty equally to the English and the Chinese, for though I had been so long in the country, and had mixed so much with Chinese officials, I still remained an Englishman. He said he knew that my attachment to the embassy would be agreeable to the English Government. It might seem egotistical to mention these matters, and to one of whose friendship I was less assured than I am of yours I would not have done it."

Writing on 12th July to the same correspondent, he said :—

" Things look very warlike out here, and from all accounts they seem not less so with you. I have just come up from Shanghai, where Sir Thomas Wade and our two Admirals are plotting all kinds of surprises for the Chinese. I think, however, that the latter will give in at the last moment. They are, however, playing a foolish game in delaying a settlement, for Sir Thomas' demands are constantly rising."

The Chefoo Convention was signed on 20 September, 1876, putting an end to the strained situation and also all doubts as to the dispatch of the Kwoh Embassy. It was not for some weeks afterwards however that the appointment of Dr. Macartney as its secretary was definitely made. But early in November he received at last the long-expected telegram ordering him to proceed to Shanghai to arrange for the departure of the mission, as every one felt that, now that it was decided on, the sooner it started the better. Writing to a friend in England from Shanghai on 22nd November, he said :—

" Having had to leave Nankin with only three days' notice, I have been put to much inconvenience in making arrangements for going. However, we leave here in the course of a week or a fortnight. Up to the moment I was ordered off, it seemed as if I was going to fail in getting the appointment."

It had been arranged that the embassy should perform the voyage in a French steamer, but it seemed to Macartney such a strange procedure for an apologetic mission to England to sail under a foreign flag, and to pay its first visit in Europe to another country than the one to which it was accredited, that he employed all his tact and influence in getting the arrangement altered. He succeeded in his self-imposed task, and it was decided that the embassy should travel by a P. & O. steamer instead of one of the Messageries line. Macartney also arranged that it should journey the whole way to England in the steamer, so that the Ambassador might first land on English soil. In the scheme he drew up for his own guidance, as well as that of others, he laid stress on the fact that by this arrangement the Chinese Ambassador would be impressed by stopping *en route* at only British points of call—the six great stages of our Imperial track across the Oceans, viz. Hong-Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, Aden, Malta, and Gibraltar. It was a genuinely patriotic idea ably introduced into the ordinary programme prepared by others for what had seemed in their eyes a matter of only the conveyance of so many passengers at a fixed price per head. It afforded a very striking and timely corroboration of Sir Thomas Wade's assertion that, despite his long residence among the Chinese, "Dr. Macartney had remained an Englishman."

The following letter to Sir Thomas Wade gives some details about the arrangements made :—

"SHANGHAI, 26 November, 1876.

"DEAR SIR THOMAS,

"I am now able to confirm what I said relative to Mr. Dunne's having been mistaken in attributing to me the statement regarding Mr. von Brandt's opposition to your policy, and now enclose a letter which will show you that he was my authority for it, instead of my being his. Either way I daresay it matters little, but I am desirous that you should know this to be the case.



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"Be good enough to destroy the letter when you have read it. Considering that the sooner Kwoh tajen left Shanghai the better, and hearing that Mr. Glover for some reason was desirous of detaining him, I have, after stating my views to Mr. Mayers, done what I could to induce him to leave by the first P. & O. instead of the first French steamer. The application made to you for permission to detain the mail for two days will have prepared you for this change in the Ambassador's plans, for he has now decided on going by the English mail. The passages have not yet been definitely arranged, but they are to be taken this morning.

"The Ambassador himself required little persuasion to do this, for all along he has been anxious to get away as soon as possible. It has been otherwise with his colleague, who for various private reasons wished to wait for the French mail. The staff of the Ambassador have not all arrived, and it is doubtful whether they will have before Sunday. I am told that some of them are reluctant to go.

"Perhaps it will be just as well if they do not, for I am afraid that the Ambassador will find that forty persons are altogether too many to accompany him. He seems determined in the event of their not being up to time, to leave them behind and not make any provision for their coming on afterwards. The P. & O. Company have agreed, saving one transhipment at Galle, to take the embassy through to London. This plan as compared with the French mail has the disadvantage of being longer, but seeing the great number of persons accompanying him, it has other advantages which do more than counterbalance it.

"H. M."

In a diary for the year 1876, there is a detailed and very interesting account of the departure of the Embassy, and of the journey as far as Singapore. It breaks off at that point, probably the pressure and irksomeness of his duties preventing Macartney from continuing it. The fragment is, however, well worth publication, and provides an appropriate ending for this chapter.

DIARY.

"Shanghai, 1876.

"*1 Dec., Saturday.*—To-day was very wet. Fearing that the Ambassadors might be unable to get on board to-night,



HIS EXCELLENCY KWOH, THE FIRST CHINESE MINISTER IN LONDON



I called on Mr. Lind and got him to consent to their going on board to-morrow morning, the P. & O. steam-tender taking them down to Woosung. On seeing the ministers I spoke to them of the necessity of going on board to-night, and did not tell them that I could manage to put them on board by the tender to-morrow morning.

"The first of the baggage began being sent down at about 3 p.m., and at 8 p.m. I was surprised and rejoiced to hear that the two ministers were on the wharf and ready to embark. I went down and accompanied them on board. The captain of the ship, not expecting them before morning, was much surprised to hear that they were alongside. I afterwards went ashore, made up my things, and called at Schmidt's to bid Chung E good-bye.

"At 11.10 p.m. I left the hotel, and found them all on board most anxious about my return. The ship had not yet swung, but did so soon after I came on board. Exactly as the hour struck twelve, eight bells, the engines turned over, and the embassy was off. Stiff breezes, but fair wind.

"*2 Sunday.*—The breeze continued to freshen, and most of us became more or less out of sorts. The two Ambassadors, having resolved on trying foreign food, as far as Hong-Kong at least, came to table. The passengers and the whole ship, indeed, were much impressed with the bearing and manners of the first Ambassador, but were much less so with Lieu tajen, who on several occasions committed many grave breaches of good manners. During dinner he choked and spat, and on one occasion, after an unusually successful attempt at expectoration, called his servant and ordered him to bring the spittoon, into which he spued rather than spat. This was exceedingly disagreeable to the gentlemen sitting on the opposite side of the table, who turned away their faces and manifested the most decided signs of disgust.

"*3 Monday.*—At breakfast he called for an egg, and proceeded to open it in such awkward manner that his fingers went into it, his long nails, or rather claws, meeting from opposite sides. With the yolk of the egg dripping from the points of his fingers and streaming over his hands he presented a curious specimen of the *corps diplomatique*.

"*4 Tuesday.*—Having finished his dinner before the rest of us, he retired from the table and entered his cabin. We were still at our wine when his servant was seen to snatch up a lamp and go into his state-room. The captain instantly sent one of the stewards to see what he was doing

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with it, and in a minute he returned stating that H. E. was enjoying his smoke. The captain sent back the steward for the lamp, and with instructions to put out the Ambassador's pipe. This being carried out H. E., accompanied by his servant, went upstairs apparently in anything but the best of humours.

"5 Wednesday.—To-day 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* ironclad, 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 some one on board. We at one time thought she was going to man her yards, but it turned out that 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.

"6 Thursday.—Arrived at Hong-Kong at about 4.30 a.m. A naval officer came off immediately after our anchoring and told Hillier that he was to go ashore and receive the orders left for him by Sir Thomas Wade. Hillier on his return showed me the dispatch he had received. It directed him to place his services at the disposal of the Governor, but to be careful not to encroach on the susceptibilities of the interpreter of the Mission, native or foreign, and specially mentioned my name. The Governor's aide-de-camp came off, when it was arranged that the envoys should go and see him at two o'clock, when a guard of honour would receive them on landing and a salute of fifteen guns be fired. We went and were received by the Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, an old man of noble figure and mien. Hillier introduced the Ambassadors and their staff, self included, and then Sir Arthur introduced to them the Admiral (Ryder), chief judge, etc.

"Sir Arthur, placing the Ambassadors one on each hand, commenced a very pompous series of short speeches, during which he told them that the Hong-Kong school had done much for China, and that we English always taught the people wherever we go. The chief Ambassador had scarcely a chance of getting in a word, and the second never did get one.



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"Sir Arthur told the Ambassadors that England had done a great deal in the way of enlightening their countrymen, because the English never went anywhere without taking the schoolmaster with them and founding schools. Pointing to a gentleman amongst the audience, Sir Arthur said, 'This is Mr. Stewart, the headmaster of the Government School at Hong-Kong. He has more friends amongst your countrymen than any other foreigner, and in his school has over 400 Chinese children.' Sir Arthur said had time permitted he would have been glad to show the school to the Ambassadors, and Mr. Fung E., interrupting Mr. Hillier, who up to this time had been interpreting, turned to H. E., the Ambassador, and said the Governor wished them to go and see the school. H. E. at once said he would be most happy to see it, so Mr. Fung E. let us in for a programme we had not thought of. Sir Arthur next informed the Ambassadors that they had much to see, and told them of the seven places they would touch on their way to England; no less than six of them were English possessions. Amongst the gentlemen who had been invited to attend the reception were the chief judge, Sir John Smale, and Dr. Eitel, the author of the work on Fung Shang, a kind of Chinese natural philosophy. Going up to the first I reminded him of our visiting Macao together many years ago, before I left Her Majesty's service. Sir John at once recollect ed the occasion, and recalled to my memory a piece of advice he had then offered me. I was at the time debating with myself whether I would not send in my papers with a view to entering the Chinese service. Sir John was against the thing, and advised me very strongly to think well before doing such a thing. Now he admitted that my opinion had been juster than his, the fact of my now being on the staff of the embassy proving this.

"No doubt this was quite true; still, I could not but admit that Sir John's advice when tendered was judicious. Looking back on the last fifteen years, I cannot but feel I did a risky thing in resigning my commission. All's well that ends well, so thus far, at least, I could say 'twas well I did what I did. On leaving Government House we went to the school-houses, whither Mr. Stewart had preceded us. Mr. S. received us at the door and introduced us to his assistant, Mr. Falconer. The schoolroom into which we first entered was that for the Chinese pupils. It was densely crowded with pupils, many of them adults. In the centre of them sat a Chinese master, a very mean-

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looking fellow, whose linen gave one the idea that there was no necessary connection between learning and cleanliness. There was a marked difference between his appearance and that of his pupils, who, if he could teach them *hsia wun*, they were quite as able to teach him cleanliness. After visiting this room we went to another, in which were a considerable number of well-dressed children from ten to nineteen years of age, all of them in the European costume, and most of them Eurasians or half-castes. Amongst the latter I was surprised to see not one who had fair hair or features in the least degree European. From the school we next went to the ship. On landing we had been received by a guard of honour stationed on Pedder's Wharf, and a salute of fifteen guns; and when going off again to the ship, a similar number of guns was fired from one of the men-of-war in harbour. Chairs had been sent down from Government House for the party, but owing to the chair-coolies being all dressed in white, the procession must have appeared to the Ambassadors more like a funeral party than one of an Ambassador and his train. On our return from the shore, Mr. Hillier told me that some mistake had occurred about the cards which had been left at Government House, two cards, one for the Governor and the other for the Admiral, having been sent in, but only one, that for the former, had reached its destined hand. The Admiral, Mr. Hillier seemed to think, felt somewhat annoyed at what appeared an oversight.

"7 Dec.—The next day the Governor notified his intention of returning the Ambassador's visit, and 2 p.m. was therefore appointed for his reception. This prevented us from going ashore in the forenoon. At noon, whilst in the midst of luncheon, I was called away from the table owing to a visit from the Revd. Mr. Edge. On going on deck I found a thin, gentlemanly, clerical-looking man awaiting me, who soon introduced himself as the president or agent of some kind of the Anti-Opium Society. He had come off to see whether I would arrange with the Ambassadors for their receiving a deputation from the said society. I told him that though fully sympathising with the aims of the society, I was afraid that the arrangements of their Excellencies would not admit of the deputation being received, and recommended him to cause the address to be presented by the society which he told me he represented in England. I promised Mr. Edge that I would do what I could to obtain for the deputation a favourable reception in England, and then bade him good-bye.

"The Governor came off at two o'clock, and all the attempts I could make to move their Excellencies scarcely sufficed to get them to go up the companion stairs and meet him as he came on board. Before he arrived Kwoh, Hillier, and myself had arranged the seats where every one was to sit, but when our decision was told to Lieu tajen, and his seat pointed out to him, he grumbled something about its being based on foreign custom, and suggested that their own Wang fu should be adopted instead. Kwoh tajen did not give any opinion as to the amendment, so when the Governor came Lieu tajen took the seat he thought he ought to occupy. The Governor sat in the middle between the two Ambassadors, Kwoh on his left, and Lieu on his right. The Governor, as on the preceding day, did the talking, conducting himself in the same highly dignified and pompous manner. During the interview he never said a single word to Lieu tajen, though Hillier once or twice endeavoured to direct his attention to him. Champagne and biscuits, and the indispensable tea having been produced, something was said about the jail, when their Excellencies at once, or rather Kwoh tajen for them, expressed their anxiety to see it. It was therefore arranged that so soon as the Governor had gone ashore his state barge should return for the Ambassadors, the aide-de-camp, Captain Paton, having in the meantime brought down chairs for the party to the same wharf at which we had landed the day before. As soon as the Governor had gone over the side of the ship I told Kwoh tajen of the mistake which had occurred with regard to the Admiral's card, and proposed that in order to leave no ground of offence we should call at the flagship and leave a card on the Admiral as we went ashore. We accordingly did this, leaving a card on Captain Colomb, the captain of the flagship (*Audacious*) as well. Neither of them were on board, so we were not put to the trouble of going up the ladder. I, accompanied by Fung E., delivered the two cards, and explained to the officer on duty that one of the cards which had been left the day before at the Government House was intended for the Admiral. It was just as well that we had not been detained at the *Audacious*, for when we arrived at the wharf we found Sir Brooke Roberts and the aide-de-camp there waiting. I had not thought of the possibility of Sir Brooke's being down, or I would not have recommended the visit to the flagship. Sir B. seemed annoyed at having been kept so long waiting, but how was I to know that he was there?

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"Sir Brooke throughout the whole affair must have thought himself overlooked, for the day before, when we landed, he was passed by the Ambassador, and it was only when I came out of the boat and saluted him that the omission was corrected by Sir Brooke saying to me, 'But you must introduce me to the Ambassadors,' Kwoh tajen and his colleague having got out of the boat before me in accordance with Chinese custom. I was not at hand when they arrived at the head of the flight of steps leading into the wharf, so the Ambassadors passed him without taking any notice of Sir Brooke. I ran after Kwoh tajen and informed him of the omission, and got him to go back and salute Sir Brooke. Sir Brooke is an old man who has been so long in China that he cares not now to return to England, and so stays on in the same Consulate, that of Canton, in which he was when I first came to the country. He is a poor, dried-up specimen of humanity, with prominent and well marked features from which age has taken away any rotundity of contour which he ever may have had. He was dressed in black, wore a tall hat and black silk gloves, and looked for all the world as if he were going to or coming from a funeral. At the outer gate of the jail the guard presented arms, and the assistant-governor came forward and received us. The day was fast closing in, so we had to hurry over the building. The first place to which we were conducted was the room in which the handcuffs and other means of restraining prisoners were kept. These, all of them as bright as silver, were fully explained to the Ambassadors, who were then conducted along a gallery with cloisters or cells closed by iron doors on each side. The cells each contained a prisoner undergoing solitary confinement, who at the clank of the keys stood up and approached the grating in order that they might be inspected by their unwonted visitors. Gallery after gallery of this kind, then the church and the hospital were in succession visited, in the latter carbolic acid having been plentifully applied. Lieu tajen held his nose and refused to enter; Kwoh tajen, however, did not testify any sign of having perceived anything unusual in the way of smell. As we were going from the male to the female department of the establishment, we passed through a courtyard in which were a great number, about 700 Chinese and about 50 European prisoners. At the sight of the former the Ambassadors seemed to be quite awe-stricken, but did not say anything. The prisoners were all in prison dress, and looked clean and well fed; one of

them came forward and, dropping on one knee, made the accustomed salute in such a manner that I concluded he had once been a soldier. Their Excellencies moved on, and did not take any notice of him. Some of the Europeans were set about going through shot drill in quick and slow time, but though the nature of the punishment was explained to their Excellencies they either did not seem to comprehend it or approve of it. Passing the kitchens just as the food for the afternoon meal was being served out, the Ambassadors had an opportunity of seeing of what it consisted. Two or three two-wheeled hand-carts were being loaded with tin pannikins filled with rice, on the top of each of which lay three small boiled fish. The rice was good and the fish fresh, both of them presenting a strange contrast to what their Excellencies must have known would have been the ration in a Chinese prison. Li-tajen, the secretary, stooped down, and taking a little from one of the dishes pronounced it excellent.

"We now entered the female wards, where in a long gallery like that seen on first entering the prison, we saw the whole of the female prisoners, one of them with a baby in her arms, all standing in a row. This sight also seemed to make a deep impression on the Ambassadors, though they did not make any remark. We had now gone over the whole establishment, when in returning by the way we came we encountered the prisoners all hurrying out into a courtyard in order to replace in the hand-carts the empty dishes in which had been served up their food. When the handcuffs and other instruments of correction were being exhibited to their Excellencies, thinking of the bamboo used by the Chinese perhaps, they seemed to think lightly of the effect of the cat-and-nine-tails. The Governor of the prison, seemingly unwilling that they should go away with this impression, shouted out 'No. 149' and instantly a ferocious-looking fellow, who seemed as if he might have been a pirate, instantly presented himself, and was directed to lift his smock and show his back. If their Excellencies had underestimated the effect of the 'cat,' the mistake was soon corrected, for the back of No. 149, all raw and crossed and cut with hundreds of welts, showed how effectively it had done its work. The Ambassador asked what had been the man's offence, and without a moment's hesitation the jailor answered, 'Plucking the earrings from the ears of a woman in the street.' The jailor now shouted out another number, and in a moment its representative stepped forth.

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Seizing him by the ear the jailor thrust the prisoner's head on one side and showed on his neck a small red ring, the vain attempt which the prisoner had made in order to get rid of a course of Indian ink inflicted on him as 'incurable,' destined to be banished from the colony. Thinking that the mark might not be observed, or mistaken for something else, he had returned to his old lair, but the lynx-eyed police had been too sharp for him, so he had again fallen into their hands. We were now shown some cells in which were several prisoners, some destined to several years, and others imprisonment for life. In one of these was another of those foolish engines of unproductive labour and misplaced ingenuity, consisting of a wheel and axle by which a train of machinery recording the number of turns the prisoner had made—twelve thousand—and the unmerciful index pointing at that he had still (three thousand) to make before his daily task was done. Good heavens! why could not the same ingenuity have made the poor devil to produce some useful effect? Why not have made him to grind the corn for his own bread, or raise the water for his own and his brother prisoners' consumption? The only productive effect which was shown as the result of the prisoner's labour was a web of matting. We were informed that the former Governor, Sir Richard MacDonald, had made the prisoners work on the roads and do other things tending to compensate the community for the expense to which the prisoners had put them, and we wished that Sir Arthur had done the same. Fung E. having been sent to leave farewell cards on the Governor, we left the prison and returned to the ship, Sir Brooke Roberts accompanying us to the shore, and the Governor's barge again taking us off.

"On our way to the ship the two Ambassadors spoke in the highest terms of the order, cleanliness, and general arrangements of the prison. They made no comparison between the foreign and the Chinese manner of treating prisoners, but there cannot be a doubt as to which they would award the palm. They praised the European ability for organising and carrying out their plans, and exclaimed, 'Who would have thought that such a great and beautiful place as that of Hong-Kong could have been created in the short space of twenty years!' The European skill shown in the selecting of such a fine harbour and such 'fung shway' were also not lost sight of. The steamer was to have gone at noon the next day, but in consequence of a steamer running into our stern during the night we were

compelled to remain over until five o'clock in the morning of the following day. The Admiral did not return the Ambassadors' call, but sent an officer to say good-bye to them in his stead.

"Mr. McLeavy Brown came on board and called on the Ambassadors, and left a card on me. I was not on board when he called, so did not see him. At Hong-Kong I called on Dr. Denny and received a copy of his *Chinese Folk Lore*, and two copies of a pamphlet which he had just published entitled 'China and her Apologist,' being a reply to an article by Sir Charles Dilke, published, I think, in *Macmillan's Magazine*. He wished me to take a number of them and distribute them amongst my friends in England, but under the impression that it contained strictures on Sir Thomas Wade, I excused myself from receiving them. We left Hong-Kong at 5 a.m. on the 8th, and after a run of four days arrived at Singapore.

"Dec. 12.—The first official who made his appearance after our getting alongside the wharf was Mr. Pickering, the official Chinese interpreter. He was a common-looking person, and seemed to feel his inferiority too much, for, despite his appearance and indifferent manner, he seemed a good fellow and to have some sterling qualities. He came to say that owing to the steamer having arrived a little before she was expected, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Douglas, had been unable to come down and meet the Ambassadors on their arrival, but would be down in a short time. While we were thus speaking, Mr. Douglas, a tall, fine-looking man, came up and spoke to me. I at once invited him down, and introduced him to the Ambassadors as the Fu Tsung Luh. Mr. Douglas presented to their Excellencies the Governor, Sir William Jervois', compliments, and desired to know what was their pleasure, adding that if they were going to land a salute of fifteen guns and a guard of honour would be in readiness to receive them. It was already one o'clock, and the Governor's palace being three miles distant, and the fort from which the salute would be fired equally distant, some time had to be allowed for preparations to be made. Four p.m. was accordingly arranged for the hour when they were to be at Government House.

"I invited Mr. Douglas to tiffin, and whilst we were at table the Governor's aide-de-camp arrived, and was by Mr. Hillier introduced to the Ambassadors. Old Mr. Whampo and some other Chinese merchants belonging to Singapore also arrived, and were received by the Ambassadors when

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we were at tiffin. Having seen Mr. Douglas to the gang-way, I observed with much regret that poor Mr. Pickering had been waiting, and no one entertaining him all the while we were below at tiffin. I was much annoyed at this oversight, and apologised to him for what must have appeared to him an unpardonable neglect.

"Repairing to the Ambassadors in order to explain to them the necessity of being at the palace punctually at the hour appointed, in order not to keep the Governor and the guard of honour waiting, I was surprised to hear that between that time, 2 p.m. and 4 o'clock, they intended visiting the house and gardens of Whampo. I informed them that it would not be in accordance with foreign politeness or proper to call anywhere until they had paid their respects to the Governor. To this they replied that Mr. Hillier and the aide-de-camp had been parties to the arrangement, so, though still thinking it a mistake, I said no more to them on the subject. Four carriages having arrived soon after 2 p.m., we, midst a heavy rain, left the shore and entered them. The rain did not long continue, and the sun coming out in a few minutes the roads had dried, and no traces remained of it, excepting the refreshing green which it had conferred on the trees and flowers of the jungle which hemmed in the road on each side. We now drove along a road, sometimes passing amongst a few Indian then a few Chinese houses, most of them of a very inferior description. Their E.'s read the Chinese signboards as they passed, remarking that the Singapore Chinese seemed for the most part to be very poor. I informed them that we had not yet arrived at the town, and that these houses could not be taken as fair specimens of the shops of their countrymen. The stupid coachman, instead of taking us to Whampo's country house and gardens, drove us to his shop. I at once got out of the carriage and asked one of the shop-assistants to give the necessary directions for our being taken with all possible haste to Mr. W.'s house, so we were soon on the way again. The road seemed to me very long, and I began to be afraid that we were on the wrong path, and would be too late for keeping our appointment at Government House at four o'clock. I ordered the driver to make haste, and soon after a gateway, leading into a garden in the middle of which was a Chinese-looking house, made its appearance. This was the famous house and garden of the much-respected Mr. Whampo."

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So ends this fragment of a diary, and I have failed to find among any of Sir Halliday's papers the slightest reference to the later incidents of the voyage. At Galle the embassy changed to the *Peshawar*, and from a private letter I learn that it reached Suez on 9 January, 1877. With one extract from it this part of the narrative of the Kwoh Embassy may be concluded :—

"We enter the Canal this afternoon, and are going on well. Will arrive at Southampton on the 22nd. We intend going on to London as quick as possible, but where we will reside we as yet know not. Mr. Campbell, an agent of the Commissioner of Customs, has been asked to look out for a house for the embassy, and will most likely come down to Southampton to meet us. I am glad I was able to get the route changed, for it would have been a very troublesome business with such a large party to have made our way to London through France.

"Have just received telegram from Campbell. We are to live in Portland Place."

CHAPTER XII

THE RETURN TO ENGLAND

Retrospective—The Mission arrives in London—Public Curiosity—Amusing incident—A proposed execution—A clever impostor—The Opium Question—Stories against the Minister—Queen Victoria receives Madame Kwoh—The kowtow ceremonial—Scene in a Paris station—The Chinese Famine—A missing Chinaman—Character of Kwoh's Ministership—A tranquil period.

AS the return to England in January, 1877, marks the turning-point in Sir Halliday Macartney's career, it is appropriate to glance back upon and summarise what had been its main features up to the complete change, not merely in the scene of his activity, but in the character of the work which absorbed his energies, that was reached when he finally quitted China and returned to his own country. When he exchanged the British for the Chinese service in 1862, he had traced out for himself a great career in China. At the time of its first inception the scheme was no doubt vague, but in 1864 it had been so far defined in his own mind that he was able to describe his ambition to Gordon as consisting in the aspiration to acquire at Peking an influence similar to that possessed in old days by the missionary-counsellors of the two great Emperors Kanghi and Keen Lung. That ambition had not been realised, and when he left China with the Kwoh Mission he knew that it was unattainable, and that he was really taking his departure from China because he had found the obstacles to its attainment insuperable.

So long as he had been in direct touch with Li Hung Chang things had gone smoothly enough in his relations

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with the Chinese authorities, and his advice, so far as it was sought, had been followed in the main. At least, no Chinese official attempted to interfere with his work, and his own position seemed firmly established. At Sungkiang, Soochow, and for some time at Nanking, his will was law in his own department, and he was accorded by the Chinese the rank of Taotai in their public service. It also seemed as if his own promotion in that service must follow upon that of Li Hung Chang, who was everywhere hailed as the coming man, and who by many was even deemed likely to place a new dynasty on the Dragon Throne. For some years, then, Macartney's ambition of becoming a secular European adviser of the authorities at Peking appeared to be not only reasonable in itself, but likely to be crowned with success.

The change in his outlook came when Li left Nanking for the Nienfei campaign, and, practically speaking, never returned to the Yangtse province. The Nanking arsenal, indeed, remained subject to Li's authority, but the snapping of the chain of direct contact between its director and its owner entailed the introduction of those native elements of jealousy, dissension, and strife which everywhere else made China's attempts to Europeanise her system vain and sterile. The main thought with the Chinese officials attached to the arsenal was not to make its work efficient, but to embarrass and humiliate its European director, and to fill their own pockets. For a Chinaman Li supported his protégé very well, but when he became Viceroy of Chihli he had many other things to think about than the affairs of the arsenal, and in the East as in the West it is the absent who are always wrong.

The conflicts with Lieu and Toan made Macartney first realise the drawbacks to service with the Chinese. They shook his faith in the feasibility of his own programme, and, insensibly perhaps at first, his thoughts moved in the direction of a return to Europe. No doubt his visit home in

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1873 strengthened this inclination, for life for any European at Nanking must have been far from comfortable or attractive. The Taku incident confirmed this view, for it revealed beyond all possibility of doubt the radical incompatibility between English and Chinese views. After this it became with him only a question of arranging the mode and the manner of his departure when the secretaryship of the Kwoh Mission was placed at his disposal—so far, at least, as Li's own power and authority allowed.

A fortunate turn of events thus secured for him not only his return to England, upon which he was decided in his own mind, but his continuance in an honourable capacity and under congenial conditions in the Chinese service. At one moment it seemed as if on his return to England he would find himself without employment and confronted with the hazardous necessity of selecting a new career when he had reached middle life. The better fortune that befell him at this crisis was due to the entirely fortuitous circumstances that China had to send an apologetic Mission to England, and that by his own merit and services no other Englishman had the same claim or right as he had to accompany it as counsellor and general mentor. Sir Thomas Wade placed his seal of approbation on this conclusion by officially recording that "No Englishman was so well qualified to accompany it as English secretary and interpreter as Dr. Macartney."

In this manner the scene of his activity and the field upon which he had to display his capacity were changed from China to the Old Country, from the ancient tranquillity of Nanking to the busy, bustling centre of the universe. But there was not merely a change of scene, there was to be a not less complete change of work. For Li Hung Chang, Macartney had performed a number of commissions. He had been soldier and engineer, paymaster and director of arsenals. The experience gained in all these functions

could be of no practical use to him in his new work. The paths of diplomacy, devious or straight, opened out new vistas, but there was nothing save his own sound Scottish sense to justify him in thinking that they might lead to a fresh access of fortune and distinction. His knowledge of Chinese was quite sufficient to enable him to discharge the routine duties of interpreter, and in a really exceptional degree he had kept up his rudimentary acquaintance with French, still the language of diplomacy and the alternative tongue with all peoples calling themselves civilised. But he had had no training in a career where the tradition is that training counts for everything, and few persons anticipated that the silent, reserved man figuring in the entourage of the silk-garbed and peacock-plumed Celestials, who formed so showy and unusual a feature in the social gatherings of the season of 1877, far from remaining a mere interpreter, would become a political force of no inconsiderable magnitude in the diplomatic world of this Continent.

His only equipment for his new rôle was, as has been said, his natural shrewdness, and if he had any earlier experience that might prove useful in his new career it was that, which Gordon had mentioned in 1864 in the summary he gave of his friend's various occupations, of "peacemaker, at which task he was best."

It would be quite outside the purpose of this biography to attempt a detailed account of the work of the Chinese Legation in London during the thirty years that Sir Halliday Macartney was attached to it, in the first period as English Secretary, and during the second as Councillor of Legation. Much of that work was routine and trivial, some of it was contradictory or unintelligible, and it must be admitted that after China's defeat in the Japanese war a greatly diminished interest was taken in its existence, and for a time it was treated with less consideration in diplomacy and the world of high politics than it was wont to receive when it was the

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centre of important transactions with the Governments of Russia, France, and India. But during the whole of this period, whether the reputation of China was soaring to its zenith or declining to the possibility of an eclipse, the conduct of the work of the Legation was marked by tact, business capacity, and close compliance with the strict code of diplomatic etiquette, and every one knew that this efficiency was wholly due to the ability and vigilance of Sir Halliday Macartney.

The Chinese Mission reached Southampton on 21st January, 1877, and proceeded to London. The first duty it had to discharge was to present the letter of apology and regret from the Emperor of China for Mr. Margary's murder. This ceremony was held at Buckingham Palace on 7 February, when Queen Victoria received the two Ambassadors in special audience. Sir Thomas Wade, our Minister at Peking, who had negotiated the Chefoo Convention, was present and translated the Emperor's letter. He afterwards presented Dr. Macartney to Her Majesty. A few weeks later the Earl of Derby, then Secretary of State, gave an official banquet in honour of the envoys at the Foreign Office, and it was on this occasion that Lord Beaconsfield made the interesting reference to Dr. Macartney and his kinsman, Lord Macartney, referred to at the commencement of this biography. During the whole of the summer of 1877 the Chinese envoys were the lions of the season. The papers gave a good deal of space to their doings; *Vanity Fair* devoted a cartoon to H.E. Kwoh, and the illustrated weeklies contained numerous pictures dealing with their visits to the House of Commons and other public institutions.

Writing to a friend in a letter dated 23 February, 1877, Dr. Macartney asked: "Have you seen the *Graphic* and *The Illustrated London News* of this week? I wrote the account which accompanies the ministers' portraits in the *I.L.N.*,

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but only added the paragraph referring to the Ambassadors in the *Graphic*. I had a motive in doing this, because I feared the effect which the statements that the minister had been introducing his wife to foreigners right and left might have on his friends in China. I wish I had been able to write the *Graphic* article, for it might have been made more interesting. That in the *I.L.N.* might have been much better, but I had to send off my first draft without having had time to re-read it. Do not take the names of Chinese institutions as given by the *I.L.N.* as correct, for they have made a dreadful muddle of them."

The following letter from General Gordon belongs to this period :—

" Dr. Macartney,
" Chinese Embassy,
" care Foreign Office, " OBEID, 3 June, 1877.
" London. " KORDOFAN.

" MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

" Thank you and their Excellencies the Chinese Ambassadors for the honour they paid my brother. I hope you are well, and not bored to death with fêtes. I have had a lot to do, and am leaving this for Darfur to-morrow. I have at least 5000 miles of camel riding to do this year. Contrary to the Chinese, His Highness the Khedive gives *all* his confidence when he does do it, and I am completely unfettered in my actions and have complete civil and military control. Will this abnormal state of things succeed, or be beneficial eventually to the country? It is a question I cannot answer. How I would like to have talked to you, about so many things! But it was not to be—my time was too short. As for personal comfort for me it is over in this life, for I will devote myself to this country. I never could have so fair a field as I have here, though it is a hot, weary one enough, if one clung to the world. I wish that your lot had thrown you here instead of China, for though I infinitely prefer the Chinese, yet they are too advanced and conservative a people to receive new ideas, while these people are much more unadulterated. Do not think I compliment you, but you and one other man alone would be able, in my opinion, to

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get on here. With kindest regards to your chief and kindest
wishes for your health,

“ Believe me, my dear Macartney,
“ Yours sincerely,
“ C. G. GORDON.”

While the ministers attracted great notice at Court and in society, their attendants were not less the objects of curiosity on the part of the general public. Orientals in their native costume, with pig-tails trailing behind, were not then so common a spectacle in the streets as they became in later years. The staff of the Legation, whenever they took their walks abroad, therefore attracted much notice, and they were generally followed by a small crowd of curious and more or less good-natured idlers. Among Kwoh's attendants were two military orderlies who accompanied him on all State occasions, and who took the place of footmen on his carriage. They wore peacock feathers depending from their hats, which gave them a martial air, and they also carried umbrellas. In addition, they were fine, strapping fellows, and were infinitely more imposing representatives of Far Cathay than the secretaries and attachés, who, in comparison, aroused little interest. Their appearance in the streets was always a signal for a small cohort of loafers, young and old, to attach themselves to them and follow their movements.

As a rule the crowd did not press too far, and as a rule, too, the Chinese were good-tempered. But on one occasion a drunken navvy assaulted one of them in Oxford Street, for which, despite the minister's intercession on his behalf for leniency, he received an exemplary sentence. Unfortunately, after this incident, the Chinese themselves were not quite so amiable, and showed an inclination to resent the harmless inquisitiveness of their self-imposed suite, and their pride seemed now to take offence at the prevalent juvenile desire to touch their pig-tails, where at first they

had seen only a Western joke. One day, again in Oxford Street, the crowd became too obtrusive, and some one touched, perhaps pulled, the pig-tail of one of them. Round swung the Celestial, no longer a placid, smiling Oriental, but an infuriated human being; up went his umbrella, and down it came on the head of the presumed offender. The blow was not very serious, as the youth evaded its full force by stepping back into the roadway, but in doing so he incurred fresh damage, for a passing cab struck and injured his foot.

On this incident hangs the following little story. The injured youth, or rather his parents, were led to believe that it was a case for compensation, and they wrote to the Foreign Office a lawyer's letter, which was presented in due course to the Chinese minister. The step had other consequences than to give its authors a practical lesson as to diplomatic privileges, by showing that damages were unrecoverable against the accredited representative of a foreign State. The incident could not be kept from Kwoh. The receipt of a lawyer's letter was too instructive an object lesson in Western ways to be concealed from His Excellency by a secretary or interpreter. But Kwoh treated the matter somewhat unexpectedly. Instead of thinking of the provocation his attendant had undoubtedly received, he chose to consider only the fact that one of his staff had taken part in a broil in the street, and that he had thus threatened to compromise the Legation with the British people. Kwoh was a very great official with high ideas of the privileges belonging to his order. He had been Viceroy at Canton with powers of life and death throughout two large provinces. He would listen to no pleas in favour of his unfortunate retainer, and he drafted a dispatch to the Foreign Office of which the following was the pith :—

"The Chinese Minister has learned with deep regret that one of his attendants had been guilty of committing an

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assault in the streets of London. The minister having been entrusted by his Government with the responsible duty of restoring harmony to the relations of the two countries, regarded with the greatest displeasure the misconduct of his servant. But after all, the individual in question was a person of no importance, and it was not for either the Secretary of State or for the Minister of China, engaged as they both were in important matters, to occupy themselves with such insignificant persons or incidents. The minister then begged to inform Lord Derby that he had given orders for the immediate execution of the offender within the precincts of the Legation."

It is not recorded what the Foreign Office thought of this extraordinary dispatch ; but it is certain that Dr. Macartney had the greatest difficulty in turning Kwoh from his purpose, and in convincing him that the execution of even a Chinese servant in one of the cellars of Portland Place would not come under the head of diplomatic privileges, and that it would put a speedy end to the existence of the Chinese Legation itself.

Allusion may be made here to the affair of another Chinaman, although it happened a little later. Ah Ching had resided in London many years before Kwoh came here, and he was a rather well-known character about the streets, more especially in the City. No one knew exactly where he came from or who he was. At one time he seemed fairly prosperous, but long before Kwoh arrived he was little better than a vagrant. He presented himself at the Legation and requested assistance. It was given to him on several occasions, but at last the day arrived when he met with a refusal and a request not to call again. He then took to bombarding the minister with letters and petitions, but these producing no better result he resorted to a final and, as he conceived, infallible artifice.

One morning the minister received a black-edged letter purporting to come from the widow of Ah Ching, who had just died. She stated that the last wish he had expressed

was that, like every other good Chinaman, he desired his body to be sent back to China for burial in his native land, and he told her with his dying breath that the good Chinese Minister would be sure to provide the necessary funds, which he estimated at ten pounds to save trouble. The minister was touched and sanctioned the payment, but Dr. Macartney was suspicious, the specifying of ten pounds raising doubts in his mind. He determined to take the money himself, and he asked the Chinese Secretary, who had helped the man on earlier occasions, to accompany him. They reached the man's lodgings. They were shown upstairs, and they found Ah Ching lying in a coffin. He looked dead, and was decidedly dirty, and Macartney was almost persuaded that the case was genuine. His Chinese companion, however, went into the matter more thoroughly. Undeterred by the dirt, he touched the body of his countryman. It was certainly cold, but not cold enough. Taking a pencil from his pocket he then began to tickle the corpse's nose. Ah Ching resisted nobly, but at last the irrepressible sneeze followed, and with it the corpse rose to life.

In the course of Sir Halliday's long diplomatic career he was destined to have an almost unequalled experience in dealing with the Press "behind the scenes." It began during the period of Kwoh's tenure of the post of minister in London. The arrival of the first Chinese representative in England was necessarily accompanied by a crop of rumours mostly erroneous, and when these seemed to reflect on the position of the envoys, and to be calculated to lower their dignity in the eyes not only of Europeans, but of their fellow-countrymen at home, some correction or refutation of the loose statements published became necessary. An early instance of this occurred when a paragraph went the round of the papers to the effect that Kwoh was an inveterate opium smoker. *The Times* of 31 August, 1877, published a

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brief letter signed H. M., to the effect that H. E. Kwoh was not an opium smoker at all, and that there was not a single opium smoker on the staff of the Legation.

This question was invested with more than usual importance by the fact that a strong anti-opium agitation was going on in London at the time, and that the Chinese Minister had received a deputation from the Anti-Opium Society headed by the venerable Lord Shaftesbury. On this occasion the minister made a speech couched in flowery platitudes, and as it was very inaccurately reported in the Press, an official translation was prepared by the Legation for circulation, and read as follows :—

" On the 17th of March a deputation from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, comprising Lord Shaftesbury and other gentlemen, came to see the ministers of China. The reply given by the Chinese Minister at the time was as follows :—

" ' When in China His Excellency already heard that England had established such a society, and regarded it as a great movement. After coming to London, His Excellency saw Dr. Legge and Mr. Turner, and talked about the suppression of opium. Their words originated in great sincerity, and for this His Excellency felt still more grateful. Since the last forty or fifty years opium smoking in China had become a habit ; at present measures were taken to put a stop to it, but such a work could hardly be accomplished within one or two years. His Excellency had only to request his Government to forbid it. It was necessary for China to be able herself to terminate opium smoking before she could devise means with England to suppress the opium trade. At the present moment China had not begun forbidding it ; how could she consult with England abruptly on the Indian Opium Trade Question ? In compliance with your well-formed ideas, His Excellency would sincerely memorialise the throne that steps might be taken for its suppression. Upon the whole, such opium was undoubtedly an exceedingly great evil. That your society proposed its prohibition was, indeed, a very benevolent movement. Lately His Excellency had read the newspaper of Shanghai, and learned that Holland intended also to put an end to the opium smoking in Sumatra and Kolopa. What was said in the paper

was also to the point. Thus it was seen that such drug was truly what all nations abhorred alike. It should be an indispensable measure to act in concert with other countries to stop it in a similar manner. That you, gentlemen of the deputation, entertained such a noble idea and such a grand conception, and treated others as yourselves, was great benevolence and high righteousness. Opium smokers of all places were expected to express their unanimous grateful feelings. After a few years such drug might be, it was supposed, terminated. It was still a sincere hope to abide by such ideas, and the minds of the Chinese people might be by this means reinstated so as to welcome your kind wishes. ”

While the British public and Press were evincing an interest, however languid, in the proceedings of the Chinese Mission, the other side of the picture was revealed in the rumours and statements current in China itself about the doings of Kwoh and his staff. Kwoh had, of course, enemies in the ranks of his own service where envy and uncharitableness are the ruling passions, and there were those who had resolved that his mission to Europe should prove his ruin. Every rumour that reached China as to the occurrences in London was utilised for the purpose of discreet slander, and it was discovered that even in the Legation itself there was some one sending to China false or exaggerated stories to his discredit. These found their way to the *Shunpao*, a Chinese paper conducted on Western lines, then recently established at Shanghai with the patronage and support of Li Hung Chang. The following instance of these stories was the most glaring.

Kwoh had had his portrait painted by an English artist, Walter Goodman, and in July, 1878, the *Shunpao* published a translation of an “anecdotal article,” less common in those days than ours, alleged to have been written by this gentleman. From it, it appeared that the gentleman of the brush had turned his opportunities to account, and had taken notes, which he had in due course printed.

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The following were samples of these indiscretions :—

"The minister told me that he would not don his Court dress because it would compel every Englishman who saw him in it to fall down and kowtow. His Excellency also, in requesting me to show clearly his button and feather, the insignia of his rank, bent down until his face approached his knee and became quite invisible. He also insisted that he must be taken in such a position that both his ears might be clearly seen, lest his countrymen should say, if only one was visible, that the other had been cut off."

When this article holding him up to ridicule came under Kwoh's notice he was very indignant, and was inclined to blame Dr. Macartney, as Mr. Goodman had been introduced by him. On the matter being brought to Mr. Goodman's knowledge, however, he wrote a strong disclaimer of the article, and denied having written any of the statements alleged to any person or at any time. But the Goodman anecdotes were after all not the most serious allegation given publicity to in the *Shunpao*. In China the seclusion of women and their keeping aloof from public ceremonies are as complete as if the purdah system of India existed. What, then, must have been the sentiment among the respectable Chinese of Kwoh's acquaintance when they read in the *Shunpao* that, at the official reception at the Chinese Legation, in June, 1878, "the wife of the minister had sat down to table and ate and drank, not only with the ladies, but the gentlemen of the party."

In this story the hand of an enemy might clearly be traced, and the strongest possible protest was addressed to the *Shunpao* by Dr. Macartney, who affirmed that, "while the minister has often entertained parties of ladies and gentlemen at dinner, never in a single instance did his wife appear at table or do more than receive in her own private apartments such ladies of the party as might wish to visit her there." The effort to traduce and disparage whatever envoy the Chinese sent to England in his own country has



MADAME KWOH (WIFE OF THE FIRST CHINESE MINISTER IN LONDON)





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remained the penalty attached to the post of Chinese Minister in London, and probably explains why there has been in late years an increasing reluctance on the part of really highly placed and influential officials to accept the office.

The end of the story may be told here. On his return home in 1879, Kwoh threatened the *Shunpao* with a prosecution, and he was considered very good-natured when he contented himself with an abject apology on the part of the paper. The *Shunpao* never divulged the name of its informant, but there was hardly any doubt left that it was Kwoh's own colleague Lieu who had sought to injure him.¹

The reference to Madame Kwoh was double-edged, because rumours had been prevalent that she was not the minister's principal wife. At the time of his appointment it was said that Kwoh intended taking his two secondary wives with him to London, but as a matter of fact only one sailed, and she was his legal wife. The malicious story had no foundation in fact. At the end of 1878, when Kwoh's return was drawing near, there was some talk of Queen Victoria granting an interview to Madame Kwoh. Sir Thomas Wade had expressed his approval of this gratification being afforded the minister. In consequence of this wish, and the approval of our representative in China, Queen Victoria received Madame Kwoh in a special audience at Osborne on 17 January, 1879, when the Chinese Minister paid his visit of adieu prior to his return to China. Dr. Macartney was present and acted as interpreter on this interesting occasion.

Another instance of the misrepresentations made, on this occasion in good faith, about Kwoh was furnished by *The Times*, which in an article published on 17th May alleged that Kwoh had once been "an obstructionist." As a matter of fact, the statement was not true. Kwoh had always been

¹ In November, 1877, Lieu left London on appointment as Chinese Minister at Berlin.



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an enlightened official, and it was to his credit that, when Sankolinism broke faith with us and arrested Parkes and his companions during our advance to Pekin in 1860, Kwoh had indignantly protested against the breach of faith. The statement of its correspondent was contradicted by Sir Halliday in a letter to *The Times*, which published it on 28 May, but it is referred to here for the purpose merely of introducing the following interesting letter which Sir Halliday wrote to *The Times* contributor, an old friend of his in China.

"**5 AVENUE DU ROI DE ROME, PARIS,**
"25 July, 1848.¹

"Not long in England myself I cannot bid you welcome to the old country. I am glad to learn that you are going to be in London so soon, for as I intend leaving Paris on Sunday next I will be there to meet you, and give you such satisfaction for my literary sins as you may require, always provided that you do not ask me to cross the Channel with you and meet you in the Bois de Boulogne.

"The letter I sent to *The Times* was, I assure you, written much against my inclination: for what necessity was there for disclaiming a change of opinion which, had it occurred, would not only have been no disgrace, but the necessary result of a clearer insight into the civilisation of the West? Do not do anything rashly, for, in spite of what you assert, I hope to be able to show you when we meet that what I stated about the State paper was strictly correct. The mistake into which you were led was a very natural one, and I would have explained it in my letter had it not been that I was not made properly acquainted with it until I told the minister of the letter you had written to me on the subject. The State paper alluded to was of a very different nature from that which you must have seen. In China, as in Europe, any document is not genuine merely because it finds its way into circulation. I shall show you when we meet that such was the case with the one in question.

"The Legation is at Portland Place, where you will find me almost any day up to at least one o'clock. Let me know when you are coming, and I will make a point of being at

¹ In May, 1878, Kwoh was accredited as Chinese minister to France as well as to England.

home. The minister is always glad to see any one who has been in China, and would of course be delighted to see you. In many respects I am sure you will admit that he is a remarkable man, etc."

Although he always seemed to be unaware of the fact, Sir Halliday Macartney had many detractors, who made it their business to circulate silly and slanderous stories to his detriment. One of the silliest of these was the very old story, first spread about when his relations with Li Hung Chang were very close in the Sungkiang and Soochow period, and revived whenever some malicious and envious person wished to say something especially nasty about a man ignorantly and falsely described as being more Chinese than the Chinese, to the effect that he had performed the kowtow ceremony. The kowtow ceremony is that of striking the ground with the forehead before a superior, which even the highest Chinese officials have occasionally to perform to one another, and which implies nothing dishonouring or unnatural in their eyes, but which in ours must always be regarded as so degrading and humiliating that death itself were preferable. This was the practice that a person jealous of Macartney's exceptional influence with the Chinese, jealous above all things of his having been appointed secretary to Kwoh's Mission, alleged that he had acquiesced in and abjectly performed. Those who knew Macartney laughed the statement to scorn, those who did not believe, or half-believed, as their capacity for credulity permitted at the cost of their good sense or common charity.

It might be sufficient to say that there is not a tittle of evidence to support the statement, and if it had really occurred many would have known of it—Gordon among others. Yet, apart from one passing episode, Gordon was Macartney's lifelong friend. Sir Harry Parkes had the strongest feelings, too, about the indignity of the kowtow ceremony, yet it was he who in 1864 set Macartney right



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with Sir Frederick Bruce. Both Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade would have known of the fact if it were one, and their views about the ceremony were those of General Gordon, Sir Harry Parkes, and everybody else, and had the charge been ever definitely made, instead of vaguely insinuated in secret, Macartney would have been a doomed man, socially, in their eyes. Yet they felt for him a very special regard and respect for the manner in which he had borne himself in a very trying and anomalous position, and maintained intact the dignity of the English character.

The following extract from a letter of his old friend, Mr. Edgeworth Starkey, to myself, bears upon this point :—

"He was often twitted with having made the full kowtow to high Chinese officials at visits of ceremony, but he declared that on such occasions he did not go beyond the 'semi-obeyance,' viz. by slipping down the right hand to the bended right knee. His detractors (and they were not a few among 'foreigners' who should have known better) averred that he went down on his knees and bumped his head nine times in the orthodox fashion. He was always dubbed by these 'a Chinaman at heart,' yet I believe he inwardly despised and disliked the natives, though he did not care to see them unjustly attacked, and thus appeared at times as their champion.

"His strong personality and rather severe manner greatly impressed the Chinese of Nanking, where no doubt he was feared to some extent, as he never forgave an injury—nor do I believe, on the other hand, he ever forgot or abandoned a friend. In our frequent rambles through the streets and beautifully wooded lanes of Nanking (some parts of the city are quite rural, as since its recapture from the rebels in 1864 only a small portion has been rebuilt) I have seen military officers of high rank, and mounted soldiers, dismount, and stand at attention while he passed, a mark of respect that is seldom shown even to viceroys and generalissimos nowadays! Also the term yangkueitze (foreign devil) was never called out in his hearing. I have heard consuls and naval officers, from admirals downwards, freely 'be-devilled' in Nanking without any remonstrance on their part."

I will add one counter argument of my own. From the earliest period of his career Sir Halliday Macartney was especially proud of his kinsmanship with Lord Macartney. He was, of course, fully acquainted with all the details of Lord Macartney's embassy, and in his library at Nanking were the much-prized volumes which contained the narratives of Staunton and its other chroniclers. Well, what was the one distinctive feature in that embassy? It was the successful refusal of Lord Macartney to perform the kowtow. It would have been, in any case, a point of honour with Sir Halliday to have refused to prostrate himself before any living man, but the lesson he learnt from his namesake's example was that there was no necessity to perform it in order to impress the Chinese. Refusal, not compliance, was the sure means of extracting from them the respect and tolerance upon which he always insisted in his relations with the Chinese.

This is perhaps the best place to tell the following story, as it relates to the kowtow, although it happened at a somewhat later date. It will show how skilfully Sir Halliday could get himself out of a difficult position, and such were naturally of not infrequent occurrence in his close and confidential relations with the Chinese inmates of the Legation in London and for many years in Paris as well, amongst whom he was the only European.

The Chinese ceremonial is very elaborate and strict. High officials from time to time perform the kowtow to one another. The Emperor's birthday, and that of the Empress Dowager, is generally made the occasion of such a display; and, finally, the official who comes fresh from the Imperial presence is entitled to receive as a sort of reflection of the Emperor the prostration ceremony at their first meeting from his colleagues who have been less fortunate in the temporary exile of a Legation abroad than those who stand habitually in the sight of the Dragon Throne. The incident



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mentioned relates to a meeting under the last-named cir-
cumstances.

A high official charged with a special Mission to the Court of England was announced as being on his way from Peking, and the minister in London was charged by the Tsungli Yamen to show him every honour and assistance, and to meet him on his way so that he might smooth the last stage of the important man's journey. The minister of the moment was not a person of any social importance, such as Kwoh and the Marquis Tsēng. He was rather disposed to show that the greatest honour within his reach was to play lackey to the greater diplomatic personage who was to figure for a season on the Foreign Office list of distinguished guests. He turned up his book of etiquette based on the orders of the Board of Rites, and he issued an intimation to the Legation staff that the very first thing they would have to do on meeting His Excellency was to fall down on their knees and smite the earth, and that he would set the example. To tell the truth the staff did not like the plan. To kowtow in the drawing-room of Portland Place is one thing, to kowtow on the platform of a railway station before a crowd of grinning and deriding "foreign devils" is quite another. And the place of meeting was to be a railway station in Paris!

In their dismay the principal members of the staff came to Sir Halliday for counsel. They reported the minister's orders; they alleged him to be obdurate, and so determined was he in his plan that he had decided to take over to Paris the whole staff of the Legation down to the latest-joined junior attaché, so that there might be no malingeringers. Sir Halliday listened to their story, replied that they must all obey the minister, and added that perhaps he could arrange for the reality to be not quite so bad as the anticipation. He also saw that he had to get himself out of a delicate position with as much skill as he could display, for he was seemingly

included in the order. It might even have been issued for his special confusion, for a glaring refusal to kowtow when every one else kowtowed might have been converted into an insult to the Emperor for the purpose of effecting his ruin at Peking.

In due course the staff of the Legation went, as arranged, to Paris, arriving the day before the advent of the special Ambassador. Sir Halliday, on arrival, went at once to the office of the Lyon-Méditerranée Line and explained that on the occasion of their meeting the two Chinese representatives would perform a weird ceremony which would be somewhat out of place on the platform of a great railway terminus. He consequently begged the favour of a special waiting-room being placed at their Excellencies' disposal. Having been assured that there was no risk of a conflagration, the manager of the line with national politeness placed a saloon at the disposal of the Chinese travellers.

Sir Halliday, when the time came, escorted the minister and his staff to the station, and leading them to the waiting-room left them to arrange themselves in correct official order, while he went on to the platform to await the incoming train with the important visitor for whom the special ceremony had been prepared. The train arrived, the great man got out, so did his long retinue, and Sir Halliday Macartney escorted him and his following with many bows to the waiting-room, when he stood aside to let them pass in. The whole brood went in, and then with a quick sign to the railway attendant, Sir Halliday had the door closed and locked securely, while he himself waited outside until sufficient time had elapsed for the kowtow to be performed, as he told me, ninety-nine times over. Then the door was opened, and every one was hurried to the waiting carriages. What had taken place inside Sir Halliday never asked. It was not his business.

During much of the period covered by Kwoh's tenure of



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the post of minister in London, the northern provinces of China were visited by a terrible famine, which arose partly from the devastation caused by the overflow of the Hwangho River, and partly from the natural consequences of the long civil war provoked by the Nienfei rebels and the Mohammedans of Kansuh. This calamity was brought to the notice of the British public, a relief fund was started, and for the first time the people of China learnt by practical deeds that the much aspersed "foreign devils" sympathised with their sufferings. Kwoh personally was very much touched by these efforts on behalf of his poor countrymen, and took several occasions of testifying to his warm appreciation of what was being done for them. But while doing so he had also to defend his Government against the somewhat common charge made against it, of being supine in the matter, and of neglecting to take any remedial steps of its own. The following letter deals with the point in an interesting way :—

To the Revd. Arnold Forster,
Secretary of Famine Relief Committee,
London.

5 AVENUE DU ROI DE ROME,
PARIS, 23rd June, 1878.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I received your letter of the 21st inst., and in accordance with the request contained in it, I immediately submitted it to the minister, who now desires me to express to you the great obligations under which he feels himself laid to you for the solicitude and energy which, as Secretary of the Chinese Famine Fund, you have displayed in endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings of his poor countrymen. Though concurring in much of what you assert as to the action of the Chinese Government, His Excellency still thinks that there are several points as to which you are not quite correct. The letters published in *The Times* are in some respects also inaccurate, and calculated to lead to misconception as to the extent of the assistance which has been given to the famine-stricken districts by the Chinese Government. But whilst stating this he regrets that nothing can

be said in justification of them for their want of appreciation of the advantages to be derived from the adoption of the improvements with which the material civilisation of the West could furnish them.

"There cannot be any doubt as to the solicitude of the Government for the suffering of the people, nor of the great endeavours which it has made to relieve it. The distress however, on this occasion being of unparalleled extent and severity, it has been difficult, or, I should rather say, impossible to cope with it. But it is not only the Government and the Imperial Government which has made great exertions. The provincial Governments have also nobly done their duty. Last year several provinces instead of sending the ordinary rice tribute to Peking, retained it to be forwarded to the famine districts. The Hoo Poo also made liberal contributions, both in money and in kind, and the voluntary contributions of the officials, gentry, and people of the whole country have amounted to not less than some millions of taels. (Taxes were also remitted.) The taxes of China are, as you know, fixed, so extra demands cannot be met by the imposition of increased duties as they can in other countries. For the last two years the receipts have been far below the normal amount, and this whilst the demands on the Treasury have been excessive. All these things taken into consideration, I think it will be admitted that the Chinese Government, if unable to contend with the distress, have done all in their power to relieve it. With regard to what has been said as to the untimely expenditure of so much money in repairing the Temple of Heaven at Peking, those who would blame them for it evidently do so under the impression that the work was determined on quite recently, instead of being, as it really was, resolved on seven or eight years ago. The money for the purchase of the wood in question was issued from the Treasury and actually expended not less than five years ago, and therefore years before the famine which is now raging in China occurred, or was even considered probable. From this you will see how excessively unjust are the aspersions which the gentleman writing in *The Times* under the initials J.G., makes against the Chinese Government. It is inconceivable that J.G., supposing him to have even the slightest acquaintance with Chinese matters, should have fallen into the mistake which he has unfortunately committed. Surely he might have known that searching for 'Tall Admirals' on the mountains of Sze Chuen, and their laborious transport by land and water



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over thousands of miles, is the work of years and not of days, weeks, or months. Seeing, therefore, that the money for the repairs of the Temple of Heaven was issued so long ago, it will readily be admitted that its expenditure cannot be considered as having had any effect in determining the sum which the Government was able to allot to the Famine Relief.

"Whatever, therefore, may be the shortcomings for which, owing to defective administration, the Chinese Government may be answerable, they cannot fairly be charged with the crime imputed to them by the correspondent to whom I have alluded. However unfortunate may be the effect of J.G.'s letter, we must impcribe his writing it to ignorance instead of to an endeavour to keep people from subscribing to the Famine Fund. The minister is reluctant to appear in the columns of *The Times* as replying to the letter of J.G., but considers that it might somewhat lessen the tendency to underrate the efforts of his Government, and at the same time strengthen the hands of the Famine Fund Committee, were you to write pointing out the mistake into which J.G. has fallen, and the fact that the contribution of the Government to the Famine Relief is measured by the amount of money and grain which the Central and local Governments have together accorded for relief purposes. With the minister's best thanks for your benevolent exertions, believe me to be,

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The following letter reveals the lighter side of Sir Halliday's character. It relates to the offering of a reward for information as to the whereabouts of Pan-Yin-lin, a Chinese tailor attached to the Legation at Berlin, who had mysteriously disappeared. It is also informing for the light it indirectly throws on his true opinion about the Chinese:—

"MY DEAR —

"26 February, 1879.

"The 'Agony Column' of *The Times* is not just the place where we would expect to look for diplomatic news, or a record of the movements of the foreign embassies and legations; still there, in connection with the recently established Legation at Berlin, we find the following announcement:—

"To those who know anything of the ways that are dark and the tricks that are vain in which the Chinese are said to delight, these simple lines will probably be taken as fraught with a history. But be that as it may, the friends of China cannot but see in them cause for regret, for with all the silent avenues of the Foreign Office open to them, why does the Chinese Legation at Berlin choose rather to seek for their 'man of threads and swatches' amongst the deserted husbands, the disconsolate betrayed but still forgiving maidens of the 'Agony Column?'

"When one reads of the hosts of cooks, barbers, tailors, chiropodists, amounting to a veritable Mongolian invasion, which accompany the Chinese Ambassadors accredited to the European capitals, one naturally asks who pays the piper, and if the Government, why it should be so considerate for the stomachs, beards and backs of its agents? That they should bring a cook or a comprador we can understand, for how otherwise is a Celestial to find the food of the gods amongst barbarians such as we are! That they should hamper themselves with the other members of their indescribable retinue is beyond our comprehension and utterly inscrutable. If they are paid for by the Government, all that we can say is that it is a very kind one, and well deserves the name of paternal. But then, why should we find Mr. Pan-Yin-lin running away from such love, and most likely driven to seek for Lethe in the waters of the Spree, as seems not at all improbable?

"But again, if the Government pays, why does it seem to care only for the comfort and the luxury of the minister and his secretaries? Has it no bowels of compassion for the patient drudges who run up against one in the street, giving the lie to all the fine stories which we hear about the superexcellence of Chinese washerwomen, and making you doubt whether you are in Belgravia or Ratcliffe Highway?

"If the Chinese Government does not know that it is unfavourable to their interests and to the consideration in which it would like to be held, the really intelligent, gentlemanly men who have in some instances been sent as its representatives to Europe ought to tell it. Otherwise, whose fault would it be if Europeans should conceive a lower estimate of the degree of China's civilisation than that to which she is really entitled?"

During the summer of 1878, Kwoh Sung-tao informed his Government that he wished to be relieved of his duties. He

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had accepted the Mission entrusted to him of presenting the Emperor of China's letter of regret for Mr. Margary's murder, and by the admission of everybody he had discharged his task with equal dignity and delicacy. He had also brought to a successful issue the experiment of establishing a fixed Chinese Legation in the capitals of England and France. In the salons of Paris as well as in London he had made a most favourable impression by the urbanity of his manners, his personal distinction, and that unaffected courtesy which is designated by our neighbours *politesse de cœur*.

But having brought the main objects of his mission to a satisfactory conclusion, he felt that his work was done. He was essentially a man of peace, and he had no inclination to practise even the most innocent forms of diplomatic disputation. He never penned, or allowed to be penned, during the whole of his stay in this country, a single argumentative or contentious dispatch to the Foreign Office. The records of his ministership are *nil*; if the China Department of the Foreign Office assigned a drawer or a pigeon-hole for his communications, it never contained more than the formal letters relating to official and Court receptions. His Excellency Kwoh gave the Foreign Office no trouble. For all the work his presence in London entailed on the department, the Chinese representative might have been non-existent. It was different later on, but in his time the Chinese Legation appeared to be the most innocent and least troublesome addition to the diplomatic sphere established in London that could be conceived.

If all the ministers from China had been of the same frame of mind as Kwoh Sung-tao, there would have been little scope for the display of any special diplomatic ability by Sir Halliday Macartney, and the record of his later work might have contained no more striking episodes than his

skilful interpreting between the Chinese mandarins appointed to this country and the various distinguished personages and officials with whom they were brought in contact. But, as the sequel will show, the tranquil undisturbed period of Kwoh Sung-tao's stay was not typical of the future life of the Chinese Legation in London. It formed the fitting opening to a more active and assertive phase which was marked by many important transactions, some contentions, and constant proof that, like other embassies and legations, the Chinese Legation was nothing loth to take advantage of the movements and necessities of the times for the benefit of the desires or material interests of the Government it represented. In those troubled waters, amid those clashing conflicts, Sir Halliday Macartney found the opportunity to prove his ability, and to establish his claim to rank among the most skilful diplomatists of his time.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARRIVAL OF THE MARQUIS TSĒNG

The Marquis Tsēng—Arrival in Paris—Speech at Mansion House—The Marchioness—The Tsēng family—A Chinese opinion of America—Some opium correspondence—Sir Harry Parkes on Japan—A Chinese Navy—German theories—Admiral Ting—A compliment to Japan—An amusing letter—King of the Sandwich Isles—Missionary incidents—Chinese refuse to pay compensation.

In the summer of 1878 the report appeared in some of the China papers that the young Marquis Tsēng, son of the late Viceroy Tsēng Kwofan, was likely to enter upon a diplomatic career. In September he was specifically named for the post of minister in Paris, and on Kwoh's desire to resign becoming known, he was formally appointed his successor, in the dual capacity of minister in London and Paris. The nomination did not attract any notice. No comment is to be found in any of the organs of public opinion, and it must consequently be a mere assumption that the Chinese Government's selection of a man of distinguished family to be its second representative at the Courts of Western Europe met with approval in official circles. But for Dr. Macartney, whose appointment carried with it no assurance of permanency, it was distinctly pleasing intelligence. The nomination of his friend of the Nanking period removed all cause of apprehension as to his position, and the English secretary could feel assured that he might count at least on the friendship of his new chief.

But if the advent of the Marquis Tsēng was agreeable from the private and personal point of view, there was no

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evidence available to show what were his intentions and opinions with regard to public questions. It was unknown whether he came with any special instructions from his Government, or whether he had any strong views of his own to carry out, and in this respect Macartney knew as little as the veriest outsider. All he remembered was, that the Marquis had shown a desire to learn something about foreigners, and that he had even acquired a very slight smattering of English. But there was no reason whatever for anticipating that the new minister would display strength and versatility in a new and difficult part, and that he would give to the exercise of China's diplomacy the most vigorous turn and expression that the world has yet seen.

Having referred to the Marquis Tséng's slight acquaintance with English, and having given in a former chapter some specimens of his epistolary efforts, it may be as well to state here that the Marquis Tséng did not keep up his study of our language, and that all his later correspondence was in Chinese, which was translated by a secretary who, during the last years of his life, was one of his own sons. At the same time, he may have possessed more knowledge of our language than he admitted, and I may mention that at the many interviews I had with him in Portland Place and at Folkestone, when very important matters were discussed with the object of publishing his views on the questions under discussion with Russia, France, and the India Office, he frequently told Macartney that there was no necessity to interpret, as he had understood my remarks; and as these conversations took place with the map of the region under discussion before us, it showed at least that he could follow the general drift of a conversation. Still, the Marquis Tséng must be bracketed with the other non-English-speaking ministers from China to this country, who were dependent on the loyal and intelligent co-operation of their English secretary.

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The Marquis Tséng, accompanied by his wife, daughter, and three sons, with a retinue of nearly fifty secretaries and servants, sailed from Shanghai on 22 November, 1878, and reached Paris on 4 January, 1879. Kwoh (who, it may be mentioned, was connected with the Tséng family) and Macartney were there to welcome him, and, as already described, they returned to London for the farewell visit to the Queen, while the new minister remained in Paris. Tséng came over on 30 January to take formal possession of the Legation in London, but remained only a few hours, leaving Dr. Macartney to act as chargé d'affaires. Having presented his letters of credence in Paris, and attended the official receptions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis, accompanied by his family and suite, took up his residence definitely in Portland Place on the last day of February. On the 20th March he went to Windsor to present his letters of credence to Queen Victoria, and early in April he made his first public appearance at an Easter banquet at the Mansion House, when, in a few well-chosen sentences, he expressed the thanks of his Government for the generous aid the City of London had given those of its subjects who were suffering from famine in Northern China.

The following letter to the Foreign Office, in reply to a discreet inquiry, is interesting for the information it gives about the status of women in China, and reveals that Macartney himself was not free from doubts as to the eligibility of Madame Kwoh, who had been presented to Queen Victoria a few weeks before on Sir Thomas Wade's recommendation :—

"12th April, 1879.

"DEAR MR. BARRINGTON,

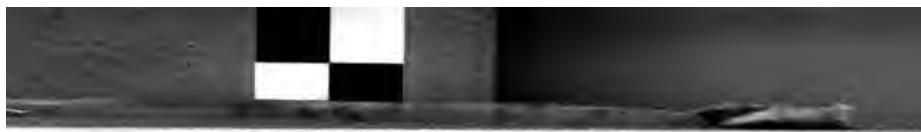
"In reply to your letter of yesterday, I am glad to state that having served for many years under the minister's father, and been acquainted with many of the members of his family, I am in a position to answer in the most satisfactory manner your inquiry as to the real position of his wife.

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"Though, as you perhaps are aware, in China, as in most Oriental countries, polygamy is allowed, and amongst the rich is, indeed, the rule, the minister has but one wife, the lady who has accompanied him to this country. He being a marquis, it would, according to European usages, follow that his wife must be a marchioness, but in China such is not the case, for unless the title should be specially conferred on her by what is called Ming Fu, neither the title nor the insignia of rank which accompany it would be accorded to her or permitted, and there is little danger of these being assumed by a lady who had no claim to them, for the Chinese do not, as with us, merely rely upon the good sense of the individual and the effects of public criticism to correct and restrain such abuses. Severe penalties, which could reach not only the wife but the husband, are enacted against them. I am not sufficiently learned in the Chinese law to say what they are, but consider it not unlikely that the penalty for such light-headedness might be the introduction of the lady to a coiffeur whose single dressing might do for ever. With such guarantees for propriety, is it a wonder that the East should be the 'glass of fashion'?

"The minister's wife possesses the qualification above alluded to, and I have seen her dressed in robes similar to those worn by her husband and the badge which is characteristic of a marquis, namely, a dragon embroidered on the breast piece. Nor was her birth unbecoming her present position, for she is the daughter of the Governor of Shansi. From what I have said it will be seen that her position is most unexceptionable. I have, therefore, not the slightest hesitation in answering in the affirmative your question as to whether she should be allowed to see the Queen. Principally owing to the difficulty of standing so long, I think it unlikely that she would like to attend any of the Drawing Rooms, though she will probably on some occasion, when H.M. is in London, ask to be privately received.

"I have stated that I have no hesitation in answering in the affirmative. Had the same question been put to me regarding the wife of the former minister, I doubt whether I would have given the same reply. I was altogether unprepared for such a request, when during an interview which Kwoh tajen had with Lord Salisbury in September last, I was instructed to ask his Lordship about Madame Kwoh being received by the Queen. I could not, in Lord Salisbury's presence, discuss with the minister the advisability of



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making such a request. I had no alternative but to make it, and had Sir T. Wade not been in London I would have felt greatly embarrassed as to what course I ought to follow, whether I ought to let the Foreign Office know of my scruples or let the matter take its course. I mentioned to Sir Thomas Wade what had transpired at the interview between Lord Salisbury and Kwoh tajen. He expressed himself as pleased at the request having been made, and a hope that it would be acceded to. I felt rather surprised at this, but considered that if H.M.'s minister saw no objection to the lady being received by the Queen, it did not become me, who was rather bound to remove them, to find any. Still being desirous that no mistake should be committed, I contented myself by recommending Sir T. Wade to suggest to Lord Salisbury that, in the event of the Queen agreeing to see her, the consent should be coupled with some expression which should assume that there was no objection to her being received at the Chinese Court. In this way would have been cast on the minister the responsibility of presenting his wife to the Queen, and it would have acted as a deterrent in the event of there being any reason for her not being received by the Empress of China. This could have been done without sacrificing the minister's feelings, while it still would have been throwing on him the responsibility, etc.

“HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

A few words about the origin and history of the Tsêng family will not be out of place here. As was stated in an article published by *The Times* on 15 January, 1884, with which I may mention the Marquis was so pleased that he had it translated into Chinese and distributed among his friends and followers in China, the Tsêng family traced its descent from Tsêng-tzu, one of the four chosen disciples of Confucius, and the author of the classic called the *Ta-heo*. The Marquis, whose personal name was Tsêng-Chi-tse, was born in December, 1839; but until his departure for Europe his principal work had been done as his father's secretary, for which he could receive no official reward. It is one of the sound but severe principles of the Chinese service that a father can never reward or promote a son for any public



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service he renders while serving under his official authority. Four of the six years intervening between his father's death and his departure had been passed in the strict retirement required by family mourning.

As stated in the letter to Mr. Barrington, the Marchioness was the daughter of Liu Tang, Governor of the province of Shansi, and at the time of their arrival in England their family consisted of one daughter and three sons. The daughter was named Miss Blossom, and the sons in their order King East, King Home, and King Pole. A second daughter was born in England a year after their arrival. The Tsêng family was a very united and happy one, and their relations with one another furnished a very pleasing object lesson as to domestic life in China.

Although it will entail a departure from strict chronological order, I propose to treat the whole of the Russian negotiations, including the Mission of Chung How and the Treaty of Livadia, in a separate chapter, and to briefly summarise in this some of the comparatively minor incidents that occurred during the first few years of the Marquis Tsêng's residence in Europe. The following letters from two members of the Legation staff are interesting. The first describes part of Kwoh's return journey to China :—

“ Steamer Anadyr, February 22nd, 1879.

“ MY DEAR SIR [sic] HALLIDAY,

“ Your letters of the 1st and 7th inst. both received. I am very glad to tell you that we got on board the steamer on the 9th quite safely, and everything was managed all right. It is all due to your and other friends' assistance to arrange all necessaries from London to Marseilles. I was very tired after getting everything done for our great departure, and still had something to do on board the steamer, so that I could not have the time to write to you before now. I hope you will excuse me. Kwoh tajen enjoyed his visit to Italy very much and did not feel any fatigue ; he wished me to go with him. I was glad to go too, but unfortunately, owing to so many occupations, I could not easily leave all



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unsettled matter to my friend, so I refused and did not go. Subsequently Li tajen and Ma Maiso accompanied him. He embarked at Naples; Mr. Hanbury escorted him on board the steamer. His Excellency was very pleased. We left Naples on Tuesday afternoon the 11th; arrived at Port Said on Saturday the 15th. I, Mr. Fryer, and Mr. Yao went on shore with H. E. and walked through the principal streets of the town, though it is a small town, but there are two café chantants; we went in one of them and took some lemonade and beer, and attended a nice concert, which composed of nine pretty Austrian ladies, who play the music beautifully; the old man enjoyed himself very much. The steamer stayed at Port Said one night and proceeded to Suez the next day, and arrived at Aden this morning. We had a pleasant voyage since leaving Naples, and had a little rough sea from Marseilles to Naples.

"If Mr. Freeland's poem appears in any of the newspapers will you please secure one and keep it for me? as I like to read it.

"I told Kwoh tajen all particulars which contained in your two letters to me. He wishes me to write and ask you to purchase forty photographs of his likeness in carte de visite size—the price is one shilling each; he will send you the cost by my return to England—and present one of the photographs to (Hurse Taitai?). I do not know how to spell her name, but I no doubt you know her very well—it is the lady who learned great many things. Present one to Mr. Hanbury and one to Mr. Plowden, and say something what H. E. ought to say to him, and send the remainder photographs to him to Shanghai.

"I will send you a pair of small footed lady's shoes as soon as I can get them.

"Kwoh Taitai wished me to write a letter to (Lady Bennet) and her daughter (Lady Griffith), I think both wrong spelled, telling them her safe arrival to Marseilles when we were there, but I do not know how to spell their names and what their address, so I did not write for her. I think you must know them, when you meet them or write to them for her you may do what you think best.

"Yours very truly,

"S. T. CHANG."

The second, written by a Chinese secretary whose name I suppress, gives an extremely candid opinion about the

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United States, which is not wanting in humour at a moment when the Americans are sitting in judgment on the nations of the Far East.

" 1705 K STREET, WASHINGTON,

November 29th, 1880.

" MY DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,

" The Minister Chen¹ and all our party have come to Washington, as I informed you in my last letter, which I hope you have received safely. We have removed to No. 1705 K Street.

" The city of Washington seems to be chiefly inhabited by coloured people, as when you go out you see them everywhere. My impression was, and is, that Washington is much quieter than New York, and the inhabitants are, also, nicer than the New Yorkers. The treatment of 'Celestial strangers' by the natives appears to be better than what we received in New York. At any rate, we meet with more courtesy and hospitality. Sometimes we have been regaled with curious food, which was served up under the impression, no doubt, that the Chinese have a special penchant for rats. None of us have ever been out of doors in our national costume without having been informed by the intelligent Yankee who passes us in the street that we are addicted to eating rats. Where they have obtained their information it is impossible to say, but I confess that when I eat some of the messes they give us at their restaurants I fancy there must be something in their remarks. You have been in China, can you say that you have ever seen a Chinese eat rats even in a nightmare?

" American cities are not to be compared with those of England and France. My experience of this land of freedom has disenchanted me with American civilisation; I am heartily tired of them. Their estimate of themselves soars beyond my appreciation; England, Paris, and Berlin have spoilt me for Yankee land. I never had the slightest unpleasantness during my sojourn in those places. I always say to my friends that England and France are the most civilised countries in the whole world, and I admire them very much. America may be a wonderful country as regards its material prosperity, commercial enterprise, and the smartness of its citizens, but if the word civilisation

¹ Chen Tajen had been entrusted by the Chinese Government with a roving diplomatic mission to Spain and the United States.

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means a high standard of refinement, culture, and morality, then I think that America should take her place among uncivilised powers, etc."

In October, 1879, the Anti-Opium Society, following up its earlier proceedings with Kwoh, wrote a letter to the minister setting forth its policy and appealing to him for his support. The Marquis Tséng made a written reply, and without obtaining his prior consent the Society published the correspondence with a covering letter from its energetic Secretary, Mr. Storrs Turner. This step was very displeasing to Dr. Macartney, as is shown by the following protest sent to Mr. Turner; for, as a matter of fact, the Marquis had used very guarded terms and had not committed himself in any way. The letter to Mr. Turner reads as follows:—

"MY DEAR MR. TURNER,

"4th October, 1879.

"I much regret your having without mentioning the matter to the Marquis published the correspondence between you and him which appears in *The Times* of this morning, and much more do I regret the letter by which it is accompanied. The part of the letter to which I take exception is that in which you commend the courage of the Marquis in reciprocating the sentiments contained in your letter. The Marquis might have or might *not* have reciprocated the sentiments contained in your letter, but in neither case did it become him to state that he concurred in them when they imputed *barbarism* to the Government which he represents, and merely stated that he sympathised with the *motives* which led to their expression. I need not tell you that the two things are widely different, and that it is possible for the one to be stupid, silly, or even pernicious when the other is praiseworthy in the highest degree. It would be unwise now that the mistake has been committed to take any notice of it in the 'Press,' but should you be intending to insert the correspondence in the *Friend of China* or in any other paper, you will oblige me by inserting only the Society's letter to the Marquis and his reply.

"It is unfortunate that with regard to England and China what may sometimes in one country deserve the highest praise, in the other will receive the greatest blame. This

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has always to be borne in mind ; otherwise it will occur that we shall wound where we would only assist and support.

“ Yours very truly,
“ HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

As the worst effect of this correspondence would be produced in China, Macartney took steps to minimise its consequences by writing the following request to the editor of the *London and China Express* :—

“ MY DEAR ANGIER,

“ 4th October, 1879.

“ In the event of its being your intention to publish the correspondence between the Marquis Tsêng and the Anti-Opium Society which appears in this morning's *Times*, I wish you would omit the letter of Mr. Turner which transmits it. It is one of those things which recalls the remembrance of the saying ‘Save me from my friends.’ But for the well-intentioned praise lavished on the Taoutai of Shanghai, it is possible that we might never have heard of the troubles which ensued about the Woosung Railway. The last clause of Mr. Turner's letter, the one in which he speaks of the ‘courage which the Marquis has displayed in reciprocating our sentiments,’ is the one I do not like. In the letter of the Marquis no mention is made of the *sentiments* contained in the Committee's letter. He does not say whether he approves of them or does not, but merely states that he sympathises with the *motives* by which the Committee were actuated in addressing the letter to him.

“ Whatever the minister might think of the *sentiments* contained in the letter, surely it is not for him to say that what his Government has done is barbarous. Turner's letter makes him appear to do this, whilst all he says is that he sympathises with the *motives* which the Committee had in writing. This he could say whatever he might think of the *sentiments* contained in the letter, for the approval of the *sentiments* contained in a paper is one thing and that of the *motives* which led to their expression quite another, the one might be stupid, silly, or even pernicious, whilst the other was praiseworthy in the highest degree. In saying that he sympathises with the *motives* of the Committee the Marquis does no more than acknowledge their good intentions.

“ Yours very truly,
“ HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

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In April, 1881, there were rumours current of the intention of the Japanese Government to increase its tariff, and it was even alleged that this increase would impose a duty of between 20 and 30 per cent on certain articles. This report was specially interesting to the Chinese Government, which was tied down to a 5 per cent duty, and which was even then striving to obtain a larger share of the profit got out of the opium trade by arranging for the payment of the "likin," or inland duty, at the Treaty Ports. The following report of a long conversation which took place on the subject in May, 1881, between the Marquis Tsêng and Sir Harry Parkes, our minister in Japan, who happened to be then in England, is a highly interesting and informing State paper:—

Compte rendu of a conversation which took place at the Chinese Legation, London, on Sunday, the 22nd May, 1881, between the Marquis Tsêng and Sir Harry Parkes, H.B.M. Minister to Japan. Present: H. Macartney.

"Sir Harry. I have to offer your Excellency my best congratulations on the very successful termination to which you have brought the negotiations in which you were just about to engage when I last saw you.

Marquis. I thank you very much. Has your Excellency received any recent intelligence from Japan?

Sir Harry. No. Does your Excellency allude to anything in particular?

Marquis. I was referring to the two drafts of Treaties which the Japanese Government have submitted for the acceptance of the Treaty Powers.

Sir Harry. I am aware that the Japanese Government have presented to the Powers a draft of what they call a Treaty of Friendship, but which might more appropriately be named of Jurisdiction, and one of Commerce, mainly important for the alterations which it is proposed to make in the tariff. Your Excellency has seen them, I suppose?

Marquis. Yes, I have seen a Chinese version of them.

Sir Harry. Oh! A Chinese version. Did your Excellency understand them?

Marquis. Yes. I think I did.

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Sir Harry. I ask, because the Treaty on Jurisdiction is not easy to understand. It must have been originally drafted in a foreign language, in lawyer's language in fact, and then translated into Japanese, and from my knowledge of Japanese this must have been a very difficult task, which accounts for its being rather obscure.

Marquis. Are the Powers likely to accept these treaties?

Sir Harry. After some modifications I dare say they may come to an understanding with the Japanese Government regarding the Commercial Treaty, but I scarcely think this will be the case with respect to the other. Your Excellency is aware that the Japanese have of late become very jealous of their rights, and now wish to abrogate the articles in their treaties which confer on foreign Consuls the right of judging their own subjects according to their own laws. Instead of these articles they wish to substitute others which would make foreigners residing in Japan amenable to Japanese law administered by Japanese officers. My own opinion is that the Japanese have put forward this claim prematurely, and for the present, at least, it will certainly be refused. It is all very well for the Japanese to say that foreigners should be subject to the laws of Japan. We ask them, where are the laws by which they wish to judge our people? A law is only a book until there is some machinery for carrying it into effect. We ask the Japanese Government to show us their laws, and to indicate to us the Courts and the Judges which are to administer and carry them into effect. This they cannot do, for they have not got them to show. The fact of the matter is the Japanese Government has opened this question too soon, and before it is ready to discharge the responsibilities which the consent of the foreign Powers would impose. I do not think that this has been the result of their own motion. The Japanese readily give ear to anything which flatters their vanity, and the idea of getting rid of the articles regarding ex-territoriality has been put into their head by some foreigner, who has told them that they are hurtful to the dignity of Japan. The jurisdiction over European subjects will doubtless be ceded to both China and Japan at some future day, because it is not the interest of the foreign Powers to withhold it for one hour longer than they are assured their subjects will receive from the Courts of the country a fair measure of justice. After that, why should the European Powers wish to retain it when it costs them so much in trouble and money to exercise it? It is also the interest of China and Japan



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that the ex-territorial articles of the treaties should, for some time yet, be maintained. I consider it would be a misfortune for all parties were it given up to-morrow, for to have it thrust upon you before you are ready for it would inevitably lead to frequent and serious complications. I believe that your honourable country feels this, and therefore wisely refrains from at present agitating the matter.

As to the Commercial Treaty, I do not consider any difficulty will be experienced, and, provided the Japanese Government does not insist on discussing it in connection with the Treaty of Jurisdiction, it will be soon settled. No foreign Government will object to the tariff being increased. It is but just and reasonable that the Government should obtain a fair revenue from the trade; it is even the interest of the trade they should do so, for thus the Government will be in a better position to protect it. The duties, however, must be fair, and no heavier than the commerce can without injury to it sustain. No foreign Government will consent to the imposition of a tariff which would destroy the trade. They would not consent to being driven out of the country and having the ports closed upon them, and this would really be the effect of the imposition of duties, which would compel the merchants to shut up their houses and go elsewhere. Some of the duties which the Japanese Government now propose to levy are by far too heavy, and will certainly never be acceded to by the Treaty Powers. Should they do so your honourable country would be one of those which would principally suffer. Your Excellency is probably aware that a very large trade is done between China and Japan in sugar shipped from Hong-Kong. It comes from Hong-Kong, but, I need scarcely say, it does not grow there, but is produced, for the most part, in the adjacent Chinese provinces. Now, the Japanese Government, instead of five, wish to impose on this sugar, amounting to as much as five million dollars per annum, a duty of about 30 per cent. This large increase in the duty would entirely destroy the trade, for the sugar being, for the most part, consumed by the poorest of the people, it would thereby be so much enhanced in price that they would be unable to buy it. The importation of sugar would then stop, which would be a loss to all, for nobody would benefit from it. The merchant would suffer because his business had been stopped, the peasant because he was deprived of the cheap and nutritive food which rendered him more fit to undergo the labours of the field, and even the Govern-

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ment, which in its greed sought to fill its coffers, would lose the 5 per cent which it formerly obtained.

Marquis. Does Japan not grow the sugar-cane?

Sir Harry. No, or at least to a very inconsiderable extent. The Japanese poor could never afford to eat sugar until the importation of the Chinese article put it within their reach. The Japanese Government do not think of these things, for though in some respects they are very clever, in others, again, they are very dull and shortsighted. For instance, wanting to raise a sum of eight million dollars they would say to themselves, 5 per cent now produces a revenue of two millions, let us raise the rate to 20; and because 5 per cent gives two millions, and 4 times 5 make 20, we shall then have the eight millions which we want. The Japanese are far behind your honourable country in their power to take a correct view of things. Another article on which they wish to raise the duty in the same unreasonable manner concerns my country as the sugar concerns yours. I refer to cotton yarn (mēn sien), an article in which there is a very large trade, and which, like the sugar, is principally consumed by the lower classes. Japan does not buy much of our cotton cloth, but she buys a very great deal of our cotton yarn, which the women and even the children work up into cloth during the hours when otherwise they would be idle, having nothing to do. This is a trade which, like that in sugar, has been of great advantage to Japan. The effect of it on the people I have myself remarked. The Japanese peasant is now much better clothed than was the case when I first went to the country; for the foreign yarn being so much cheaper than that produced in Japan, he can now afford to have two coats, whereas formerly he could with difficulty have one. I much regret that the Japanese Government should have thought of raising the duty on the very articles which, notwithstanding the largeness of the trade in them, are least able to bear it. The necessities of life—that is, the food and clothing of the people—ought in all countries to be as lightly taxed as possible. In England there is no duty whatever on those articles which the people must have in order to live. Here the luxuries and not the necessities of life are taxed.

Marquis. So ought it always to be when the necessities of the Government will admit of it; for though the merchants may in the first place have to pay the taxes, it is the consumer who has to pay it in the end.

Sir Harry. Doubtless that is so. Your Excellency has



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expressed an economical truth which Governments are often but too apt to forget.

Marquis. Does your Excellency intend returning to Japan?

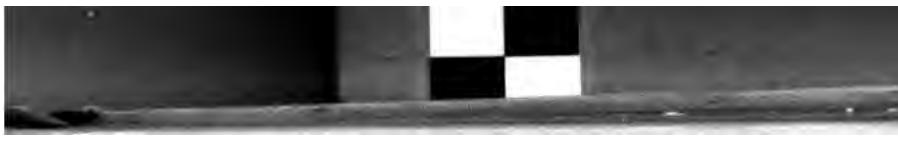
Sir Harry. Oh, yes ; I intended going out in March last, but having to attend to the revision of the Japanese Treaty I could not get away then, and will probably still be detained for two or three months more. This does not arise from any difficulty which Her Majesty's Government have in making up their minds as to their action as regards the new tariff. The British Government has pretty nearly done this already, but it cannot actually decide on anything until it receives the replies of the other Governments who are concerned. We will doubtless agree to the duty on some articles being raised. That on some to 7, and on others to 8, 9, 10, and in some cases to as much as 12 per cent. Twenty per cent would be too much for any article to bear, and some will scarcely bear any increase at all.

Marquis. The American Government have given the Japanese leave to impose as much duty as they like, have they not?

Sir Harry (laughing). Oh, yes ! They agreed to a treaty in which, while appearing to give everything, they in reality gave nothing. It was as if they had made a treaty in ten articles, nine of them permitting the Japanese to do as they liked, and the tenth so neutralising the effect of the others that the Japanese could derive no benefit from them until some other persons would give a consent which the Americans knew full well would certainly be refused. It is easy to make treaties and to make promises of this kind, just as I might say to Mr. Macartney here, I agree to give you £10,000, provided you can induce ten other gentlemen each to give you the same amount. The American Treaty is a farce, and cannot be looked upon as a serious undertaking. A Japanese minister, talking with me one day, recognised this, for when I alluded to the treaty he turned round and said : 'American Treaty ! What is it good for but to be put in the fire ?'

Marquis. Has your Excellency received any recent information regarding matters in the Corea ?

Sir Harry. No. I am rather anxious about the fate of that country, which, though small, is nevertheless an ancient country, and one which I would regret to see losing its independence. China might, at the same time, do both ourselves and the Coreans an important service by inducing



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their Government to open their country to foreign trade. The benefit to Corea would consist in the protection which the establishing of foreign interests there would give her against the ambitious designs of Russia, and that to China from the favour and reputation for a liberal and enlightened policy which such an act would certainly establish for her in the estimation of the European Powers.

Marquis. China has already endeavoured to do this. The Grand Secretary, Li, made representations to Corea in the above sense, but she has as yet declined to act upon them.

Sir Harry. I am exceedingly sorry to learn that, because I consider the danger to Corea as being both great and imminent. Were this not so, we could wait until the Coreans better understood their own interests. But there is no time to wait, for the enemy is now standing at the door and may at any moment enter in, when of course it will be too late to do anything.

Marquis. Fate has lately been on the side of Corea. The Russo-Chinese complications which arose out of the Kuldja question, and the lamentable end of the late Russian Emperor, must undoubtedly have resulted to the advantage of Corea.

Sir Harry. I hope, then, she will have the sense to profit by this respite, for her danger is great, and when the blow comes it will be sharp, sudden, and heavy. All will be over with her in a very short time. With Russia in Corea the positions of China and Japan would be entirely altered, for then it would be but a step to Yeddo or Peking. Corea cannot long maintain her present isolation; Russian steamers are now constantly passing and repassing on their way to and from Vladivostock and the Amour. Any day one of them may be wrecked on the coast of Corea, and the conduct of the people towards the ship's crew made a pretence for operations against the Corean Government. Corea would then be at the mercy of Russia, because no foreign Power would have the right to interfere; besides, why should they interfere, the people of this country have no interest in Corea? Many of them have never heard of such a country, and fewer still would care what the Russians might do with it. The Japanese are not without fear as to what Russia may do in Corea. They are also aware that its security consists in its being opened to foreign trade, but having little influence with the Coreans, they cannot do much in the way of persuading them towards taking such a step. Besides this, the Japanese rather find themselves in a



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dilemma. There are reasons which lead them to wish to see the country opened to foreign trade, there are others which make them desire to keep it closed ; the former course would be of service to Japan in protecting her against the designs of Russia, but the latter would deprive her of the monopoly of Corean trade which she now enjoys. The fear of having to share this trade with foreign nations leads the Japanese to view the movements of foreigners in Japan with much suspicion ; and it is a curious fact that it is only in those parts of Corea where Japanese reside that Europeans are received by the people with hostility. Great changes have come over the Corean mind within the last few years. A few years ago they would not use a single article of foreign manufacture, or which came from a foreign country. I have known them to refuse to light their pipes with fire, because it was obtained by the striking of a foreign match ! Now this has all changed, there is now a considerable consumption of foreign articles in Corea ; for the greater part of the Japanese trade with Corea consists of merchandise, not the produce of Japan, but of European countries. Another proof of this change is evinced in the more civilised manner in which they now treat the crews of ships which have been wrecked on their coasts. Last year a British ship was wrecked on the coast of Corea, and both the people and the officials treated the crew with the greatest kindness and hospitality. On account of this it afterwards became my duty to send a ship to Corea bearing a letter of thanks. It was with some difficulty they were induced to receive the letter ; but that mattered not, it was, nevertheless, my duty to offer them my thanks.

The Coreans are not all so blinded to the interests of their country as to desire to remain secluded from the rest of the world, for there, as in China, there is a new party who desire to encourage a more friendly course towards other countries. I am acquainted with a very intelligent young Corean who is vigorously and anxiously working with this object.

Has your Excellency heard whether any settlement has been arrived at between China and Japan regarding Loochoo ?

Marquis. No arrangement has been come to. The Japanese Minister has left Peking, but that, I believe, is without any political significance.

Sir Harry. I was sorry when Japan annexed Loochoo. They endeavoured to justify their doing so. But there was

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really no valid excuse for it. They pretended that they were compelled to annex it lest it should fall into the hands of some European Power. But no European Power wanted it, for the very sufficient reason that, being without anything to sell and having no good harbour, it is quite unsuitable for any purpose to which a distant country could put it. The Japanese annexed it merely because they thought they must do something. They had tried to put the Russians out of Sagalien, and had to leave it themselves; they had bullied Corea without much result; they had failed in their attempt to take Formosa from the Chinese, and there only remained for them to take the territory of their neighbour the Prince of Loochoo, and they took it. These ambitious projects were in some measure the outcome of a book which a foreigner published some years ago. In this work it was contended that not only Loochoo and Formosa, but Manila, and, indeed, all the islands lying between the Amour and Singapore, pertained to the great Japanese Empire, and the Japanese foolishly believed it. I always regret to see the Japanese being misled, for I like the Japanese, who, with all their faults, must be admitted to be a very amiable and polite people. I have travelled much in their country, and have everywhere been received with the greatest courtesy and kindness."

About this time China had begun to create a modern navy, and the Chinese bought some of their ships in England and some in Germany. The following curious letter from Li Hung Chang, with its comparison between the methods of shipbuilding in the two countries, is worth preserving. Li was evidently primed with certain information he had received from German sources, and it would be interesting to know how far our own expert opinion of the time was in agreement not with Li's crude notions, but with German theories and calculations:—

"Memoranda made on reading letter of Li Tsung Tang to Marquis Tsêng.

"CORVETTES FOR CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

"I yesterday received a telegram from Tsung li Yamen, stating that Imperial Edict had been received ordering four



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swift corvettes to be built, after the model of the *Tsi Quen*, for use in Formosa and the Pescadores, and ordering the Ministers in England and Germany to be consulted on the subject of the Powers. The money for the boats will be provided by the Hoopoo. I immediately telegraphed to you on this subject, and asking you to have two of the vessels built in England. Ask the Minister in Berlin for the drawings, specification, and contracts. I hope you have long ago received these papers (long before the arrival of this letter).

"At present the Government is desirous of strengthening the navy, especially in the direction of ironclads. Formosa is in the sea; the Pescadores are the gate; without ironclads we cannot protect them. If China wishes to guard against Western aggression their guns must not have a calibre of less than eight or nine inches, and the armour of the ships must not be thinner than twelve inches, speed not less than fifteen knots an hour. The most difficult matter is the draught of water, which must not be more than eighteen feet. Shallow-water vessels generally cannot carry large guns or heavy armour, and cannot steam fast. The year before last Li Feng Tsao looked out for designs of all kinds of vessels and reported to me the details of his investigation. I have carefully examined them, and find that in recent years the English and German new inventions consist in having a plate-armour deck three inches thick under the water line, curved like a turtle's back. With this, even should the structures above this deck be destroyed, the vessel can steam along and make use of her guns. Second, the places where armour is to be placed are to have steel-faced armour plates. These are the two recent improvements—turtle-back and steel-faced armour plates. In England there is an ironclad, the *Inflexible*. They at first intended to armour all over with 14-inch iron armour plates, but afterwards, instead of this, had on 10-inch steel-faced plates—that is, four inches thinner. In the West 10-inch steel-faced plates have been found to be equal to 15-inch all-iron plates. I think this is too much, but no doubt 10-inch steel-faced armour plates are equal to thirteen inches of all iron plating. This is certain. The best steel-faced English plate is made by Cammels. In Germany Zulingin plates are considered as good. Brown's plates are not so good. You can see from this that the manufacture of these plates must be difficult. The proportion of steel to iron in the plates is as one-third to two-thirds. They are solidly welded together. The quality of the steel facing depends on the proportion



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of carbon it contains. The German Admiralty have discovered that 60 to 65 per cent of carbon is the best proportion ; if more be added it is easily broken ; if less, it is too soft, and allows the projectile to pass through it. Therefore, when building vessels in Germany, we sent Wei Han to stay at Cammels to superintend the making of the plates and to take borings from holes made on four surfaces and send them to Germany to the Chemist to the German Admiralty to be tested. In this way seven plates were declared to be unsuitable and changed for others. At that time the German Admiralty sent officers to the English Admiralty to compare the German with the English plate-testing instrument. From this you can see that the English Admiralty must be very well acquainted with these matters.

"Your Excellency's name and scientific attainments being so highly esteemed in England and your friendly relations with the English Cabinet Ministers will enable you to obtain from them officials to examine the plates. I think they will be pleased to do so. Not only the steel-faced plates ought to be tested, but also the iron used in the other parts of the ship. They ought to be the tests adopted by the English Admiralty. The year before last, when we had these vessels built in Germany, we sent Foochow pupils to stay at the works and examine the material in conformity with the regulations.

"Now as the Foochow Arsenal intends to build vessels, I do not know whether the arsenal would have any pupils to spare to attend to testing operations. If you could, after consulting with the Admiralty, obtain from them some officials to do the testing, that would be well, for they could be relied on.

"I have heard that the English shipbuilders are very proud, and that the ships built for their own country and for foreign countries are different. As regards iron plates, for the English Government they use BBB, but for foreign Government ships only BB. If we should wish to examine their material they would feel insulted by the want of faith in them which this would imply. Even at Newcastle this was found to be the case. As your Excellency's loyalty and uprightness are so well known, I hope that the shipbuilder will allow our people to examine the material.

"In the Chinese Navy English and German guns are employed ; in the Tsi Yuen class of vessels light and powerful guns must be made use of ; therefore we have bought Krupp guns. We ought to use the same kind of guns for

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other vessels. The new Krupp gun of thirty-five calibres of twenty-one centimetres is equal to the 8½-inch, and has a force equal to twenty-five calibres 10-inch gun. This has been found by testing. [I suppose this to mean that the Krupp 8½-inch is equal to the English 10-inch gun.—H. M.]

"The force of a gun in England is found by multiplying the circumference of the projectile by the velocity (?). According to the German system the area of the section of the projectile is taken. If the projectile has a diameter of three inches, in England it would be considered to have an area of nine square inches, but in Germany it would according to this system have only six and a half square inches. [Here follows something, but so obscure that the meaning could not be made out to me by Mr. Chang, who read the letter to me.—H.M.]

"As you understand how to make these calculations, you must know this to be the case.

"Phosphor-bronze torpedoes have been introduced into China. This material is not liable to rust. They are easily handled. It is better than the steel torpedo by Whitehead. As the torpedoes are to be made in Germany, so the casings and air chambers ought also to be made there."

In the summer of 1881 Admiral Ting, who was afterwards killed at Wei Hai Wei in the war with Japan, came to England for the purpose of taking out to China two cruisers built by the Armstrong firm. He was presented at Court and inspected our dockyards. He also went to Woolwich, on which occasion he was accompanied by the Marquis Tsêng and Dr. Macartney. A luncheon was given at the arsenal in his honour, and the Japanese minister was also present. Some speeches were made, and Tsêng had occasion to reply to a toast proposed by his confrère from Japan. Consulting Macartney as to what he could say of a specially complimentary character about Japan, he received the prompt and happy answer, "Call her the England of the Far East." The Japanese minister was so pleased with the compliment that he telegraphed it out to his Government, and in due course it figured among the latest intelligence in the journals of Tokio and Yokohama.



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Mention of Admiral Ting's name will serve to introduce the following amusing letter from a junior member of the Legation staff :—

"To Dr. Macartney.

"MY DEAR SIR, "CHINESE LEGATION, 8 August, 1881.

"I am very sorry to trouble you so much also to tell you that I feel very ill to-day as Admaril Ting came hear at about 2 o'clock and sent Mr. Fung to me to say that we went on Thursday morning and to tell me the Admaril wanted me to speak to him.

"I went upstairs to him, he never spoke one word to me, but said fetch my Luggage down stairs quick, that I went up to the top of this house 5 times and each Packet I brought down he said 'quick quick fetch them down,' this is quite true for Mr. Fung see me fetch them all down. I did not say one word. I have not told anyone I should write to you as I do not want to make it bad for me. I want you please to let me know what I am to do as I tell you quite plane that if he want me to do Sailor work in his ship I will not do it for I will Jump in the water befor I will go home like that.

"I feel sure the way he spoke to me and told me to fetch his things down he will want me to do Sailor Work on the ship. I feel it does not matter if I do not get home now or not. Please Sir answer as quick as you possible can, can you arrange anything different for me, anxiously waiting your answer and that you have arrived sofly in Paris I remain

"Yours faithfully

"AH SING."

Added by the housekeeper: "P.S.—Sir, Ah Sing does seem indeed very ill he has not taken anything today.—P.W."

The Marquis Tsêng was famous among his own fellow-countrymen for his artistic penmanship, a faculty which he had inherited from his father. The following letter shows how it was turned to account for one of the British banks in the Far East which was introducing its banknotes into the Chinese ports :—



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"HÔTEL D'ALZÉ, CHAMPS ÉLYSÉES, PARIS,

"MY DEAR CAMPBELL,¹ 29th November, 1881.

"Having consulted the Marquis Tséng with regard to the appropriateness of the Chinese characters employed in the enclosed forms to designate the Oriental Bank Corporation, I write to tell you that he informs me that the calligraphy is very inferior, and that the second of the first two characters is altogether unsuitable as a part of the combination required for the representation of the word 'Oriental'. Instead of 'Fan' the second character ought to be 'Fang'. Taken with 'Tung', the first character, we would then have 'Tung Fang', which in connection with the other characters would exactly represent the word *Oriental*. The other characters contained in the inscription might all stand, the substitution of *Fang* for *Fan* giving in combination with them as good a translation into Chinese of the words *Oriental Bank* as could well be made.

"The Marquis Tséng, who is considered to be a really first-rate penman, has, as you will see, rewritten the whole inscription as it ought to be.

"The characters, 'Woo-zuen' and 'Shih-zuen' respectively, meaning five dollars and ten dollars, ought not to be written in such an important document as a bank note in the contracted form in which they appear in the original inscription. The Marquis Tséng has written them as they ought to be.

"In addition to the other enclosures you will find a paper with three rows of Chinese characters; the first and second rows represent in different styles of writing the name of the bank, whilst the third row gives the Chinese numbers up to ten, written in the full and unabridged form employed in important documents.

"Should the bank adopt the Marquis Tséng's writing in the *note*, the characters found on its inferior margin would have to be replaced by those marked thus * in form No. 2.

"I may state that of the two styles of writing above alluded to, I think that for the purpose which the bank has in view the second ought to be chosen in preference to the first.

"Yours,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"P.S.—The Marquis desires me to state that he will be

¹ The late Mr. J. D. Campbell, C.M.G., of the London office of the Chinese Customs Service.

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happy to extend to the bank any further assistance in the above matter in which they may stand in need, etc.—H. M."

Another interesting interview was that chronicled below between the Marquis and King Kala-Kaua I of the Sandwich Islands. It deals with the question of Chinese labour in the Pacific, and the exchange of Orders among the rulers and representatives of Asiatic and Pacific States:—

Compte rendu of a conversation between the Marquis Tsêng and His Majesty King Kala-Kaua of the Sandwich Islands, at Claridge's Hotel. Thursday the 7th July, 1881.

"*King.* Don't believe newspaper reports, which state that the Chinese are giving trouble in my islands. The Chinese emigrants are of great advantage to my country.

Minister. Fears that they may, as they increase in numbers, produce difficulties to the Government.

King. At first they did, but now having confidence in the Courts of Law they submit their disputes to them. Of course there are occasional instances of individuals coming to blows, but that is the case in all countries.

King. I wish to speak on a certain subject to Your Excellency. When I was in China, it was my intention, had I gone to Peking, to have proposed conferring one of our Orders on the Emperor or the Empress, but not having gone there, and not feeling assured as to how far I might properly mention the matter to Li Tsung Tang, the Governor-General of Chihli, I thought it better to keep the matter until I could confer with the Ambassador in London.

Minister. Li Tsung Tang, though not connected with the F. O., yet as he frequently acts as the medium of transacting business between China and foreign countries, would have been a proper enough channel, but this being a new business, and it having been customary for the Emperor to take the initiative in all cases where a precedent is being established, it was just as well that nothing was done in the matter by Y. M., and I think that it would be better that no official steps were taken in the matter for the present. I expect soon to be returning to China, and as I shall have frequent opportunities of seeing the chiefs of the F. O., it would be better to allow matters to stand as they are until I could have a chance of explaining the nature of the European

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Orders and the custom which exists of exchanging these Orders, one Government with another. In China recognition of the services of Government officials is shown by the bestowal of buttons, feathers, robes, and distinctions in dress which correspond to the European system of Orders, but these being unsuitable for presentation to Europeans, and no regularly constituted Order on the European model having been instituted, it would be impossible at present to make the return which is generally expected when one potentate confers a distinction on a brother sovereign. This is probably the reason that no such friendly exchanges have been made between the Emperor of China and the sovereigns of Europe.

King. Several ships of the Chinese Merchants' Co. had come to the Sandwich Islands. It was a great company which had excited the jealousy of the Americans, though why it should have done so he did not know, for competition only stimulated existence and did not injure enterprise."

During these years Dr. Macartney was greatly assisted by the first interpreter, Mr. Fung Yee, a loyal colleague and amiable man who served throughout the whole of the terms of Kwoh and Tséng. During the absence of the Marquis and Macartney in Russia in 1880 he conducted most of the business of the Legation. I find among his letters to Macartney the following pungent commentary on a speech made by the Prussian strategist, Count Moltke, in February, 1881 : "With respect to Count von Moltke's statement that war is a Divine institution, I quite disagree with the Count, and only think that it is a great tyrant that can say such nonsense as to support a policy of the destruction of mankind, of whom the Count himself is one." Here again, as in the letter already quoted from Washington, the East seems to preach from a better text than the West.

This chapter may be closed with an instance of the growing confidence and firmness that was being imparted to China's diplomacy at this period, and of which such striking proofs will be given in the next three chapters. The dispatch from the Marquis Tséng to the Marquis of Salisbury that

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follows is remarkable as the first expression of China's intention to refuse to pay compensation for attacks on missionaries when their own acts had contributed to the occurrence. The attack at Woo-shi-shan, near Foochow, took place in September, 1878, excited considerable indignation, and was followed by threats of the old "gunboat" type :—

"My LORD MARQUIS,

"*October, 1879.*

"I congratulate myself on being able to inform your Lordship that I have received dispatches from Foochow reporting the settlement of the unfortunate affair of the burning of the Church Mission premises at Woo-Shi-Shan, regarding which I had the honour of an interview with you at the Foreign Office.

"The Woo-Shi-Shan being such a typical case of the troubles to which in China missionary zeal has so often given rise, I avail myself of the present opportunity of making a few remarks upon it, in the hope that they may lead to such an understanding as will in future reduce their number, if not altogether prevent the recurrence of such cases. As these are happily now the only cases which ever disturb the friendly relations between our respective countries, I confidently assume that nothing would be more agreeable to Her Majesty's Government than their entire prevention. Nor is this more the interest of the two Governments than it is of the missionary societies in whose operations this takes origin, for surely nothing can be so injurious to the cause they seek to advance as the constant recurrence of those troubles which have done more to endanger the relations between the two countries, and embitter the intercourse between the two peoples, than all the commercial questions which have as yet presented themselves for solution.

"There is really no occasion for the ever-recurring missionary disturbances, for the Chinese Government is not, and never has been, hostile to liberty of conscience. The history of the country will soon prove that for a very long period a degree of toleration has been extended to the creeds of different denominations which has not until recent times existed in even the most liberal of European countries. Long before religious propagandism came to be regulated by treaties, the Government of China allowed the greatest

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freedom to the exercise of faiths alien to her soil. The Buddhistic and Mohammedan religions have long enjoyed the most unrestricted liberty throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, and even Christianity, as is well known, was for a long time freely taught in China with an immunity from causes of irritation that has not prevailed under the protection of the treaties. These religions have never been held to bar the way to official employment and distinction.

"Let me describe briefly, by way of contrast, the circumstances of the case at Woo-Shi-Shan. A missionary body, acting with more zeal than discretion under exceptional circumstances, injudiciously pushed their outposts into a position which was sure to provoke the prejudices, if it did not injure the interests, of the populace. What were the facts? A Christian church was opened in the very buildings of a temple situated on a hill which the people for ages had viewed with peculiar veneration. For a time this action was unheeded, or at least not actively resisted, but at last, when it became evident that difficulties would arise, action on behalf of the public was taken in the courts of the country with a view to the church being removed.

"The result of this action was a compromise; the purchase of the premises in which the missionaries had established themselves was ruled to be illegal, but in virtue of certain extenuating circumstances the Mission was granted a lease of twenty years, at the expiration of which the premises should again revert to the public from which they had been secretly alienated. This decision produced much dissatisfaction and occasioned great popular excitement; whereupon the Governor, in order to prevent disturbances, proposed that the site of the Mission should be changed, and in terms which Her Majesty's Consul characterised as very fair offered another site to the Mission.

"This proposal having been submitted to the chiefs of the Mission in England, was after a time said to have been rejected by them. The Chinese authorities continued to urge the danger to the public peace caused by the Mission continuing at Woo-Shi-Shan, and the same proposal was submitted to Her Majesty's Government. While still under their consideration, and before any reply had been received, Mr. Wolfe, the Superior of the Mission, regardless of the dissatisfaction which already existed among the people, proceeded to erect new buildings on land asserted to be beyond the boundary of the premises which he had hitherto occupied. Whether this were so or not does not appear to have

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been clearly determined, but, whether within or without, his act must nevertheless be stigmatised as highly injudicious and utterly inexcusable. The people who had been patiently waiting the result of the reference which had been made to Her Majesty's Government, seeing the chief of the Mission taking the matter into his own hands, became enraged, and, forgetting themselves, set fire to the premises which were the subject of contestation.

"Now, my Lord, without wishing in the slightest degree to justify this act, I beg to ask who was most to blame, the teacher who, disregarding the principles of forbearance which he came to teach, acted thus, or the ignorant people whom he had goaded on to fight themselves? I cannot but consider the conduct of the missionary authorities most reprehensible. Whilst missionaries feel themselves at liberty to pursue their avocations without taking any of the precautions which common prudence would dictate, you will continue to find them, as at Woo-Shi-Shan, pushing their conquests into quarters where the result must inevitably be trouble of the gravest nature. Who can doubt that had they been made to feel that their occupation of the Tan Shan-quan was at their own risk, and might be attended with the sacrifice of the Mission premises, they would have hesitated before thrusting themselves into the temple, into the very sanctuary of the religion which it was their avowed object to overthrow? In no part of the world would such preposterous indiscretion be tolerated; and, except in China, in no country would a claim be made for compensation when, as in the present instance, it led to its necessary consequences.

"It is improbable that under the latter circumstances H.M.'s Government would have chosen to exact any pecuniary compensation had such an insulting act been followed by consequences similar to those which followed a similar act at Woo-Shi-Shan. The Chinese Government do not, therefore, consider that, either on the ground of law or justice, they can be called on, as they have so often been called on, to make such compensations.

"On principle, far more than for pecuniary considerations, they will in future decline to make them.

"The missionaries, any more than other persons, cannot break the treaties. They cannot be absolved from the duty of exercising their treaty rights with ordinary prudence, and the Imperial Government feel assured that Her Majesty's Government has only to make them recognise the fact that

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they will receive no other redress than would be given them in European countries, in order to have the constantly recurring missionary imbroglios altogether obviated.

"I commend these remarks to the consideration of your Lordship, and to the missionary societies to whom I venture to hope you will be good enough to communicate them.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord Marquis,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

"TSENG."

CHAPTER XIV

THE ST. PETERSBURG TREATY

Yakoob Beg—Chinese reconquer Kashgaria—The Kuldja question—Russia's promise—Chung How's Mission—Treaty of Livadia—Chung How impeached—The Marquis Tsêng appointed to Russia—Queen Victoria saves Chung How—The Bogdo Khan—The Tekkes Valley—Chinese policy—Gordon's letter—Macartney summarises Treaty—Lord Dufferin's opinion—Macartney saves China £36,000—China's increased prestige.

WE have now reached the most important period in the history of Chinese diplomacy in Europe, and, as has been remarked, the incidents which attended the manifestation of China's confidence in herself were those that afforded the occasion for the display of Sir Halliday's diplomatic skill. It is necessary to make a slight historical digression to enable the reader to understand what follows.

In 1864 occurred an insurrection of the Mohammedan population in Kashgaria or Chinese Turkestan, which led to the overthrow of Chinese authority in the vast region extending across Central Asia, from the Gobi Desert to the Pamirs. The Chinese rule was maintained for a short time longer in the district of Ili or Kuldja, north of the Tian Shan range, but in 1866 another popular outbreak resulted in the establishment of a separate Mohammedan administration in that province also. In Kashgaria, after a struggle between rival pretenders, with which we need not concern ourselves, a soldier of fortune named Yakoob Beg set up what appeared to be a stable government. He received missions from the British and Russian Governments, and he sent his own

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envoy to London, Constantinople and other European capitals. So great, indeed, was his success south of the Tian Shan range, that in 1870 he threatened to cross the mountains and to add Ili, or Kuldja as we shall henceforth call it, to his other possessions. The Russians had been carefully watching the growth of Yakoob Beg's power, and on his displaying an intention to invade Kuldja they decided that the moment had arrived to administer him a check. A Russian force, therefore, entered and occupied Kuldja in the spring of 1871, nominally "for the purpose of restoring order," but really to prevent the further growth of Yakoob Beg's influence and power.

One of the cardinal points in Russia's traditional Asiatic policy was to cultivate good relations with China, and when her troops moved into Kuldja, the Russian Minister at Pekin was instructed to inform the Chinese Government that Russia would evacuate the province whenever China should be in a position to reoccupy it. Opinions differed as to whether the pledge was made in strict good faith, or in the happy belief that the Chinese would never be in a position to call for its redemption; but at all events, the pledge was made and given in the most binding form that diplomacy at least recognises.

Well, the unexpected happened on this occasion. The Chinese returned and reasserted their power. In 1877 Yakoob Beg was killed in battle, and before the end of the following summer the whole of Kashgaria was once more in China's possession. Of the old Central Asian dominion of the Manchu rulers there remained unrecovered only Kuldja, held by a Russian garrison, but its occupation had been described as merely temporary, and the event that was to terminate it had occurred. Still the Russians made no sign of evacuating what they held, and the vaunt of the first Nicholas was remembered to the effect that "where the Russian flag is once hoisted it remains." Some persons

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said that China would never dare to ask Russia to fulfil her promise, and the general opinion was that whether she asked or not she would not recover Kuldja.

In July, 1878, the Chinese Government informed Russia that it was prepared to reoccupy Kuldja whenever her troops evacuated it, and that it proposed to depute an ambassador of suitable rank to St. Petersburg to discuss the terms of an arrangement to that effect. The Russian Government expressed its willingness to receive the envoy, and in August, 1878, Chung How, a kinsman of the Emperor, who had been entrusted with the apologetic mission to France in 1871 for the Tientsin massacre, was appointed special ambassador to St. Petersburg. Appointed in August, he did not sail for Europe till the end of October, a few weeks only before the Marquis Tsêng. Chung How reached St. Petersburg in the course of December, 1878, and began negotiations which, despite the simple character of the matter in dispute, were drawn out during ten months. In September, 1879, Chung How signed a treaty at Livadia which ostensibly settled the question; but it contained so many counter-concessions on the part of China that, writing on the treaty in *The Times* of 17 September, 1879, I said, "It is much to be doubted if either the generals in Central Asia, or the ministers at Peking, will deem that there is any cause to feel grateful to the Czar."

This opinion was speedily justified, for on his arrival at Pekin, Chung How received a cold reception, and was ordered to keep in attendance while his treaty was carefully examined. As the result of that examination, Chung How, in March, 1880, was impeached, arrested, and promptly sentenced to death, while the Chinese Government announced its determination not to ratify the Treaty of Livadia. It did not at first appear probable that this decision would have any influence on the work or position of the Marquis Tsêng, whose duties in London and Paris

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appeared to furnish him with ample occupation. But it may be mentioned that at the moment when Chung How was setting his face homewards, the Marquis Tsêng received a petition from the Anti-Opium Society, begging him to use his influence with his Government to ensure the non-execution of what was called the barbarous death-sentence passed on one of the sons and several of the grandchildren of Yakoob Beg, adjudged a rebel. The Marquis replied in guarded terms, but none the less made a strong representation by telegraph to Peking for the exercise of mercy. In this case he was successful, and in January, 1880, he was able to assure the British public that the sentence would not be carried out.

The Marquis Tsêng had done so well, even in this short period in London and Paris, that it was not at all surprising that the task of repairing Chung How's mistakes should be entrusted to him. Nominated special ambassador to the Russian Court in March, 1880, he was ordered to await the arrival of his special instructions before proceeding to the Neva. In April, indeed, it looked as if he might not proceed there at all, for there were many alarming rumours to the effect that war had actually begun, and that Chinese troops had crossed into Russian territory. As a counter-blast to these alleged warlike proceedings, the Russian papers asserted that China was so desirous of peace that her new representative would sign almost any treaty.

In the following letter, published in *The Times* of 17 April, 1880, Macartney dealt sarcastically with the alleged interview by a correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya* with the Marquis Tsêng to that effect which had never occurred :—

“CHINA AND RUSSIA.

“SIR, “*To the Editor of ‘The Times.’*

“Under the above heading *The Times* of yesterday contains a telegram from St. Petersburg in which allusion

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is made to an interview which the Paris correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya* asserts he had with the Marquis Tsêng. Though the interview, in so far at least as it concerns the Marquis Tsêng, never had any existence, it would not have been deemed necessary to take notice of it had it not been for the extraordinary declaration attributed to His Excellency.

"The statement that he had affirmed his Government to be so desirous of peace that they would avoid a war with Russia *at any price* sounds so strange as to excite our surprise that the correspondent of the Russian journal should ever have made it. For if China be willing to purchase peace at any price, why all this bother about Kuldja? Why not declare the price of the precious desideratum to be the ratification of her own part of the Treaty of Livadia? She would then have but to take a pen and sign the document!"

"Yours faithfully,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The whole question, as it presented itself at the end of the same month, is dealt with in the following article from the same pen which appeared in one of the daily papers. It is interesting, as showing Macartney's views on the eve of his and the Marquis Tsêng's departure for St. Petersburg.

"Though it may generally be held as true that there is fire where there is smoke, it is not always true that the one can be taken as the measure of the other. The same may be said about the relations which exist between truth and rumour. Within the last few weeks the most alarming statements have been made regarding the sanguinary intentions of the Chinese Government should the Russians decline to restore to them the territory, to claim which the Great Khan sent an ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg about eighteen months ago. The luckless ambassador's head was asserted to have been chopped off, either because he lacked brains or knew not how to use them. The Mongol hordes have been represented as straining the leash, and as being with much difficulty held from springing at the bear's throat. Nay, more than this, it has been said that they had broken it, crossed the Rubicon, and to be wandering in tens of thousands over the vast plains through which sweeps the Amoor. Though all these rumours have

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contained a seed of truth, not one of them has been found positively true. The ambassador, though in prison, is still in the land of the living. The Chinese troops are still patiently awaiting the result of the negotiations which the Government has commissioned another envoy to reopen; and if, as alleged, they be fretting and sore chafed, they give no sign of their irritation. Kept well in hand by the veteran grasp of the Governor-General of Kashgaria, they patiently wait to see whether the end is to be peace or war. As yet, though a few poor peasants may have wandered into Russian territory, not a Chinese soldier has crossed the Amoor, so the watery domain of the Black Dragon is still untroubled. A little reflection, joined to a very little experience of Chinese ways, might have led anyone to assert that these alarming rumours, though possibly not altogether without foundation, were substantially untrue. The Chinese are not the bloodthirsty people they are often painted. In former days, when the position of a Chinese diplomat was much more perilous than it is now, treaties quite as irritating, and which from the circumstances of the period produced a thousand times more excitement than has been done by the Treaty of Livadia, have been made by mandarins who not only did not lose their heads, but, after having expiated their offences, were again admitted to the Imperial favour. Chung How, the late ambassador to Russia, having returned to China, not, as is generally stated, without orders, but in spite of orders to the contrary, it was impossible that he should not be the object of his Government's displeasure. Thus having disobeyed the Imperial commands, it can scarcely be expected that he will altogether escape punishment; yet it is far more likely that he will yet live to enjoy the Imperial favour than it is that the sentence which seems to have been passed upon him will be carried out.

"It is equally unlikely that the Chinese Government having appointed the Marquis Tsêng to renew negotiations, would be guilty of the inconsistency of making war upon Russia before he had had time to arrive at his post. No, they are not so unreasonable as to act thus. The admirable manner in which, under great provocation, they have hitherto restrained themselves with regard to Loochoo, is a guarantee for their doing everything in their power to gain their point without making even a threat of war. To act otherwise would be in the highest degree foolish and impolitic. They feel that justice is indisputably on their side,

and they have never doubted but that, approached in a proper spirit, Russia would honourably redeem the pledge she gave to the Chinese Court when, as a friendly Power, believing that she was doing a friendly action, she marched her troops into Ili. We often hear Kuldja spoken of as a territory regarding the ownership of which there was room for dispute, and its retrocession as incompatible with notions of Russian prestige. Neither of these is correct—Kuldja has always been the unquestioned property of the Chinese Empire. In 1851 Colonel Kovalovski, accredited as the plenipotentiary of the Czar, came to Kuldja, the capital of the province, and with the Chinese Governor-General of Ili concluded a Treaty of Commerce which was afterwards duly ratified at Peking. Twelve years after this, the Chinese having been driven out of the province by the Tungan rebellion, Abdul Oghlan, one of that people, usurped the government of the province and, refusing to abide by the treaty which Russia had made with the Chinese, was driven from the throne by the Russians under General Kolpakovsky. The Russians seem never to have coveted, much less to have laid claim to, the province. On the contrary, after entering it in 1871, they hastened to explain to their neighbours at Peking, the friendly motives which actuated them in occupying the territory, and their willingness to restore it to the Chinese as soon as they might be in a position to hold it. Having entered the province in this manner, and having always professed to hold it for the Chinese, it is difficult to see how Russian prestige can be compromised in its retrocession. Nor can it be doubted that the Russians will cheerfully respond to the application for restoration. To do otherwise would be unjust and a flagrant breach of the promise which Russia made on entering on possession. Were there any sovereign and constraining reasons for continuing to retain the province, it might well be questioned whether Russia would listen to the suit merely because it was just; but fortunately no such reasons exist. Russia is fully aware that Kuldja is merely the most western of the long chain of commercial places which connects Russia with the great Chinese markets, and that until the rebellion of the Tungans drove the Chinese out, Russia derived freely as much benefit from trading with the place as she could have done had the government been in her own hands. But even were it not so, it would be foolish, we will not say to provoke war with China, but even to run the risk of incurring her displeasure; for what

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would be the use of Kuldja standing at the head of the line of trading places were all the others closed or only reluctantly opened? It could not be argued that Russian trade is indispensable to the people of those regions, for, habituated as they may have become to the use of many articles of European manufacture, China would only have to give the least encouragement to the Indo-Yarkand trade, and British enterprise would overrun the markets of Central Asia with goods not only cheaper, but better than those now received from Orenburg. Urged, therefore, by interest as much as honour, it can scarcely be doubted that the settlement of the Kuldja affair is not far distant. Indeed, as much as this may be said to be contained in the semi-official declaration of Professor Martens who, according to the *Gолос*, is represented as having said, "That Russia will only restore Kuldja if approached in a friendly spirit." Such a declaration was almost unnecessary, for it could never have been the intention of China to browbeat a proud and powerful nation like Russia. Despite the exaggerated rumours of Chinese warlike preparations, there is nothing to show that she ever contemplated approaching Russia in any other manner than that which Professor Martens has declared to be essential. If proof of this were necessary, we would only have to point to the selection which has been made of an envoy to reopen the question. The Marquis Tsêng, who has been appointed for this purpose, will belie the reputation which he has made in London should he not approach the question in the manner which all must know can alone command success. The Paris correspondent of the *Новое Время* represents the Marquis Tsêng to have stated, during an interview His Excellency is said to have given him in Paris, that the Chinese Government desired to avoid war with Russia at any price. Of course, the *Новое Время*'s correspondent knows whether he was ever admitted to an interview with the minister. That may be or it may not, but supposing it to have taken place, it must be admitted that the declaration of the Chinese Government's desire to avoid war with Russia "*at any price*," sounds somewhat strange, for why all this bother? Why not declare the price of the precious declaration to be ratification on her own part of the Treaty of Livadia? China would then but have to take a pen and sign the document. We think there must have been some misunderstanding here, for China can scarcely be desirous of joining the school of peace-at-any-price so late at least in the afternoon. It would scarcely be

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safe for Russia to rely too much on the existence of a Chinese peace-at-any-price sentiment. In 1858 she chose rather to go to war against the combined armies of France and England!"

In July, 1880, the Marquis Tsêng, having received full instructions from the Tsungli Yamen, was ready to proceed to St. Petersburg. He was able to herald his arrival by making the announcement of an act of grace that could not fail to propitiate Russian opinion, although the whole credit of the result belonged to a far more exalted and illustrious personage. The announcement was that Chung How, the unlucky envoy who had been sentenced to death, had been pardoned by the Emperor of China. As the Russian Government, naturally enough, regarded the sentence on Chung How as almost an affront to itself, it was rumoured that it would have refused to negotiate at all until the death penalty had been cancelled; but the Russian protest would have come too late to save Chung How's life, for his hours were already counted. A more powerful advocate intervened.

Although some protests were made through diplomatic channels at Peking against the barbarous sentence on Chung How, it became known in the course of June that it was on the point of being carried out, and that some exceptional effort alone could save him from "the cord or the poison." As a member of the Imperial house he had the right to execute the sentence on himself. The matter came to the knowledge of Queen Victoria, and she at once penned, in her own name, a noble telegram to the two Empresses Dowager as from one woman to another, begging for the unfortunate envoy's life. When the telegram reached Peking it was at once taken by our minister to the Tsungli Yamen, but not one of the members of that board would take upon himself the responsibility of presenting it to either of the Empresses. In this dilemma the minister

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went to Li Hung Chang, and he undertook to present it to the ladies then jointly ruling China. It was a fine act on Li's part, and must always be remembered to his credit, as he ran no slight risk if he had found the formidable ladies in a bad humour. Queen Victoria's appeal having reached its destination, proved successful, and Chung How's life was spared. Such was the secret history of the matter which the Marquis Tsêng announced to the Russian Government on the eve of his arrival at St. Petersburg.

On 30 July, 1880, the Marquis Tsêng, accompanied by Dr. Macartney and M. Giquel, ex-director of the Foochow Arsenal, who was especially attached to the Mission as French Secretary, arrived in St. Petersburg, and notified the Russian Government that by an Imperial decree of 15 February in the same year, the Emperor of China had appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Russian Court. In his letters of credence which he presented at the same time, it was stated that, as Chung How had departed from his instructions, the treaty he had concluded could not be accepted or ratified, and that consequently the Marquis Tsêng had been nominated to explain the points of difference and to conclude a better arrangement. M. de Giers replied by acknowledging the receipt of the communication from the emissary of His Majesty the "Bogdo Khan," and by appointing a day for his reception. It had been the established usage of the Russian Government to describe the Emperor of China as the Bogdo Khan, and so he had been designated in all the Russian treaties, including that of Livadia. This barbaric title, the precise meaning of which no one seemed to know, stuck in Macartney's gorge, and he said to Tsêng, "How can the ruler of China ever be considered great with such a name? Begin your negotiations by protesting against the term, and tell M. de Giers that if your Emperor is called the

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Bogdo Khan of China you will have to call his Emperor the Bogdo Khan of Russia."

The Marquis Tsêng grasped the full force of the situation, and entered a strong protest against the use of this extraordinary and incomprehensible title, which was certainly neither Chinese nor Russian, and scored an initial success by seeing the gradual withdrawal of the term from Russian official correspondence, wherein it has never since appeared.

The Russian Government did not like the Tsêng Mission. The Livadia treaty suited their views, and they did not see why it should not be ratified. At all events they were loth to discuss the matter with Tsêng, who was regarded as the nominee of the new so-called War Party in China. A few days after the first official reception, M. de Giers wrote to the Marquis informing him that the Russian Government considered that the question could be better discussed at Peking, and that it was going to send a representative to arrange the matter in the Chinese capital. This move was astute, and put the Marquis Tsêng's diplomatic *savoir-faire* to the test. Replying to the minister's communication, he stated that it was within his right as well as his duty to offer some observations thereupon. These were to the effect that his instructions were such as would reveal the desire of the Chinese Government for a pacific settlement, and that as he must notify his Government of Russia's new intention, he would be obliged for the name, and information as to the rank of the proposed envoy, so that he might telegraph the same to his Government and receive its instructions thereupon.

As the Russian Government had made no appointment and had only put forward the proposal as a feeler, it could not help being struck by both the firmness and the moderation of the Marquis Tsêng's reply. It changed its tactics, and as the date for the ratification of the Treaty of Livadia was now close at hand, it proposed its postponement for a

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month in order that "the necessary time might be available to ascertain whether the proposals of the Chinese Government to introduce certain modifications into the treaty were of a nature to lead to a possible agreement." This formality was employed merely to cover the retreat of the Russian Government from the position of *non possumus* which it had first taken up with regard to the Marquis Tsêng's Mission. It was partially disarmed on learning that the Chinese Government did not object to the indemnity clause in the treaty giving Russia over a million sterling, whilst sooner than accept conditions which appeared only likely to furnish cause of future strife it was ready to simply annul the treaty and leave the question to stand over for future solution at some unspecified date, which could only mean the most convenient for China. Under these circumstances the Russian Government decided to make the best of a bad business, and to continue the negotiations in St. Petersburg.

The radical defect in the Treaty of Livadia was that it left in the possession of Russia the Tekkes Valley, a strip of territory intervening between Kashgaria and Kuldja, and severing all direct communication between them. This clause was quite inadmissible, and sooner than accept it the Chinese were prepared to lose the whole of Kuldja. Their representative was enjoined to claim the whole of Kuldja, and on that principle being conceded he had authority to make Russia various concessions of a commercial and sentimental character elsewhere. If the whole of the province could, for some reason that appeared to have force in the Marquis' eyes, not be recovered, a partial return might be accepted, but then great reserve and caution was to be shown in making any concessions beyond the payment of an indemnity for Russia's expenses in administering the province. The whole question is carefully analysed in the following instructions from the Tsungli Yamen to the Marquis Tsêng :—

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"YAMEN'S GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON SEVEN POINTS.

I. Some time after the Russian occupation of Ili the Russian Minister at Peking, Vlangally, proposed to the Yamen that the Ili and the mercantile affairs should be discussed together, but last year, with the view of trying how far the Yamen would go, Monsieur Butzov proposed to discuss the Commercial Treaty first. If at that time it had been possible to discuss the two things separately it would have been more advantageous than to do so now. Now, in discussing the mercantile affair, even if we decline *some* of the Chung How concessions, the Russians would still have acquired too much, and more than has in any hitherto revised treaty been given. It is to be feared that the Russians will still persist in requiring the things to be taken separately, but in our opinion they ought *to be taken together, that is, in relation to each other*, for in this way we should not only avoid having to submit to too much, we would have a purchase by which to move Russia to restore Ili.

II. The after-mentioned concessions are only made on condition of the restoration of the whole of Ili. Li Liu states that the Russians have made a street of 20 li at King ting tzu from which they derive a yearly income of 100,000 roubles. If this be so, the Yamen thinks it will be difficult to get back the whole territory. If the whole province can be got back that would be well, but if it cannot, you must be very careful in what you agree to.

III. If Russia restores the whole of Ili, the after-mentioned concessions can be allowed. Including the making of Kia zia Kwan as a place of 'Tung Shang,' Hami, Pali Kwan, Kuchong and other cities. Of these three places *one* can be given as a Leu-note-tefang, but not *all*. On the east road Nee Pu Tzuh, and on the north road Ko pu tu can be agreed to as stations *through* which the Russians may pass. For the last two hundred years the Russians could only go by Kia-Kih-ta, but now by these concessions she will be able to save the expenses of several thousands of lis (they are therefore to her great concessions). They have been demanded for many years but without success. If Ili *cannot be wholly restored, how can these concessions be easily allowed?*

IV. Other treaty Powers come by sea and want only the advantage arising from commerce, but Russia lies on three

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sides of us and creates important lines of communication. She has always shown herself a territory-grasping Power. By sea trade we can be free, but by land we must be careful. In the first Article of Regulations it is provided that a 100 li area of free commerce territory on each side of the line to be recognised; by the second, that no merchants crossing the boundary without passes are to be dealt with; third, the road by which they may travel and the triplicate certificates which they are to possess. The duty on imports into Tientsin to be reduced one-third, and the import half duty remitted. These two last are valuable concessions to Russian commerce. The Russian Government have always complained of their merchants' route being restricted, therefore they wish to extend their territory of free land in the Ili, Tarbagatai, and Kashgaria directions, as well as to obtain the navigation of the Upper Lung-Hwa-Kig. None of these concessions can be allowed.

V. If Russia merely wishes to revive the treaty it will be difficult to refuse her, because we have refused doing so for ten years. Whatever has been stated by the Yamen, either in correspondence or in the interviews which took place between the first and the third years of Kwangsu, may again be repeated. Formerly when treaty revision has occurred only small concessions have been asked for. Now a reduction on the Hankow tea duty is asked for; that might be agreed to, for it does not amount to much. As to the other principal demands, Russia may be met by quoting the old treaties.

VI. Heretofore Russian goods entering and Chinese goods going out of China had to be examined and accompanied by triplicate certificates. Lest it might interfere with the interests of Chinese merchants, they were prohibited from being sold on the road. This applies to each of the places through which the goods might pass. Butzov said it was immaterial whether the prohibition was repeated over and over, or whether it was laid down in a general clause. This is unimportant, so there would be no use resisting it. If there were such a clause and the goods were to be effectively examined, it would be of no consequence.

VII. If Ili be wholly restored we have a certain 'pan fal.' If not wholly we have another. The Articles 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the Livadia Treaty, the Articles 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8 of the regulations, and the first Article of the Chuanteau (special regulation), are the most important ones, and even should Ili be wholly restored we cannot agree to them."

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During the summer of 1880, both before and after the arrival of the Marquis Tsêng at St. Petersburg, there had been constant talk of war between Russia and China, and rumours had even announced its commencement in regions beyond the reach of the telegraph. One of the consequences of this state of things was that many British officers offered their services to China, and a great stimulus was given to this movement when it became known that "Chinese" Gordon, having resigned the uncongenial post of Private Secretary to the Viceroy, had hastily quitted India for Peking. It is unnecessary to repeat the details of Gordon's visit to China, but the following letter, written after his return to England to his friend Macartney in St. Petersburg, bears directly on the situation, and is of more than ordinary interest:—

" 5 ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON,

" 2 November, 1880.

" MY DEAR MACARTNEY,

" Thanks for your letter. I just put down shortly what happened at Pekin and Tientsin. I found Wade and Bourée well disposed to help China; I found the Yamen hesitating; I wrote and said to the latter, 'If you will make war, burn suburbs of Pekin, remove the archives, etc. and Emperor from Pekin, put them in centre of country and fight for five years, Russia will not be able to hurt you; issue letters of mark (Privateer).' 'If you want peace, then give up Ili *in toto*, and escape the payment of five million taels, and all the articles in Livadia Treaty concerning it. Ili, if the passes are held by Russia, will never be really Chinese; it has always cost China more blood and money than it is worth. Grant the modification at Lake Daishen, it is not worth fighting for,' and 'if Russia demands payment for her war expenses, put it to arbitration.' Please remember I offered two alternatives: if the Chinese will fight, then move the Emperor; if they will not, then they must make peace.

" I also wrote to Yamen that they could not expect the Marquis Tsêng would be able to act freely, after the way the Tsungli Yamen had acted towards Chung Howin leaving him in the lurch and then punishing him. The Tsungli Yamen

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then wrote and asked me how I knew Chung How was blameless, and that *they* were to blame, I said 'that is the opinion of the world' and 'that they had better prove that it was not so.'

"I found the Yamen willing to accede to all the terms, to avoid war, except the payment of Russia's expenses, that stuck in their gullet. Remember, again, I would not give up anything if I thought the Chinese could do anything, but they are the same as before. They go on making the most stupid appointments of foreigners and then not employing them. A man, Marquand, was called for from France to command Chinese Navy with £2000 a year, and when he got there it was evident he could not be employed. The only change I noticed for the better in China was the progress of the Chinese merchant; as for the military and navy, it is hopeless. Kind regards to the Marquis. If I could, by telegraphing to Tsungli Yamen, be of any use you may let me know. I thought of telegraphing (when I heard of the hitch in your negotiations) a few words, recalling the Yamen's attention to what I said on leaving there, i.e. '*If you want war* take the Emperor at once from Pekin to centre of China.' '*If you want peace* agree to the five articles I have given you' (i.e. giving up Ili). Hart, I did not see. Li Hung Chang was very civil. He does not want war. You quite understand that, if the Emperor left Pekin for the centre of China, there would be an end of the Mantchu Dynasty. It struck me that the question is not between Russia and China, it is between the Mantchus and the Chinese people, the former are on their trial before their people and they scarcely dare give in to Russia. The Chinese people wish for war, in hopes of being rid of the Mantchus. Kind regards to Giquel. I am glad he is with you.

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—I am off to Ireland, but my address will be Southampton. My card is for the Marquis."

After many discussions and some doubtful and critical moments an agreement was arrived at on all the main points. China did not get the whole of Kuldja, but she acquired the Tekkes Valley which Chung How had sur-

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rendered. The following letter from Macartney to Mr. J. D. Campbell sums up the main results :—

"*ST. PETERSBURG, 30 December, 1880.*

"**MY DEAR CAMPBELL,**

"Though too late to wish you a merry Christmas, I cannot let the old year out without sending you a line to wish you much happiness in the one which is now about to open. When I left England in July I never dreamt that I should spend my Christmas in St. Petersburg. Under no circumstances did I think that our negotiations could possibly extend over more than three or four months. I now know that with the Emperor at Livadia and the Marquis looking to Peking for instructions as to even the smallest details, one may talk and write for six months without having much to show for it at the end. Since I last wrote you the diplomatic pendulum has oscillated between 'give all' and 'give nothing'; at one time looking as if we would make the most humiliating surrender; at another, as if, rather than yield the most insignificant point, we would accept the office of schoolmaster, and give the Russians a lesson in your version of the Greek alphabet.

"Things now look better. The Russians, after a good deal, first of evasion and then of higgling, have consented to formulate their demands, and after all, to give the devil his due, he is more reasonable and not nearly so black as people would make him.

"They give us back the Tekkes Valley and all the passes between Ili and Kashgaria ceded to them by Chung How. Still, we shall not, as I fondly hoped we would, get back the whole territory of Ili. A part from that ceded to them by Chung How will still be retained by them to serve, as they say, as a home for such of the Ileans as may have chosen to become Russian subjects. The lands in other parts of Eastern Turkestan, ceded to the Russians by Chung How under the euphonic denomination of frontier rectification, will also be restored to us, but the frontiers will still have to be revised by a Commission appointed by the two Governments, to examine it on the spot. In the free trade area, which Chung How opened to Russian commerce, Russian markets are only to enjoy this immunity until the cities shall have so far recovered from the effects of the rebellion as to be able to bear the imposition of a duty.

"The Russian caravans coming from Eastern Turkestan

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to be stopped, whereas Chung How had given them permission to continue their march on through the country to Hankow. The number of consulates in Mongolia and Turkestan will be reduced, and the Chung How protocol about the navigation of the Sungari will be cancelled, and things in that region reduced to the *status quo ante*. Whatever may be the worth of these conquests, they are still things we had to fight for ; they introduce modifications into the Treaty of Livadia, which the Russians agreed to only after a long and obstinate struggle. On the other hand, what have they cost us ? In consequence of the prolongation of the occupation of the Ili province by the Chinese refusing to ratify the Treaty of Livadia, we have had to agree to an increase of the occupation expenses. The above are the principal modifications in the Treaty of Livadia to which the Russians will consent. Whether the Chinese Government will accept them or not remains to be seen. I wish we had been able to win back the whole country of Ili, for even were the part which the Russians have retained only an acre, and barren as the sands of Gobi, it would not the less impair the entirety of the restoration, and serve as a monument of discontent equally as if it were as large as a province and fruitful as the Garden of Eden.

"With reference to your dispatch of the 29th October relating to the Customs Publications, I have been desired by the Minister to state that when he instructed me to address you on the 18th of the same month, he was not aware that you were in the habit of sending a copy of them to the English Foreign Office, and that his intention in writing was merely to ensure each of the Legations and each of the Foreign Offices with which he is connected getting a copy. He has therefore requested me to say that he will feel greatly obliged by your continuing to forward these publications to Paris and St. Petersburg direct, but to each of these legations *two* copies instead of *one* as heretofore. To the London Legation you will please to send one copy if you continue to forward the Foreign Office copy direct, and two if you do not. You will see that this makes no difference in the total number of copies required for the Legations and Foreign Offices of the three countries.

"Hoping that you and your family are all well, and with best wishes for your and their welfare,

"I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

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More cautious than his predecessor, the Marquis Tsêng declined to sign the treaty until his Government had read it through. The text was dispatched to Peking at the end of December, and as February, 1881, was drawing to a close the telegram arrived authorising him to sign it. The Marquis Tsêng sent the following notification to Lord Dufferin, then our Ambassador in Russia, who had been a silent but interested spectator of the tussle between the diplomatists of Russia and China. "The Marquis Tsêng presents his compliments to Lord Dufferin, and has much pleasure in informing His Excellency that the Treaty of St. Petersburg, replacing that of Livadia, was signed by him and the Russian plenipotentiaries at five o'clock this afternoon. Chinese Legation, St. Petersburg, 12-24 February, 1881."

Lord Dufferin's brief comment on the news was: "China has compelled Russia to do what she has never done before, disgorge territory that she had once absorbed."

The signing of the treaty had one little sequel which may be described here, as it revealed Macartney's business shrewdness, and the care he displayed in looking after the smallest details affecting the financial interests of China. The indemnity to Russia was fixed at nine million metallic roubles, the assumed equivalent of five million taels, and it was arranged that payment should be made in six equal instalments at intervals of four months. As payment was to be made in London the amount of each instalment was fixed at £238,610 13s. 8d., but when this proposal was put forward Macartney pointed out that the incidental expenses for the transmission of the money to London should be borne by Russia. The protocol contained, therefore, after the specification of the indemnity the following words: "Moins les frais de banque d'usage qui seront occasionnés par le transfert de ce paiement à Londres."

As the date of the first payment approached the Chinese

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authorities made arrangements for the transmission of the full sum, and were at first disposed to think that it was Russia who might claim compensation for the transmission of the money from London to St. Petersburg. The following letter from the Marquis Tsêng deals with the point:—

“CHINESE LEGATION, PARIS,

“8th December, 1881.

“The Marquis Tsêng presents his compliments to Mr. Campbell, and begs to return to him the dispatch and the letter of Mr. Commissioner Hart which Mr. Campbell was so good as to forward for the Marquis Tsêng's perusal on the 5th instant.

“With regard to the Hwei fei, or bank charges, to which the Taotai of Shanghai seems to have called the Commissioner's attention, the Marquis Tsêng can only state that in negotiating the protocol, the words “Moins les frais de banque,” etc., were very clearly understood as conferring on China a considerable advantage, and, as opposed to Mr. Commissioner Hart's opinion, the Marquis Tsêng cannot think it possible that the Oriental Bank has undertaken the remittance of such a sum as £238,610 13s. 8d. from Shanghai to London gratuitously.

“Under some form or another charges must necessarily have been made on the Chinese Government, and these, according to the terms of the protocol forwarded to Mr. Campbell on the 22nd ultimo, are to be deducted from the above sum in paying it to Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co.”

Macartney himself wrote still more emphatically to Mr. J. D. Campbell, the Commissioner in London for the Imperial Customs Department which provided the money:—

“HOTEL D'ALBE, PARIS,

“8 December, 1881.

“MY DEAR CAMPBELL,

“Referring to the concluding paragraph of your letter of the 2nd instant, and to a similar statement contained in Mr. James Hart's letter to you of the 24th October, I write now to state that we cannot understand how, as there stated, there should have been no expenses incurred in transmitting the money for the first instalment of the Ili indemnity from Shanghai to London.



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"It is by exchange operations that the Oriental Bank exists; and though in the present instance no estimable charge has been made for transmitting the money, it is scarcely to be supposed that in determining the rate of exchange the Bank did not make allowance for the trouble and expense which it would incur in carrying out its contract with the Taotai.

"One way or another the Bank must be subjected to expenses, and if by any combination of circumstances it should be otherwise on the present occasion, we can scarcely calculate on the same thing occurring in the payment of the remaining instalment of the indemnity, and as our action in paying to Baring Brothers the first instalment will in a great manner determine our procedure in making the other ones, it seems to us that we would run a risk of subsequent complications were we to pay the money without reference to the deduction authorised by the Protocol. To show you that the words, "Moins les frais de banque," have a very material significance, I need only tell you how they came to be imported into that document.

"At the moment when the terms of the protocol were being discussed, the Marquis Tsêng proposed to Mons. de Butzov that the equivalent of the silver roubles should be paid in Chinese szen at Shanghai. M. de Butzov, in demurring to this, made the counter proposition that should the Marquis Tsêng agree to the conversion of the indemnity into sterling payable in London, the Russian Government would undertake to defray the expenses incident to the change of place and manner of payments. In making this offer, which the Marquis Tsêng accepted, M. de Butzov stated that the Russian Government were making a very considerable concession, one which His Excellency estimated would amount on the whole indemnity to a sum of not less than one hundred and eighty thousand metallic roubles.

"You will see from this the importance of obtaining from the Oriental Bank an account of what in one shape or another the Chinese Government must have paid them for remitting the money from Shanghai to London, and of receiving the amount from Baring Brothers, etc., in accordance with the terms of the protocol which, I need not say, clearly imply that the transfer of place of payment would necessitate expenses, and that these expenses would be borne by the Russian Government.

"Yours very truly,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

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After some hesitation it was decided to deduct $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the first payment on 19th December, 1881, was made on that basis. When the statement of account in due course reached St. Petersburg, the Russian authorities rather demurred to so much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent being deducted, and M. de Giers wrote to the Marquis Tsêng on the subject. It was then agreed that a deduction of only 2 per cent should be made on the subsequent instalments as explained in the following letter :—

“ CHINESE LEGATION, PARIS,

“ 12th February, 1882.

“ MY DEAR CAMPBELL,

“ In replying to your letter of yesterday which has been submitted to the minister, I am directed by His Excellency to forward you the enclosed copies of two dispatches, one of them from Monsieur de Giers, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the other from the Marquis Tsêng in reply to that communication.

“ By the former, it will be seen that the Russian Minister of Finance rather demurred to so much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent being deducted from the first instalment of the Ili indemnity, and by the latter, that, as regarding the five remaining instalments, the Marquis Tsêng has consented that the deduction to be made on account of *frais de banque* shall, no matter what they may have amounted to, be calculated at the rate of 2 per cent.

“ This arrangement, which has been communicated to the Chinese Government and received its approval, will, the Marquis thinks, necessarily require some modifications being made in the procedure recommended by Mr. Hutchins and laid down in the letter now under acknowledgment.

“ It appears to His Excellency that the matter has now been reduced to an ordinary mercantile transaction, and that therefore all that will now remain to be done will be for the Taotai of Shanghai to make the best bargain he can for Messrs. Baring Brothers receiving from the Bank on given dates the several amounts, less 2 per cent, or, in other words, that he will have to buy at the best rate he can obtain bills or bank transfers for 98 per cent of each instalment.

“ Yours very truly,

“ HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

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The total saving to China was over £36,000, entirely due to Dr. Macartney's business acumen.

The Marquis Tsêng and Dr. Macartney—for the public had begun to associate the two in the vigorous display of China's new policy—returned from St. Petersburg to London as conquerors from a triumph. For the moment the opinion seemed to be held that China had joined the select band of Great Powers. Even those who were very far from taking this view recognised that the Chinese Government would be entitled for the future to claim greater consideration from the rest of the world than it had received since the Peking campaign of 1860.

It was also well known that the Marquis Tsêng had other important questions to deal with besides the dispute with Russia; at least one of these, being not the suppression, but the obtaining of a trebled revenue out of the opium trade, directly affected England. The Chinese Legation in London became, therefore, a centre of great interest in the diplomatic and official world. China's increased prestige gave significance to the Marquis Tsêng's restless energy; and it was discovered with not a little surprise that the ex-army surgeon who guided the course of his nominal chief in the unknown seas where the protocol forms the only fixed point by which the diplomatic bark can be steered, was a man of inflexible will in carrying his point and of marvellous dexterity in threshing out an argument. So long as his skill and resolution were displayed against foreign Governments, the Foreign Office permitted itself to indulge in the somewhat undignified satisfaction of a quiet chuckle; but when the same qualities were displayed against England and negotiations were long drawn out, and even resulted in its being compelled to compromise and yield, these foreign secretaries and permanent officials grew irritable, and even vicious, declaring that the obstruction came not from the Chinese Legation, but from its

[REDACTED]

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English Secretary. When they were in such a mood they levelled at his head the easily invented charge that Halliday Macartney was more Chinese than the Chinese themselves.

No statement could be wider from the mark.

CHAPTER XV

THE COMPLICATIONS WITH FRANCE

French designs in Annam—Treaty of 1874—Summary of Tsêng's correspondence—Li Hung Chang and M. Tricou—Macartney receives C.M.G.—His relations with Foreign Office under Lord Granville—Letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote—Capture of Sontay—China wants peace—Letter to M. Blowitz—The Fournier Treaty—Langson—French demand indemnity—Tsêng leaves Paris—Macartney defends Tsêng—An interesting French correspondence—Lord Granville's views—A visit to Walmer—Peace almost concluded—Jules Ferry's attack on Tsêng—Further negotiations—Peace at last—Macartney's marriage.

EVEN before the difficulty with Russia was settled the Chinese Government had begun to feel apprehension about the designs of France in the so-called Empire of Annam, and more especially in its dependency of Tonquin, a province limitrophe with China herself. From time immemorial Annam had been the vassal of China, but the Chinese Government had neglected in its case and others to give practical significance to these ancient ties after the intrusion of Europeans within her sphere as conquerors. Consequently the day arrived when China's venerable claims were relegated to the muniment room, and more practical nations stepped in with formal treaties and binding covenants which superseded and set at naught the musty pretensions of the ruler of the Middle Kingdom. Such was the case in Annam. While China was more or less asleep, or blind to the movements of the day, France wrested from the Emperor of Annam a treaty which indeed recognised his nominal independence,

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but bound him, none the less surely, in subservience to France. This treaty was dated 15 March, 1874.

In 1880 China, aroused by the rumour that France was about to send an expedition to Tonquin to open up the Songcoi or Red River route to south-west China, resorted to a more active policy. The Marquis Tsêng was instructed to make inquiries in Paris, and on 25 January, 1880, he had an interview with M. de Freycinet, who assured him that France had no designs or plans in Tonquin. As late as November in the same year no change had taken place in French policy. At least President Grévy in that month went out of his way to state positively that France had no designs in Annam. Such was, no doubt, also the general opinion in France; but, as is often the case in great empires, insufficient allowance was made in the metropolis for the ambition of the men on the spot, and at Saigon a great desire had grown up to crown and complete the work of the gallant Garnier, who had given his life for the cause of French exploration and expansion in Indo-China.

While China acted in Paris by the diplomatic channel she also acted in Annam by spies and secret intrigues. Her emissaries made the ruler of that country discontented with his position, and convinced him that he had committed an error in 1874 in substituting France for China, although the pill was gilded with a covering of independence. This prince became quite willing to do whatever the Chinese told him, and thus brought down upon his head troubles from which they could not save him. At the same time that these intrigues at Hué were progressing to the satisfaction of Peking, spies brought back intelligence of French military preparations, which were probably much magnified. These reports greatly alarmed the Tsungli Yamen, which again telegraphed to the Marquis Tsêng to inquire what the French Government meant to do. Writing from St. Petersburg on 10 November, 1880, the Marquis Tsêng asked the

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new Foreign Minister, M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, to explain the movements of French troops within the limits of Annam, which State had been tributary to China from the earliest times.

The French minister's reply, dated 27 December, 1880, to this inquiry was short and pointed. His Government was acting by right of the treaty of 15 March, 1874, whereby France had recognised the entire independence of Annam. After this enunciation of policy there was a lull in the correspondence, and for some months it seemed as if the French had abandoned their announced expedition to the Songcoi. During the summer of 1881 certain intelligence reached the Chinese to the effect that the expedition was only postponed and not abandoned. The Marquis was then instructed to reply to the dispatch of 27 December, 1880, by informing the French Government that China could not recognise that the treaty of March, 1874, in any sense put an end to her rights of suzerainty over Annam. The Marquis, in making this communication on 24 September, 1881, was also instructed to express the hope that French operations in Tonquin would not conflict with the incontestable rights of China in that country.

This somewhat blunt enunciation of China's views created a flutter on the Quai d'Orsay, and M. Léon Gambetta in his reply, dated 1st January, 1882, not merely claimed full liberty of action for France, but added stiffly that the treaty of 15 March, 1874, had been communicated to the Chinese Government on 25 May, 1875, by the Count de Rochefoucauld, and that Prince Kung, in acknowledging the communication on the 15th June following, had raised no objection to any of its stipulations. The Chinese representative replied contesting the accuracy of the French translation of Prince Kung's letter, and alleging that what the Prince really wrote was, that "Annam is, and has long been, tributary to China."

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By this time events were rapidly progressing on the spot. A French expedition had proceeded to Tonquin and occupied the town of Hanoi in the Songcoi delta. Early in May the Marquis Tsêng again addressed the French Government to the effect that China was seriously alarmed at the situation in Tonquin, that the capture of Hanoi would be sure to cause fresh alarm, and that to avert complications he hoped the French would recall their troops. To this dispatch M. de Freycinet, again in office, replied briefly on 31 May, 1882, that he had no explanations to offer China in a matter that concerned only France and Annam. The year 1882 closed with an attempt by the French Minister at Peking to come to some arrangement with the Chinese Government, but as he could give no satisfactory assurances nothing resulted from this move.

In March, 1883, as the consequence of Chinese intrigues, the Emperor of Annam suddenly proclaimed himself the vassal of China, and of course the French were very angry at a step which they regarded as a gross breach of the 1874 treaty. It furnished them with an excuse for deposing the offending prince, strengthening their expedition on the Songcoi, and collecting a considerable naval force on the Annamese coast. At this critical moment the French authorities seized a Chinese vessel anchored at the port of Haiphong in Tonquin, and the Marquis Tsêng was instructed to call upon France to disown the acts of her officers.

An impression prevailed in Paris that the Marquis Tsêng was more hostile to France than his Government, and while an active correspondence went on between him and the French Foreign Office, the French Minister in China was instructed to get into contact with Li Hung Chang—the *deus ex machinâ* in so many disputes between China and foreign States—whose personal reputation was then unimpaired.

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In June it was declared that these efforts had been crowned with success, and the French papers published a notice to the effect that M. Tricou had arranged a settlement of the Tonquin difficulty with Li. The statement was contradicted as soon as made, and the additional information was given that Li had not merely rejected the French offer, but had refused to receive M. Tricou any more, as his manner had been rude and offensive in the opinion of the Viceroy.

The operations in Tonquin during the summer proved chequered. The French force was much too small for the work to be accomplished, and the Government began to realise that it was engaged on a bigger task than it had imagined. In a somewhat chastened mood M. Challemel Lacour, the Foreign Minister in M. Jules Ferry's Cabinet, wrote on 27 August, 1883, to the Marquis Tsêng to the effect that France desired to respect the traditions of China in Tonquin.

After the return of the successful negotiators of the St. Petersburg Treaty from Russia, Dr. Macartney got into closer touch with the Foreign Office, and the late Lord Granville, who was then Secretary of State, looked upon his communications as possessing exceptional value. Early proof of this good opinion was given when in May, 1881, he recommended the Queen to confer on Dr. Halliday Macartney a Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Sir Julian Pauncefote was then Under-Secretary, and as he had had Chinese experience he was particularly well qualified to do justice to the ability of the man who was entrusted with the difficult task of giving a European dress to the expression of China's diplomacy. Dr. Macartney was encouraged in every way to express his views freely at the Foreign Office, and as long as Lord Granville was in office they always received the most careful consideration.

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An early instance of this was given in connection with the Tonquin dispute in the following letter:—

“49 PORTLAND PLACE,
“3 January, 1882.

“DEAR SIR JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE,

“According to promise, I now forward for your perusal the following newspaper cuttings referred to in the conversation I had with you the other day on the subject of the designs of France upon Tong King:— One cutting from the *Temps* of 27th August, 1881; one cutting from the *Debats* of 1st December, 1881; three cuttings from *The Times* 27th and 28th September and 8th October, these last being the articles referred to by Professor Cordier in his contribution to the *Debats*; four cuttings from *Le Journal Officiel* of the 4th, 6th, and 7th August, 1874. Towards the end of the last Session the French Government obtained from the Chambers a vote of 2,480,000 francs for an expedition, the professed object of which was the suppression of piracy in Tong King. The real object of the expedition was, however, a very different one. None but the French seem to have found the pirates in Tong King exceptionally troublesome, or to have thought that the ordinary naval forces which European Powers maintain in these waters were incapable of dealing with such ‘scum of the sea’ as might there exist. No, the expedition was intended to serve a purpose much less beneficent, and perhaps more like piracy itself than its suppression.

“The play of annexation, in which the unfortunate Garnier lost his head in 1874, was again to be put on the stage, this time with fresh characters, and, like the Khromers in North Africa, the pirates had only been engaged for the occasion.

“The idea of anything like the annexation of Tong King having been contemplated by the French is ridiculed by the writer in the *Debats*, who, in support of his opinion, instances the smallness of the sum which the Chambers were asked to vote. But no one, save perhaps Professor Cordier, can have forgotten the very modest consideration for which the same Government at first promised to settle the Tunisian business, and how so far twenty times that sum has been found insufficient for the purpose.

“The annexation of Tong King has long been looked upon by French officials as ‘a consummation devoutly to be

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wished.' As far back as 1873, Admiral Dupré, then Governor of Saigon, writing to his Government represented it as a necessity. 'Notre établissement,' added he, 'dans ce riche pays limitrophe de la Chine, et débouché naturel de ses riches provinces sud occidentales est, selon moi, une question de vie et de mort pour l'avenir de notre domination dans l'extrême Orient.'

"This object Admiral Dupré thought he had attained by the treaty which, in the following year, he extorted from the King of Annam; but, thanks to his lack of skill in wording that document, the French Protectorate over Annam still remains to be accomplished. In order to supplement or recast the Admiral's faulty work, the Government of M. Ferry thought to frighten the King of Annam into making a new treaty, which, whilst putting the country completely under French domination, would avoid such complications as an attempt to enforce the execution of the old treaty would inevitably create between France and foreign Powers. Therefore was it that the Government decided on the expedition for the expenses of which the Chambers were asked to make provision. I have been informed that such a treaty was actually drafted in Paris, and, but for circumstances which have since occurred, it is not unlikely that we might ere now have heard that the summary method of negotiating which Mr. Roustan employed with the Bey had been equally successful with the Tu-Duc. Fortunately this experiment was not tried, and it will be well should it never be tried, for it would not fail to raise in the East troubles the end of which it might be difficult to foresee.

"By comparing Articles 2, 12, and 17 of Admiral Dupré's curious piece of diplomatic work, you will perceive some of the reasons which lead the French Government to desire its modification, and also how there results from them the anomaly I referred to in talking with you the other day. I mean, the state of things which would entail on, say, an Englishman or a German residing in Annam, the liability of being carried off by a Frenchman to be tried at Saigon for an offence committed not against the laws of France, but against those of Annam! It was this unheard of jurisdiction which led me to think that the English Government could scarcely have given its adherence to the Treaty which, I understand, was officially communicated to it soon after its ratification. Lest you should think that the treaty was never intended to be carried to the length of interfering with the

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rights of Europeans other than Frenchmen residing in Annam, I may state that I know it to be the opinion of the French Government that the treaty places under French protection the interests of all Europeans residing in the kingdom of Annam. And this, strange to say, although in the second article of the treaty it is stated that France recognises 'la souveraineté du Roi d'Annam et son entière indépendance vis-à-vis de toute puissance étrangère quelle qu'elle soit.'

"The writer in the *Debats*, the Professor of Oriental Literature in Paris, whilst offering to Europeans in the Chinese service a piece of advice, which I suppose is meant more especially for me, says, 'Il n'est dans l'intérêt d'aucune puissance que la Chine s'établisse au Tong King au détriment d'une nation occidentale,' but as the success of Chinese diplomacy in this case would result in no 'dog-in-the-manger' policy, it is questionable whether Monsr. Cordier is not here mistaken, and whether European Powers would not even prefer being indebted to Chinese influence than to French bayonets for the opening up of Tong King. They would certainly find their interests in the Red River becoming under Chinese guidance a second Yangtze, rather than in its being hampered and controlled in its commerce by such irksome regulations as a French Protectorate or annexation of Annam would be certain to create.

"I must apologise to you for troubling you with this long letter, which however much I may have wished to draw your attention to the subject of it, I would not have ventured so to address you had it not appeared from what you said the other day, that the threatened extension of European influence in the Far East was at present engaging your attention.

"I am returning to Paris early next week, and not to trouble you by writing in connection with the inquiries which you were so kind as to say you would, if possible, answer, I would call on you at any time before then which you may be pleased to appoint.

"I think I told you that though the Chinese Minister is aware of my being engaged in the study of such questions as an attempt to interfere with Tong King might originate, I have not been authorised to apply to you for information.

"Believe me to be,
"Yours very sincerely,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

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This letter is of interest as showing, what nobody doubted, how largely the Marquis Tsêng's policy was moulded by his friend's study of the particular questions with which from time to time they happened to be occupied. The letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote is a model upon which the subsequent dispatches to the French Government between 1882 and 1884 were drawn up. In September, 1883, it was thought that war between France and China could not be avoided, and in October M. Ferry declared that France intended to capture and occupy the principal towns of the Delta, including Sontay. In consequence of this declaration the Marquis Tsêng sent to the French Government the following dispatch relating to the presence of Chinese troops in Tonquin, and the risk of a collision between them and the French :—

“MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE, “PARIS, le 17^e Nov^e, 1883.

“Au cours de la séance de la Chambre qui avait lieu le 31 Octobre dernier, Monsieur le Président du Conseil a déclaré que le Gouvernement français s'est décidé de s'établir dans le delta du fleuve Rouge, et de s'emparer des villes de Sontay, Hong Hoa, et Bacninh.

“Vis à vis de cette déclaration j'ai l'honneur par ordre de mon gouvernement d'annoncer à votre Excellence que usant de ses droits suzerains et remplissant les devoirs qui lui incombent en vertu de la suzeraineté de la Chine à l'égard de l'Annam, ainsi qu'en raison de la demande formelle que le roi d'Annam lui avait adressée, le Gouvernement Impérial a envoyé, il y a quelque temps, comme il avait fait maintes fois dans le passé, des troupes impériales au Tonkin pour y sauvegarder ses intérêts et ceux de son vassal.

“Puisque c'est justement dans les parages auxquels se rapporte la déclaration sus-mentionnée de Monsieur le Président du Conseil que se trouvent les troupes impériales je dois vous notifier de ce fait. La présence de ces troupes, comme se rappellera sans doute Votre Excellence, fut reconnue dans l'entretien que j'ai eu avec Monsieur Challemel Lacour le 1^{er} Aout. Vu les complications que ne pourrait que produire une collision inattendue entre les troupes françaises et les troupes impériales je me fais un devoir de vous en écrire cette notification formelle.

“Agréez, etc.,
“TSÉNG.”

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Corroboration was soon given to these views when the French under Admiral Courbet attacked Sontay on 11th December, 1883, and found that among its defenders were soldiers wearing the Imperial uniform. Still more conclusive proof of Chinese official participation was discovered a few months later at Bacninh on the capture of that place by General Millot, as the Chinese were unable to carry off their Krupp artillery. Notwithstanding the collision at Sontay the Chinese authorities remained desirous of a pacific settlement, and in an article which I contributed to *The Times* of 31 December, 1883, on the Marquis Tsêng's authority and with Dr. Macartney's collaboration, it was openly avowed that "China in plain language wants peace." A definite proposal was then made, which the Marquis was prepared to carry out, for the division of the control of the Songcoi between France and China, leaving the towns of Hanoi, Haiphong, and Haidzuong to the former. Lord Granville entertained as his guests at Walmer M. Waddington, the French Ambassador, and the Marquis Tsêng, accompanied by Dr. Macartney, with the object of bringing the two Governments into accord. Unfortunately, when these proposals came before the French ministry for consideration, M. Jules Ferry had formed the conclusion that "China wanted peace at any price," and that "her policy was one of brag."

In the following letter to M. Blowitz, the celebrated *Times* correspondent in Paris, Macartney advocated his supporting the proposal of the Marquis Tsêng to divide Tonquin :—

"MY DEAR BLOWITZ,

" 10 January, 1884.

" As a friend of France, and as one who, having lived for some years in China, has since his return watched with exceeding interest the waking up of that great Power to a knowledge of her position in the politics of the world, I venture to address you a few remarks on what may be called

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the question of the day, the question of Tonquin. A few days ago, in your letter to *The Times*, you laid down the axiom that 'whenever an international question threatens to become unintelligible it is dangerous.' Supposing the converse of this proposition to be true, France and China would have to be congratulated that the danger which threatened the continuance of their friendly relations has passed away, for with a logic which might be called merciless you have evolved from the till then inextricable mass of contested treaties, neutral zones of indefinite dimensions and seigniorial rights more or less valid, a solution which is startling in its simplicity—Annam to the French and Tonquin to the Chinese. Considering the ignorance of geography of which we have lately had some astounding examples, and the fact that Tonquin and not Annam is generally considered to be the bone of contention, this proposition, asserted to be that of China, has met with less opposition than might have been anticipated. Have the French people come to mistrust the maps powdered with gold and gleaming with nuggets of silver in every corner by which the deputies are said to have been charmed into voting the money for the Tonquin expedition, or is it that the country has come to ask itself, as it did in December last, what is Tonquin to us? For what are we going to run the risk of incurring a war with China? I hope it may, but at the same time I hope this process of reflection may be more long lived than it was on that occasion. Everybody must remember how when the city of Hanoi being jeopardised by the advance of the Chinese troops, the merchants had to join the garrison in order to defend the city, and that Admiral Jaureguiberry, being opposed in Council by the good sense of M. Grévy, committed his loved 'project' to the flames. What was the action of the Press at that time? It refused to contemplate a breach of friendly relations with China, her commerce being worth more to France than many Tonquins. It denounced the proposed expedition to Tonquin as unnecessarily endangering the Republic by threatening to sacrifice another ministry on the altars of instability. But this way of thinking did not last, for on its being known that M. Bourée had succeeded in obtaining the recall of the Chinese troops, the Press returned to the position it had abandoned and urged the Government to go in and win. From that time to the present things have been going from bad to worse. Proposition and counter-proposition and memorandum on

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memorandum have followed each other without either party daring to say clearly what he wanted. From this state of uncertainty we have at last emerged, for China, it is stated, has declared that nothing short of the undivided possession of the Red River from Yunnan to the sea will satisfy the exigencies of her situation. For the development of her south-western provinces this she believes to be an imperious necessity. Besides this, she is unwilling to have any power such as France coming in between her and the sea. She may be right or she may be wrong in assuming such a position, but it cannot be said that such a policy is unintelligible. If Powers who had not an inch of land on the Danube, or within thousands of miles of it, met in London a few weeks ago to contend about their rights on that river, China can scarcely be expected to see a river over which she has exercised sovereign rights for centuries, and which is her only outlet in the south-west to the sea, occupied by a Power whose claims to establish herself there would not for a moment be entertained before a European Court of Arbitration. Of late years, when a claim could neither be based on right or reason, diplomacy has been in the habit of pleading that of *suit accompli*. I doubt whether China could be brought to see the force of such an argument should it be advanced in favour of the French being allowed to establish themselves on her frontier, or on the Red River, the undivided possession of which she believes to be necessary to the development of her natural resources. Whilst willing to open the river on the most liberal conditions to general commerce, she refuses to accord to France a privileged position. And if in her attempt to obtain one France should unsettle the state of affairs in the East, it is but little likely that Powers whose interests are immeasurably greater than hers will permit it without remonstrating.

"Yours sincerely,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

Still, after the capture of Bacninh in March, 1884, negotiations for a pacific settlement were resumed, not indeed with the Marquis Tséng, who, to propitiate the French, was recalled from Paris, but in China with Li Hung Chang, who was much more malleable. The conduct of this transaction was entrusted by the French Government to Captain

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Fournier, who may have been a good naval officer, but who was certainly not a cautious diplomatist. On 11th May, 1884, he signed a treaty with Li Hung Chang at Tientsin. Its terms were the complete surrender of China's suzerainty over Annam, and also the assignment of the whole of the Songcoi delta to France instead of its division between the two States as proposed by the Marquis Tsêng. Annexed to the treaty was a convention for the evacuation of certain places in Tonquin. Among these was Langson, and in the French text it appeared that General Millot might proceed to occupy it on the 5th June. But the copy possessed by Li Hung Chang, and bearing the French officer's signature, contained no such stipulation, or the mention of any date. He had merely been tricked by Li Hung Chang, who wished to minimise the completeness of his surrender to France, and little recked what might be the consequences on the spot. Consequently, when the French troops moved on Langson they were opposed, and a detachment under Colonel Dugenne was badly cut up in the Bacle Pass.

On news of this occurrence reaching Europe there was a tremendous outburst of indignation in Paris. The French Government demanded an immediate apology and the payment of an indemnity of ten millions sterling. The Chinese Government replied disclaiming all responsibility for the mishap, as no date for the evacuation was specified in the convention, and alleging that General Millot's advance was in any case premature. The Chinese Government was quite willing to apologise, and it would even have paid some compensation, but the claim to an indemnity of ten millions was answered with an emphatic negative.

Unfortunately for China the French had ready to their hands a means of reprisal. A French squadron under Admiral Courbet was anchored at the treaty port of Foochow, which is situated some miles up the Min river. The mouth of that river was defended by some strong forts,

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which the available French squadron would never have forced by a front attack, but taking advantage of the position he had reached while peace seemed assured the French Admiral, on leaving the port some weeks later, took the forts in the rear and destroyed them without loss or difficulty. At the same time the French minister was ordered to withdraw from Peking unless the Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity, which the French now reduced to eight millions. On official relations being definitely broken off a "state of war" prevailed in the Chinese seas, but neither country would make an open declaration of war—France because she wished to retain the right of coaling her men-of-war at Hong-Kong, and China because she hoped to embroil France with the trading Powers. This difficult situation was met by an official notification from Sir Harry Parkes, then our minister at Peking, to the effect that strict neutrality must be practised at Hong-Kong just as if France and China were at war.

The Marquis Tséng having left Paris, and his duties being restricted to the Legation in London, it would be unnecessary for me to touch on the succeeding phases of the Tonquin question but for the very considerable, if secret, part he took in several informal efforts for the restoration of peace. In this direction Macartney was extremely active, and the French public who denounced him as anti-French were singularly in error. This misjudgment cannot exist after the perusal of the following documents, which will reveal that, while Macartney was the faithful servant of China, he was also an admirer and good friend of France.

The hostilities in Tonquin, which extended to Formosa and the China coast, caused anxiety to all the Governments, and in France cautious people did not regard M. Ferry's adventure with complete satisfaction. Both the British and the American Governments offered their good offices whenever mediation should be acceptable to the Powers

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at strife, and until that time arrived no effort was spared to minimise the evils attendant upon the disturbed and even excited state of the Chinese in the treaty ports. But whatever attempts to bring about peace were made in official circles, they did not at first affect the Marquis Tsêng, whose relations with M. Jules Ferry had been strained, if not embittered, by some want of reason and courtesy on the part of the French Premier. Moreover, there was an impression in some quarters that the Marquis Tsêng did not want peace, and consequently no one in England, after his recall from Paris, thought of consulting him how to bring it to pass, until a French gentleman proved that he possessed greater powers of discrimination. The impression referred to found prominent expression in a long telegram from a correspondent of *The Times* at Hong-Kong, in which the Marquis Tsêng was attacked as a supporter of the war party and denounced as "the cause of the strife." In a temperate and dignified letter published a few days later (7 August, 1884), Macartney had no difficulty in showing that the correspondent was misinformed. The best refutation of his imaginings is furnished, however, by the following narrative :—

In the middle of October, 1884, Macartney received a registered letter from Paris from a correspondent whom he did not know. The writer was connected with a leading Paris paper, and wrote from its office, but I am not at liberty to give the names, and indeed they would add but little to the interest of the story. I give his opening letter¹ in its entirety :—

“PARIS, le 14 Oct., 1884.

“MONSIEUR ET TRÈS HONORÉ DOCTEUR,

“Vous ne sauriez croire quel est mon regret de voir le grand empire de Chine en lutte avec la France. Vous n'ignorez pas quelles sont mes sympathies pour Monsieur le

¹ I must give the correspondence as written in French, but an English translation of the letters will be found in the Appendix.



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Marquis Tseng, pour vous et pour tous ceux qui touchent de près l'honorable représentant du Céleste Empire. Dès lors vous ne verrez dans ma démarche actuelle rien qui puisse vous inspirer la moindre défiance.

“ Si dans ma modeste situation de journaliste et avec le désir de vous être utile et agréable je pouvais d'arriver à détendre un peu la situation et amener les deux nations à se faire des concessions mutuelles sur le terrain brulant où elles se trouvent actuellement, je croirais rendre un réel service à mon pays et mériter une fois de plus¹ vos sympathies et celles de l'honorable ambassadeur qui représentait naguère à Paris la Chine.

“ Aujourd'hui ce n'est point seulement le journaliste qui vous écrit mais *l'ami particulier de quelques sommités du pouvoir français*, or c'est à ce dernier titre que je viens vous dire en toute sincérité !

“ La France ne veut point faire de conquête en Chine, elle veut sauvegarder sa situation et elle ne veut en rien gêner le Céleste Empire dans ses affaires intérieures. Entre les deux nations il n'existe que de graves malentendus, et je suis sur que si des amis communs faisaient entrevoir au gouvernement chinois par l'intermédiaire de son ambassadeur en Angleterre le Marquis Tseng la véritable pensée du gouvernement français on ne tarderait pas à signer une paix sérieuse, c'est à dire durable.

“ Voulez-vous, Monsieur et honoré docteur, que nous tentions d'obtenir ce magnifique et désirable résultat ?

“ Ce que je vous propose doit tenter un cœur bien placé comme le vôtre, et je suis persuadé que comme moi vous considéreriez comme le plus grand honneur de votre carrière politique si vous pourriez atteindre le résultat si désiré.

“ Il y a assez de sang versé ! Il faut nous employer à faire cesser les hostilités et on n'y arrivera qu'en se faisant des concessions mutuelles.

“ Demandez je vous prie sur quelles bases une entente peut avoir lieu. Je les communiquerai officieusement aux personnes qui touchent de très près nos ministres, et s'il y a lieu j'irai à Folkestone vous apporter une réponse et discuter les conditions préliminaires qui serviraient de bases à la paix définitive.

“ Notre premier rôle rempli nous céderions la place aux ambassadeurs qui regulariseraient officiellement et sans

¹ Notwithstanding this claiming of earlier acquaintance, Dr. Macartney could not recall having met the writer.

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contesté, comme pour ce malheureux traité de Tientsin, le projet arrêté officieusement.

“Veuillez, etc., etc. . . .”

To this communication Macartney made a general and guarded reply :—

“49 PORTLAND PLACE, LONDRES,

“*le 15 Octobre, 1884.*

“MON CHER MONSIEUR,

“Je partage entièrement tous les sentiments qui se trouvent exprimés dans votre lettre d'hier relativement à la malheureuse lutte qui a eu lieu entre la France et la Chine depuis quelque temps et qui s'envenime et prend de jour en jour des proportions considérables.

“Croyez bien, monsieur, qu'en effet je regarderais comme le plus bel acte de ma carrière diplomatique d'aider à terminer cette lutte, toutefois si cela se peut sans porter atteinte au prestige du pays que j'ai l'honneur de servir.

“Tout en craignant malgré tous mes efforts de ne pas arriver à un aussi bon résultat, je n'ai pas voulu perdre l'occasion que me donne votre lettre d'en faire l'essai. Donc je n'ai pas hésité à la soumettre au Marquis de Tseng et de lui demander ses ordres à cet égard.

“Depuis son rappel de Paris Son Excellence s'est tenu rigoureusement à l'écart de toute ingérence dans la question du Tonkin, ne voulant pas entraver ceux à qui le droit de s'en occuper appartenait d'après elle.

“Le Marquis de Tsêng desire s'en tenir à ce rôle de spectateur ; pourtant il consentirait à accepter votre proposition d'être l'intermédiaire entre le Gouvernement Impérial et celui de la République sous les conditions suivantes :

“1^e. Que la demande d'une indemnité soit complètement abandonnée.

“2^e. Qu'il soit convaincu que le Gouvernement français est vraiment desirieux d'arriver à une solution pacifique et durable. De ces deux conditions il ne saurait se dispenser de la première pour deux raisons :

“1^e. Parcequ'il est sûrement persuadé que son Gouvernement ne consentirait jamais à reconnaître le principe même d'une indemnité.

“2^e. Parceque, étant d'avis que la Chine n'était nullement responsable pour l'affaire de Leang Shan, Son Excellence ne saurait proposer à son Gouvernement de reprendre des négociations à moins que le Gouvernement français ne renonce préalablement à sa demande d'une indemnité.

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“Du reste il croit que de reconnaître le principe d'une indemnité ce serait à infliger à son pays une indignité de plus à celles qu'il a déjà subies et plutôt que faire cela, même fut-il commandé par son Gouvernement, Son Excellence aimeraient mieux donner sa démission.

“Quant à la seconde condition le Marquis de Tseng se croit en droit de la demander pour sa sécurité personnelle. Il ne veut pas s'exposer aux mêmes difficultés que a rencontrées son collègue le Vice roi de Chihli.

“Deux fois ce fonctionnaire a ridigé des traités les plus favorables pour la France, et deux fois ces traités n'ont servi qu'à créer des difficultés au négociateur Chinois.

“La manière dont les deux traités, Bourrée et Fournier, ont été gâtés a soulevé au sein du Gouvernement chinois des doutes qu'une solution pacifique ne soit vraiment ce que desire le Gouvernement français.

“C'est pour cette raison le Marquis de Tseng veut être bien assuré sur ce point avant qu'il consente à porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement le vœu qui se trouve exprimé dans votre lettre et de demander quelles seraient les bases sur lesquelles le Gouvernement Imperial consentirait à rouvrir des négociations.

“Rassuré sur les conditions que j'ai mentionnées plus haut le Marquis de Tseng serait prêt à demander les ordres de son Gouvernement et à vous en faire communiquer la réponse officieusement.

“Dans le cas où le Gouvernement français accepterait les conditions posées par le Marquis de Tseng il serait desirable que je sache quels sont les hauts personnages pour lesquels vous agissez.

“Ayant l'espoir, cher Monsieur, que nos efforts réunis pourront amener le rétablissement des bonnes relations qu'existaient autrefois entre les deux pays, &c. &c.

“ HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

To this came the following reply, a few days later :—

“ PARIS, le 20 octobre, 1884.

“ MON TRÈS HONORÉ ET CHER DOCTEUR,

“ Je vous remercie de votre longue et très importante lettre. J'aurais désiré pouvoir y répondre immédiatement mais certaines circonstances indépendantes de ma volonté m'en ont empêché. Je le fais aujourd'hui car j'ai hâte de

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vous prouver combien je vous suis personnellement reconnaissant d'avoir si bien compris mon desir et le but que je me proposais.

"Les hauts personnages dont je vous ai parlé sont entre autres pour n'en citer qu'un seul M. A. F. B. qui possède des amis nombreux au Ministère des affaires Etrangères.

"Je lui ai remis votre lettre ainsi que la copie de la mienne.

"M. — trouve qu'il est impossible de remettre ces deux documents aux personnes avec lesquelles il est en relation. Vous semblez en effet supposer dans votre réponse que le gouvernement français fait par mon intermédiaire des ouvertures à la Chine tandis que c'est moi seul qui de mon propre mouvement vous ai manifesté le desir d'amener une entente en réunissant nos communs efforts.

"De plus, mon très honoré et cher Docteur, vous faites des reproches à la politique française, voie des plus malheureuses lorsqu'on veut entrer dans des négociations de paix! Enfin votre lettre contient des affirmations qui sont, permettez-moi d'être absolument franc avec vous, matériellement inexactes, la Chine ayant reconnu par deux fois le principe de l'indemnité.

"Dans ces conditions M. — a cru n'avoir autre chose à faire qu'à me rendre les deux documents sans en faire usage.

"Maintenant voulez-vous mon opinion bien franche? Je crois que dans notre desir d'amener une reconciliation nous avons mal engagé nos pourparlers.

"Je suis et reste convaincu, malgré le refus de M. — de remettre les lettres à qui de droit, que nous pouvons arriver à produire une entente entre nos deux pays. Il dépendra essentiellement de vos propositions que la France abandonne ou maintienne la question de l'indemnité. C'est donc de vous seul que dépend la réalisation de la première condition posée par le Marquis de Tseng.

"Quant à la seconde cela va de soi. Voyez ce que Son Excellence penserait pouvoir faire dans le sens de la réalisation de nos vœux.

"J'attends donc, mon cher Docteur, une lettre répondant exactement au sens et au contenu de la mienne.

"Veuillez, etc., etc."

Macartney's reply to this communication is remarkable for the emphatic manner in which he states that no indemnity would be paid.

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"49 PORTLAND PLACE,

"le 27 octobre, 1884.

"MON CHER MONSIEUR,

"Je vous sais infiniment gré de la franchise avec laquelle vous avez touché à plusieurs points contenus dans ma lettre du 15 de ce mois.

"Je suis de ceux qui pensent que, même dans la diplomatie, il vaut mieux aller droit à son but, que de tâcher d'y arriver par une voie détournée.

"Si donc certaines phrases contenues dans ma lettre vous ont paru blâmer la politique française, croyez bien, Monsieur, qu'elles n'étaient pas écrites pour offenser votre susceptibilité de bon Français, mais pour éclairer les motifs qui ont amené le Marquis de Tseng à poser les conditions que vous connaissez et d'après lesquelles seulement il consentirait à sortir de son rôle de Spectateur: si j'avais agi autrement et fait des reproches à la politique française, c'eût été mal comprendre les sentiments amicaux à l'égard de la France, qui n'ont jamais cessé d'animer notre Ministre, même dans les vives discussions qu'il a eu à soutenir avec votre Gouvernement.

"Mais, trêve aux explications, je réponds à votre lettre.

"Malgré le refus de M. — — — de transmettre nos lettres à qui de droit, vous restez convaincu que nos efforts réunis pourront amener à une entente cordiale entre nos deux pays. Je suis bien content de recevoir de vous cette expression de votre conviction, et soyez persuadé, Monsieur, qu'en ce que me concerne, je ferai tout pour la justifier.

"Il dépendra, dites-vous, 'essentiellement de vos propositions que la France abandonne ou maintienne la question d'indemnité.'

"J'ignore qu'elles sont les propositions que la France attend de la Chine et quels autres avantages elle pourra demander à la Chine en dehors de ceux que la Chine a déjà accordés. Mais j'ose dire que la Chine ne consentira à donner rien qui pourrait être considéré comme une indemnité.

"Or, cher Monsieur, si nous voulons réussir dans la tâche que nous nous sommes donnés, il nous faut trouver une solution dans un autre ordre d'idées.

"On a dit que la France se contentera d'avantages commerciaux. Je ne sais si cela est vrai; peut-être pourrez vous me renseigner sur ce point.

"Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes meilleurs sentiments.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"Monsieur — — —."

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Macartney's letter of the 27th October brought him the following prompt and definite answer :—

“ PARIS, le 29^e octobre, 1884.

“ MON TRÈS HONORÉ ET CHER DOCTEUR,

“ Vous le voyez je mets un certain amour propre à faire le possible ou l'impossible même pour faire triompher ce qu'en ce moment est le rêve de toute mon ambition non seulement comme Français mais comme sincère ami de la grande nation chinoise.

“ J'ai lu et relu votre lettre avec le plus grand plaisir, je n'ai pas besoin de vous le dire.

“ Serait-ce donc si difficile de nous entendre avant de soumettre nos idées à qui de droit?

“ Vous pensez bien que du coté des avantages commerciaux nous pourrions tous deux trouver des conditions telles qu'elles satisfassent les deux gouvernements.

“ Je ne demande pas mieux que de faire cette recherche avec vous, mais il me semble, faut-il vous l'avouer, bien difficile de trouver une solution de ce coté sans que non seulement l'Angleterre mais encore l'Allemagne n'y opposent leur vêto.

“ Chacune de ces puissances, en effet, entretient un commerce plus important avec le grand Empire représenté par le Marquis Tsêng que celui de la France même. Déjà les clauses du Traité de Tien-Tsin ont tant agité vos compatriotes que je ne le crois pas possible d'obtenir du Tsung-li Yamen malgré toute sa bonne volonté autre chose que des avantages purement locaux, propres au Tonkin, en raison même de cette opposition qui serait faite par les gouvernements anglais et allemand dans l'intérêt de leur propre commerce.

“ J'ai longuement réfléchi, je me suis pour ainsi dire creusé la tête pour trouver, sinon mieux, du moins autre chose.

“ Voici le fruit de mes mûres réflexions, une simple idée en l'air que je vais vous soumettre, un exemple plutôt qu'un projet.

“ 1^o. Exécution du Traité de Tien-tsin.

“ 2^o. Retrait simultané des soldats chinois du Tonkin et des navires français des Eaux Chinoises.

“ 3^o. Abandon par la France de ses demandes d'indemnité pour l'affaire de Bac-Lé.

“ 4^o. Occupation de Formose par la France en garantie de l'exécution du Traité de Tien-tsin.

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“Je suis persuadé et cela je vous le dis en toute sincérité que des ouvertures analogues arrivant avant le Vote des Chambres sur le credit à donner et les troupes à envoyer au Tonkin d'une part, avant l'occupation définitive de Formose d'autre part, auraient de grandes chances d'être accueillies sinon avec plaisir par le Gouvernement, du moins avec satisfaction par les Chambres qui tout en votant des credits plus élevés que ceux qui leur sont demandés, n'en éprouvent cependant pas moins le plus vif désir de mettre fin à nos dissensiments avec l'Empire Chinois à cause vous le comprenez des élections prochaines.

“Voyez, réfléchissez, mon très honoré et cher Docteur, ce sont de simples idées que je vous suggère et soumets à l'appréciation de votre haute compétence.

“J'ai hâte d'aller vous serrer la main, il dépend de votre réponse que ce moment désiré ne soit pas trop retardé. Veuillez, etc.

“. . .”

With the following letter Macartney's part in this correspondence may be closed.

“PORTLAND PLACE, 1 Novembre, 1884.

“MON CHER MONSIEUR,

“Je m'empresse de répondre à vos deux lettres d'hier, mais d'abord, il faut que je vous remercie de la netteté dont vous faites preuve en me communiquant le résultat de vos efforts à trouver un terrain sur lequel nous pouvons nous rencontrer pour nous entendre sur la question qui nous tient tant au cœur.

“En ce qui concerne les 4 propositions que (à votre avis) on pourrait prendre comme base d'un arrangement, je ne sais pas jusqu'à quel point le Gouvernement Chinois serait à même de les accepter.

“Mais, vu que la troisième proposition envisage l'abandon de l'indemnité, la bête noire qui nous a créé tant d'ennuis, je ne m'étonnerai pas si (quelques légers changements faits) le Tsung-li-Yamen consente à les adopter.

“J'ai demandé l'avis du Marquis de Tseng à ce sujet ; mais il s'est gardé d'émettre une opinion jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit renseigné par son Gouvernement en lui demandant des instructions à cet égard. Il voudrait bien le faire s'il avait la moindre raison de croire qu'en effet le Gouvernement français ne refuserait pas de discuter la question à votre point de vue.

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“ Vous pouvez comprendre sans peine cher Monsieur comme ce serait difficile au Marquis de Tseng, malgré sa bonne volonté de soumettre à son gouvernement des idées que ne pourraient être que celles d'un cœur trop enthousiasmé à terminer une lutte déplorable.

“ Il est bien possible que le Gouvernement français partage les vues exprimées dans vos quatre propositions, mais avant que le Marquis puisse les porter à la connaissance de son gouvernement, il faut que son Excellence soit assurée que le gouvernement français les accepterait.

“ Car faute de cela une pareille démarche n'aurait d'autre effet que d'embrouiller l'affaire dans le cas du refus du gouvernement français d'accepter une solution dans l'ordre de vos idées.

“ Vous apprécieriez, j'en suis sur, la justice des motifs qui induisent le Marquis de Tseng à demander quelque preuve que, en ce que concerne le Gouvernement français, un arrangement conforme à vos propositions pourrait avoir lieu. Cela donné il prêtera son concours afin d'amener la malheureuse affaire qui trouble les relations entre nos deux pays à bonne fin. Son Excellence a toujours fait son possible pour trouver une solution honorable pour les deux pays, et l'envoi des renforts de 17,000 hommes dont vous me parlez ne changera en rien ses sentiments.

“ Recevez, cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mes meilleurs sentiments.

“ HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.”

To this communication came the following reply, with which the whole correspondence at this period concluded :—

“ PARIS, le 6 novembre, 1884.

“ MON TRÈS HONORÉ ET CHER DOCTEUR,

“ Quand il s'agit de questions diplomatiques et qu'il est nécessaire de voir certains personnages on n'en finit plus, aussi suis-je obligé de vous dire, encore une fois, que des circonstances absolument indépendantes de ma volonté m'ont empêché de répondre immédiatement à votre dernière lettre.

“ Le contenu de cette lettre tout en restant dans des termes assez vagues me laisse néanmoins supposer qu'au fond nous sommes assez près de nous entendre.

“ Cependant laissez-moi tout d'abord placer ici une petite observation. Vous semblez toujours croire qu'en agissant

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comme je l'ai fait, j'avais par-dessus moi une autorisation officielle et tacite du gouvernement.

"A ce point de vue je desire vous detromper et ne point laisser subsister votre erreur. Du reste vous devez facilement vous rendre compte qu'il n'etait pas possible qu'il en fut ainsi.

"La France en effet a fait des propositions à la Chine. Vous le connaissez. Je n'ai pas besoin de les rappeler pas plus que je n'ai à revenir sur leur insuccès.

"Dans ces conditions si le gouvernement français faisait, même par un intermédiaire privé, un semblant de proposition ce serait prendre une attitude presque suppliante qui ne saurait convenir, vous ne sauriez le méconnaître, à sa situation réellement victorieuse, ou si ce mot vous choque, dominante, dans la question du Tonkin.

"C'est vous dire que j'ai toujours agi dans l'affaire si importante qui nous occupe à titre absolument officieux et si j'insiste sur ce point, c'est que la presse française, ces jours derniers, ce matin encore, relate en *les extrayant de journaux anglais*, presque textuellement les idées, que je vous ai soumises de mon propre mouvement.

"Vous me demandez dans votre lettre si je puis vous assurer que le gouvernement français accepterait les propositions mises en avant. Je dois en quelque sorte vous retourner la demande que vous me faites en vous disant— Faites ces propositions, et j'ai tout lieu de croire que *la France les accueillera*.

"Mais si je parle ainsi c'est que par les bruits qui me sont revenus je presume qu'on pourrait arriver à une solution.

"Pour transformer ce simple échange de vues particulières en pourparlers officiels il est nécessaire, vous le comprendrez aisément, que vous m'adressiez une lettre ou une note, comme vous l'entendrez, dans laquelle vous me diriez en substance ceci :—

"Si Son Excellence le Marquis Tseng etait assuré que la France acceptât les propositions suivantes—

"1°. Exécution du Traité de Tien-tsin.

"2°. Retrait simultané des soldats chinois du Tonkin et des navires français des eaux chinoises.

"3°. Abandon par la France de ses demandes d'indemnité pour l'affaire de Bac-Lé ; et

"4°. Occupation de l'ile de Formose par la France en garantie de l'exécution du traité de Tien-tsin—

"Il ne demanderait pas mieux que de servir d'inter-

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médiaire entre la Chine et le gouvernement français et de les proposer à la France au nom de la Chine.

"C'est la seule manière, je le crois, de trouver le véritable terrain de transaction sur lequel pourraient se renouer officiellement les relations entre nos deux pays.

"Si nous voulons aboutir comme vous m'avez paru en avoir le désir ainsi que moi il est nécessaire que la lettre que je vous demande me parvienne le plus promptement possible en raison des négociations entamées ailleurs et qui pourraient bien profiter du mal que nous nous sommes donnés sans que nous ayons l'honneur d'amener un résultat auquel S. E. le Marquis Tsêng et nous aurons travaillé les premiers.

"Veuillez," . . . etc.

This correspondence had some indirect influence in bringing the Marquis Tsêng again into the official discussions upon the Tonquin question. Lord Granville was at this time particularly anxious to effect a reconciliation between France and China, and Macartney approached him with a cautious suggestion that perhaps a way might be found of attaining that desirable object on the lines traced in the letters now published for the first time. He notified the Foreign Secretary that with a view to giving this scheme a fair chance of success the Marquis was willing to submit a draft of the treaty that in his opinion China would be likely to accept. The matter was of so much importance that Lord Granville asked Macartney to visit him at Walmer Castle. They discussed the matter together in all its details late into the night, and then when Lord Granville had finished and was about to say "good night" to his guest, Macartney said, "My lord, this is so important, and time is so valuable, that I will drive over to Dover and catch the early continental mail for London."

The sequel of that hurried return to London was that the Marquis Tsêng telegraphed the draft treaty to Peking, and requested his Government to notify its approval and sanction his proceedings with as little delay as possible. An

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Imperial Edict of entire approbation was issued, and its purport telegraphed to the Marquis Tsēng, who thereupon requested "Lord Granville to lay the proposals embodied in the draft treaty before the French Government in such manner and in such terms as His Lordship may in his discretion think best, such proposals having been approved by the Chinese Government may be treated as made on their behalf."

Lord Granville's minute on this communication was to the effect that while he was "most anxious to see a peaceful settlement, and ready to do anything which in his judgment would tend to that result, he did not see the use of formally presenting proposals unless he thought they would be acceptable. In this case he had been informed of the opinion of the French Ambassador which it was impossible to disregard."

However, Lord Granville consented to have another conversation with the Ambassador on the subject, when he was to see him on the 2nd December. The draft treaty of the Marquis Tsēng stipulated for three essential points : (1) The continuance of the triennial tribute mission from Annam ; (2) the non-payment of an indemnity ; and (3) the evacuation of Formosa by the French within fifteen days of the new treaty's ratification. The first point was a mere formality, and would have been waived, as it was eventually ; but the two others were essential, and the French Ambassador expressed his regret that they were unacceptable. On 3rd December Macartney again went by request to the Foreign Office, and was informed of the result. Lord Granville then desired to know if the Marquis Tsēng could meet the two counter conditions proposed by the Ambassador, which were put in the form of the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin (Fournier's) and the continued occupation of Ke-lung in Formosa as a guarantee for the execution of that treaty.

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The reply that Macartney was instructed to give by the Marquis Tsêng on 4th December, was to the effect that he could not comply with these conditions, adding that "the Chinese Government consider that the present difficulty between France and China was created by the demand of France for a pecuniary indemnity, and that the occupation of Kelung, as insisted on, by the French forces for a longer or shorter period would only be an indemnity in another and more objectionable form."¹

So ended the first attempt to restore peace through the instrumentality of the Marquis Tsêng. Lord Granville had declared at the Lord Mayor's banquet on 10th November that his services as mediator were at the disposal of the two States, but that it had so happened that "while each of these countries had been willing to receive them at different times, they had not been willing simultaneously." Thanks to the personal efforts of Macartney, this happy agreement was almost attained during the three weeks following Lord Granville's speech at the Guildhall. Perhaps it would have been absolutely attained but for the unfortunate speech of M. Jules Ferry in the Chamber on 26th November attacking the Marquis Tsêng personally. M. Ferry stated that China was on the point of accepting certain propositions made by France through the American Minister at Peking "when the Marquis Tsêng informed his Government that *France wanted peace at any price*, and that the consequence of this had been to make the Chinese Government more exacting than ever, and to lead them to formulate propositions so preposterous that no European Government could be found to transmit them."

On 28th November, 1884, *The Times* published an authoritative *démenti* of this baseless and incorrect statement, which the Marquis Tsêng and Macartney drew up in

¹ I was permitted to describe the earlier course of these negotiations in two articles published in *The Times* of 17 and 22 November, 1884.

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my presence at the Legation the day previously for transmission to Printing House Square. The contradiction was couched in the most emphatic terms allowed by the forms of courtesy. It read : "So far as the above statement refers to the Marquis Tsêng it is without a shadow of foundation, the Marquis Tsêng never having made to his Government any such communication, nor, since his recall from Paris, done anything in fact with the view of influencing the action of his Government on the Tonquin question. It is even inconceivable that he should have made such a communication as that imputed to him, since the natural effect of his doing so would have been to saddle himself with the onus of conducting the negotiations and of bringing them to a satisfactory conclusion." The very day that this contradiction was drawn up the Marquis Tsêng telegraphed to Peking for his Government's sanction to his draft treaty, the moderation of which can be gauged by the fact that the treaty of peace concluded six months later was practically identical with it.

In December, 1884, the French Chamber passed the votes for Tonquin, and M. Ferry, whom some of the Paris papers called "le Tonkinois," continued his adventure. But the war was not popular in France, and it grew less and less popular as the expense and the meagre rewards became clearer. Proof of this was soon forthcoming. On 20th February Macartney received a letter from his former Paris correspondent, asking whether he did not agree with him in thinking that the time had come to finish the war, and suggesting that they should resume their interchange of views. He also added the important information that whereas on the earlier occasion he had had to act through intermediaries, he was now in direct touch with ministers, and M. Jules Ferry in particular.

Macartney's reply was as follows :—

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" 49 PORTLAND PLACE,

" MON CHER MONSIEUR, " 23^e Fevrier, 1885.

" Je reprends très volontier notre correspondance interrompue depuis quelque temps.

" Je vous sais gré de toutes les amabilités contenues dans votre lettre du 19 de ce mois, surtout de la preuve d'amitié que vous me donnez en m'invitant le premier de tenter encore de trouver un moyen de mettre un terme au conflit qui continue de séparer deux nations qui devraient être toujours amies.

" Je suis bien de votre avis que le moment est venu d'en finir et rien au monde ne me plairait tant que de voir les bonnes relations d'autrefois rétablies. Croyez le bien, monsieur, rien de ce qui est de moi ne manquera pour les faire revenir.

" Je suis bien aise que cela vous paraisse si facile que de demander qu'un peu de bonne volonté. S'il en est ainsi rassurez vous, car de mon côté vous en auriez bien abondamment.

" Je voudrais bien pouvoir partager avec vous des vues si attrayantes, mais, malheureusement, dois-je l'avouer, malgré tous mes désirs, je ne vois pas dans l'état actuel des choses qu'il y eût lieu d'espérer que ce nouvel essai réussira mieux que le premier. Depuis lors, qu'est ce qui s'est passé pour faire croire qu'à l'heure qu'il est les sentiments qui animent les deux Gouvernements soient plus favorables qu'alors à un accommodement?

" Les troupes françaises chassant l'armée Chinoise de position à d'autre ont pris la ville de Lang-son ; mais, cela, fera-t-il le Gouvernement de la République plus prêt à reconnaître les justes réclamations de la Chine? Je ne le crois pas. La Victoire, c'est une divinité sourde et exigeante.

" D'autre côté, la Chine, ses pertes et ses souffrances, l'ont elles rendue plus soumise? L'ont elles découragée? Jusqu'ici, je n'en vois aucun signe. Au contraire, elles n'ont pu que de la froisser et de la décider à continuer la lutte.

" Je sais, dites vous, d'une façon certaine que d'après le tour que va prendre la campagne dans l'extrême Orient, la Chine et surtout la dynastie régnante a tout à redouter."

" Cela peut être vrai, je n'en sais rien. Il est facile à se tromper sur l'effet d'un coup porté à un pays si immense, et à une nation dont les ressorts d'action sont si différents de ceux qui activent les nations occidentales.

" Depuis le commencement de la guerre de Tonkin,

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maintes et maintes fois le Gouvernement français a dû reconnaître cela. Si j'ose hasarder une opinion quant à l'effet d'une autre campagne, sur la dynastie régnante de la Chine, je dirais, tant qu'elle se bat, elle n'a rien à craindre des dissensions intestines.

"Malgré toutes les pertes qu'elle a éprouvées dans cette guerre, la dynastie des Mantchus est plus affermée aujourd'hui qu'avant qu'elle n'y soit entraînée.

"Seul, une politique lâche, ou une paix déshonorante peut ébranler le Trône des Mantchus. Voilà mon avis. N'est-il pas confirmé par la remarquable unanimité avec laquelle la population entière de la Chine a soutenu les efforts du Gouvernement à continuer la guerre depuis qu'il s'est décidé d'adopter une politique énergique !

"Je serai bien content d'échanger des vues avec vous sur la situation, et je ferai de mon mieux pour rouvrir des pourparlers.

"Je ne fais aucune difficulté pour reconnaître les grandes qualités que vous attribuez à la nation française, mais, ce que la Chine lui demandera lorsque des négociations seront entamées, ce ne sera pas, qu'elle se montre 'généreuse,' mais, qu'elle se montre juste.

"Je termine, cher monsieur, cette longue lettre, en espérant qu'elle pourra préparer le terrain pour les pourparlers plus arrêtés.

"Je me joins au Marquis de Tsêng qui vous sais gré de tout le dévouement dont vous faites preuve.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The reply to this was to announce the immediate arrival of the writer in London to carry on the negotiations verbally. I will quote one passage from this second letter: "France is generous in spirit; you can rely on her showing that she is just if we are so fortunate as to be able to begin *officially* *pourparlers* for the attainment of peace." Macartney's reply is specially interesting for its reference to the earlier efforts to effect an arrangement by M. Waddington.

"49 PORTLAND PLACE, le 2 Mars, 1885.

"MON CHER MONSIEUR,

"Je suis bien aise d'apprendre qu'afin d'empêcher la perte de temps inévitable à un échange de vues par écrit, vous vous êtes décidés à venir me voir à Londres.

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"J'ai toujours été d'avis que, pour aplanir le chemin aux négociations fructueuses, de franches communications, de vive voix, valaient mieux que ne valent des coups de plume, tirés à longue portée, des derrières de travaux blindés d'une diplomatie méfiante. Il y a plus d'une année que le Comte de Granville a fait aboucher le Marquis de Tsêng et Son Excellence Monsieur Waddington à son château de Walmer. J'avais espéré beaucoup de cette rencontre, et j'ai toujours vivement regretté qu'à la fin de cet entretien, les deux Ambassadeurs, se soient séparés sans convenir, d'un autre jour, pour continuer les pourparlers alors entamés.

"Le bon sens, la manière conciliante et l'esprit de justesse qui distinguaient Monsieur Waddington dans cette entrevue, me paraissaient le désigner comme l'homme destiné à mettre un terme aux différends qui existent entre nos deux pays.

"Je serai bien content de vous voir ici à la Légation, Jeudi le 5 mars, à l'heure que vous m'avez indiquée, mais je crois devoir vous prévenir que je ne pourrai vous communiquer d'une manière précise, dans notre premier entretien, quels sont les sentiments actuels du Gouvernement de Chine, car le Marquis de Tsêng aura à demander des nouvelles instructions, et il ne fera cette démarche que quand vous m'auriez fait part d'ordre d'idées dans lequel le Gouvernement français pensera régler le différend.

"Agréez, cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The outcome of the interviews that took place between Macartney, his French correspondent, and another French gentleman holding an official position, who accompanied him, is fully set forth in the following *compte rendu*, which includes not merely the draft of a treaty, but in a collateral exposition the motives for each of its articles:—

"LONDRES, 10 Mars, 1885.

"Au cours d'une visite amicale faite au Docteur Macartney, secrétaire général de l'Ambassade de Chine à Londres, par ses amis, la conversation étant venue à tomber sur le différend qui sépare, en ce moment, la France et la Chine, M. — déclara au Docteur Macartney si, à la

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suite des récents événements, la Chine ne serait pas disposée à rouvrir des négociations en vue d'arriver à une entente, et, en admettant qu'il en fut ainsi, sur quelle base il pensait que ces négociations pourraient être reprises.

“Dans le cas où le gouvernement Chinois serait désireux de reprendre les pourparlers pacifiques, MM. — et — offrirent leurs services officieux pour faire parvenir sous les yeux du gouvernement français les propositions nouvelles que la Chine croirait devoir faire pour servir de base aux négociations.

“M. Macartney répondit qu'à toute époque la Chine avait été sincèrement désireuse d'arriver à une entente amicale avec la France ; il ajouta qu'en ce moment comme toujours elle était prête à faire tous ses efforts pour amener une solution heureuse.

“Quant aux conditions exactes auxquelles la Chine pourrait consentir à reprendre des négociations, M. Macartney regrette de ne pouvoir les préciser, par la raison que, depuis la dernière tentative de médiation faite par Lord Granville, le Marquis Tseng n'a reçu de son gouvernement aucune indication sur ses sentiments à cet égard. Mais il croit que, pour base de négociations nouvelles, on pourrait prendre avantageusement le projet suivant :—

“Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine et Son Excellence le Président de la République Française désireux de mettre fin aux différends qui ont troublé les bonnes relations existant autrefois entre le Celste Empire et la République Française, ainsi que de rétablir la paix entre les deux pays, ont nommé pour plénipotentiaires respectifs, à savoir :—

“Sa Majesté l'Empereur de la Chine.

“Son Excellence le Président de la République Française.”

Les dits plénipotentiaires ayant communiqué l'un à l'autre leurs pleins pouvoirs, et les ayant reconnus en bonne et due forme, sont tombés d'accord pour la réduction des articles suivants :—

Cet article consacre l'indépendance du Roi d'Annam et l'Empereur de Chine, voulant se conformer à la politique traditionnelle de ses prédecesseurs qui consiste à ne point se mêler des affaires intérieures des pays

Art. I. — Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine, voulant se conformer à la politique traditionnelle de ses prédecesseurs qui consiste à ne point se mêler des affaires intérieures des pays

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susceptibilités que pourraient soulever à la cour de Pékin des termes plus formels d'abandon qui auraient pour effet de faire arrêter tout de suite les négociations.

Dans le même but, on croit nécessaire d'ajouter les mots : "Soit avec tout autre état étranger."

Dans cet article on ne parle que des traités à intervenir ; on n'y parle pas des traités intervenus, comme dans le traité Fournier, par la raison que, dans ces traités déjà intervenus, il se trouve des mots qui peuvent être considérés comme blessants par la Chine.

En remplaçant ces traités par un traité définitif, comme il est dit dans l'article 4 du traité Fournier qui abrogera les traités antérieurs, il est inutile de parler des traités intervenus dans le passé.

Le traité définitif se trouvera ratifié par l'article 2, donc, en supprimant le mot *intervenu*, on ne porte aucune atteinte à la France.

Cet article est introduit dans le but de masquer l'abandon des droits de la Chine sur l'Annam et ménerger certaines susceptibilités, qui pourraient s'éveiller sans cela.

Il faut remarquer, d'ailleurs, que l'Empereur de Chine *consent* à ce que le

voisins, laisse toute liberté au Roi d'Annam, dans les relations soit avec la France, soit avec tout autre état étranger.

Art. II. — Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine s'engage à reconnaître tous les traités à intervenir entre la France et le royaume d'Annam, pourvu que ces traités soient tels que ceux que peut faire, en général, une puissance voisine et amie.

Art. III. — Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine et Son Excellence le Président de la République Française, consentent à ce que le Roi d'Annam continue à offrir des dons à l'Empereur de Chine, comme par le passé.

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Roi d'Annam lui offre des dons, mais qu'il ne peut, en aucune façon, l'y contraindre.

La France pourra, en un mot, en usant de son influence légitime auprès du Roi d'Annam, déterminer son attitude en cette circonstance.

Cet article donne le Tonkin à la France.

Quel est le nouvel état de choses créé par les articles I et II?

C'est que la Chine aura pour voisine une puissance indépendante au lieu d'avoir une puissance vassale. Il est dès lors nécessaire de déterminer la frontière le plus exactement possible.

On est autorisé à ajouter que la Chine est disposé à rédiger un traité aussi avantageux que possible pour la France.

Art^e IV.—En conséquence du nouvel état de choses résultant des dispositions contenues dans les articles I et II de la présente convention, les deux parties contractantes consentent à ce que la frontière entre la Chine et cette partie du Royaume d'Annam appelée "Tonkin" soit plus clairement délimitée que jusqu'à ce jour.

Il est convenu que la délimitation sera faite autant que possible conformément à une ligne tracée de tel point . . . à tel autre point. . . .

Art^e V.—Les deux hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à nommer des commissaires chargés de délimiter la frontière conformément aux prescriptions de l'article IV.

Ils s'engagent, en outre, à nommer des plénipotentiaires pour négocier un traité de commerce entre les deux pays et déterminer les points de la frontière par lesquels le commerce devra s'effectuer.

Art^e VI.—Les deux puissances conviennent de conclure immédiatement un ar-

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mistique qui s'appliquera aux forces Chinoises, Françaises et Annamites de terre et de mer, stationnées, soit dans le royaume d'Annam, soit dans l'Empire de Chine, soit à l'île Formose, soit en tout autre lieu.

Les termes de cet armistice ainsi que l'époque où les troupes devront être retirées à leur frontière respective, après la délimitation de la nouvelle frontière seront consignés dans un protocole annexé à la présente convention.

Art^e VII.—La ratification de la présente convention aura lieu {à Pékin} dans le délai de . . . à compter du jour de la signature de cette même convention.

Le blocus de l'île de Formose sera levé immédiatement. Les troupes françaises commenceront et achèveront l'évacuation de cette île dans le délai de . . . à compter de la ratification de cette convention.

Art^e VIII.—Comme preuve du désir des deux hautes parties contractantes de renouer les relations amicales entre les deux pays, les traités d'amitié et de paix qui existaient entre la France et la Chine à la date du 1^e Janvier, 1884, seront renouvelés et confirmés.

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“En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires ont scellé et signé la présente convention en six exemplaires dont trois en langue française et trois en langue Chinoise.

“Le présent traité a pour effet de concéder à la France tout le Tonkin et tout le royaume d'Annam, ainsi que de grands avantages commerciaux.

“Il accorde donc autant et plus que le traité Fournier, mais avec cette différence que, par la manière dont il est rédigé, il évite de froisser les sentiments d'honneur de la Chine, ce que ne faisaient pas certaines expressions du traité du 11 Mai.

“Dans l'article 1^{er} notamment, le mot ‘protéger’ avait été trouvé blessant et surtout de nature à créer, dans l'avenir, de nouvelles difficultés entre les deux pays.

“Le présent projet de traité ayant été communiqué au Marquis Tsêng, Son Excellence, au cas où le gouvernement français voudrait accepter ce projet comme base de nouvelles négociations, sans s'écartez des affaires du Tonkin, a promis de le présenter à Pékin et d'user de toute son influence auprès du gouvernement Chinois pour amener une solution pacifique.”

The draft was submitted to M. Ferry on 13th March by the official who came to London, and it met with his approval. The French Minister requested that the Marquis Tsêng should ask his Government for full powers. Macartney's reply of the 16th informs his correspondent that the Marquis had telegraphed to Peking to that effect. He also mentions that *The Times* of that morning had published a telegram stating that negotiations for peace had been commenced with Li Hung Chang at Tientsin, and he adds the expression of the hope that it is not true. In the reply to this communication, which was shown to M. Ferry, it is stated that that minister, on reading it, said: “I will treat with the first person who is officially authorised to act, or at the least I will commence the negotiations with him.” There was an ominous addition in the letter to the effect that “as M. Patenôtre, the French Minister in China, was M. Ferry's own nephew, he would naturally favour him if he could.”

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There is no doubt as to what had taken place. M. Ferry, or some one for him, had telegraphed the draft treaty drawn up in London on 10th March by Macartney and his French visitors to M. Patenôtre, for on 17th March the Tsungli Yamen, replying to the Marquis Tsêng's request for full powers, telegraphed that it had received from the French Minister at Peking identical proposals, and that it would defer authorising the Marquis to treat until it saw what came of them. In notifying this result to his correspondent in Paris, Macartney said, with great dignity and self-control : "I shall much regret if peace be made without our co-operation ; but, so far as the Marquis and I are concerned, provided that the peace is an honourable one, it will be welcome to us, no matter who brings it to pass."

M. Jules Ferry, despite his expressed desire for peace, caused it to be delayed by the resumption of military operations in Tonquin, where in March, 1885, the French troops were repulsed in an attempt to capture Langson. For a moment the gravest complications were feared, but fortunately French opinion, sick of the long-drawn-out contest, proved reasonable, and peace was signed by M. Patenôtre and Li Hung Chang at Tientsin on 9th June, 1885. The terms were identical with those of the draft prepared by Macartney for the Marquis Tsêng. France got no indemnity, but China agreed to pay the small sum of £160,000 as compensation for the victims of the Baclé affair.

I have given the secret correspondence relating to the informal negotiations at great length and in its original language, for the purpose of vindicating both the Marquis Tsêng and Macartney from the charges of being inciters of war and enemies to France. In the face of those documents such charges can never be repeated. They show also that but for the vanity, impetuosity, and inconsistency of M. Jules Ferry, France would have come to terms with China much sooner than she did. When she did make peace the

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conditions were identical with those drafted by the Marquis Tsêng in November, 1884, and again in March, 1885.

There was one incident of this period which was of a more agreeable character than the drawing up of diplomatic notes and of counter statements which resulted in more or less bitter recriminations. During his residence at the Legation in Paris, Macartney went out a good deal in French society, and made many friends. He met on some occasions during the last visits his chief paid to Paris Mademoiselle Jeanne du Sautoy, daughter of M. Léon du Sautoy, of Fontainebleau, and he was very much struck by her charm of manner and personal accomplishments. After the recall of the Marquis from Paris, Macartney continued to visit Paris in a private capacity from time to time, and in the course of the summer of 1884 he proposed for the hand of this lady, and was duly accepted by her family and herself. The marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the British Embassy in Paris on 12th August, 1884, and in a long telegram to *The Times* on the same day M. Blowitz wrote the following just appreciation : "As the Marquis Tsêng's adviser and secretary during his tenure of office as Chinese Minister in Paris, Dr. Macartney had a most difficult mission to perform. The diplomatic correspondence which passed between the Marquis and the different holders of office at the Quai d'Orsay will be the best proof of the ability displayed by the Marquis's able coadjutor."

The marriage proved singularly happy, and Lady Macartney, as she became within a year of her marriage by her husband's promotion on the 10th August, 1885, in the Order of St. Michael and St. George, was, until her sadly premature death in October, 1902, a graceful and influential partner in Sir Halliday's official work as well as the life and soul of his domestic circle. Her French wit and gay *spirituelle* nature formed an effective contrast to the reserve her husband usually displayed, partly from character, but per-



LADY MACARTNEY

P H O T O G R A P H Y

[REDACTED]



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haps to a still greater extent on account of the anomalous position he held in the service of a foreign State whilst resident in his own country.

Of this marriage there was issue one daughter and three sons. The eldest son, Kenneth Halliday Macartney, is at present a sub-lieutenant in the Royal Navy. The daughter, Miss Hallide Jeanne Macartney, may be introduced to the reader in the following letter from M. Blowitz relating to the most important event in her life :—

“ XII RUE TILSITT,
“ 19/3/86.

“ MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

“ I hope you will excuse me if I have since so long a time postponed to congratulate you on all the happy and well-deserved events which have occurred in your life, and above all on the birth of Miss Hallide Jeanne, to whom I beg to present my best and most sincere and respectful compliments. Please offer to Lady Macartney my best congratulations, and believe me,

“ Yours sincerely,
“ BLOWITZ.”

CHAPTER XVI

VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND

The opium question—Letter to Opium Society—An increased revenue—A proposal to farm the trade—Macartney's note—Sir Julian Pauncefote's conversation—The points at issue—A conference—Macartney's statement—Arrangement agreed to—German opposition—Occupation of Burmah—Lord Salisbury's proposals—Chinese claims—Lord Rosebery's convention—Abandonment of Tibetan Mission—Mr. Pethick's tribute—A diplomatic privilege.

WE have seen the Marquis Tsêng, with Macartney at his elbow, negotiating with the Governments of Russia and France, but that work was not included in the original instructions which he received from his Government on leaving China for Europe. It was not with Continental Powers but with England that he was charged to do important business, for the most striking instructions in his dispatch-box related to the opium traffic. No one in this country knew or even suspected this to be the case until I contributed to *The Spectator* of 29th January, 1881, an article anticipating what the Marquis Tsêng was about to do. The following extracts from that article will appropriately introduce the subject here. It may be mentioned that the news that Russia and China had settled the Kuldja dispute had just been received :—

“ Apart from its military aspect and the traditional obligation to avenge a defeat, the Kuldja question was a small one in the eyes of the Chinese in comparison with those in which we ourselves are more immediately concerned. For there can be no doubt that the one subject which engrosses

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most of the attention of the Pekin authorities is the opium question . . . The Chinese Government will devote all its vigour and attention to the attainment of a solution satisfactory to itself of the opium question. It will insist on a Chinese interpretation of the Convention of Chefoo."

Proof of this intention was not long in forthcoming. Reference has been made to some earlier correspondence in which the Marquis spoke very guardedly on the subject, but in the following letter, which is one of the most effective expositions of a case that were ever penned, and which was, of course, Macartney's own production, he takes up a clearer and more definite position :—

“ CHINESE LEGATION, PARIS,
“ 19th November, 1881.

“ The Secretary, Anglo-Oriental Society for the
Suppression of the Opium Trade, London.

“ SIR,

“ I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, enclosing a copy of certain resolutions passed at a meeting held at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, with a view to the suppression of the Indo-Chinese opium trade.

“ In your letter marked ‘ Private,’ you inform me of the existence, among the friends of your Society, of a difference of opinion on the subject of the best means of abolishing the trade; one party holding that the Indian Government should do it by putting an instant and complete stop to the production of opium in British India, another maintaining that a more gradual procedure would be more calculated to ensure the object in view, less likely to stimulate illicit cultivation of the poppy in China, and, by affording the Chinese Government more time to take measures for extirpating both the trade and the vice to which it ministers, be more likely to suit the convenience of the Imperial authorities.

“ With a view to the Society being able to make some practical recommendations to the Prime Minister when the deputation, contemplated in the third of the above resolutions, waits upon him, you request me to give you my private opinion on the opium trade, and supply you with

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such suggestions as may appear to me as best calculated for dealing with it suppressively.

"In grateful acknowledgment of the benevolent exertions of your Society, and of those of the exalted personages who took part in the proceedings of the meeting referred to, I deem it incumbent on me to depart, in some measure, from the reserve which I have hitherto preserved on this subject; a reserve which it is fitting that one in my position should preserve towards popular agitations of questions affecting the interests of the country which he represents, and those of the country to which he is accredited. I will, therefore, comply with your request; and here let me state that, though your letter is marked 'Private,' I make no such restriction with reference to my reply.

"There is nothing really ever gained by blinking a question, or by considering only so much of it as suits us, and refusing to look at what does not. The cause of truth is best served when we look at facts, the whole facts, straight in the face. These remarks are evoked by the necessity which a different manner of acting on the part of others imposes on me of attempting to reconcile certain acts and declarations of the Chinese authorities which, owing to partial statements, have been made to appear inconsistent and irreconcilable. Every one is aware how frequently opposing parties have, as it suited them, drawn from these acts and declarations arguments for and against the *bona fides* of the Imperial Government in dealing with the opium question. Looking at the Imperial edicts which on numberless occasions have been issued against the use of opium in China, one party has argued for the sincerity of the Government in wishing to deal with the evil, whilst, in view of the facts that opium is grown in China, and that taxes levied on its production are received into the Imperial exchequer, another party has denominated these edicts a sham.

"These very different conclusions arise from a confusion of principle and practice, two things which may, and, indeed, ought always to be made to harmonise with each other, though unfortunately they cannot always be made to correspond: for the one concerns itself only with what is desirable, or what ought to be; while the other, having to deal with circumstances, has to content itself with what is possible under the given conditions. The sincerity of the edicts which have been issued against opium smoking in China requires not to be defended, for the evils of the habit are too uncontested and incontestable not to call for the

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solicitude of any Government. Nobody ever asserted a man to be the better for opium, no one ever denied him to be the worse. No one ever contracted the habit of opium smoking without wishing to leave it off, and the sincerity of his wishes in this respect are not to be questioned because he goes on making use of the drug from day to day.

"But it is alleged that the sentiments which animated these edicts are now extinct, because the dealers in opium are officially licensed, and the name of the drug, native as well as foreign, appears in our tariffs. But if this kind of reasoning is to be counted valid, what is to be said about the action of those statesmen in European countries who, whilst admitting, and lamenting, the evils of drunkenness, go on sanctioning the sale and the manufacture of intoxicating drinks? No one questions the sincerity of the statesman who, whilst recognising the baleful effects of alcohol, voluntarily attaches his signature to the treaty by which it is imported. No ; statesmen must be practical men, and not merely *doctrinaires*. It must never be forgotten that they have to deal with facts instead of with vain aspirations, and that in doing so they have often to content themselves with minimising evils which they would rather blot out altogether. If this be so, where is the inconsistency alleged to exist between the letter of the Grand Secretary Li, which I had lately the honour of forwarding you, and the memorial which Tso Chung-tang some time afterwards addressed to the Throne? In the former of these documents it was stated that the opium trade is a great evil which the Chinese Government would make great sacrifices to have abolished ; in the latter, that, in order to restrict the use of the drug, the sale of it should be highly taxed. The statements of these two statesmen are not, as some have contended, inconsistent and irreconcilable. The principle underlying each is the same. They are not two, but different sides of the same medallion. Neither should it be said, as some have done, that because the poppy blooms on our plains, and the taxes levied on it go into the coffers of the State, the Government of China has ceased to view the consumption of opium by the people as a great misfortune ; for as long as opium is opium, and the human constitution remains unchanged, the Government, whilst seeking to minimise the evil, will never cease to lament it.

"Having now, as I hope, reconciled the alleged inconsistencies, I come now to consider of how the suppression of the opium trade should be dealt with, and of the two

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methods referred to in your letter, I have no hesitation in giving my adhesion to that which proposes to effect it in a gradual manner. The other, the immediate and total suppression of the Indo-Chinese opium trade, would undoubtedly be the more heroic; but beautiful as is the heroic, unfortunately it can seldom find a place in politics and economics. Let us consider what, as regards China, is meant by the immediate and sudden suppression of the opium trade. Depending on the trade we have got a state of matters the growth of many years; a great number of people living on the traffic; a considerable extent of territory under poppy cultivation; a Government compelled after long resistance to tax the drug, now deriving from it a large part of its revenue; and last, and saddest, you have a people, numbered by millions, enervated and enslaved by the vice of its consumption. Private interests, fiscal considerations, the effect of the deprivation on so many individuals of an article which to many of them is a perverted form of life, are things not to be surmounted in a day. If they could, I believe the generosity of the English people is capable of making the sacrifices which the discharge of their duty to China would entail upon the nation. The suppression of slavery in her dominions England accomplished by one supreme and sublime effort; but the object which we have in view, the abolition of the opium trade, is not to be effected in the same manner. Liberate a slave, and you may trust him not to go back into slavery; but will any one assert the same of the opium smoker? No; there is a magnetism in his chains, which, break them as you will, makes the pieces cling together again and hold fast their victim. But, it may be asked, if there be no opium, how can he return to it? The question is apposite; but it only suggests another, and that brings us to the practical. By what means is the Chinese Government, immediately and suddenly, to prevent the people from gratifying a habit which to multitudes of them has become a second nature? And let it not be forgotten that the sudden stoppage of the opium production in India and China signifies very different things to the two Governments. To the one, it means only the sacrifice of so much revenue; whilst, to the other, in addition to this, it means a struggle with the opium hunger. The Government of China would not only be powerless to at once arrest the opium cultivation, but in the event of the Indian opium being suddenly stopped from coming into China it would be difficult for the Government to prevent,

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at least for a time, an extended cultivation of the poppy in order to make up for the Indian deficiency.

"Consider then the invidious position in which, India having given up the trade, China would be placed as long as opium continued to be grown in her own dominions. She would be taunted with having been actuated by the most mercenary of motives. It would be said that greed of gain, money and not morality, had moved her in pressing for the abolition of the Indian opium trade. To all these aspersions China would be open whilst the home production of opium continued, and without the Government being chargeable with being either weak or reluctant to suppress the evil, the native cultivation of the poppy would inevitably continue for a longer or shorter period after the *abrupt* cessation of the Indian supply. I say inevitably, for opium smoking is at least as inveterate a habit as that of alcohol drinking, which the strongest Government in Europe would be powerless to suppress suddenly, or perhaps at all. To deal effectively with the opium evil is a more difficult matter than some have imagined. Time must be allowed for its abolition. Fiscal arrangements will have to be considered, new sources of revenue will have to be found, before that now derived from opium can be surrendered. Time must be allowed to give those interested in the trade a chance of withdrawing from it, and for those enslaved to the habit of opium smoking to accommodate themselves to the impending change. To do otherwise would only be to run the risk of making a futile attempt, and of thus seeming to justify the opinion, held by some, that the opium evil is irremediable.

"It is for these reasons that I give my adhesion to the gradual rather than to what I have styled the heroic manner of effecting the abolition of the opium trade. It will be observed that I have considered the question only from the Chinese standpoint. It is not for me to suggest what should be done by the English people or the Indian Government. Whether the Indian authorities prohibit, as some have proposed, the growth of opium altogether, or, surrendering it to the domain of private enterprise, content themselves by merely withdrawing from it the Governmental protection, are matters for the conscience and the discretion of the Indian Government. I may, however, be allowed to state that, as long as opium comes to China, the result will be the same, whether it was boxed in Bengal by the Government or a merchant.

"Supposing the gradual suppression of the opium trade

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to be decided on, perhaps the best way of effecting it would be for the Governments of India and China to come to an arrangement by which the poppy cultivation in each country would be restricted to a definite acreage, which from time to time would be reduced according to a graduated scale which the two Governments would decide on by a common accord.

"To India, as allowing her to rearrange her sources of revenue, such a procedure would probably be found most convenient; whilst for China, to be effective in dealing with the opium evil, that, or some other equally gradual manner, would in her present condition be an indispensability.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Tséng."

This letter makes it clear that the Chinese diplomatist, while not minimising the magnitude of the "opium evil"—that is to say, the *abuse* of opium smoking—recognised that its suppression must be a work of many years, and that, until it ceased to provide revenue in both India and China, the Chinese executive claimed a right to possess a larger share than it did in the profit arising from the trade in this article. In the same year as the Marquis's letter to the Society, a Mr. Samuels went to China with a proposition that he should be appointed sole agent for the import of opium on his guaranteeing the Chinese Government a clear payment of 100 taels per chest. The offer seemed tempting, but some of the Chinese magnates, the Viceroy Tso among them, had formed larger estimates of the amount that should accrue to China. In consequence of this opinion Mr. Samuels's offer was declined; but as the Tsungli Yamen's final instructions to the Marquis Tséng were based on his proposals, it may render the position clearer to describe what they were, more especially as they formed an enclosure in the covering dispatch sent in 1882 to the minister in London, which read as follows:—

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INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE MARQUIS TSĒNG BY THE TSUNGLI YAMEN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LIKIN ON OPIUM.

"Tso Tsung Tang proposed to Sir Thomas Wade that the duty should be raised to 150 taels (import and likin inclusive). Wade declined this proposal. China could not accept the proposition to become Government merchants of the opium trade. Li Tsung Tang proposed an increase of 80 taels, thus with the 30 taels import duty raising the combined likin and import taxes to taels 110. Wade offered only 100. As there was not much difference between the two proposals, we have asked him on several occasions to come to an arrangement, but with no success. Now as Wade has been recalled to settle the business we wish it to be done as soon as possible, so if the English Foreign Office ask you about the matter you should reply that we want taels 110. If this should be unattainable, we can afford to be generous, and accept taels 100 as proposed by Sir Thomas Wade. You may settle the matter in this manner.

"As to the proposal to establish an office at Hong-Kong charged with the purchase and reception of all the opium coming from India, it would seem to be difficult of performance, Hong-Kong not belonging to China. It would be difficult for our officers there to establish stations and to watch the smugglers. Sir Thomas Wade himself admitted that, unless other nations agreed to this arrangement, it could not be carried out. An English merchant, named Samuels, came to Tientsin, and called on Li Tsung Tang, bringing a dispatch from an Indian authority. Mr. Samuels proposed that he should be appointed by the Chinese Government to manage for them the taxation (likin and import) of the opium trade, and submitted a set of regulations by which his proposition could be carried out. Before this proposition had been taken into consideration by Li Tsung Tang he had to go into retirement (on the death of his mother), Chang (Ching Hsien), who succeeded Li Tsung Tang, memorialised the Emperor on the subject of Mr. Samuels's proposition, and the Emperor ordered the Yamen to consider and report on it. The Yamen is of opinion that, as our object in raising the tax is not for the producing of more revenue but for the discouraging of the trade, to accept Mr. Samuels's proposition seems to indicate that our

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object was the reverse of what it really is. We, therefore, consider that our 'good name' requires us to reject the proposition of Mr. Samuels.

"We have memorialised the Emperor in the above sense, and in doing so we added that if England should wish to appoint an agent to carry out a similar proposition, we would then inform His Majesty as to the amount of the two taxes and the manner of proceeding.

"England now being anxious to come to an understanding with regard to the subject of the opium taxation, you may be asked with regard to Mr. Samuels's proposition, and in this case you will please answer in the same sense as we have memorialised the Emperor.

"Enclosed you will find the proposition of Mr. Samuels and other papers.

"Signed by Prince Kung and eight other members of the Yamen."

Mr. Samuels's propositions were :—

"1. That China should appoint Samuels to conduct the opium traffic.

"2. That China shall communicate the proposition to the English Government.

"3. That China shall get England to adopt the three articles which follow :—

(a) That the two nations shall recognise Samuels as the agent for conducting the opium trade for a period of five years, and continue or not according as it may be found good or bad.

(b) England shall undertake to sell to Samuels all the Indian opium, and assist him in obtaining the opium produced in other places.

(c) China shall undertake to allow all the opium on which Samuels shall have paid 100 taels per chest to enter the treaty ports, and proceed into the interior without being subjected to any further duty. China may, however, collect fees from the retail dealers for licenses."

In the event of the above being agreed to, Samuels undertakes to conduct the business as follows :—

"1. In the event of a deposit of money being required by the two countries as a guarantee for Samuels's performance of the contract, Samuels will provide it,

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"2. Samuels undertakes to purchase all the Bengal opium and bring it to China, after deduction being made of the quantity required for countries other than China.

"3. Samuels undertakes to obtain all the Malwa opium, and to prevent its entering China without paying duty.

"4. Samuels undertakes to obtain all the Persian opium.

"5. Samuels undertakes to pay 100 taels on each 100 catties of the opium he may bring to China. The duty to be paid to the Custom House at whatever port the opium may arrive. Samuels also promises to pay the above taxes on all opium coming from the above places even when imported by others than he.

"6. Should any arrangement have to be made with the Hong-Kong or Singapore authorities, Samuels undertakes to make it, the Chinese Government having nothing to do in the affair.

"7. The arrangement to be in force for five years, after which it shall be determined whether Samuels can pay an increase or not.

"8. Should the two nations undertake to stop the trade, Samuels will undertake to carry out the plan by annually decreasing the amount imported.

"9. China to pay Samuels's travelling expenses for the first two years only.

"10. The management of the opium traffic concerning only England and China, it will not be necessary to inform the other Powers of the arrangement. Should other Powers ask about it, we will inform them that their nationals can import opium paying only the treaty import duty of 30 taels (the likin being paid by Samuels)."

Mr., now Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Customs, drew up a report for the Tsungli Yamen approving Mr. Samuels's plan, and recommending that it should be given a trial for five years.

Macartney's own views are shown in the following notes, which served as a kind of *aide-memoire* for the Marquis Tsêng during the course of the negotiations covering altogether a period of more than two years :—

NOTES MADE AFTER READING THE CHEFOO CONVENTION.

"Under Section (I) of *Official Intercourse* it is stated that :—

"The fact that China is about to establish missions and

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consulates abroad renders an undertaking on these points (etiquette) essential.

"This shows that it is allowable for China to establish consulates abroad—that is, in the British Empire; otherwise, occurring in an Anglo-Chinese document what could these words mean?

"Section III. Trade (i).

"Wade agrees to move his Government to recognise the '*ground rented to foreigners*,' that is, the Treaty Port 'Concessions,' to be the area exempted from likin taxation.

"According to this there can be no question about the limits of the likin exemption, because it is easily determinable what are the lands rented to foreigners.

"(II). This clause speaks of the delimitation of the 'foreign settlement area.' This to be determined by common *entente*, where it shall not have already been done but only where it shall not have been already done.

"This clause is at variance with (I) which calls the concession (or settlement) the '*ground rented to foreigners*,' that is, actually rented (rented at the time when the Chefoo Convention was made, or which may be rented at any given time hereafter?).

"The Chefoo Convention, then, materially limits the area within which, according to the former treaties, goods may circulate without paying other than the import duty. By former treaties the area extended to the first barrier.

"(III). 'The amount of likin to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each.' Does this mean that the provincial Governments may, from time to time, regulate the amount of likin according to their wants, or that they are, once for all, to regulate according to their wants at the particular time when the tax shall for that one time be determined?

"Question : What does the payment of likin confer on the opium? Only the exemption of further likin, or only further likin within the settlement?

"Our position :

"We have in the Chefoo Convention an agreement which practically gives us all we want. We have, therefore, only to ask the British Government to agree to the conditions proposed by its own minister, and give us the privileges for which we have paid. According to the Chefoo Convention, the Likin on opium is payable at the same time as the import duty ; the amount of the likin duty to be paid is

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undefined, it is to change according to the necessities of the different provinces in which the treaty ports are situated. Should the English Government require us to say with what amount we will be satisfied to receive as likin, we should answer the Convention expresses what we want and what we have agreed to. It is not we who want to make changes in the document, but Her Majesty's Government. It is, therefore, from it that the first proposition shall be received, but, should we be pressed to name a figure with which we shall be contented, we say 120 for import and likin combined. Should they say that is too much and more than the drug can bear, we answer that it actually does bear 110 now at Foochow, and that it is the opinion of a competent authority, Hart, that it can bear 90 taels likin in addition to the 30 taels import duty. Besides, our object is not to foster the trade, but to put a check on it. Arguments, therefore, which would be valuable with regard to commerce in other articles do not apply to opium.

"Should the British Government contend that the exemption area must first be determined, and that before that can be done an accord must be come to between Her Majesty's Government and the other Treaty Powers, we should reply, 'Agree to what your own minister undertook to commit you to,' that is, to accept the ground rented to foreigners as the area of exemption. Do that and we will know whether it was you or the other Powers who have stood in the way of an accord being arrived at before. We want to know whether you accept the Convention or not. Prove your sincerity by ratifying the act of your minister, and leave it to us to come to an arrangement with the other Powers. What are the likin exemption limits contended for by other Powers? Chefoo agreement is the second document negotiated by the British Ministers to which the British Government have refused their assent.

"Treaty of Nankin.

"According to Article X, and the declaration respecting transit duty, goods were to pay import duty, and other dues were to be paid, and, in addition to these, transit duty should they be conveyed into the interior.

"From this we can see that something else besides import duty was required to be paid at the treaty ports. The words of the protocol are: '*Tariff of export and import customs and other dues.*' It is said that the merchandise is to

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pay these, and that they were to be included in a tariff. The word dues could not then apply to tonnage dues.

"If it should be said that the assent of other Powers is necessary, we ought to reply, Leave that to us. Should they not agree, we will tax their opium should they bring any as we now do yours, but at the new *rate*, and even when it goes inland, which we will do on yours which has paid the import and likin duties simultaneously. It is nonsense to say that because the general tariff states 30 taels per chest is to be paid on opium, the consent of all the Powers is required to the new agreement, for we do not mean to alter the general tariff. We have the right to tax opium as we like as soon as it goes into Chinese hands. Let the English Government admit that such is the reading of the British Treaty of Tientsin, which is the only one which deals with the subject of opium, and no other Power has a right to dispute your reading, or to carry on trade in opium, other than the British Government say it should be carried on according to the British treaty. According to the Supplementary German Treaty of 31 March, 1880, Art. I, Germany can only claim under the favoured nation clause the right to do a thing conceded to another country for a certain consideration, on paying that consideration. What was the exemption area obtained by Von Brandt in the case of Shanghai? Could the same principle on which it is delimited not be applied to other ports? According to the Chefoo Agreement, the ground rented to foreigners is the exemption area; we have only, then, to examine the books of the Yamen and see what that ground is, and we have the area of exemption.

"Very desirable that this business should be settled, because the longer it goes on the more difficult it will become and the worse will be the terms gained by the British Government. How glad it would be to accept former discarded offers!"

Having set forth the views held by the Chinese authorities on the subject, I may now describe the course of the negotiations that were carried on in London between the Foreign Office and the Chinese Legation. They commenced in an informal conversation between Sir Julian Pauncefote and Macartney after a banquet given by the Marquis Tsêng

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on 2 December, 1882. The following is an epitomised report of what took place:—

“*Pauncefote.* So the Marquis Tsêng is returning to Paris. Will he be leaving soon? I ask because this opium business is very important. After several interviews with Sir Thomas Wade, the Foreign Office sent the India Office a dispatch that is now under its consideration. We are anxious to settle this matter; we are sorry it was not settled long ago, when Prince Kung made propositions which were considered reasonable.

“*Macartney.* Yes, it is a pity, for the longer a settlement is deferred the more difficulty will there be in arriving at one.

“*Pauncefote.* The English Government and Lord Elgin, who negotiated the Treaty of Tientsin, always recognised the right of China to do what she liked with the drug as soon as it entered the interior. Sir Joseph Pease, one of the anti-opium leaders, has called at the Foreign Office several times, and I have told him this. It is very desirable that we should have a full exchange of views with the Marquis Tsêng. I mean a conversation in which we might converse freely without either party being bound by it.

“*Macartney.* I do not think His Excellency would have any objection to this if you made the proposal.”

Before describing the semi-official conversation that ensued in the following March out of this after-dinner talk, it will help the reader to state briefly the points at issue. By the tariff attached to the Treaty of Tientsin opium paid an import duty of 30 taels per chest of a fixed weight. It was understood, and became the practice, that this payment franked the passage of the drug through the first barrier outside the foreign settlement in the Treaty Ports. The practical meaning of this was that the Chinese Government got no more revenue out of the traffic than the 30 taels, for the subsequent payments at the inland barriers called likin went into the provincial treasuries. The Chefoo Convention contained a clause (1 of Section III) by which the British Minister bound himself to recommend that the only area free from likin should be the foreign concession itself. The

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adoption of this proviso would signify that likin could be levied at the first barrier which could easily be placed in the charge of the Imperial Customs Department; or in other words, this new tax would therefore provide additional revenue for the Central Government. The negotiations that began in March, 1883, and ended in May, 1885, were the sequel to the Chefoo Convention, and took the form of providing an extra article to that agreement. The following report in Macartney's handwriting describes the first Conference :—

“ In compliance with invitation contained in dispatch of Lord Granville of 1st March, Marquis Tsêng sent Mr. Macartney to Foreign Office to-day, Monday 5th March 1883, to assist in a Conference on the subject of the taxation of opium introduced into China in accordance with the terms of the Chefoo Agreement of 1876.

“ Present—

Mr. Philip Currie, C.B., Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Pedder, Financial Secretary to Government of India.

Sir Thomas Wade, H.B.M., Minister at Peking.

H. Macartney, English Secretary, Chinese Legation.”

“ Mr. Currie opened the meeting by reading a Memo., which he said had been drawn up by the Secretary of State of the India Office (Lord Kimberley), and Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He afterwards said, in handing it to me, that I would see by it that the arrangement which most commended itself to H.M. Government was the proposition made by the Prince of Kung on the 14th January, 1880, and which accepted the opium clause of the Convention to mean that the likin to be paid was the equivalent of what, at the time the Convention was signed, was levied at the first barrier. This was to be paid to the Customs at the same time as the import duty, etc., was to free the opium from any further taxation until it arrived at the second barrier, when it would have to run the gauntlet of duties just as before the Chefoo Agreement was made. The likin offices in the settlements to be abolished, and the position of the second barriers to remain where they were at the time the Convention was signed, and their posi-

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tions to be indicated to H.M. Government by the Chinese Government.

"Mr. Macartney said he would present the proposition to the Marquis Tsêng, but he doubted whether his instructions would admit of his taking it as a basis of negotiation, and whether the Chinese Government would be prepared to go back on a proposition made so long ago. Mr. Macartney rather thought that as the principle of a uniform likin at all the ports had for some time back been the only one discussed, the Marquis Tsêng's instructions had been framed with a view to negotiation being carried on on that basis. Moreover, he feared that, should the proposition which had just been handed to him be taken as a basis of negotiation, the time required for coming to a settlement would be much prolonged, because it would have to be referred back to China, and the Imperial authorities would have to cause investigations to be made at each of the ports as to the amount of likin levied in 1876, and the position of the second barriers or collectorates. Whereas if the uniform rate principle had been accepted, the business might be got through in a comparatively short time, for the matter would resolve itself mostly into a question of amount. He had been instructed to ask 110 taels for the combined import and likin duties, and this sum to free the drug from any further taxation whilst it was in transition, and until it came to be retailed, when the Chinese Government reserved their right to tax it or not, as they thought proper. The other day the Marquis Tsêng, in talking with him, had expressed himself dubiously as to the exemption from likin on the drug as soon as it is sent beyond the boundaries of the Concessions, but having since telegraphed to his Government about this, he had been informed that the exemption from further taxation would apply as long as the drug was in transit to a market in the interior."

The negotiations proved very protracted, but at last an agreement was arrived at, and on 19th July, 1885, the additional article to the Chefoo Convention was signed in London. It embodied Macartney's proposal of 3rd March, 1883, that the joint import duty and likin should be fixed at 110 taels. This payment freed opium from any tax or duty whilst in transport in the interior. It may be mentioned that the Marquis of Salisbury had the credit of

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bringing to a successful issue the negotiations begun by Lord Granville, and he used often to refer to the text of the opium Convention as a model to be followed for its clearness and comprehensiveness.

This Convention was not regarded with a favourable eye by the German Government, which, ever since it has had a Legation in Peking and a Chinese envoy in Berlin, has made the embarrassment and thwarting of English policy in China one of its chief objects. Proof of this is furnished in the following correspondence from and with Mr. Hsu, and the English reader will probably agree with him that "their plan is very crafty."

"Hsu, Chinese Minister at Berlin, to the Marquis Tsêng, dated Berlin, 1st day of 9th Moon, 11th year Kwangsu (October, 1885):—

"I wrote you on the 28th ult. I hope you received the letter. Mr. White's report has been received. I this morning received your letter. I take notice of its contents. The vessel, being built in Germany, will have the turtle-back deck above the water-line. This is a good system. The Vulcan Company had placed the deck too low. The specifications had already been reported to Tientsin. The present design is better than the former one. In my opinion no further alterations should be made beyond raising the deck at the dome midships.

"As regards the opium affair, I received yesterday a reply to my dispatch from the German Foreign Office. As China has entered into treaties with other Powers that opium is to be treated as other goods, the German Government will not consent, that is to the new opium agreement. In their dispatch was enclosed a copy of a dispatch from the English Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in London. Some time ago I read a letter of yours stating that should the other Powers not consent to the agreement, England had the right of withdrawing from it. Complying with your request, the English F. O. agreed not to have this stated in the agreement itself. You were very thoughtful in requiring this, but England has already informed the German Government of this. You say you are afraid lest the foreign Powers should combine against China, hoping

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to draw further concessions from her. You are very far-sighted. First I shall see the German authorities and speak fairly, then I shall argue the question in a dispatch. The treatment of foreign goods proceeding into the interior has long been a disputed question. They will still control this point. Their plan is very crafty. I cannot tell whether I shall be successful or not in my discussions with them. If you have any good plan, please communicate it to me. The Germans bring up the subject of taxation on the opium as soon as the packages are opened. I have not shown them the agreement. How then should they know about this article?"

The German Foreign Office's reply, enclosed with the above letter, to Hsu Tajen's dispatch announcing the Tsêng-Salisbury Agreement, read:—

"*GERMAN F. O., 5 October, 1885.*

"I received your letter of the 16th September relative to the Section 3 of the Chefoo Convention of September, 1876, between England and China, about the taxation of opium, and which was to be settled afterwards. Now the matter has been settled and signed in London on the 18th July last, and will be put in force on the 18th January, 1886. You inform me that from that date the import and likin duties respectively at the rate of 30 and 80 taels per chest of 100 catties will be levied simultaneously by the Maritime Customs, and that China will, on receiving this, abolish all the inland taxes on the drug, thus giving up her conventional right to tax opium going into the interior at pleasure.

"On examining the English text of the new agreement, I do not find that the Chinese Government surrenders its right of taxing opium in the interior at pleasure. According to Article No. 5¹ of the new agreement, the Chinese Government agree that the tax on opium after it arrives at place of consumption and when the packages are broken, that is the retail tax to be levied, shall not exceed that levied on native opium, but China has still the right of assessing the native opium, which is the standard, as she likes (and in this way has still the power of taxing the foreign drug at pleasure).

¹ "The opium shall not be subjected to any tax or contribution, direct or indirect, other than or in excess of such tax or contribution as is or may hereafter be levied on native opium."

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"From your letter it seems also that you consider that the new agreement, which is only made with England, changes the right conferred by the treaties on other countries, but such is not my opinion. According to international practice, an agreement made between two countries binds only its signatories. The new agreement concerns only English opium merchants. The merchants of the other Treaty Powers who have not given their consent need not comply with it. The English Government has recognised this on several occasions in correspondence with the German authorities, and even stated it to China. This may be seen by referring to the English Blue books, China No. 2, 1880, and No. 3, of 1882, containing the English Minister's dispatches, viz. dispatches 27 December, 1879, and 14 and 30 January, 1880, pages 7 and 12, No. 2; and dispatches 13 and 28 January, and 3 June, 1882, of book No. 3, at pages 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, and 95.

"I now enclose you copy of a dispatch from the English Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in London in April, 1883. In this dispatch the English Government states that it has informed the Chinese Government that any arrangement come to between China and England on the subject of opium must receive the consent of the other Treaty Powers before it can be put in force. Under these circumstances the German Government cannot agree to the new agreement being applied to their subjects. Germany and other Treaty Powers on 18 January, 1882, page 92 of No. 3 Blue book, agreed that the opium tax likin and inland taxation were to be settled together. Let China arrange with Germany the second of these matters, and Germany will consent to the first. China must remove the difficulties."

The opium question had scarcely been settled when a fresh and far more serious matter presented itself for discussion between England and China. Towards the end of the year 1885 the disturbed condition of Upper Burmah, and the many acts of hostility committed by its king named Thebaw, whose brutal massacres showed that he was undoubtedly insane, produced a crisis which ended in the British invasion and subsequent conquest of his dominions. The Chinese Government took great interest in the develop-

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ment of the question, and the Marquis Tsêng was instructed to express the hope that nothing would be done to injure Chinese interests in Burmah. The Foreign Office was reminded that Burmah was tributary to China, and had long been in the habit of sending a decennial mission to Peking. At first the Foreign Office was quite willing to give satisfaction to China's pretensions, and in his speech at the Guild-hall, on 9th November, 1885, Lord Salisbury declared that "in any operations against Burmah which Her Majesty's Government might conduct, they would act with the most complete recognition of the rights of China, and so as to carry with them the assent and the friendship of China." Nothing could have been more gratifying to China than this declaration, which was made, however, at a moment when the course of the campaign was still uncertain. On its proving a mere walk-over, and with Thebaw a prisoner in our hands, there appeared to be less reason to propitiate China, and Burmah was formally annexed and declared a British possession on 1st January, 1886.

The Burmese question was, in the first place, a matter for the Indian Government, and the opinion of the India Office, briefly put, was that Chinese claims over Burmah were a fiction. Exactly as the French had treated China's claims in Annam, so would Anglo-Indians have treated them in Burmah. The proposals made to the Foreign Office by the Marquis Tsêng, that China should have a port on the Irrawaddi, and that her frontier should be formed by the Shweley River, raised a hurricane of protest and denial on the opposite side of the Whitehall quadrangle. The Foreign Office was so far intimidated by its neighbour that it agreed that China should have nothing material, but it adhered to its original intention of "recognising the rights of China" in the region of the sentimental.

The following summary of an interview which the Marquis Tsêng had with the Marquis of Salisbury on 12 January,

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1886, will show the trend of events. By this time it had been proved that the Marquis Tséng had full powers to treat for his Government, which had been at first disputed, the idea being that China was more pliant at Peking than in Portland Place. The Chinese representative, with intentional malice, had written the day prior to the interview to ask the Foreign Secretary to provide him with a copy of the China-Burmah Treaty of 1769, on which the India Office relied for its assertion that Burmah was not tributary to China. The conversation began, therefore, with Lord Salisbury's admission that the treaty was non-procurable, or, interposed the Marquis Tséng, "non-existent." Then there followed an interesting dialogue between the two statesmen as to the rival pretensions in the art of mendacity —*splendide mendax*—of Royal historiographers in the East and West.¹ Coming to business, Lord Salisbury reiterated his desire to meet China's views "as far as possible," and if he "only knew what they were." The Marquis Tséng replied that China would like to see a prince of the Royal House of Ava replaced on the throne, even though he should possess no ruling power.

Lord Salisbury had no difficulty in showing that this was impossible, as it would revive the dangerous treaties which Thebaw had signed with France and Italy. The Marquis Tséng then formally withdrew this proposal. Lord Salisbury thereupon made two propositions. He said, "We have thought of creating a spiritual prince who would continue the accustomed missions to Peking, but who would have nothing to do with the Government; or, as an alternative, we might be willing to instruct the officer at the head of the Government in Burmah to send a mission with presents to Peking once in ten years."

¹ Captain Burney's translation at p. 147 of Vol. VI of the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of the alleged treaty is taken from the narrative of the Royal historiographer of the Court of Ava.

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Both the Marquis Tsêng and Macartney were taken aback at this latter proposal, which seemed to imply that Englishmen would become "tribute-bearers" to Peking, and the Chinese diplomatist very politely said that he preferred the plan of creating a spiritual prince as the more practical. He added that he himself attached value to the maintenance of China's suzerain rights over Burmah, chiefly because Russia would, as he had reason to know, seek to enforce the same principles with regard to Corea.

The Marquis Tsêng then asked in what terms he should inform his Government of the intended creation of a spiritual prince. His request was inspired by the fact that he had noticed a discrepancy between the Foreign Office telegrams to Mr. O'Conor at Peking and the Viceroy's proclamation in India in the way in which the annexation of Burmah was described.

Lord Salisbury (smiling) : " You Easterns are very clever in drawing distinctions. To me it seems that the two wordings signify exactly the same thing. I drafted them myself, and it certainly was my intention that their meaning should be the same."

The Marquis Tsêng replied : " The necessity of having to make translations leads to words being nicely weighed, and thus shades of difference in meaning are sometimes discovered which may never have been intended."

The following instance of the elusiveness of translations, especially where Chinese or Japanese is in question, may interest the reader. In 1895 the Japanese, distrusting the clearness of their own and the Chinese languages, insisted that the Treaty of Shimonoseki should be drawn up in English.

A few weeks after this interview Lord Salisbury resigned office, and was succeeded by the Earl of Rosebery. Early in March the Marquis Tsêng wrote him a dispatch summarising the negotiations up to that date, and claiming, in

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addition to the fulfilment of Lord Salisbury's promise about
the mission, an extension of the Chinese frontier:—

"My Lord,

"London, March, 1886.

"The negotiations with a view to the settlement of the questions arising out of the new state of matters in Burmah, instituted under the ministry of your lordship's predecessor, and which up to a certain point had fair to eventuate in the conclusion of an arrangement entirely satisfactory to the honour and interests of China and Great Britain, having now, much to the regret of the Imperial Government, come to a standstill, I have been instructed by the Yamen to lay before your lordship the following exposition of their views on the subject of what, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, was the state of the question when the negotiations took the turn to which I have made allusion. But to make this intelligible I must beg your lordship to have the goodness to follow me, whilst I make a short résumé of the origin and course of these negotiations.

"In October, 1885, last year, it came to the knowledge of the Imperial Government that difficulties menaced the continuance of the friendly relations which had till then existed between Her Majesty's Government and the King of Burmah, and afterwards when it was rumoured that the Government of India were preparing an expedition with the object of invading the dominions of King Thebaw, I was instructed by the Yamen to ascertain from Her Majesty's Government whether these rumours were true, and in the event of their being well founded, to ask what were the immediate and ulterior objects of the expedition. In putting these questions to Her Majesty's Government, which I did on the 30th October, I suggested that the Chinese Government should be invited to exercise the influence, which their position as regards Burmah conferred on them, to make King Thebaw redress any grievance which Her Majesty's Government might have against him, and in the event of such a course being accepted by Her Majesty's Government, I offered to recommend the Yamen to give its good offices in bringing about a settlement.

"On 31 October I communicated to the Foreign Office the substance of a telegram which I had received from the Yamen, stating that the Imperial Government having learned that the difference between H.M. Government and King

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Thebaw referred to a judgment pronounced by the High Court of Burmah concerning a concession which the King had granted to an English trading company, the Yamen considered that it was scarcely of such a nature as to justify having recourse to arms for its settlement, and that in view of this and the circumstance that Burmah was a country from which China claimed and received tribute, the Imperial Government had taken measures to induce the King to cancel the order of the Court, and apologise to H.M. Government for the trouble it had occasioned them.

"The Prime Minister, referring to the question of Burmah at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on the 9th November, stated that in any operations which H.M. Government might conduct against that country, 'they would act with the most complete recognition of the rights of China, and so as to carry with them the assent and the friendship of China.' In the absence of any reply to the common question I had asked the Foreign Office on the 30th, and to the communication I made to it on the 31st October, this assurance, which, on the authority of the Prime Minister, must be considered as bearing the same weight as an official communication, somewhat allayed the uneasiness occasioned at Peking by the reports that a hostile expedition was being prepared for the invasion of a country in the preservation of which, not only on account of its political, but also on account of its geographical relation to China, the Imperial Government had so great an interest.

"On the 26th November, nearly a month after they addressed their final inquiry to the Foreign Office, Her Majesty's forces crossed the frontier and entered Burmese territory. The Imperial Government then received the first intimation of the object which H.M. Government had in view in ordering the expedition. It was to redress the wrongs inflicted on British subjects by the King of Burmah, to punish the King, and to vindicate the honour of England. 'When these objects have been accomplished,' says Lord Salisbury in his dispatch of the 26th November, 'Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to discuss with the Chinese Government the future arrangements in relation to Burmah.'

"Contenting themselves with this engagement that the future arrangements in relation to Burmah were to form the subject of a discussion between the two Governments, and not wishing to embarrass Her Majesty's Government in

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accomplishing the declared object of the expedition, the Imperial Government waited until the 8th December, when, calling Lord Salisbury's attention to the fact that King Thebaw had been taken prisoner and the capital of Burmah was in the hands of Her Majesty's force, I intimated to his lordship that in the opinion of my Government the time had now arrived when the future arrangements to be made with respect to Burmah might profitably be discussed, and on the 12th, whilst again bringing these facts to the notice of his lordship, I asked him to favour me with an appointment, when an exchange of views on the question of Burmah might take place.

"Some delay occurred in Lord Salisbury's being able to comply with this request to be favoured with an interview. On the 23rd December his lordship, in informing me by letter that an interview between us could not take place until after the Christmas holidays, forwarded me a memorandum bearing the same date, in which, referring to his lordship's note to me of the 26th November, he undertook that, in accordance with the statement contained in it, H.M. Government would 'before the exact nature of the future government of Burmah was finally decided, examine in the most friendly manner, with a desire to take them into account, any privileges or rights of China in or over that country which could be sustained by record or custom.' The memorandum then goes on to state that the object of Her Majesty's Government was to establish 'peace and order (in Burmah) by the best and most enduring methods, but (that) the proceedings to that end must necessarily be deliberate.' I consider it important to reproduce and to call attention to these extracts because of the difficulty which the Imperial Government experiences in reconciling them with the action taken by Her Majesty's Government only six days later. On the 29th December, and without any efforts having been made in the meantime to redeem the promises contained in Lord Salisbury's memo. of the 23rd, Her Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Peking was instructed to announce to the Yamen that on the 1st January the kingdom of Burmah would be annexed to the dominions of the Queen. This announcement, following as it did so closely on the assurance that H.M. Government were not unmindful of their promises which I had been requested by Lord Salisbury to transmit to my Government, came upon the Yamen somewhat unexpectedly. In the note which I hastened to address to Lord Salisbury on the publication of the Proclamation of

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Annexation on the 1st January, I have already given expression to this sentiment, and I recur to it now, not by way of complaint, but for the sake of preserving the continuity of my résumé of the negotiations.

"The Imperial Government are willing to believe that the change of procedure was not induced by any change in the attitude of H.M. Government towards China, but was the result of some unlooked for political exigency. Even in that case, in view of the claim to Burmah as being a tributary of hers which had been advanced by China, and the engagement of H.M. Government not to take any final decision as to the future government of Burmah without having previously discussed the matter with the Government of Peking, it is difficult to understand the issue of the proclamation excepting on the supposition of Her Majesty's Government being prepared to give ample satisfaction to the Chinese claims. Such also appeared to have been Lord Salisbury's opinion, for in his note of 9th January, appointing Tuesday the 12th for the interview I had asked for, his lordship informed me that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to make arrangements for the continuance of 'the interchange of Missions and presents between Burmah and China,' in accordance with the conditions of a treaty asserted to have been signed between China and Burmah on the 13th December, 1769. In the same note his lordship, recognising the benefits which would actually accrue to China and Great Britain from the commerce being placed on a proper footing, stated that Her Majesty's Government would 'be ready as soon as practicable to enter into negotiations for any determination of the frontier which would be to the advantage of the trade between the two countries.' This being considerably different from a mere delimitation of the existing frontier, the Imperial Government, who are most desirous of developing the great resources of the South-West of China, received the announcement with the most lively satisfaction.

"With reference to the Burmo-Chinese Treaty, to which Lord Salisbury had referred, I informed him in my note to him of the 11th January that in the archives of the Legation I had been unable to find any reference to the existence of such a treaty, and presuming that Her Majesty's Government must have been in possession of the document, I requested his lordship to furnish me with a copy of the original Chinese text, a request which, owing to Lord Salisbury having seen only an abstract of the said treaty

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taken from the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he was unable to comply with.

"Though I have preserved a very long minute of my interview with Lord Salisbury on the 12th January, it is unnecessary for me here to refer to more of it than is to be found recorded in my memo. to the Foreign Office of the 16th January. By that memo. it will be seen that the Imperial Government were desirous of obtaining such an arrangement of the question of Burmah as would preserve the succession to the throne in the family of the Royal House of Ava, but that owing to the international complications (with certain foreign Powers) which that might produce, Her Majesty's Government considered such a course impracticable.

"It had, however, occurred, said Lord Salisbury, to the Viceroy of India that possibly the wishes of the Chinese Government might be met if a spiritual sovereignty or Lama were instituted, who should send the decennial embassies and presents which up to the present the kings of Burmah had been in the habit of sending to the Court of Peking.

"This manner of continuing the Tribute Missions having been accepted by the Chinese Government, negotiations between Sir Philip Currie and Sir H. Macartney were opened at the Foreign Office on the 23rd January, and made satisfactory progress until the 5th March, when on Sir Philip Currie declaring that the method of continuing the missions suggested by the Viceroy of India, and proposed to me by Lord Salisbury, had been found to be impracticable, they received a check. The Imperial Government, considering that they had made a great concession in accepting the proposal, were much surprised at its rejection by the Government which had proposed it. In the course of the negotiations the question arose as to whether it ought to have been considered as a proposal or a suggestion. But whether it were a suggestion or a proposal appears to me to be immaterial, for, coming from such a high quarter as that whence it emanated, it is difficult to suppose that, provided it should meet the Chinese Government's acceptance, Lord Salisbury was not prepared to carry it into effect. I certainly understood it in the light of a proposition, otherwise I should never have undertaken to submit it to the Imperial Government. My minute of the interview of the 12th shows that not only did I inform Lord Salisbury that I should submit it to the Yamen, but

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also that, in order to avoid the possibility of mistake in doing so, I requested him to tell me in what terms I should present it.

"As is shown by my memo. to the Foreign Office of the 6th January, it was on the faith that it was a proposal on which H.M. Government were prepared to act that the Imperial decree authorising me to enter on the negotiations was issued.

"I hope that Her Majesty's Government will consent to recommend the scheme proposed for continuing the decennial missions by the late Government, for I am convinced that on further examination its execution will be found to be less impracticable than it was at first supposed to be. The Chinese Government are ignorant of the precise reasons which induced Her Majesty's Government to withdraw their proposal. In his minute of the 5th March Sir Philip Currie stated that it had been found to be impracticable chiefly on grounds connected with its religious aspect. If this should refer to any supposed incongruity which would arise from the spiritual chief of a country professing Buddhism accrediting missions to the Emperor of China, I would beg to state that, in my opinion, so far from being incongruous, it would in the highest degree be appropriate. The Grand Lama of Thibet receives his investiture from the Emperor of China. The Church of Mongolia, and that of a very large proportion of the people of China, is Buddhistic, and it acknowledges the Emperor of China as its head. In the palace of Peking His Majesty is spoken of and addressed as the 'Fuh Yeh,' or Lord of Buddhism, rather than as the Emperor. I am the more desirous that the proposition of Lord Salisbury should not be departed from, because on all other points I do not anticipate that any insuperable difficulties would be encountered. Her Majesty's Government have already consented to renounce in favour of China any right in or over the Shan States lying to the east of the Salwyn River, which may belong to her, in virtue of their position in Burmah. The eastern frontier being thus determined by the Salwyn, there would, as regards frontier questions, only remain to be decided the point where the line should be drawn which is to run from the Irrawaddy to the frontier of the Yunnan. Her Majesty's Government have already acknowledged the principle of commercial expediency in the determination of frontier questions. It was acting on this principle that the Chinese Government proposed that

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the Shweley River, which in the upper part of its course forms the boundary between Burmah and Yunnan, should thence to its confluence with the Irrawaddy be taken as constituting the frontier between the two countries.

"Though H.M. Government did not see their way to the adoption of this proposal, the Chinese Government are still of opinion that such an arrangement would in practice be found in every respect the one which would be most conducive to the development of the trade between the two countries and the prevention of disputes between the two peoples. A reference to the map will show how admirably it is calculated to attain these objects. It would give the Chinese Government a port on the Irrawaddy accessible to steamers coming from and proceeding to the sea, a requisite without which it would be impossible for them to give that great stimulus to commerce which would result from the utilisation of the mineral wealth of Yunnan and the adjoining provinces.

"I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

"TSÉNG."

Negotiations were then resumed, and during the next few months more than one draft of a convention was drawn up only to be discarded. A good deal of heat was shown on both sides, and if the views of the India Office had prevailed the discussion would have been broken off, and China informed that as she was unreasonable she should get nothing. On this occasion, as on several others, Macartney was able to give the Foreign Office the hint that saved the situation. The Chefoo Convention in a separate article bound China to supply passports to and otherwise assist an English Mission to Tibet. In 1885 Mr. Colman Macaulay, a member of the Indian Civil Service, got the permission of his Government to carry out the project. He went to Peking and obtained, after some difficulty, passports for himself and a small party, and if he had made his plans quietly and quickly he would undoubtedly have forestalled Sir Francis Younghusband, although he would have entered Tibet the reverse way. This did not accord with his ambition. He

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busily prepared, not for an interesting journey from Peking to India via Lhasa, but for an imposing mission from India to Tibet. The Chinese were very indignant at this alteration of the stipulation in the Chefoo Convention, and also somewhat apprehensive as to the result, for the Tibetans, hearing of the extensive preparations being made in Sikhim, showed signs of alarm, and announced their intention to oppose the mission whenever it crossed the frontier.

The Tsungli Yamen and the Marquis Tsêng were greatly worried by the whole affair, and one fine day in the summer of 1886 Macartney walked over to the Foreign Office and dropped a hint in the right quarter that the way to settle the Burmah question was to let the Chinese know that, for a reasonable arrangement with regard to Burmah, the so-called Tibetan Mission would be abandoned. Mr. O'Conor received instructions to that effect, and on 27th July, 1886, a few weeks before Lord Rosebery went out of office, a new Convention was signed at Peking. By its terms the highest British official in Burmah was to arrange for the dispatch of the regular decennial mission to Peking, and the Macaulay Mission to Lhasa was abandoned. Lord Rosebery had preferred the second to the first of the two proposals made by Lord Salisbury to the Marquis Tsêng on 12th January in the same year. As a matter of fact, no mission was ever sent by our authorities from Burmah because, by a subsequent arrangement, China's claim to this was waived in return for the transfer of a good slice of the Shan States to her possession. It was thus shown in the end that there was nothing impossible of admission in the original contention of the Marquis Tsêng that his country ought to receive material rather than sentimental compensation for our annexation of Burmah. With regard to Macartney's part in the long and often warm discussions, I confine myself to repeating that it was he who gave privately the hint which brought them to a harmonious end.

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The following letter from the late Mr. Pethick, so long connected with Li Hung Chang, who the reader may recollect in connection with the burst guns at Taku, contains some evidence as to the impression that was being made in China by Macartney's strenuous efforts on her behalf:—

“U.S. CONSULATE,
“TIENTSIN, CHINA,

“March 26, 1885.

“DEAR DR. MACARTNEY,

“It may need an effort of memory for you to recall me, as so many years have slipped away since we met in my quarters in the American Consulate here. I write now in the same room where we sat together, and I am otherwise—officially—situated much as I was then, being still Vice-Consul here and also in Li's service.

“With many others in China I have marked with pleasure the evidences of your guiding hand in advancing the interests of China in Europe, and placing your Legation in the position of honour and influence it now has. The Chinese owe much to your faithful and experienced help, and now that Gordon is gone you rank first among the surviving foreigners who did so much to organise victories for the Imperialists in the Taiping times. When Gordon was last in China, and lived for a week or two in a temple near Li's yamen here, it was my good fortune to be often with him and share his confidence. On those pleasant evenings in mid-summer we used to sit on the roof of a pavilion overlooking the Peiho, and he would talk freely of the stirring times and adventures which helped to make him the hero he is in popular esteem. He often mentioned you in terms of praise, and wished you were with him then while he was intent upon taking the field with the Chinese against Russia. Li showed genuine sorrow when informed of Gordon's death. I think foreigners owe more than they imagine to the mere moral force of Gordon's character in impressing Li and other eminent Chinese with a lasting feeling of respect for the good qualities of mind and heart foreigners are really capable of—notwithstanding the strong doubts to the contrary of the native official class. We have but lately had the sad news of Sir Harry Parkes' death—and thus the veterans drop off!

“The Germans are making great headway here in get-

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ting military and naval affairs into their hands. Li has about forty officers here now and more are coming. They have discarded English drill, arms, and arsenal machinery, and Li is yielding them considerable powers to reorganise after the German methods. This favouritism is encouraging German manufacturers to come forward with all sorts of projects, and unless English and Americans make the combined stand justified by their predominating shares over Germany in the trade of China, we shall all be forced to the wall by the Teuton. The arsenal here is to be rebuilt on a German model, and furnished with German machinery worked by Germans, and so it goes in other things.

"Ere this reaches you the secret negotiations now going on here for peace with France may restore China to much needed quiet, but not, we may hope, to relapse as heretofore into lethargy. Her late bitter experience has certainly roused her to a sense of her weakness, and of the radical changes necessary to make her really strong and prosperous, and there are now many signs to show that when peace comes, useful progress will be made in many ways.

"With best wishes for your success and prosperity,

"I am,

"Very truly yours,

"Wm. N. PETHICK."

Macartney's position as a British subject in the service of a foreign State was anomalous, and he would have been exceptionally fortunate if he could have held his post in London for thirty years without suffering at least some personal inconvenience. He had one exceedingly unpleasant experience which, if he had thought only of his own convenience and not of the principle at stake, he would have avoided by acquiescing in an illegal demand. The matter attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and Macartney had the sympathies of the whole of the *corps diplomatique* behind him in the position which he felt it his duty, on their behalf as well as his own, to take up in opposing an encroachment on their common privileges.

In 1885 Sir Halliday, as he had then just become, took

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a lease of a house in the Marylebone Road, numbered 3 Harley Place, where he resided for over twenty years. The lease contained the usual formality about indemnifying the landlord against the liability of rates and taxes, but Sir Halliday, with his characteristic foresight, caused an additional clause to be inserted, setting forth that he was in no event to pay for rates and taxes from which, on account of his diplomatic position, he was exempted. The lease was signed, and in due course the rate collector presented his account. This Macartney declined to pay because he was Secretary of the Chinese Legation, a registered member of the *corps diplomatique*, and entitled by the practice of this country, in common with the rest of the civilised world, to the privilege of exemption.

The first amount was small, the collector went away, the vestry did not press, and the incident seemed ended. Another year elapsed, but the pleasing hope disappeared when a claim for the increased sum, now grown considerably, came in, and the vestry notified that it required it to be paid. A correspondence ensued. Sir Halliday again stated the facts, and added that he had the express orders of his minister to decline payment. A vestry is not supposed to know much of the finer points of law, or anything of diplomatic privileges. It declared that the rates must be paid, and it duly summoned Sir Halliday in the local County Court. Judgment was given for the vestry, an execution was levied at Harley Place, and after the legal interval the steps were taken for the removal of Sir Halliday's furniture. At this stage, enough having been done for the principle, considerations of convenience became paramount, and Sir Halliday paid the amount claimed *under protest*.

He then commenced an action in the High Court of Justice for the recovery of the sum paid and his costs, and for a legal decision on the point at issue. After much

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delay the case was tried in February, 1890, by Mr. Justice Matthew, who delivered judgment entirely in Sir Halliday's favour. There was a strong feeling among foreign diplomats in London at the time that the Foreign Office ought to have intervened and protected Sir Halliday against the annoyance. Far from doing this the Foreign Office, under pressure from the Home Office, took a step which was calculated to place Sir Halliday in an invidious position. It announced that any British subjects appointed to serve on the diplomatic staff of foreign embassies and legations in London, should not in the future be entitled to enjoy the privileges conferred by the Act 7 of Queen Anne, which is the charter of foreign diplomats in this country, so far as they related to the payment of rates and taxes. Had this decision been notified after Mr. Justice Matthew's judgment it would not have worn the aspect of any personal animus towards Sir Halliday, but issued as it was during the progress of his unpleasant struggle with the vestry, it assumed the character of an unfriendly act, and led many people to think that Sir Halliday ought to have paid his rates without demur, just as if he were an ordinary British citizen and not a Chinese diplomatist.

The French papers took up the case rather warmly, and told the Foreign Office in clear terms that it had no power to issue a ukase curtailing the diplomatic privileges of any power, and stating plainly that if the case ever arose France would not recognise the validity of this order. It is not at all probable that it will recur, for the practice of employing any but nationals in doing a country's work is now dying out all the world over. In maintaining his right Sir Halliday suffered much annoyance, and perhaps at times he afterwards regretted that he had not paid up and left principles to take care of themselves; but as he used to add by way of a final commentary on the affair, "Had I paid I should have been liable for the jury, and perhaps then

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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I should not have been available when the Foreign Office wanted me." The following letter from the Japanese Minister expressed the general feeling in diplomatic circles on the result :—

"JAPANESE LEGATION, LONDON,

"*February 26, 1890.*

"DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"I congratulate you very warmly on the victory which I saw announced in the newspapers yesterday, and hope you will now have no further trouble.

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. NAKADA."

CHAPTER XVII

SOME MINOR DIPLOMATIC INCIDENTS

Departure of the Marquis Tsêng—Tribute to the Marquis—An interesting correspondence—China's navy—Captain Lang—China's fleet destroyed—Proposed new fleet—Lang's letters—Application for English officers—Macartney's views on China's naval needs—Commander Dundas—The war with Japan—The Rosebery incident—A tight place—Li Hung Chang's tour—An interesting letter—Sun Yat Sen—Some new facts—Macartney's orders—The immunity of embassies—An independent Chinese opinion.

SHORTLY after the signing of the Burmah Convention the Marquis Tsêng began to make preparations for his return to China. He had been over seven years in Europe, and the time had arrived to think of his own position at home, where the deep-rooted prejudice against foreigners also seemed to fall on those Chinese who had much to do with them and to entail the blighting of their official careers. The Marquis Tsêng, it is true, occupied an exceptional position, but he fully realised that he had stayed abroad quite long enough if he were to escape the usual penalty.

So in the late autumn of 1886 he made his arrangements to leave London, and in due course a highly respectable official, named Lieu Tajen, arrived to take his place. Before the Marquis left London he did me the honour to assent to my proposal that he should convey his farewell to England in an article on the future of his own country, and Sir Halliday drew up, in concert with his chief, the really brilliant pronouncement, entitled, "China, the Sleep and the Awakening," which was published in the number of

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the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1887. The criticism has been made by the light of subsequent events that this picture of awakened China was erroneous and misleading. But it was the anticipation conceived by the Marquis Tsêng of the future of his country to the realisation of which he was going home to devote his talent, his energy, and his life. In three short years, however, the Marquis was dead. The fair-minded critic will respect the integrity of the intention, and pass over the failure of the plan in indulgent silence.

The Marquis Tsêng and Macartney from being good friends had become close allies. It was only a question of life for the Marquis to become the most powerful man in China, a successor—nay, a superseder—of Li Hung Chang with more than his ability, and ten times his honesty. What the rise of Tsêng would have meant for Macartney himself must be left in the realm of conjecture; but before the Marquis left England, Macartney had his promise that at the first opportunity he should have charge of one of the Legations himself. In this connection it was specifically mentioned that the post of Minister in Paris would be most agreeable and suitable, not merely because of Sir Halliday's natural Celtic sympathy with the French, but from the fact that his wife was a French lady. A malicious enemy in China alleged that the French Government would not accept any representative from China but a native. As the project never reached maturity owing to the Marquis Tsêng's death, no one can say what the French Government would have done, or, failing France, what one or other of the great Continental Powers would have done when the definite proposal reached them. It must suffice to say that Sir Halliday Macartney's chance of passing into the higher grade of Ministers Plenipotentiary was centred in the Marquis Tsêng's fortunes, and that with his life it passed away.

Before passing on to other matters, I will give some speci-

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mens of the interesting correspondence that passed between them. Unfortunately, I can only give one of Sir Halliday's own letters :—

"PEKING, March 3rd, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"I received your kind letter of the 31st December last a few days ago, and beg to thank you for it and for all the kind expressions which it contains. I received also the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and the clipping from *The Times* by the same opportunity. These I have read with much pleasure, and I am gratified to learn that the paper has been so well received. I hope its publication will do good, and lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the present position of my country and the future prospects of the Western Powers. The language of the article is choice, and the expression of the ideas is both elegant and forcible. I am glad that it should have appeared in so good a dress. The reference to the foreign concessions and China's possible future action in regard to them is the only point upon which, perhaps, there will be any great difference of opinion. The article will at least prepare the Western mind for any action of this kind which China may take. I notice *The Times* review represents the opinions as those held by me during the period of transition from London to Peking. You have done quite right in giving a private character to the views thus expressed. I observe that various leading English journals have devoted leaders to the subject, and that it was to be translated into French and German. I note that you say it has made a great sensation in London.

"I thank you for all the items you give me about yourself and family. I noticed in the *China Express* the death of your dear father and elder sister in one week. Your father had reached a very advanced age. You have my deepest sympathy in this bereavement.

"My family is still at Shanghai. The last accounts I received were good. Kingpole is much better, and I hope soon to be able to inform you of his complete restoration to health. The other members of my family are all well.

"Regarding myself, I may say my health is fairly well. I have had a chill, and been confined to my room for a few days, but there are already signs of improvement, and I hope to be about my usual in a few days. I had an attack of tonsilitis shortly after my arrival here, but it did not go

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on to suppuration as I feared. You will have learned, perhaps, that I have been transferred from the Board of War to that of Revenue, which means more work.

"I was glad to learn of the birth of a son—and such a fine child!—to you and Lady Macartney. I wish you both every joy in your infant son now and in the future.

"In regard to the portrait, I think you had better retain it in London in the meantime, and try if possible to dispose of it.

"I am glad you are pleased with the recognition which His Majesty the Emperor proposes to bestow on you as an acknowledgment of the able services you rendered to China during my term of office. I wish you continual happiness and success in all your labours for the welfare of my country.

"I beg of you to present Lieu tajen my kindest regards, and the same to Lady Macartney, and to accept of my best wishes and thanks yourself. Please to remember me to the other members of Legation.

"I remain,

"My dear Sir Halliday,

"Yours sincerely,

"TSENG."

"PEKING, April 26th, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"I was much pleased to receive your long and interesting letter by last mail. I have taken note of all the points referred to, and will bring up the questions in due time before the Yamen. It will, therefore, be impossible to discuss them at present, but you will doubtless hear from me by and by regarding some of them, and respecting others the Yamen will doubtless issue orders. The various items to which you call my attention are all important. Before this letter reaches you, you will doubtless have heard of Kingpole's death at Shanghai on March 14th. This is a great blow to us all. You know how serious his illness was, and his death did not take us altogether by surprise. Nevertheless we feel his loss. I am happy to say that the Marchioness is on the whole fairly well, notwithstanding all that she has endured of mental and bodily suffering and anxiety during Kingpole's long illness. The rest of the family are in their usual health.

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"I observe the article in the *Asiatic Quarterly* has been much discussed, and apparently we have not heard the last of it. I had it translated into Chinese by one of the English students of the Tung wen Kwan for private circulation. I hope it will do good. I observe, as you say, a much higher and better opinion of my country is being formed in the West. I hope matters will so progress here as to more than warrant this good opinion. I thank you for the No. of the review containing the article. Various friends have written in congratulatory terms.

"In regard to the portrait,¹ keep it until Mr. Hanbury's return. Should he nor any one else not wish to purchase it, then the best thing will be to have it forwarded here.

"I am sorry for the inconvenience the reduction in the pay of the Legation staff has occasioned and will occasion. The exchange is certainly very low, and there must be increased expenses this year on account of the Jubilee. The matter will be referred to the Yamen.

"I am glad you received the Imperial presents all right, and that you were pleased with them.

"We are very busy getting settled down in our own house. Extensive repairs and additions have had to be made. We hope soon to have all these completed. I had to pay a visit to the Western tombs after the return of the Emperor.

"I don't think the journey did me any harm. I returned just in time to receive my family on their arrival here. I shall always be glad to hear from you, and to have the free expressions of your opinions upon all subjects of interest affecting China and her external relations. I shall always be willing to do whatever I can to advance the best interests of my country.

"Etc.,

"TSĒNG."

"MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY, PEKING, June 25th, 1887.

"I have to thank you for your long, kind, and interesting letter of 29th April. Accept of my thanks for your sincere condolence in the severe blow to our happiness in the death of dear little Kingpole. We were rejoicing in the hope of his speedy restoration to health, when suddenly untoward symptoms supervened and carried him off, to our

¹ Portrait of Marquis Tsēng, by Knighton Warren, in Royal Academy of 1886.

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great grief. The Marchioness is slowly recovering from the blow. The removal to Peking and the distraction of getting the house in order have diverted her mind from the sad theme, but ever and anon memorials of the dear departed child are cropping up. Your sympathy is a solace to us.

"I had a letter from Sir Rutherford Alcock regarding his reply to the article. His letter was full of expressions of respect for China and myself. I have not seen the review, only some notices in the newspapers, particularly one in the *Globe*, a clipping of which was sent to me.

"I am glad to read such good accounts of the two Armstrong cruisers. It is very curious that the German Government should order cruisers of the Armstrong type. There is no doubt Great Britain is the country *par excellence* for naval architecture as well as for many other things. China has, I think, seen the last of German-built war vessels.

"Etc.,
"TSÉNG."

"PEKING, February 12th, 1888.

"MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"To-day is our Chinese New Year's Day. The 16th December French mail yesterday brought us those delightful and beautiful photographs which you and Lady Macartney have been so kind as to send us as a souvenir of past friendship and an earnest of the future. My wife and daughters join me in kindest regards; best thanks and all good wishes to you and Lady Macartney.

"We are getting through the winter, which until a fortnight ago has been unusually mild. We had a good fall of snow and since then the weather has been quite cold. I feel the cold a good deal in going into the Palace so early in the morning. I am happy to say, however, that I retain pretty fair health; now and again I catch a chill, and my stomach and liver are for a day or two out of sorts.

"We have been much occupied with the Telegraphic Convention. We were not satisfied with its provisions, and consequently did not ratify it. We think the time has come for China to demand some royalty. A new Convention is proposed. We shall see how it fares by and by.

"At present we have under discussion the etiquette to be observed in calling, etc., between secretaries and first inter-

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preters of the Legations and the Yamen Secretaries. It is not all plain sailing at the Yamen, and one does not always get one's own way with one's colleagues.

"The continued indisposition of H.I.H. Prince Chun has been a sad stumbling-block in the path of the Admiralty Board. The inundation of the Yellow River has been a serious disaster.

"Socially we are on the best of terms with the foreign Legations. Every Friday afternoon my wife has a reception for ladies. We have been to some of the social gatherings held during the winter. We met Mr. Currie of the Tientsin Customs, who is, you know, the grandson of Dr. Macrae. He was in the Highland costume at Sir Robert Hart's fancy dress ball.

"I see by the Shanghai papers that H.E. Hsu tajen and suite from Berlin have arrived at Shanghai.

"Yours, etc.,

"TSENG.

"P.S.—Many thanks for the two illustrated papers just to hand."

"28 September, 1888.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,

"I avail myself of the comparative leisure which a short sojourn in this charming place, endeared to me from your having once resided here, to present to you and Her Excellency the Marchioness my own and Lady Macartney's sincere congratulations on the marriage of the Lady Blossom. I wish her much happiness, and cannot but believe that she will be very happy in the new relation which she has contracted, for having been such a good daughter, it cannot but occur that she will be an equally good wife. Here and everywhere I go—I hear nothing but the praises of you and your family, the de Bunsens and the Snowdoun Henrys being particularly desirous of hearing of your welfare; and here I must fulfil a promise I some time ago gave the latter, to present to you and the Marchioness their affectionate remembrances.

"For some time back—indeed, ever since the beginning of the year—we have been much occupied at the Legation by the question of Sikkim and that of the exceptional and objectionable treatment of Chinese subjects residing in the Australian Colonies. With regard to the former, the policy pursued by the Government at Peking seems to me to have

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been wanting in precision, and the reputation and status of China suffered in consequence. It appears to me that China ought either to have supported or repressed the action of her vassal. The Thibetans held that Sikhim belonged to them, and holding this opinion, they were perfectly logical in refusing to retire from Lingtoo. If the Yamen were of the same opinion, why did they instruct the Chinese resident at Lhasa to recommend the Thibetans to evacuate Sikhim, and if it were otherwise, why did they permit their vassal to invade the country? This want of consistency on the part of China has given rise to much misapprehension in Europe, and led people either to question her sincerity or her power to make her behests obeyed. If China be sincere, asked they, why does she allow her vassal to make war on a friendly Power? And if she cannot make herself obeyed, is not that a proof that the Thibetans repudiate her claim to suzerainty? China's indecision has produced its natural result. The English have taken the matter into their own hands and are acting as if China has no position in Thibet. Three days ago *The Times* announced the fact that the British troops had at last assumed the offensive, attacked the Thibetans in Sikhim, driven them out of the Jelalapla Pass, and were then pursuing them through the Chumbi Valley, which, as you doubtless know, is on the Thibetan side of the mountains. I am intensely grieved at the turn things have taken. For, even though it should produce no bad effects on friendly relations existing between China and England, it will not fail to deal a terrible blow to China's claim to suzerainty over Thibet. Corea is falling away from her, Tonquin is lost, Burmah—for which your Excellency fought so well—is gone, and Thibet is going and will go, unless a stronger and more intelligible policy be pursued.

"The policy of the Government with reference to the status of Chinese subjects residing in foreign countries is not less to be deplored than the policy adopted with regard to China's tributaries. In London we had denounced the discriminating legislation applied to Chinese subjects in British Columbia, and had even obtained the abrogation of the law that made them outcasts whom any one might tread upon. Encouraged by the success which had attended our efforts, we had commenced a campaign against the laws enacted against Chinese immigrants in Australia.

"The English Government had acknowledged the objectionable nature of these laws. Everything was going on well when the Chinese Minister in Washington concluded a

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treaty authorising the exceptional treatment which had been the 'head and front' of our complaints. This induced the Australians to hope that a similar treaty might be negotiated on their account, and to compel the British Government to make the attempt, the people in Australia were encouraged by the authorities to make the demonstrations against Chinese of which I do not doubt Your Excellency has already heard. At first Lord Salisbury seems to have been unwilling to ask the Chinese Government to do what he would not dare to ask an European Power to do ; but at last so great was the pressure brought on him by the Australians, he consented to order Sir John Walsham to open pourparlers in Peking. I was in hopes that the Yamen would decline to entertain this demand ; but now we learn by a telegram from the Yamen that not only had negotiations been commenced, but that an Agreement had been concluded and was just awaiting the ratification of the British Government.

"I scarcely think that the Australians will accept the arrangement, and hope they will not, for that will relieve the Yamen from an engagement which I cannot but consider as a mistake. If foreign countries will not accord to Chinese subjects the same rights they give to Japanese, Malays, and the lowest specimens of the human race, let us protest against it ; but never, never let it be said that we have consented to their being treated differently from the subjects of other countries. China will never receive the respect and consideration to which she is entitled until she makes it evident that she respects herself, and no nation will consider that she knows what becomes a great nation as long as her ministers set their signatures to such ignominious agreements as those that have recently been concluded at Washington and Peking.

"Yours, etc.,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"PEKING, March 20th, 1889.

"MY DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"I received your most welcome and most interesting letter of September the 28th towards the end of the year by the overland courier. My wife and myself accept with much pleasure the cordial congratulations which you and Lady Macartney have presented to us on the marriage of our daughter, Blossom. The young couple live with us, so

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that we have gained a son-in-law and not lost a daughter. We hope this very pleasant arrangement may long continue. We were all so much pleased to hear of the birth of a son to yourself and Lady Macartney. You have now two sons and a daughter, and I can well believe, as you say, that they are 'all of them exceedingly fine children.' I am happy to say that we are all in the enjoyment of perfect health at the present time, and I hope this letter will find you all in an equally happy condition.

"In regard to the portrait, if no opportunity should occur of disposing of it, I think you might take advantage of any good chance to send it out to me here.

"Since first writing the above over two months ago, I have received three more letters from you, dated 23rd and 30th November and 7th December. You mention having received the engraving representing Her Majesty's Drawing Room. I have no doubt we shall find it an interesting souvenir. I desire to thank you for all the trouble and care you have taken in the matter, in having had it so carefully packed and forwarded. I have no doubt the box will reach me in good condition after the opening of the river. We shall be very glad to have the photographs of yourself and your family, which you have so kindly forwarded in the box.

"I have received the memorandum of the disbursements made in connection with the box. I observe these amount to £10 10s., and that Messrs. McGregor, Gow & Co. have very kindly refused to accept of any charges for freight. I have now much pleasure in enclosing an order for the amount on the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, London.

"I was pleased to hear that your son George had obtained an appointment in Burmah, and although he has not been able to obtain an appointment in the Chinese service, I observe with much pleasure that he has been acting at Sikkim as interpreter between our Thibetan resident and the Indian authorities. In this matter I am glad he has found his services useful so early, and there is no doubt the Indian Government will find his services equally valuable on the frontier of Yunnan in any negotiations that may take place with our authorities in that province. I observe Mr. Baber proceeds to Bhamo after the business at Gnatong is finished. Kindly remember me to George when you write to him.

"I observe that Lew tajen has been to Paris for the holidays and that you joined him there. You will have heard



SIR HALLIDAY'S CHILDREN
1. HALLIDE JEANNE MACARTNEY
2. KENNETH HALLIDAY MACARTNEY (NOW R.N.)
3. DONALD HALLIDAY MACARTNEY
4. DOUGLAS HALLIDAY MACARTNEY



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with pleasure of his appointment as Governor of Kwang-tung.

"You speak of Mr. Kung's illness, and afterwards of his recovery. We learned afterwards by telegram of his death, and the newspapers have brought us full particulars of his decease.

"Having thus briefly referred at the outset to the more or less private matters contained in your letters, I must now address myself to the various items of official matters dealt with so wisely, so well, and so exhaustively in your communications. In order that all the facts might be before the Yamen, I had the official parts of two of your letters translated and handed to their Excellencies the Ministers, my colleagues, by whom they have been somewhat fully discussed. Speaking of Lew tajen's retirement, I should have said that I have noted what you say about His Excellency on the expiry of his term proposing to recommend you to the favourable consideration of the Board. The case has not yet come before the Yamen, but will shortly do so, when I shall do all I can to meet your wishes. I quite understand the very serious fall in the value of silver. Lew tajen had written privately to me to recommend you to the new minister now to be appointed. This, of course, I shall do with the utmost pleasure. Beyond this the other questions of rank and emoluments are not altogether free from difficulty. We have no first secretaries of legations; that post being reserved for embassies, of which at present we have none. Your appointment depending, as it does, upon the will of the minister for the time being, renders any action of mine in your favour extremely difficult. As I have, however, said, you may depend upon my doing all that lies within my power.

"In regard to Sikkim, I fear I cannot tell you anything you do not already know. We found great difficulty in the matter of Thibet, which acts and is acted towards by us as a spoiled child. The distance even from Szechuen, the paucity of our troops on our western frontier, the hostility of the Lamas, the difficulty of the commissariat, all tend to tie our hands. We were debarred from acting in any way from the Indian side, as we should have appeared to the Thibetans to have been in league with the Indian Government. We asked for delay to enable us to recall our resident and replace him with a more efficient one. This necessitated much loss of time on account of the vast distances to traverse, and the want of telegraphic com-

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unication. We are glad to see that the new resident has apparently brought his influence to bear on the Lamas, and has induced them since the last discussions failing to be willing to talk of terms with the Indian Government. As the resident is now in direct communication with the Indian officials, we hope all the difficulties will be speedily and satisfactorily settled. The Tibetans must withdraw their claim to Sikkim. It of course formerly belonged to them, but it has now for so long a time been under Indian protection, that it would be futile in our trying to secure it for them. The Indian Government will never consent to this, not even the recognition, as in the case of Burma, of our suzerain rights, which our resident appears to have been trying to obtain, and which appears to have been the cause of the negotiations at first being broken off. Mr. James H. Hart was diverted at Hong-Koang on his way from Europe to assist our resident, whom we have ordered by wire not to leave Gnatong. The snow in the high mountain passes has hitherto prevented Mr. Hart from getting to the frontier. At the beginning the trouble seems to have grown up out of the Macaulay Mission, which seems to have alarmed the Tibetans. At first it looked merely like an attempt to stop the intercourse proposed by this mission. We had no power to compel the Lamas not to invade the territory. The European Government did not clearly understand our enormous difficulties, and, of course, we were unwilling to show our hand.

"In reference to Corea, that telegram from Tientsin announcing the secret treaty between Russia and Corea, by which the former undertook to protect the latter, was, as you rightly judge, without foundation. It seems to have arisen out of the frontier regulations of trade. We are, like you, never free from uneasiness respecting the position of China in Corea. Your views in regard to this subject meet with my hearty approval. Corea must at all hazards be safeguarded, otherwise we shall never be free from trouble. Our national safety demands this, and not alone our suzerain rights which cannot be gainsayed. We ought boldly to assume the responsibility for the country, and when the memorial of the King regarding representatives to be sent to the West was forwarded to the Emperor, I strongly urged the Government, but in vain, to publish it in the *Gazette* as an official acknowledgment of the dependence of Corea upon China. I agree with you that there must be no more Corean envoys and no more treaties with

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foreign Powers unless ratified at Peking. On the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the danger to Corea, not to speak of China, resulting from the rapidity with which Russia can concentrate troops on her northern frontier, must be very great. Already we have our eye, as well as Japan, on this railway project, and we hope to do all we can to prepare ourselves against that time. Although our hands are tied by the Li-Ito Treaty as far as relates to Japan, I do not doubt but that a treaty of amity could be entered into with Japan, in which both empires would come to an understanding for mutual help, etc., in the event of northern aggression upon Corea. I notice what you say about the Corean loan sought to be floated in the West. I notice in the papers that Judge Dewey has left Corea for good. I hope this move will bring peace to some extent to the distracted kingdom.

"With reference to the treatment of Chinese abroad, you are doubtless aware of the action taken by the Yamen in relation both to the American and the Australian immigration questions. It was a telegram from Tientsin to *The Times* stating that our Government had refused to ratify the U.S. treaty which brought about the hasty and inconsiderate Exclusion Bill. All we said was that we objected to some of the clauses, especially to those added by the Senate, and which we wished reconsidered, our main object being to obtain time to permit the Presidential election to pass. We, therefore, wired to our Minister at Washington to reconsider certain points. Now that the election is over, we entertain the hope that the Exclusion Act will be cancelled, and it is hinted to us that if we asked for it we should obtain it. Our Government will most likely not ask for the repeal of this unjust legislation, but allow the good sense of the American people, now that the heat of the election is over, to bring their legislation into accordance with justice and former agreements.

"You call my attention to the question of extradition. There is considerable difficulty felt at Hong-Kong regarding this subject, and the difficulty is very much increased by the near proximity of Hong-Kong to China. There is no question of the importance of the subject. We shall see what more can be done.

"The question of Consuls is another important question. Action should certainly be taken to have at least the abstract right recognised. The subject was brought up in the French Tungking Treaty, but the French fell back upon

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the precedent of Great Britain in refusing us the right, and made our having Consuls in Tungking depend upon our granting right of residence to French Consuls at the provincial capitals of Kwangsi and Yunnan, instead of a *quid pro quo* for the Consuls to be established by treaty, and now actually being carried out at Lungchen and Mengtse. This latter concession was gained from my colleagues during my absence one day from the Yamen by indisposition. I shall try to keep this subject also before the Yamen.

"When the subject of the new minister comes up to replace Lew tajen I shall, of course, do my utmost to secure a first-class man for such an important post. The French Minister has been moving in the matter of securing a special minister for France; but this is out of the question, the French trade being comparatively trifling, and their chief business being of an ecclesiastical character, much of the prestige and influence of which has been shown by the assertion of Germany and Italy of their right to protect the Catholic missionaries of their own nationalities.

"In regard to Corea, I might further add that one great difficulty lies in the King's heart, which inclines more to Russia than to China. The influence during the past few years brought to bear upon the kingdom has all been pro-Russian, as you can readily understand. A little incident, which occurred at Tokio on the occasion of our minister there, Li shu chang, giving a grand banquet to the Japanese Princes, the ministers of the Government and foreign representatives and their suites, in honour of the Imperial marriage, shows which way the current runs. On the occasion in question the guests were requested to come in full dress. All came as desired, except the Corean Minister to Japan. And still further in the middle of the banquet the Corean Minister said he was sick and left the table. These two little incidents, trifling in themselves, indicate to us that Corea is no longer so obedient and respectful as before. You know the disease, the difficult question is to know what remedies to employ to cure it.

"In regard to the delimitation of the China-Burmese frontier nothing as yet has been done.

"I have written you at some length in regard to these questions. You must understand, however, that they are my personal views, and have not the weight of the Government, Cabinet, or Yamen, and therefore unlike your Queen's Speech, which is the embodiment of the views of the Government.

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"I am sending Mr. Chang an order for a sum of money, from which I have requested him to hand you the amount of my indebtedness to you.

"Regarding the Imperial marriage, the Imperial banquet with presents from the Empress given to the foreign ministers at the Tsungli Yamen, I need say very little; the newspapers will have given you pretty full accounts. It is enough to remark that the U.S. Minister felt compelled to return the presents for himself, but on our representation to Washington they have been accepted for the Government, and a Bill will be introduced into Congress to enable the Government to accept of them.

"You will have learned all, too, about the Yellow River, and the consequent distress in several of the provinces, regarding which I am happy to see that you have been exerting yourself in letters to the newspapers and Lord Mayor, and that the liberality of your great and noble people and others is being most generously exercised. We are most grateful for the help thus extended to our suffering people.

"You will also have read of the big fire in the Palace, by which the three gates, Tai ho, Cheng tu, and Chao teh have been burned. This event occurred just before the great gap in the Yellow River was closed. The contractors estimate that this reconstruction will cost eight millions of taels, and the wood will not be of such good quality as in the old buildings. This affair gives much trouble to my Board (the Board of Revenue)

"Yours ever sincerely,

"TSÉNG."

The first object to which the increased revenue obtained under the new opium convention was applied was the creation of a modern navy, and extensive orders were given to the Armstrong firm and others. At first the idea in Peking was to divide the orders between English and German ship-builders, and Li Hung Chang, for reasons of his own, manifested a preference for the latter. But the superiority of the Armstrong cruisers was incontestable, and the Marquis Tséng wrote in one of the letters just quoted that he hoped that China had "seen the last of German-built war vessels." China got more than ships from this country. She obtained the services of a very capable English naval officer, Captain

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W. M. Lang, who took a cruiser and a torpedo-boat out to China in 1887, and remained there some years organising, or rather endeavouring to organise, the new Imperial Navy. The two following letters, written by this officer during his first journey out, contain some interesting matter :—

“H.I.M.S. *Ching Yuen*, COLOMBO,

“DEAR SIR HALLIDAY, “October 30th, 1887.

“I have not been so successful with towing the torpedo-boat as I had expected. On the passage between Aden and this she towed very well up to within a distance of four hundred miles, when the fastening for the wire rope dragged out—that is, the wire rope round the boat—and we had to give up towing, and she had to make use of her own steam. I have had to get it repaired here at a cost of about £7. I hope we shall be able to take her on all right from this. Having no hold whatever in the water aft, she steers very badly in a beam sea when in tow, yawing about a great deal; with a head sea she steers very well. In the most moderate sea not any of this class of boat could bring an effective fire to bear with their bow tubes, and a vessel having a command of sixteen knots would run away from and play with any number of them in a moderate sea, providing the weather was clear and the vessel was well armed with rapid-firing and machine guns. As far as I can see, I do not think we could have left England at a more favourable time of the year for towing the torpedo-boat. I forgot to say that night-time would favour the torpedo-boat, providing the vessel attacked had no electrical night sighting.

“The ships are very fit all round, and when we get on board the full complement, the guns and all machinery will be in good working order.

“I hope we shall be able to go on to-morrow morning early. I received a telegram from the Viceroy this morning to say that if we could not arrive at Taku before December, we were to winter at Amoy.

“I shall push to get up, but think it is almost impossible. We could do it easily had we not the torpedo-boat; she has already delayed us at least six or seven days.

“Please give my kind regards to H. E., the minister, and to Lord Li. Accept the same yourself.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. M. LANG.

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"I wish you would come out and assist in building up the navy; it will be a grand work for China. A really strong navy will strengthen her hands everywhere greatly."

"H.I.M.S. *Ching Yuen*, SINGAPORE,

"November 16th, 1887.

"DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"During the voyage from Colombo to Singapore we got into a beam sea, and the torpedo-boat tore away all the towing fittings without injuring the boat in any way; but we shall have to get another coir hawser here, and place some other fittings on the boat for towing. Torpedo-boats without any keel or dead wood in the stern are about the worst description of boats in the world to tow, having no hold in the water astern; they yaw about most terribly in a beam, quarterly or following sea. She had to steam about six hundred miles, as it took us some time to make another towing fitting for her on board. Three-inch wire broke in less than eighteen hours when towing her in any sea. In smooth water she tows very well, and I fancy she will do fairly well in a head sea providing it is not too heavy. We had to wait two days in Colombo owing to reported bad weather about the south of Ceylon, and by what we saw of the heavy cross-swell when we did get there, I think it was fortunate that we delayed our sailing.

"I have now given her very strong fittings, and I hope to succeed in towing her to Hong-Kong by Palawan passage, as the monsoon will prevent my taking the direct route. Everything so far has been satisfactory. The behaviour of the crew of the torpedo-boat has been all that one could desire, and they have had some very rough, uncomfortable work. These boats do roll so terribly. I am now going to ask you to kindly arrange to pay the wives and relations of the men their half-pay for January and February, which will be deducted from the salary when they are discharged. You will have paid the relatives half-pay up to the 8th of December. I now beg you will kindly pay them up to the 8th day of February. It would be hard to leave the poor wives without any money, and the men are deserving of all that we can do for them.

"I hope to leave this to-morrow morning for Hong-Kong. It has taken us a long time to coal in the Roads

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here; we could not go alongside on account of our spars; I would not risk damaging them.

"With kind regards,

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"W. M. LANG.

"P.S.—Please give my kind regards to the minister and Lord Li, also to your son. The squadron creates a sensation wherever we call. The Chinese merchants are especially proud of them."

Captain Lang remained four or five years in the Chinese service, and when he left it was believed to be in an efficient state. He was closely associated with Admiral Ting, whom Lang described as being "as brave as any man who ever stepped a quarter-deck." He also declared that the Chinese sailor was of the material to make as good a man-of-war's man as any race in the world. Of the officers generally he spoke less favourably, and he could not be expected to know that the arsenals were ill-supplied, and that money, ear-marked for the navy, went elsewhere. Captain Lang returned to England, and the general opinion was that China possessed a navy in something more than name.

During the same period the Japanese Navy was being organised by another English naval officer, Admiral Ingles, and in this case, although rose-coloured reports were absent, the progress was real and thorough. When the war came in 1894 between the two Eastern neighbours, the Chinese Navy, after a sharp and not wholly inglorious struggle, succumbed to the Japanese. Admiral Ting, sooner than surrender, committed suicide, and the young Chinese Navy either ceased to exist or passed into the possession of the Japanese.

It will be convenient to give here an account of the attempt made to revive it. No sooner had peace been concluded at Shimonoseki in 1895, than the Chinese began to take steps

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to create a new navy in place of that which had disappeared, and it speaks well for their constancy that they turned to their former friend, Captain Lang, who had recently been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. At first he refused on the ground of ill-health, but in a characteristic letter written at the end of 1895, he said : "I must tell you that I have hesitated a little owing to my impression that the Chinese were not in earnest, and I am not convinced that the Chinese are in earnest at this moment, or that they honestly desire my return. If I could be convinced that the Chinese are in real earnest regarding the reorganisation of their navy, and that they particularly want and solicit my return, and threaten to invite a German or Frenchman if they cannot have me, then I should have to reconsider my decision."

In writing to Sir Andrew Noble, the distinguished chairman of the Armstrong Company, on the subject of this letter, Sir Halliday said :—

"RICHMOND HOUSE,
"49, PORTLAND PLACE, W.,

"December 6, 1895.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"Many thanks to you for giving me the perusal of Lang's letter to you, which I now return.

"You ask me my opinion of it. My reply is, that there are too many 'ifs' in it. He says that he has made up his mind not to accept the appointment, but adds that should a multitude of ifs or contingencies converge, he would be willing to reconsider his decision. He is not convinced that the Chinese really intend reconstructing their navy, or if they are, that they would like him to assist them in doing it!! Does he think they do not know that their fleet has been destroyed, or that they can dispense with having another? And if they do not want him, why did they apply for him? I understand that the Tsungli Yamén, without its having been suggested to them, applied for him by name. If they did not want him, why did they apply for him? If he could be convinced of their sincerity in these matters, and if they threatened to confide to a German or a Frenchman

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the task of reorganising the fleet, in the event of his declining the appointment, then he would reconsider his decision not to accept it. What absurdity it is to consider they would make such a *threat!* Why, they would just go and do it, without saying another word about the matter. Again, Lang does not think he will be strong enough for the task for some months yet. This ought to decide the Admiralty; for, if England is to have any say in the reconstruction of the Chinese Navy, and if the building of the ships that will be required is not to go to other countries, they must give the Chinese another officer *at once*. It is said that Russian officers are to be given the training of some Chinese officers for the Army, and it is known that German officers are actually drilling a force at Nanking. From the Army to the Navy is but a step, and if we do not act, and that quickly, it will be taken; and we shall have to lament another blow given, given by our own stupidity, to our prestige in the Far East.

"To have the necessary weight in the Councils of China, the man selected should be an officer of distinction and an Admiral in the British service, a man of tact, patience, energy, and self-control. But it is not one officer that will be required, but several, and those assisted by competent petty officers. These, however, would not be wanted at once; for a programme for a navy which would be adequate for the wants of the country will have to be drawn up and explained to the Chinese Admiralty by the British officer charged with the reconstruction.

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

Admiral Lang did not go out to China a second time, but the following letter shows how deeply interested he was in China's getting a homogeneous navy. It also throws some light on the causes of China's discomfiture in the Japanese War:—

"H.M. Fleet Reserve, DEVONPORT,

"DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"January 30th, 1896.

"I have only just this moment heard that Sir N. O'Conor will not be in town before the 6th of February, about which time he wishes to see me. I shall then have to come up on duty by order of the Admiralty.

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"From my small acquaintance with China, I am much impressed by your sound views of that country, and the policy we should follow.

"There is but little doubt a blow would be struck at our prestige in China if any but a British naval officer were to have the position of organiser of the new Chinese Navy.

"I have no desire to return to China, and would only do so out of patriotism, which is the view taken by the Admiralty. You make mention of a scheme having been drawn up by the British Admiralty for the reorganisation of the Chinese Navy and Coast Defence. What do the British Admiralty know about the requirements of China?

"My idea is that the British nation, including the naval officers, have not made a very close study of China, its people, or its requirements; a people so differently constituted from any other on the face of the globe require close study; but they are certainly attractive when you know them and *they know you*. In the Viceroy's Yamen at Tientsin may be found a scheme of mine for Coast Defence, and also for the composition of a homogeneous navy.

"Most of my suggestions were shelved. I was told they would cost money, and that there was then only sufficient money to spend on the heterogeneous navy to keep it going! I was told by Li himself that I was ambitious, and that my great interest in the Chinese Navy was brought about by my desire to make a name for myself, that I was serving a conservative country, and that my desire for improvements must be curbed.

"It will be seen now that had China spent a few tens of thousands more on her fleet—not hundreds of thousands—and spent such judiciously upon her heterogeneous navy to keep it in good condition, the result of the battle of the Yalu would have been reversed. That I am quite certain of, and China would not then have had to pay millions and be disgraced into the bargain.

"I have much to talk to you about when we meet.

"It is quite clear to me what China must do to reorganise, but she must not be rushed—if so, nothing will be done. I doubt if the great people in Peking are in favour of a navy.

"Building and training should be commenced on a solid basis without delay, and perfect method must be observed. The man who goes to organise must be above a suspicion of intrigue. He must keep his hands perfectly free from all rash negotiations. There must be, as I suggested on a

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previous occasion, heads of different departments of the Admiralty, and they must be held responsible for their own departments, under the supervision and help of the European organiser. Whatever money can be spared by the country should be laid apart one year in advance, and an estimate for work to be done made up to this amount. What splendid material China has to hand !

"I have no fear for the personnel if properly trained and disciplined. See what discipline did at Wei-Hai-Wei, and probably there was very little left of this good commodity. I must not take up any more of your time. I have not seen you since all the trouble came upon poor China.

"With kind regards to Lady Macartney and yourself,

"Yours very truly,

"W. M. LANG."

There is one more letter on the same subject :—

"H.M. Fleet Reserve, DEVONPORT,

"DEAR SIR HALLIDAY,

"September 16th, 1896.

"Thank you for your kind letter with enclosure. I have replied to the Chinese Minister in Germany.

"It is a sad pity to see China ordering ships at random without any thought of homogeneity. I spoke to Li Chung Tang upon this subject, and he perceived the mistake they are making at Peking. Li begged me to draw up a scheme for the organisation of a navy, which I am now engaged upon in my spare time.

"I am very much afraid the Chinese are drifting into making the same blunders over again. If they are ever to have a navy, they must start with a sound policy and build up a good solid foundation.

"From what I can gather from the Admiralty, no scheme for the organisation of a navy for the Chinese is being drawn up. They seem to know nothing about it at the Admiralty.

"My visit to London was such a flying one that I had no time to come and see you. I would much like to have had a chat with you upon the subject of the navy. Admiral Tracey wrote saying the Viceroy would like to see me, and so I came up to London and had a long chat with him.

"I am afraid the Chinese are much under the influence of Russia at present. Before I return to China, the Chinese

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must promise to adopt a good scheme for the organisation and reconstruction of their navy, and as you rightly remark, the European officer who goes to China must have colleagues and not be their servant.

“With kind regards,
“Yours very truly,
“W. M. LANG.”

Early in 1896 Sir Halliday received a letter from a Chinese official at Tientsin, Mr. Pau, who had been attached to the Legation in London for three years, and who now wrote,

“Under special instructions from H.E. Wang, the Viceroy of Chihli, who also had the pleasure of knowing you in former years, on a matter concerning our navy, which is of great importance to our Government, and for the successful achievement of which I beg to engage your good offices, knowing beforehand that the affair could not be entrusted to more able hands.”

The writer then went on to suggest that Sir Halliday should request the Admiralty, through the Foreign Office, to lend China “one naval lieutenant and one chief boatswain to train Chinese cadets,” and in conclusion expressed his conviction that he would be able to remove any irritation in Whitehall at the former unfortunate friction between the Chinese authorities and Admiral Lang. To this letter Sir Halliday made the following characteristic reply :—

“49 PORTLAND PLACE, LONDON,
“*March 27, 1896.*

“MY DEAR MR. PAU,

“You were right in presuming that, though no correspondence has passed between us for so many years, the fact of our having been colleagues is still kindly remembered by me. I can assure you that the souvenir I retain of the days when we were colleagues in London is too pleasant to me ever to permit of its being effaced by lapse of time; and I congratulate myself on the occasion that has led to our friendship being now renewed.

“To come to the subject of your letter of the 25th of

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January, please be so good as to present my best respects to the Emperor and inform His Excellency of the glad tidings I experienced on learning that he was about to take steps with the view of reorganising the Chinese Navy. Also that I shall assume it to be a duty that as soon as possible will be done to the full extent of my poor abilities, in the accomplishment of that great work. And I hope that the result of this may be the raising in the minds of the Party which a disastrous war has left us one that will be adequate to the requirements of China and on which the country may safely rely for the protection of its interests.

I trust to arrive at some result in a short time of paramount importance to convenience in the right way and with a clear prospect of the magnificence and glorious nature of the undertaking. In the early winter it is now proposed to proceed China in order to ascertain the commandant who, respect to the one destroyed by the Japanese. It must be a navy which will be the outcome of much thought and based upon balance, not one like the former which had rather grown up than was created, one that has not been composed of heterogeneous and untrained elements, but one which as soon as put to the test of real warfare. That sea navy must be an Imperial and not a Free Naval Corporation. It must be constituted according to a preconceived plan, based on the probable requirements of the country, and, if possible, at least as strong as that of any other naval Power situated, or likely to be situated in the Far East. As such a navy will require a great deal of money, it will probably not be possible for China to carry out such an extensive programme all at once as more than it would be for any other country. Its creation and development must be a gradual process, carried out in accordance with a well-considered plan, drawn up by thoroughly competent persons; and until such a plan or scheme shall have been elaborated it would be folly and a waste of money on the part of China to order or purchase a single ship.

Please inform Wang Ta-jen that, though the English Government are largely increasing their navy and are themselves short of officers for the ships they are building, there will be no difficulty in getting them to lend China such a staff as will be required for the reorganisation of the Imperial Navy. This they will do in spite of the irritation felt by the Admiralty at the courtesy shown to Captain Lang. For the British Government are really alarmed at the weakness of China, and are most desirous of assisting her to reorgan-

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ise her naval forces so as to have a really strong fleet. A short time ago, the Marquis of Salisbury, speaking to Kung Ta-jên, expressed the fear that if this were not done immediately, China would, in the course of five or six years, have to face greater misfortunes than she had ever experienced up to the present time.

"Soon after the conclusion of the war, Kung Ta-jên asked Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to assist China in drawing up a naval programme which would embrace ships of the various necessary denominations, schools, docks, and, in fact, all requirements necessary to make China a Power capable of defending herself at sea. To this Lord Kimberley consented, and for some time past the Admiralty have had the elaboration of such a scheme in preparation, and it must now be approaching completion. Possibly China will not be able to find all the funds at once that will be required for its execution; but that will not be necessary. I need not tell you the work would extend over several years. With such a plan for their guidance, the Chinese Government will be in a position to undertake the building of ships and the establishment of all the requisite naval institutions without any fear of again falling into the mistakes which, in the last war, brought so many disasters on the country, and for a time even seemed to imperil the stability of the dynasty and the integrity of the Empire.

"Being very much occupied preparing to go and meet Li Tsung-tang at Port Said, I am forced to have recourse to the hand of my son, who is home on leave at present, in transcribing my draft of this letter.

"Please be so good as to inform the Viceroy that I shall lose no time in engaging the officers he has requested me to procure for him, but that owing to the difficulty of obtaining men thoroughly competent to give instruction on naval subjects which would be up to date, there may be some delay in finding them.

"With kind regards to you from myself and my son,

"I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The outcome of this correspondence was that China was granted the loan of the services of Commander Dundas, R.N.,

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a very capable officer, who went out to China thoroughly imbued with the importance of his task and full of energy for its accomplishment. He looked into everything for himself, and he saw that the money assigned by Government was duly spent; for instance, that ships were painted and shells properly filled. But instead of receiving the support of his Chinese colleagues he was thwarted at every turn, and the Peking authorities quarrelling among themselves, or madly hoping to get rid of foreigners altogether by the Boxer movement, turned a deaf ear to his requests. He was breaking his bodily and mental strength only to find that the Chinese were still the devotees of "make-believe," or the grand sham.

I believe the following story of the protest made against his useless thoroughness and honesty by his sailor servant rests on a good foundation. This man was very much distressed at his master's method of working, and at his neglect of his opportunities to make money out of his work. One day he could contain himself no longer, and apostrophised the captain somewhat as follows: "Why you work so hard? Why you kill yourself with worry? You no makee money. Melican man before your time, he no workee so, he makee much money. Old Chinee navee all the samee." Just as Lang had been thwarted, so was Dundas. He was thinking of the efficiency and glory of the new Chinese Navy. His Chinese colleagues were thinking only of a "squeeze," and he stood in their way. So it happened one day, after drinking his tea, he strangely sickened and died. The only way to create a Chinese Navy is to have none but British officers to organise it. Of share in past failures the Chinese seamen, at least, may be acquitted.

With the Japanese war which formed the central incident in the successive creations of a Chinese Navy, Sir Halliday had nothing to do directly. He felt very much not merely the defeat, but the ignominious display of the Chinese

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during the struggle in 1894-5, more especially at Port Arthur. But he was not altogether unprepared for the loss of China's position and prestige in Corea, because he had done his best to expose the weak and self-contradictory policy of the Chinese Government in that State, a policy which he used to declare it would never have followed if the Marquis Tsêng had lived. He blamed Li Hung Chang exclusively for the whole fiasco, first for having signed the Convention with the Marquis Ito; secondly, for having neglected to make adequate preparations for war. China, he often said, made a better fight of it in 1860 against England and France than she did in 1894 against Japan alone. Li Hung Chang, he declared, must be either in his dotage, or dulled to all sense of patriotism by his excessive cupidity.

There was one episode of a personal nature connected with the Japanese war, however, that must be related in some detail. Sir Halliday had many friends in the Press both Continental and British, and with a few of them whose discretion he trusted he would sometimes discuss a public matter with much freedom on the understanding that what he said, being personal and private, was not for publication. As a rule, these confidences were neither abused nor divulged. The following instance proved the exceptional case that established the rule. I will describe it exactly as Sir Halliday more than once narrated it to me.

In the autumn of the year 1894, whilst the Chino-Japanese campaign was passing through some of its most critical phases, Sir Halliday was residing at Brighton, coming up to the Legation five or six days a week. On 7th November, instead of proceeding to the Legation direct, he drove straight from Victoria to the Russian Chapel in Welbeck Street, to represent the Chinese Legation at the Memorial Service for the Emperor Alexander III, then recently deceased. The chapel is small, and the very select audience on this occasion was packed. Some minutes after

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his arrival Lord Rosebery, attended by Sir Thomas, now Lord, Sanderson entered the church, and Macartney used to tell me how in that audience of far more prominent people their eyes seemed at once to seek out him, and he felt instinctively that they had been talking about him. He asked himself the silent question, "What can it be?" If he came to any conclusion at the moment it was that some project of intervention between the belligerents might be in the air.

The service was performed and concluded. The assembly got up to depart, and then Sir Halliday saw Sir Thomas Sanderson edging his way through the throng towards where he stood. His instinct was thus proved correct, but what was the matter? Foreign Offices have curious ways of commencing negotiations, but certainly this beginning promised to prove an original departure from established precedent if the matter in debate was the peace of the Eastern World.

Sir Thomas's interrogation on reaching his side put an end to these suppositions. "Have you seen the morning papers?" "Only *The Times*, as I am living at Brighton, and have not yet been at the Legation," replied Sir Halliday. "Look at the *Morning Post*, and tell me at what time you will be free to see me at the Legation this afternoon." "I shall expect you at three."

On reaching the Legation, Sir Halliday Macartney sent for the *Morning Post*, and on opening the paper he saw to his astonishment in large type the heading, "Sir H. Macartney and Lord Rosebery." On reading the opening lines to the effect that he had given an interview to a German journalist, his first impression was that it was a piece of pure invention, as he never granted interviews; but on reflection, he remembered that he had had a conversation with the correspondent named, Baron von Bissing, some weeks before, and that much of what was published repre-

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sented his private convictions to which he had given utterance in a moment of confidence. But in one point the article was absolutely false and misleading. The correspondent had turned Macartney's views into a personal attack on Lord Rosebery, and by this perversion of his harmless personal opinions Macartney now found himself placed in a position of extreme difficulty and delicacy. An attack on the Prime Minister of a country by a member of a Legation established in that country is obviously a great and inexcusable offence, and Macartney realised at a glance the gravity of the position in which he was placed. The position was all the more uncomfortable because not long before Macartney had been brought into contact with Lord Rosebery in connection with the negotiations affecting Siam and the Shan States, and I know that he had then been very much impressed by the ability and clear vision of England's greatest statesman of the present day.

When Sir Thomas Sanderson called, Macartney explained the circumstances, assured him of his complete innocence in any aspersions cast on Lord Rosebery, and stated that he would write a correction to *The Times*. This letter was published on 9th November:—

"SIR HALLIDAY MACARTNEY AND THE 'KREUZ ZEITUNG.'

"*To the Editor of 'The Times.'*

"SIR,

"HOVE, November 7.

"Under the heading of "An Attack on Lord Rosebery by Sir Halliday Macartney," a translation from the *Kreuz Zeitung* of an article purporting to record what passed in the course of an interview which I recently gave to the London correspondent of that journal has appeared in many of the London and provincial papers.

"At the risk of appearing to give undue importance to the effect of such Lilliputian artillery as I could bring to

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bear on the Prime Minister, and though *The Times* was not amongst those who gave currency to the ridiculous statements, I desire that you will kindly allow me to make the necessary corrections through the medium of your columns.

"A former Prime Minister, commenting on the difficulties of drawing up the Queen's Speech, likened them to those of deftly dancing on a floor thickly strewn with pieces of red hot iron. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that, next to preparing a Queen's Speech, the task of correcting the account of a long conversation reproduced from memory, as this was, is one of the most difficult. So great is the danger, in weeding out the tares, of also rooting up the wheat.

"I do not wish to stickle about words, but, after making one important reservation and excepting certain palpable inaccuracies to which I shall presently allude, I accept Baron von Bissing's account of what took place at the interview I had with him as substantially representing my personal views on the situation at the time.

"I come now to the reservation—a very important one—inasmuch as it refers to what, had it been true, would have constituted 'the head and front of my offending.' I deny having cast aspersions on the policy of Lord Rosebery, or having uttered a single word of what is attributed to me concerning him and the present Government. To have done so, or to have expressed either approval or disapproval of the course pursued by the Prime Minister, would have been improper, if not impertinent, in any one in my position. Though the name of Lord Rosebery is made to run through the whole interview, it was only mentioned twice.

"Baron von Bissing opened the conversation by asking me what was my opinion on the subject of Lord Rosebery's recent action in the matter of the presentation of China's proposal for peace to the Powers. My answer was as direct as it could possibly have been. It was, that I had formed no opinion on Lord Rosebery's action; that, apart from the public utterances of his lordship, I knew nothing about the matter, and that even if I had it would have been incompatible with the principle of reserve I had always observed with regard to the action of Her Majesty's Government for me to express any opinion. These were the only occasions on which the name of Lord Rosebery was mentioned. In every other case where it occurs in the recital of the interview, and when the statement is not mythical altogether, it was said with reference to what I personally considered has

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been the action of the Treaty Powers collectively. In this way the whole effect of what I said has been *détourné* to the disadvantage of Lord Rosebery and his Government and its drift *dénaturé*. I drew no lesson from the incident of the Kow Shing, and it was M. de Bissing and not I who alluded to what occurred in the Bay of Siam, and neither of us said a word as to the British flag, under the present Government, being *une quantité négligeable*. That and my alleged amazement at the attitude of England towards the belligerents, the charge of Lord Rosebery's 'weakness and vacillation,' his 'sudden activity' and 'former policy of *laissez-faire*,' must all be relegated to the realms of pure invention.

"That the Powers could have prevented the war, that they ought to have prevented it—that I said, and I now repeat it as my personal opinion.

"It is my firm belief that most of them, and perhaps all, considered that Japan had no special mandate to act as schoolmaster to the King of Korea. Japan was but one of the Treaty Powers and had no superior right to force on him her reforms, and thus inflict on China, the acknowledged suzerain of Korea, the choice between abject humiliation and war. Yet this was what Japan did and with studied provocation. She had never sincerely desired a settlement; war was what she wanted, and would have at all costs; for this she had long been preparing. But ought a war brought about in such a manner to impose on the other Treaty Powers the onerous and costly duties of neutrality? Are nations to be obliged, for any caprice of an overweening ambition, to accept the position of neutrals with all curbs and hindrances to commerce which it brings with it? I trow not. In such a case, and that is the present one, remonstrance with the aggressor and a refusal to admit the right of search would constitute no infraction of the Law of Nations.

"It was, perhaps, the recognition of the justice of some such considerations which led Great Britain in October last, somewhat departing from her former traditions, not to interfere unless asked by both belligerents, to lay before the Powers, as Lord Rosebery on a recent occasion publicly said he did, the peace proposals which China had asked her to offer to Japan, and to ask the Powers whether in their opinion they could be taken as a basis of an honourable peace. We know the result of that *démarche* and await that of the next, which all must hope will be attended with a greater measure of success.

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"Thanking you, Mr. Editor, by anticipation for so kindly enabling me to contradict the most glaring of the statements imputed to me,

"I remain your obedient servant,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

Sir Thomas Sanderson's comment on this letter was that he had never known a man get himself out of a tight place with greater ability. We must hope that Lord Rosebery was equally satisfied.

Shortly after the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the restoration of Port Arthur by the Japanese under pressure from Russia, Germany, and France, arrangements were being made by the Powers for the nomination of special ambassadors to represent them at the coronation of the Emperor of Russia, fixed for the summer of 1896. China had arranged to be represented by her Minister at St. Petersburg, and the Russian Government had accepted his nomination. At this time Li Hung Chang had no appointment, and, despite his signing the treaty of peace, was in disgrace. The Emperor gave him on his return from Japan a cold reception, and Li's many enemies, envious of his long possession of the principal power in the country, hoped that his downfall would be final. The Empress Dowager was not indifferent to the fate of her old ally, and in the Russian Minister, Count Cassini, Li found a powerful champion. The draft of a treaty or convention which assigned Mongolia and Manchuria to Russia was agreed upon between them, and in return for this concession Count Cassini obtained his Government's permission to represent at Peking that Li Hung Chang ought to be nominated special Ambassador for the Moscow ceremonial. At that moment Russia's will was law in the Chinese capital, and Li was duly appointed.

Li sailed for Europe in the month of March, and under telegraphic instructions from Peking Sir Halliday left London to meet him at Suez to discuss various matters

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and to explain the European position. The intention of the Tsungli Yamen was that Sir Halliday should be attached to Li's embassy in order to prevent him exceeding the powers entrusted to him, for Li was distrusted by that body, and it was well known that Li's uppermost thought was to rehabilitate himself, even at the price of some hazardous expedient. Macartney sailed for Egypt at the appointed time, but missed his quarry in the following manner.

Li travelled on board a steamer of the Russian Volunteer fleet, and it had been arranged that it should stop at Suez for a day. But for some reason this plan was departed from ; the ship went straight through the Canal, and was on its way to Odessa the very day that Macartney arrived at Port Said. He intended following Li to Russia, but his Minister, Kung Tajen, who was much of an invalid, prevented this by recalling him to London, and he did not meet Li till his arrival in England at the end of July. It seems probable that the instructions of the Tsungli Yamen had leaked out, and that the commander of the Volunteer steamer had been instructed by telegraph to avoid Suez.

On Li Hung Chang's arrival in England it was arranged that I should have an interview with him for the purpose of eliciting from him and acquainting the British public as to what was his programme. The interview extended over two hours, and the result appeared in *The Times* of 4th August, 1896. The following letter to me from Sir Halliday with some leading instructions is of special interest, because it shows that he looked on the matter not as a Chinese official, but as an Englishman disturbed at discovering that Li had become the mere tool of Russia.

“August 2, 1896.

“MY DEAR BOULGER,

“I have spoken about you to both Lord Li and Mr. Loh Fung-loh, and they are prepared to endeavour to obtain for you an interview with the ex-Viceroy.

“I have told them that you will call at Carlton House

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Terrace to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and also promised them to be there, if possible, at the same time.

"But should I not be there do not wait for me. Do not send up your card, but ask to be shown up to the room of one or other of them. You may say that I had told you that a meeting with them had been arranged for you.

"I wish I had been able to see you with regard to how the interview should be conducted, but that is impossible.

"A special Ambassador must have a mission—what is his? What is his opinion as to the results of the late war? Will China profit by the experience she has had and enter on a course of reforms? In his opinion what should they be? On his return to China does he expect to be called back to office? If so, in what capacity?

"Is it true he has been charged to ask for an increase of the import and export duties? If so, how much? Have his efforts to this end been successful in Russia, Germany, and France? What is China prepared to give the Treaty Powers for their consent? China can scarcely expect to get it for nothing.

"To what does he impute the hostility shown to England by China since the termination of the war?

"Did England deserve this, seeing that it was to the pressure she brought to bear on Japan that Shanghai and the ports on the Yangtse were declared to be outside the sphere of her warlike operations? Surely this was a service equal to, if not greater than, that rendered to China by Russia, France, and Germany, in inducing Japan to sell back to China, none too cheaply, the province of Leaoutung.

"To what does he impute the weakness of China's resistance to the Japanese? China made a better fight against the English and the French in 1860. In none of the wars that China has had with European Powers did she fight so badly.

"Has the Treaty, or Convention, or Agreement he negotiated with Russia been ratified? Is it true that it practically gives to Russia the territory that was bought back from the Japanese with Chinese gold?

"These are some of the questions I should ask.

"Yours ever,

"H. M."

Sir Halliday was not present at this interview, or the second and farewell one which took place a few weeks later

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for a similar purpose. Indeed, he had as little to do with the Li embassy as he possibly could. Li himself felt that he was no longer even a Chinese hero in the eyes of his old colleague of the sixties, and Macartney pleaded the heavy work at the Legation, where the ill-health of the minister threw practically all the business on his hands, as an excuse for keeping as much as possible in the background. His principal cause of mistrust was, however, the conviction that Li had signed a secret treaty with Russia whilst in that country.

There is one other incident of the year 1896 besides the Li visit that calls for some attention. It is that of Sun Yat Sen. The affair caused a sensation at the time, and those persons who find a pleasure in denouncing their neighbours made it an excuse for much ignorant and misplaced criticism of the English Secretary in the Chinese Legation. The incident, although not of the dramatic importance that some effusive writers attempted to give it, was curious and instructive. It stirred for a moment the apathetic languor of the diplomatic world, and it set pundits a-searching for a precedent. In future generations it will no doubt itself be produced as a precedent for some still bolder and more successful feat of diplomatic "derring do."

Sun Yat Sen, or Sun Wén as the Legation preferred to call him, was in his own estimation a great conspirator, a choice reformer, and a saviour of China. In the eyes of the Chinese Government he was only a rebel, and a desperado who had tried to capture Canton and assassinate its Viceroy, but had failed in the attempt. Sun Wén, luckier than his comrades, effected his escape, but whether that proved courage or discretion may be left unsettled. He went to Japan, and thence to Hónolulu, where he settled, and with the aid of Chinese residents he founded a Chinese Patriotic Society called the Hing Chung Hui. It was, therefore, clear that Sun Wén remained the declared enemy of the

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constituted Government in China, and it is scarcely surprising that that Government should watch his movements, and notify its representatives abroad to lay their hands upon him if they could. A little later Sun Wêñ set out for England, where he stated he arrived on 1st October, 1896. I recollect mentioning to Sir Halliday that I had heard of this man's arrival at San Francisco some time before that date, and that he might be at the moment in London. The reply I received was, "Be sure you tell me all you hear or learn of this individual."

Sun Wêñ published an account of his adventure under the title "Kidnapped in London," but as he admits in it that he did not write it himself, or rather that he was indebted to an English friend for material assistance in the compilation, it is charitable to assume that the errors in describing how he got into the Legation and other matters, were due to misconception or an imperfect memory. He says he was "kidnapped" by being hustled by Chinese in Portland Place from the public street into the Legation. Sir Halliday Macartney opposed a flat contradiction to this allegation in the letter I shall presently quote, and there is no ground for seriously questioning the fact that he walked confidently and blindly into the lion's den of his own accord. Moreover, the kidnapping could hardly have been perpetrated in so public a thoroughfare as Portland Place without attracting some notice, more especially as Sun Wêñ was in European costume, and his assailants were represented by him to be pig-tailed Chinese.

The Legation version of the detention was as follows: On 10th October Sun Wêñ called at the Legation and inquired if there was any member of the staff from Canton. A Chinese attaché was called, and after some reflection he replied that one of the junior secretaries, or scribes, came from that province. His room was on the third floor, and Sun was taken up by the back stairs to see him. The clerk

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was busy copying, and after some conversation it was arranged that Sun should come again the next day (Sunday), when he would be more at leisure. The incident of the visit of a Cantonese was talked about in the Legation, notes were compared, the description of Sun Wêñ sent from China was carefully examined, and the conclusion was quickly arrived at that the visitor was none other than the bold conspirator himself.

After some consideration a decision was come to, and when Sun Wêñ presented himself at the Legation the following day he was to be detained. The responsibility for this decision must be divided between the Minister, Kung Tajen, Mr. Tang, and Sir Halliday Macartney, and as there is never any use in blinking facts, the chief responsibility rested on Sir Halliday. Sir Halliday never shirked his responsibilities, and in a letter relating to another matter, which will be quoted in the next chapter, he said of this affair: "What I did was in execution of the orders of the Government I serve." It would, therefore, appear that the Tsungli Yamen was cognisant of everything that was done, and even gave orders to that effect.

On 11th October Sun Wêñ came again to the Legation, and was detained there until his release by Lord Salisbury's order on the 23rd of the same month. *The Times* dealt with the incident in a leading article on 24th October, and "expressed surprise at Sir Halliday Macartney having anything to do with it." Upon this comment Sir Halliday made the following protest:—

"RICHMOND HOUSE,

"SIR,

"October 24th, 1896.

"In your leading article of to-day commenting on the alleged kidnapping of an individual, a Chinese subject, calling himself amongst numerous other aliases by the name of Sun Yat Sen, you make some remarks with regard to me which I cannot but consider as an exception to the fairness which in general characterises the comments of *The Times*.

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"After stating the case as given by the two opposite parties, is the surprise which you express at my conduct you take it for granted that the statement of Sun Yat Sen is the correct one, and that of the Chinese Legation the wrong one.

"I do not know why you make this assumption, for you undoubtedly do so when you say the case is as if the Turkish Ambassador had inveigled some of the members of the Armenian colony of London into the embassy with a view to making them a present to His Majesty the Sultan.

"Now, I repeat what I have said before, that in this case there was no inveiglement. The statement of Sun Yat Sen—or, to call him by his real name, Sun Wén—that he was caught in the street and hustled into the Legation by two sturdy Chinamen, is utterly false.

"He came to the Legation unexpectedly and of his own accord, the first time on Saturday the 10th, the second on Sunday the 11th.

"Whatever the pundits of international law may think of his detention, they may take it as being absolutely certain that there was no kidnapping, and that he entered the Legation without the employment of force or guile.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

A few closing remarks by way of explaining Sir Halliday's position in this matter are permissible. It illustrated in a most striking manner the disadvantages, and even the penalties, of service under a foreign Government, especially when that Government is an Oriental despotism. For whoever was really to blame in this matter, and I believe the true responsibility would rest on an Imperial decree which allowed of neither protest nor disobedience, it was inevitable that at the bar of public opinion here, Sir Halliday Macartney, from the mere fact of his being English, was bound to bear the blame alone. It was one of those unfortunate cases where the consequences of a false position are brought home to the victim with the pitiless force of an inexorable Nemesis, and in this incident, when public opinion made

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such a stir on behalf of the quite worthless Sun Wên, or Sun Yat Sen, the real victim was not the Chinaman, but Sir Halliday Macartney, whose struggles under the trammels of Chinese red tape during a long and most honourable career in China's service will never be fully known or adequately appreciated, and who in this case was merely obeying an order that he dared not disobey.

The privileges of foreign embassies and legations in this country, and in all others honoured by the presence of such institutions, are numerous, and the region where they end is defined by a vague borderland of assumptions and unsettled possibilities. Embassies and legations are theoretically part not of the State in which they are placed, but of that which they represent. For certain matters Richmond House in Portland Place is part of China, but there is peril in carrying that theory too far, and the peril is the greater when the State concerned is only China. Embassies and legations are sanctuaries. They have saved murderers in the past, and, in these times of ours, other of their inmates from the penalties entailed by the excesses of that modern death-dealer, the motor-car. But the protection they afford is, and has always been, defensive. The proceedings against Sun Wên were aggressive and offensive. They sinned, therefore, by the base. But to blame Sir Halliday Macartney for the step taken by a despotic Oriental Government, alarmed as to its own security as the Manchus were at the time, simply because he happened to be in its service, is another kind of sin to which, in these days of slander and spite, we are far too much inclined.

In conclusion, I wish to give two extracts from letters written to Sir Halliday by a Chinese gentleman, a strong advocate of progress, and never connected at any time with the Legation. I may not give his name, but the reader can accept the assurance that he is a man of exceptionally good position.

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Writing in July, 1898, he said :—

“I have come back from Japan, and seen there that famous (!) man you kept in custody. I find him a shallow, unpractical man, dangerous to humanity, and one who ought to have been punished.”

The second extract from a letter written by the same correspondent in October, 1898, deals with Kang Yu-wei, the so-called leader of the Reform party, to which Sun belonged :—

“Owing to the new phase in the China question, the Empress Dowager is again in power. Any progress that may have been on foot is now all nipped in the bud. The Emperor is a prisoner in a small isle in the gardens of the palace, powerless and unprotected. Six innocent men have been murdered. Kang Yu-wei is now in Hong-Kong, and is, we hear, departing for England. *This man is very shallow, and not deserving the fame he has gained.*”

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CLOSE OF A LONG CAREER

China's representatives—Sir Loh Fung-loh—The *Kow-shing* case—Interesting point—A libel in a Shanghai paper—Macartney's scathing reply—Some opinions—Port Arthur—Germany in Shantung—Wei-Hai-Wei gold-field—Macartney's advice to China—The Foreign Office verdict on Macartney—Every promise kept—A last *tour de force*—Retirement—Rents Kenbank—His death—Burial at Dundrennan—Concluding comments.

THE immediate successors at the Chinese Legation in London of the Marquis Tsêng were respectable officials of adequate if not very exalted rank. Lieu, Sieh, and Kung, to give their names in their order of succession, held the post during the ten years ending in 1897. None of them knew English, or was remarkable for any exceptional diplomatic capacity, so that all the work and all the responsibility fell upon Sir Halliday Macartney. This arrangement was not disagreeable to him, for he liked to hold the strings in his own hands; but at the same time he had very strong views as to the necessity that China's representative in London should be a man of unexceptional rank and of unexceptional character. He took the greatest pains to ascertain whether each newly-nominated minister possessed the requisite qualifications, and he was always careful to supply the Foreign Office with the essential facts in good time.

The following note to Sir Philip Currie, whilst the question of a successor to Lieu Tajen was under discussion, treats of a case in point:—

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"DEAR SIR PHILIP,

"30 November, 1892.

"No one here has the slightest idea who this Mr. Hu, the aspirant to the post of Chinese Minister in London, can be. Does this imply our obscurity or his?

"I have written to the chargé d'affaires in Paris, asking whether, amongst the favourites of the Viceroy Li, there is any one of the name of Hu whom the Viceroy might wish to honour, and as soon as I have his reply, which I expect to receive by telegraph this morning, I shall not fail to acquaint you of it.

"I should be surprised were the Yamen to accept for the appointment any one hailing from the Tientsin Alsatia. They have already rejected four of Li's nominees for the post, and will doubtless do the same with the fifth; and a good thing it will be both for China and the Treaty Powers! It is high time that China's representatives abroad should look to Peking and not to any provincial satrap for their orders, and this all the more as the Viceroy Li is no longer what he was, but an old man moved and swayed by a set of men of whom it may be said their consciences never did them any harm—that is to say, never stood between them and what they thought to be their interest.

"I hope no minister will be appointed to London who has not the plenary approval of Hung Tajen, the leading spirit of the Yamen and the most doughty opponent of the Tientsin party.

"The other day a censor, doubtless one of Li's henchmen, denounced him as being a friend of foreigners (a strange accusation to bring against a Minister for Foreign Affairs); but the Emperor, instead of publishing, as is customary, the memorial in the *Gazette*, put it in his pocket, and continued to give frequent audiences to Hung Tajen as before. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The proposed appointment of the unknown Mr. Hu was not made in 1892, but a very similar position presented itself in 1897, when another of Li's creatures, Sir Loh Fung-loh, who had received the Victoria Order whilst accompanying Li on his visit to England, was put for-

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ward for the post of minister in London in succession to Kung Tajen. As Loh Fung-loh was an official of very inferior grade, and moreover did not possess the literary degree which is the hall-mark of respectability in Chinese official life, this appointment violated all the canons to which Sir Halliday attached value for the maintenance of the dignity and credit of the Chinese Legation. But Sir Loh Fung-loh had a very complete knowledge of our language, and was besides a very fluent public speaker. He had made a good many friends here, and there was certainly nothing in his record to justify the Foreign Office in declining to accept him as a fit representative from China. Macartney's great usefulness at the Legation had been due to some extent to the fact that none of the ministers had known English ; but the new nominee knew English for all practical purposes as well as any one. As soon as it became certain that Sir Loh Fung-loh had got the appointment, Sir Halliday sent in his resignation to Peking. His chief motive in doing this was that he did not wish to experience the indignity of being dismissed by the new minister, for, as already explained, Sir Halliday's appointment could be rescinded on the occasion of each change of minister.

Sir Loh Fung-loh, on learning of Sir Halliday's resignation, telegraphed to him from Shanghai begging him to withdraw it, as he counted upon his co-operation. The resignation was withdrawn, but during the four years of Loh Fung-loh's stay in London Sir Halliday was very careful to accept as little responsibility as possible at the Legation. Much that the new minister did excited his strong disapproval, and in his tour through the manufacturing centres of England he saw a grave infraction of diplomatic dignity. Writing to me on the subject on 15th February, 1900, Sir Halliday said of this tour : " My chief is still on the stump. I am afraid his self-imposed task of visiting the industrial

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centres of England for the purpose of collecting information is degenerating into a starring tour for self-glorification."

But if Sir Halliday was less prominent while Loh Fung-loh was in charge of the Legation than he had been under his predecessors, most important questions were left in his hands. Among these may be mentioned the contemplated arbitration with regard to the claim for compensation brought by the Indo-China Steam Navigation Company for the loss of their steamer *Kow-shing* against the Chinese Government. This steamer, while conveying troops to Corea, was attacked and sunk in July, 1894, by a Japanese man-of-war. It was the opening incident of the war with China, and the Chinese contended that it was Japan and not they who should pay compensation. When the Foreign Office refused to take this view, it was decided to submit the matter to the arbitration of Mr. Choate, the American Ambassador.

A protocol embodying the terms of reference had to be drafted, and in the negotiations relative thereto Macartney very adroitly and very persistently endeavoured to bring into it the contention of his Government, which was that the action of the Japanese warship *Naniwa* was in violation of the Law of Nations. As a decision confirming that view from the arbitrator would have destroyed any chance of the owners of the *Kow-shing* recovering from the Chinese Government, the Foreign Office refused to admit it on the ground that it would be impugning the conduct of Japan in the course of an arbitration to which Japan herself was not a party. The point was discussed during four years without its being found possible to agree as to the terms of reference. Lord Salisbury styled the contention of the Chinese Government "a very interesting diplomatic point," but he did not give way. Lord Lansdowne was just as firm, and a settlement seemed as far off as ever, when the matter was settled without arbitration or diplomatic notes by the

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payment of £33,000 to the owners of the *Kow-shing* at Peking.

In 1898 there was a sort of repetition of the personal attacks on Sir Halliday which were common enough at the time of the Sun Yat Sen incident. They would not be worth mentioning but for the very effective reply in which he demolished the slanders of his assailants. On this occasion the aspersions, cruel in intention, but really silly in their purport, were published in China, and it was by a mere accident that Sir Halliday ever heard of them. A Swiss gentleman resident in Shanghai, whom he did not know, had the kindness to send him the articles which contained attacks on Sir Halliday that no self-respecting journal ought to have published. An action for libel against the offending paper, the *North China Herald*, was proposed to and pressed upon him, and Lord Li, now minister in London, offered to pay all the legal expenses entailed by such a suit.

The statement of facts may be introduced by the letter which Sir Halliday wrote to his informant on the day that he received the Shanghai paper of 18 April, in which his own letter of protest and refutation had appeared :—

“ RICHMOND HOUSE, PORTLAND PLACE,

“ DEAR SIR,

“ May 27, 1898.

“ I cannot sufficiently express to you my sense of the obligation I am under to you for your kindness in bringing to my notice the altogether unjustifiable attack on me which had been made by the editor of the *North China Daily News* in the issues of that paper of the 15th and 18th of January last (also reproduced in the weekly *North China Herald*). For as I rarely see that paper, without your intervention the attack on me would probably have escaped my notice, and I should not have had the opportunity of replying to it, as I do not doubt you would have seen I did in the *North China Herald* of the 18th of April.

“ I was much touched at the effort you made to champion me, and when that failed, at your wish to go to law on my

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behalf. Nor was I less affected at the willingness of Lord Li to bear the expense of doing so in the event of my approving your adoption of that method of obtaining redress. In general I am averse to having recourse to the law, particularly when I think I can right myself in any other way; and this, I think, that all who have read my letter to the *North China Herald* will consider I have done.

"I am not concerned to revert to the Sun Wen incident, more especially as I have already in *The Times* explained the part I played in it. Sufficient to me that what I did was in execution of the orders of the Government I serve. Please remember me kindly to Lord Li.

"Yours very truly,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

The statement which had been brought under Sir Halliday's notice related to the case of some British girls or women who had been induced after, as it was alleged, a form of marriage to accompany some young Chinese back to their country. It was also alleged by the correspondent who gave the facts to the paper that one of the putative husbands had been the junior cook at the Legation in London, while according to another he was no less important a person than the son or nephew of the Chinese Minister himself. But by what possible stretch of argument could Sir Halliday's name be brought into such a disreputable affair? The anonymous correspondent of the journal accused him of "truckling to the Chinese" and of "not preventing the kidnapping of English girls for conveyance to China." The editor of the *North China Herald*, who was then Mr. R. W. Little, took up this attack, and asked what Sir Halliday had done "to warn the friends of the unfortunate girls and save them from making sacrifices of themselves." When a correspondent—the same who apprised Sir Halliday of the attack—sent in a strongly worded letter of protest, asking how Sir Halliday could possibly have known the circumstances of those easily knit marriages in English registry offices, even if there had been any form of marriage, the editor, whose own language had

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been the height of impropriety, refused to publish it because it was "improper." But in the middle of April he received a letter from the man assailed at what seemed to him the safe distance of seven thousand miles, and he could not refuse to print the summary castigation he received and had merited for having invented and uttered his baseless calumnies. The following is the letter which was published by the *North China Herald* on 18 April, 1898:—

"SIR,—

"In your issues of the 15th and 18th of January last, referring to the lamentable fate of four young English women alleged to have been married to Chinese, and by them abandoned under circumstances of extraordinary hardship, you make use of my name in a manner which I cannot but think you were unjustified in doing. I give you credit for the just indignation you have evinced in drawing attention to what every man of proper feeling must stigmatise as a vile action on the part of the husbands of those poor women, but I think this might have been done without throwing aspersions on the character of a man whose ideal of duty is not less high than the one you have set for yourself.

"'Some' of the four unfeeling husbands, I do not know how many, you assert to have been members of the Chinese Legation in London, and you ask the questions whether I, as Secretary to the Legation, was cognisant of those marriages, and what I had done in order to warn the friends of the unfortunate girls and save them from making sacrifices of themselves? Then you ask 'whether their friends make inquiries for themselves from people who know something of China,' and go on to say that 'somebody must be responsible for the crime,' and you do this in such a manner as to imply that I am the person who is responsible.

"I cannot answer your question as to whether the friends of those unhappy women who contract marriages with Chinese ever consult people acquainted with China with respect to these matches, for that I have no means of knowing. But I may tell you that during the time I have been Secretary to the Chinese Legation in London, extending over a period of some twenty-two years, in these matters I have been consulted only once, and that with reference to a contemplated marriage, not between an Englishwoman

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and a member of the Legation, but with a Chinese altogether unknown to me. The advice I gave on that occasion was such as would, I feel assured, have met with your approval, provided always that you do not entertain any personal animosity against me, which from your readiness to connect my name with the present scandal I am somewhat inclined to doubt [*sic*, evidently apprehend]. Whether my advice was followed or not I never had an opportunity of ascertaining, as the inquiry did not come from any one settled in London, but from a person residing in a distant county—Dorsetshire, I think.

"To your question as to whether I am aware of the marriages which you allege the younger members of the Legation contract in London, my answer is that my knowledge of such alliances is restricted to two, and in both cases it was *post factum*. In one of them, the only one in which the wife accompanied her husband to China, I did not know of the marriage until many months afterwards.

"I have no doubt but this is one of the cases referred to by you in which the Chinese husband, in the face of much opposition from his family, and much to his disadvantage in his official career, nobly did his duty by his English wife. In the other case the conduct of the husband was no less honourable to him. Though, believing that he would soon be reappointed to another post in London, he did not take his wife to China, he was regular in his correspondence with her, and regular in his remittances for her support. At last these remittances failing, which was some years after the marriage, the fact of their union came to my knowledge through some inquiries which the wife caused to be made at the Legation, when it was found that her husband was dead.

"Now these were the only cases which ever came to my notice of Chinese officials, members of this Legation, marrying English women. There was nothing to regret in these matches, but if there had been, seeing the secrecy with which they had been contracted and the extraordinary facility with which marriages in England can be effected before a registrar, how could I have prevented them? And if that could occur unknown to me, when the husbands were honourable men, and when there was no motive for concealment, how much more difficult would it have been for me to know of, and prevent the marriages of, the four scoundrels in the present instance, supposing them to have been married at all!

"I cannot but think, Mr. Editor, that in the remarks you have made on this deplorable case you have allowed your

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indignation to get the better of your judgment, and that had you been a little more discriminating you would have better served the cause of the unfortunate women whom you have undertaken to champion. Why should any [*sic*, evidently my] name have been dragged into this unsavoury matter, when for some unaccountable reason you conceal the names of the dastardly husbands, the cause of all their misfortunes? Surely you could have had no difficulty in obtaining the requisite information. For the names of the deceivers—and how many of them were members of this Legation—the proofs of the marriages and the circumstances under which they took place could all have been obtained from the poor women who have been deceived. You say you cannot believe that when the son of a Chinese Minister marries a girl in London the British Secretary could have been ignorant of it. I do not know whether by this it is meant to imply that the son of a former Chinese Minister is amongst the culprits. But I say that no son of a Chinese Minister of such an age as to get married has *ever* been a member of this Legation, and member of the Legation or not, has *ever* to my knowledge got married in England.

"In conclusion, Mr. Editor, if the zeal you have displayed in this case is the zeal that cometh of much knowledge, and if truth and not gall inspires your pen, I would ask you to supply the lack of specific information on the subject of the unhappy women which is such an extraordinary feature in the two articles referred to in the commencement of this letter.

"I am,

"London, 10th March."

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

As I am now approaching the end of his career I will give a few extracts from letters to myself which will show what a true Englishman Sir Halliday Macartney was when at leisure to cast aside the diplomatic rôle to which his position in the Chinese service kept him bound for the greater part of his life. The letters referred to dealt with the phases as they presented themselves of the Far Eastern question, such as the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, which forms the subject of the following letter:—

"28 October, 1898.

"I did not telegraph, as you asked me to do, what place I thought the English were aiming at, because the very morn-

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ing when I was about to do so *The Times* published that they had asked for and got Wei-Hai-Wei, a poor set-off against Port Arthur with its extensive Hinterland. The Government, I consider, have played a poor game against the astute Russian. Like *The Times*, they refused to believe in the secret treaty, and as a consequence of their unbelief they were unprepared to face the Russian demand for the cession, lease, or whatever you may call it, of Port Arthur and Talienshan. I have said the Russian demand for those places, but perhaps it would be more correct to say for the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to them by the arch-traitor (i.e. Li Hung Chang), promises which, though unauthorised and objectionable to the Imperial Government, had by the want of determination on the part of the feeble folks at Peking been allowed to pass unquestioned until they assumed the form of approved and accepted engagements.

"We might still have prevented their ever taking the form of facts had our Government not been so flabby. Why did we send the *Iphigenia* and *Immortalité* to Port Arthur unless we intended to keep them there as long as the Russian ships remained? At that time we had the same right to be at Port Arthur as the Russians. No Russian demands for the fulfilment of the traitor's promises had then been advanced, nor would they ever have been had we not withdrawn our ships. The Chinese Government, basing their refusal on the trouble it would be sure to occasion between them and the English, would have declined to ratify the promises made at Moscow without their authority. The Russians are now at Port Arthur, for they are a people who do not allow the grass to grow under their feet or the cheques they have received to go uncashed, and we have had to content ourselves with the sweet assurances which were made so much of at the beginning of the session. The House was told that Count Muravieff had informed O'Conor that both Port Arthur and Talienshan would be opened to foreign commerce on the same conditions as the trade is carried on at the Treaty Ports of China. This astounding piece of information seems to have taken our Ambassador quite aback, for, as the Under-Secretary of State told the House, he took the precaution of showing his telegram to Muravieff before he sent it and of getting him to approve it. That the promise of Count Muravieff should have been made does not surprise me, but what will surprise me will be if it is kept.

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"Happily we have a certain means of testing the value of it, and we ought not to lose a moment in employing it. At each of the Treaty Ports in China a place of residence, sometimes called the Settlement, at other times the Concession, is told off for the foreign population. There they live ex-territorially and under their own laws. Now if we are to be allowed to live and buy and sell at Port Arthur and Talienshan under the same conditions as at all the Treaty Ports, let us at once put in a demand that the ground for such a settlement as I have described be immediately marked out. By this means will be tested the sincerity of the Russian promise, and, if granted, by this means we will effectually secure the permanency of the open door.

"With our merchants living under their own laws and with our consular flags always flying, there will be no danger of a repetition of what occurred at Batoum. And as the sovereign rights of China are said to have been preserved, we ought to take care that from China only should the exequatur of our consul be demanded. If our Government be sincere and not employed in throwing dust in the eyes of the nation, they will take these means of testing the value of the Russian promises which are so comforting to the Foreign Office."

The second letter had reference to the extent of German pretensions and rights in the province of Shantung, more especially with regard to the possibility of her sub-letting, as it were, portions of the territory leased to her to third parties. At this moment Germany had taken steps to hinder our movements in the Hinterland of Wei-Hai-Wei, to prevent the construction of a British railway between that port and Chefoo, and finally to veto mining operations in Wei-Hai-Wei. It is apparently not known in England, but it is none the less a fact known to the Germans, that Wei-Hai-Wei and the coast strip from it to Chefoo contain the most promising goldfield in China which may one day rival that of California.

"**MY DEAR BOULGER,**

"*September 27, 1899.*

"Referring to my letter of yesterday, I now take up my pen to reply to the questions you put to me, and which I then had not time to answer.

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" 1. As to whether Germany could cede to another Power Kiaochao or any other port in Shantung, I should say that it would be in the competence of Germany to lease either Kiaochao or any other place within the limits leased to her, but to cede territory either there or elsewhere in Shantung would be to exceed her rights.

" 2. As to whether any secret understanding has been come to between England and Germany, whereby the former would, in the event of the partition of China, recognise Shantung as being Germany's share, I do not know of any such undertaking. I should say that, in view of the gratuitous declaration which Lord Salisbury made to Germany at the time England took possession of Wei-Hai-Wei, it would not be difficult for Germany, should she so wish it, to obtain, in the eventuality aforesaid, the undertaking above mentioned.

" I hold that by that declaration Salisbury has virtually recognised the whole of Shantung as falling within the 'sphere of interest' of Germany.

" I should say, in talking of 'rights' and 'competencies,' that in China these are obsolete coins, and count only for as much as the strong may stamp upon them.

" Yours,
" H. M."

The third extract relates to a more personal matter, and is taken from a letter to me written in January, 1899. It is a sort of explanation of his general policy in England as a Chinese official, and is corroborated by many of the facts I have already detailed, and of his opinions that I have previously cited :—

" I find that in certain quarters I am charged with having misled the Government here into thinking China was much stronger than late events have shown to be the case. To me the extreme weakness of China has never been a secret, and it would have been culpable in me had I ever made the weakness to look like strength. This was what I never tried. But what my constant and strenuous endeavour has always been since I came to London with the first Ambassador, was to make China to conform to the usages of civilised nations, and to get England to treat her with the consideration which she would accord to any other great nation.

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"My words to China have always been: To cease to be treated by other nations in an exceptional manner you must cease to act to them in an exceptional manner.

"I flatter myself that my efforts have not been altogether unsuccessful, and to this must be imputed the abandonment of the gunboat action and the more respectful language which our ministers and our consuls have been taught to use in addressing Chinese officials—language more compatible with the growth of friendly relations between the two countries, and the conservation of the cups and saucers of the Yāmen."

In private talks with myself, when I used to tell him that many influential people thought him too hard a bargainer and too much a stickler for phrases in negotiations between England and China—that is to say, between his own country and the Government he was serving—and how in their impatience or irritation they were in the habit of calling him "more Chinese than the Chinese," he used to reply in something like the following form: "The Chinese are my clients, and I do the best I can for them. But then, so do the British officials and diplomatists whom I meet for their Government, and surely no one has ever imputed to me the arrogance of thinking that my poor wits are superior to theirs."

This modesty must not obscure the fact that Sir Halliday was a very formidable adversary in an argumentative discussion, and those opposed to him must sometimes have found his persistency and adroitness very embarrassing. They would have thought nothing of it coming from a Chinese, but to be put in a corner by one of one's own race was very disagreeable and even humiliating. Still, his nominal opponents at the Foreign Office did him justice in the end. One of the highest of its permanent staff wrote to him in 1905: "Now that you are going we shall miss your aid very much." Lord Sanderson paid him a still higher compliment: "In the thirty years of your work here, whatever *you* have promised on behalf of China has been

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faithfully performed." Sun Yat Sen incidents cannot count
in face of a tribute such as that.

On 12 September, 1902, Sir Halliday had the great domestic affliction to lose his wife, who had helped him materially by her influence in the diplomatic world. Lady Macartney died after a brief illness during a summer visit to Brighton. It was a very great shock to him, but his career had steeled him to shocks, and he bore up bravely, and for a short time things seemed to go on much as before. But gradually his friends noticed a change in him, and although his attendance at the Legation continued to be as regular as ever, it was clear that the time had arrived for him to think seriously of retirement. But there was still some fight left in him, as was shown at the time of the proposed importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. The original proposal was that the Governor of Hong-Kong should merely issue an ordinance on the subject, and when it was found necessary to conclude some arrangement with China in order to procure the labourers in sufficient numbers, it was thought that a very simple and definite convention for the dispatch of coolies to South Africa would suffice, but the authorities who took this view reckoned without Sir Halliday Macartney. For the delay which followed they, not he, were responsible, and the vials of the wrath of the Government of the day and of disappointed speculators in the City should have fallen on the heads of the true offenders.

Sir Halliday insisted that the Regulations should be drawn up in strict accordance with and in fulfilment of the provisions of Article 5 of the Treaty of Peking of 1860, which provided for Chinese subjects taking service in British colonies, and his view was so entirely correct and unanswerable that everything that had been done had to be redone, and the negotiations commenced *de novo!* In the next place, Sir Halliday refused to allow the name Transvaal or

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South Africa to appear in the Regulations which established the provisions for the dispatch of Chinese labourers to any of the British colonies, and among them he caused to be included the payment of a registration fee to indemnify the Chinese Government for its expenses. The Regulations are a model of clearness and comprehensiveness, and show that in 1904 Sir Halliday was as capable of carrying through a business transaction or delicate negotiation as at any period of his career. On the policy involved in the employment of Chinese labour in South Africa he had no opinion, and never expressed any but the most guarded views. His duty, as he told me, was to ensure observance for the sovereign rights of China, and to make definite arrangements for the protection of the rights of the labourers exported from China. It is beyond dispute that the Regulations of 1904 secured both points. It was Macartney's last *tour de force* in his career as a diplomatist.

During the year 1905 arrangements were made for Sir Halliday's retirement at the end of the year, when the minister's own term of office was also to expire. This minister was a courtly gentleman named Chang, who had a high regard for Sir Halliday. After some correspondence it was decided by the Peking authorities that he should be allowed a retiring pension of half his salary. He expressed himself as perfectly satisfied, although to any one who knew what he had done for China in his forty-four years' service it seemed far from generous. His remark to me when I spoke of the ingratitude of the Chinese Government was: "You must remember that China is not as rich as she was. Her financial position is not entirely free from embarrassment." He added, "I am quite sufficiently well satisfied." He left London on 20th December, 1905, for Galloway, and I dined with him the night before his departure at the Great Central Hotel. We talked late on into the night, and he seemed reluctant to close the conversation, as if perhaps

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he had some premonition that it would be the last of the very many long talks we had had in the course of close on thirty years of unbroken friendship. It was arranged that I was to visit him in the summer of 1906, when we were to talk about the publication of his projected reminiscences; but for him the summer never came.

On laying aside his harness in China's service, he thought a return to his native air would reinvigorate him and prolong his life. If it failed in that, it would still be well, he said, to die in or near the home from which he had been so long absent, among his own kith and kin, in the old country of which, like every true Scot, he was so proud. His thoughts had ever been in Galloway, the Scottish if not the original cradle of the Macartney clan. He was an enthusiastic member of the London Galloway Association, and presided in 1898 at its annual banquet, and one of his proudest boasts was that he was a true Gallovidian or "Son of the South." I do not know whether it was a trick of memory or the conviction that it lent emphasis to his utterance, but whereas his ordinary speech was free from the smallest trace of accent, he would, when very positive or precise, make use of the broadest Scottish, and when he said "Nae! Nae!" it signified a final decision that nothing could shake.

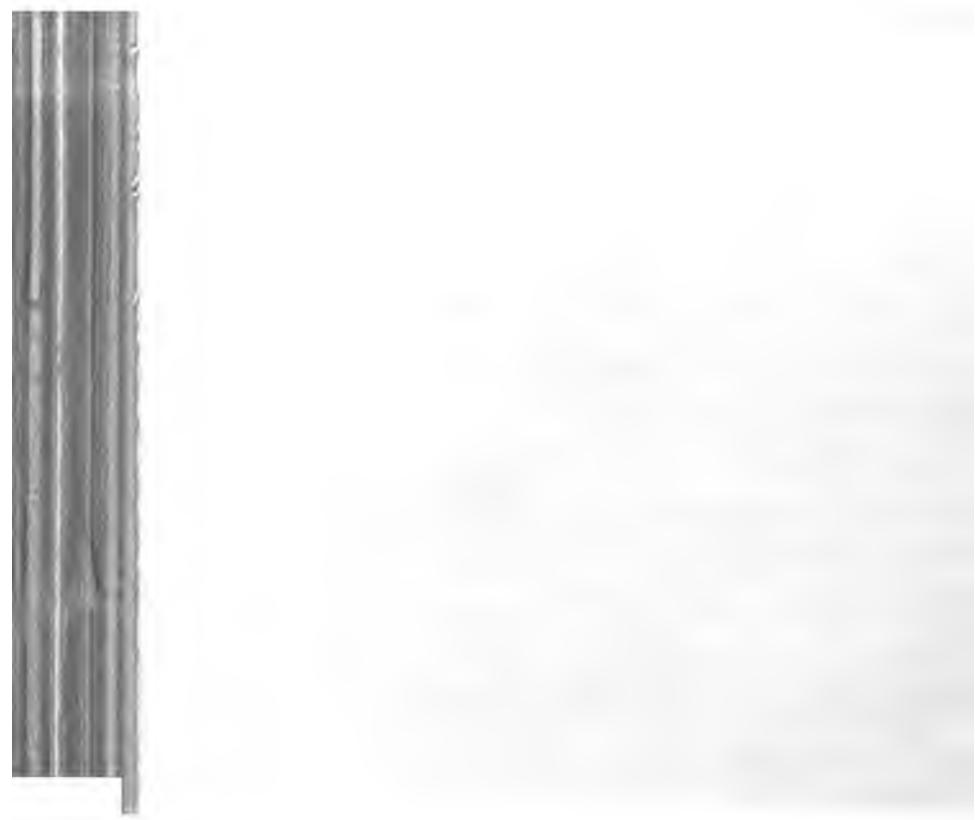
So when his work in the strenuous world of high politics and diplomacy was done, he went back to the place from which he came. He took a lease of Kenbank, a pleasant house situated close to the River Ken and the little loch called Urr Water. There, surrounded by his books and his domestic pets and attended by his devoted daughter, he looked forward to some years of tranquil old age. But, almost unknown to himself, he had been growing feebler and feebler, and it was only a slender thread that bound him to life, which might snap at any moment. Those around him knew not how suddenly the end might not come, as it did, almost without warning, on 8 June, 1906, less than six



Valentine & Sons, Ltd.

KENBANK, DALRY

Photo.



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months after he laid down his work at Richmond House. The peacefulness of the close had not been undeserved by one whose life had passed through so many stormy passages. A few days later (12 June) he was laid to rest in his family grave in the Macartney burial ground, surrounded by the ruined walls of what was once Dundrennan Abbey, with which the history of his race had been so closely connected. His sons and kinsmen lowered his coffin to its last resting-place beside his wife in the affecting Scottish fashion, and a few mourning friends who appreciated his worth stood around. The spirit that had soared so boldly and so proudly over the conflicts and Councils of men and Governments in and with regard to the Far East had returned to quit its earthly labours in all humility among the clan whose name he had been not the least prominent in making famous.

A few concluding words will suffice, for it is unnecessary to labour the subject. As with every man, the record of his life, fully set forth and fairly stated, must stand for his fame and place in history. I have been careful to avoid the error of exaggeration, and have left the facts and written record to speak for themselves. For China he did an immense amount of valuable work, for which he was poorly paid and inadequately rewarded. Yet he never grumbled or allowed his friends to grumble for him. When the Chinese wished to honour or recompense him they sent him either some valueless porcelain or Orders that he could not wear through their grotesque appearance.¹ As a final favour they ennobled

¹ In support of this I will mention the following facts. The Order of the Double Dragon was created in 1882. For many years it was reserved for home use, but in 1896 Li Hung Chang thought well to bring a certain number of the insignia of this Order to Europe for distribution. When he came to England he was especially desirous of presenting the Order to Lord Salisbury, and it required all Sir Halliday's ingenuity to baffle his purpose. The decoration of the Order is a large disc worn in front, somewhat resembling a plate, and it is made of copper. As Sir Halliday said, it would have required more temerity than he possessed to ask the Premier to put on this so-called ornament, adding, "and it was not even in gold."

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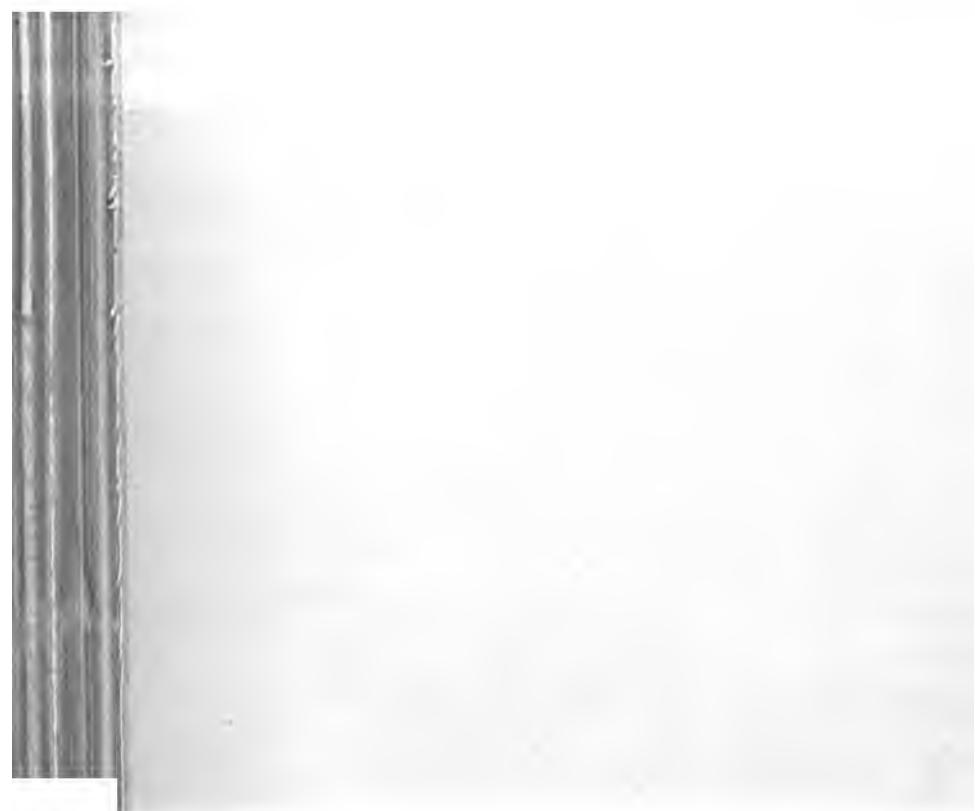
his ancestors for three previous generations. These truly Celestial favours would have been appropriate enough if conferred on him whilst in China, but for services rendered in England they were only droll and out of place. Despite the meagreness of his reward, Sir Halliday Macartney never attempted to reward himself, as he could easily have done had he been so minded. He kept his hands scrupulously clean with regard to Chinese contracts and Chinese loans, and he died a comparatively poor man.

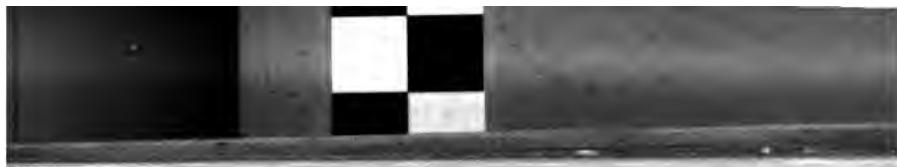
Regret may reasonably be felt that his work was performed in the service of a foreign country instead of for his own, and the regret is increased by the fact that his whole life was passed in endeavouring to educate a Government which will not, or perhaps cannot learn, so deeply is it imbued in its own fancied perfection and pre-eminence. Had the Marquis Tsêng lived, or had he found worthy successors, the result might have been different, and Sir Halliday Macartney might have been granted the opportunity of stamping his name more indelibly and in more prominent letters on the scroll of Fame. He had all the ability and force of character to reach the highest administrative station if fortune had been kind, and if he had served any other state than China the opportunity of increased distinction would never have been denied him. But even if he did not attain the full height of his ambition by handing down to his descendants a new hereditary title of Macartney of Auchenleck, his career, full of variety and achievement, places him in the first rank of those of our countrymen who have left a name and an example in the realms of the Far East.

Such may, at the very least, be said of Halliday Macartney in his public life, passed under the fierce light of criticism that poured down upon him during his long service under a foreign and Oriental Government. But only those few who were admitted to his intimacy knew the sterling

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character that lay behind, the unswerving and steadfast friend, the man who never spoke ill of any man, although his own traducer, and the impartial judge of great political problems, who studied them from the depths of his wide knowledge and experience, and who delivered his judgments upon them with all the wisdom and all the force of a true prophet. It is as the profoundly wise man, as a kind of Elder Statesman, as the ideal member of an Imperial Council which England has not yet, but which she must some day surely have, that the figure and the words of my old and honoured friend will always present themselves to my mind.





APPENDIX

TRANSLATIONS OF FRENCH CORRESPONDENCE

Marquis Tsêng's letter on page 365.

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

"PARIS, 17 November, 1883.

"At the sitting of the Chamber on 31st October last the President of the Council stated that the French Government had decided to establish itself in the Delta of the Red River, and to take possession of the towns of Sontay, Hong Hoa, and Bacninh.

"In view of this declaration I am ordered by my Government to inform your Excellency that, using its suzerain rights, and in fulfilment of the duties devolving upon it by virtue of China's suzerainty over Annam, as well as in compliance with the formal demand made to it by the King of Annam, the Imperial Government sent some time ago, as it had done many times in the past, imperial troops to Tonquin for the purpose of protecting its own and its vassal's interests.

"Since it is precisely in the region referred to in the above-mentioned declaration by the President of the Council that the imperial troops are at the present moment, I am to acquaint you with the fact. The presence of these troops, as your Excellency will doubtless remember, was admitted in the course of the conversation I had with M. Challemel Lacour on 1st August last. Considering the complications which an unforeseen collision between the French and Imperial troops would produce, I hold it to be my duty to make this formal notification of the fact.

"Accept, etc.,

"TSÊNG."

Correspondence relative to France and China.

The first phase, commencing on page 371.

"SIR AND MUCH HONOURED DOCTOR,

"PARIS, 14 October, 1884.

"You could not easily believe how great is my regret at the present contest between the great Chinese Empire and France.

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You are not unaware of my sympathy for the Marquis Tsêng, for yourself, and for all those in close touch with the honourable representative of the Celestial Empire. You will therefore see nothing in my present step that can inspire you with the slightest mistrust.

"If in my modest position as a journalist, and with the desire of being useful and agreeable to you, I could relieve the situation a little, and lead to the two nations making mutual concessions in the burning question with which they are now concerned, I should consider that I was rendering a real service to my country, and meriting once more your sympathies and those of the honourable ambassador who formerly represented China in Paris.

"To-day, however, it is not only the journalist who writes to you, but the personal friend of some of the highest exercisers of French power; so it is in the latter character that I say to you in perfect sincerity—

"France has no desire to make conquests in China; she wishes to protect her own position, and she does not wish in any way to embarrass the Celestial Empire in its internal affairs. At the most there are only serious misunderstandings between the two nations, and I feel sure that if mutual friends could only make the Chinese Government through the Marquis Tsêng's mediation see what was the true mind of the French Government, a serious, that is a durable, peace would be signed without delay.

"Are you willing, Sir and honoured Doctor, for us to make the attempt to obtain this magnificent and desirable result?

"What I am proposing to you must appeal to a generous heart like yours, and I am convinced that, like myself, you would consider it as the greatest honour of your political career if you could bring about so desirable a result.

"Enough blood has been shed! We must work so as to put an end to hostilities, and this will only be accomplished by making mutual concessions.

"Inquire then, I beg of you, on what bases an understanding can be reached. I will communicate them *officiously* to the persons in close touch with our ministers, and, if necessary, I will go to Folkestone to take you an answer, and to discuss the preliminary conditions that would serve as the bases of a definitive peace.

"Our first rôle fulfilled, we would cede the place to the ambassadors who would regulate officially, and without contest, as happened with that unfortunate Treaty of Tientsin, the draft already officially prepared.

"Accept, etc.,

"..."

"49 PORTLAND PLACE, LONDON,

"15 October, 1884.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I fully share all the sentiments which are expressed in your letter of yesterday's date upon the subject of the unfortunate

struggle which has gone on for some time between France and China, and which has become more bitter and assumes larger proportions from day to day.

" Believe me, Sir, that I should as a matter of fact regard it as the finest act of my diplomatic career if I could assist in bringing this struggle to an end, always assuming that it would be without injuring the prestige of the country that I have the honour to serve.

" Whilst fearing, despite all my efforts, that I may not be successful, I have not lost the opportunity that your letter gives me of making the attempt. Thus I have not hesitated to submit it to the Marquis Tsêng, and to ask him for his orders on the subject.

" Since his recall from Paris His Excellency has kept himself rigorously aloof from all interference in the Tonquin question, not wishing to hinder those who, according to him, have the right to concern themselves therewith.

" The Marquis Tsêng desires to confine himself to the rôle of a spectator. Nevertheless, he would consent to accept your proposal to be the intermediary between the Imperial Government and that of the Republic on the following conditions :—

" (1) That the demand for an indemnity is completely abandoned.

" (2) That he is assured that the French Government is truly desirous of attaining a pacific and durable solution. Of these two conditions he could not dispense with the first for the two following reasons :—

" I. Because he is perfectly convinced that his Government would never consent to recognise even the principle of an indemnity.

" II. Because being of opinion that China was in no way responsible for the Leang Shan (Langson) affair, His Excellency could not propose to his Government to resume negotiations unless the French Government renounced beforehand its demand for an indemnity.

" Besides, he holds that to recognise the principle of an indemnity would be to inflict on his country an additional indignity to those that it has already suffered, and rather than do that, even if he were commanded by his own Government, he would prefer to send in his resignation.

" As to the second condition, the Marquis Tsêng considers himself justified in demanding it for his own personal security. He does not wish to expose himself to the same difficulties as befell his colleague the Viceroy of Chihli.

" Twice did that official conclude very favourable treaties for France, and twice did those treaties serve only to create difficulties for the Chinese negotiator.

" The manner in which the two treaties signed by Messrs.

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Bourrée and Fournier were upset has created in the mind of the Chinese Government doubts as to whether a pacific solution is really desired by the French Government.

"This is the reason for the Marquis Tsêng desiring to be well assured on this point before he can consent to bring to the knowledge of his Government the wish expressed in your letter, and to inquire on what bases the Imperial Government would consent to reopen negotiations.

"Reassured on the conditions that I have mentioned, the Marquis Tsêng would be ready to ask for the orders of his Government and to communicate the reply to you officially.

"In the event of the French Government accepting the conditions laid down by the Marquis Tsêng, it would be desirable for me to know the names of the high personages for whom you are acting.

"Hoping, dear Sir, that our united efforts will bring about the re-establishment of the good relations which formerly existed between the two countries,

"I am, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"PARIS, 20 October, 1884.

"MY MUCH HONOURED AND DEAR DOCTOR,

"I thank you for your long and very important letter. I should have wished to reply to it at once, but circumstances independent of my will have prevented me. I do so to-day, for I have hastened to prove to you how much I am personally grateful to you for having so kindly understood my desire and the object that I proposed to myself.

"The high personages of whom I spoke to you are, among others, to name only one, M. A. F. B—, who has numerous friends in our Foreign Department.

"I handed him your letter, and also a copy of my own.

"M. — finds that it is impossible for him to remit these two documents to the persons with whom he is in relations. You seem, in fact, to assume in your reply that the French Government is making through me overtures to China, whereas it is I alone who of my own initiative have expressed to you the desire to bring about an understanding by our common efforts.

"Besides, my much honoured and dear Doctor, you cast reproaches on French policy, the very worst course to pursue when entering upon Peace negotiations! Lastly, your letter contains statements which are—permit me to be perfectly frank with you—materially inaccurate, China having twice accepted the principle of an indemnity.

"In these circumstances M. — considered that no other course was open to him than to return me the two documents without making use of them.

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"Will you now allow me to express my candid opinion? I think that in our desire to effect a reconciliation we have made a false start.

"I am and remain convinced, despite M. —'s refusal to pass on the letters to the proper quarter, that we may be able to bring about an understanding between our two countries. It will depend essentially on your propositions whether France will abandon or maintain the claim to an indemnity. It is therefore on you alone that the realisation of the Marquis Tsêng's first condition depends.

"As to the second, that is self-evident. Inquire what His Excellency conceives that he might be able to do in view of realising our wishes.

"I expect then, my dear Doctor, from you a letter in exact accord with the sense and contents of my own.

"Accept, etc.,
" . . . "

"MY DEAR SIR,

"49 PORTLAND PLACE, 27 October, 1884.

"I thank you very warmly for the frankness with which you have touched upon several points contained in my letter of 15th inst.

"I am one of those who think that, even in diplomacy, it is better to go straight to the point than to endeavour to reach it in a roundabout manner.

"If then some of the phrases in my letter seemed to you to blame French policy, believe me, Sir, that they were not written to offend your susceptibilities as a Frenchman, but for the purpose of making clear the motives that led the Marquis Tsêng to make the conditions of which you are cognisant, and upon which he would alone consent to abandon his rôle of spectator. If I had acted otherwise and cast reproaches on French policy, I should have misunderstood the sentiments of friendship towards France which our minister has never ceased to entertain even during the warm discussions he has had to carry on with your Government.

"But a truce to explanations; I will now reply to your letter.

"Despite the refusal of M. — to transmit our letters to the proper quarter, you remain convinced that our united efforts might lead to a cordial understanding between our two countries. I am very happy to receive from you this expression of your opinion, and I beg you to feel assured, Sir, that so far as I am concerned I will do everything to justify it.

"You say 'it will depend essentially on your propositions whether France will abandon or maintain the claim to an indemnity.'

"I do not know what propositions France expects from China, and what other advantages she could demand from China beyond

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those that China has already granted. But I am bold enough to say that China will never consent to give anything which might be considered as an indemnity.

"Therefore, dear Sir, if we wish to succeed in the task that we have undertaken, we must find a solution in some other direction.

"It has been said that France will be content with commercial advantages. I do not know whether this is true; perhaps you can enlighten me on this subject.

"Receive, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"PARIS, 29 October, 1884.

"MY MUCH HONOURED AND DEAR DOCTOR,

"You will admit that I am displaying some zeal in performing the possible or even the impossible in bringing about the triumph of what is at this moment the sole dream of my ambition not only as a Frenchman, but also as a sincere friend of the great Chinese nation.

"I have read and re-read your letter with the greatest pleasure, I need scarcely tell you.

"Would it be then so difficult for us to come to an understanding before submitting our views to the right quarter?

"You think that in the matter of commercial advantages we might find together the conditions that would satisfy the two Governments.

"I ask nothing better than to make such a search with you, but it appears to me, I must admit, very difficult to find a solution in this way to which not only England, but Germany also, would not oppose a veto.

"Each of those Powers has, as a matter of fact, a larger trade with the great Empire represented by the Marquis Tsêng than France. The clauses of the Tientsin Treaty produced so much excitement among your compatriots, that I do not think it would be possible to obtain from the Tsungli Yamen, notwithstanding its goodwill, anything more than purely local advantages relating to Tonquin on account of the opposition that the English and German Governments would make thereto in the interests of their own trade.

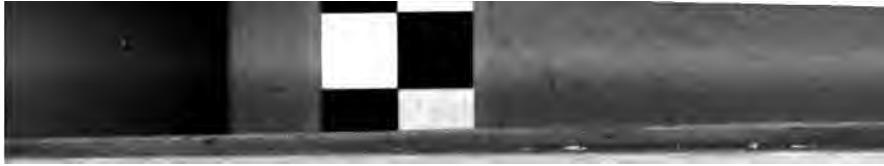
"I have long reflected, I have racked my brains to find, if not something better, at least a different plan.

"Here is the result of my careful reflections, a simple idea that I am going to submit to you, an example rather than a project.

"1. The Treaty of Tientsin to be put in execution.

"2. *Simultaneous* withdrawal of the Chinese troops from Tonquin, and of the French ships from Chinese waters.

"3. France's demands for an indemnity for the Bacle affair to be abandoned.



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"4. Occupation of Formosa by France as a guarantee for the execution of the Treaty of Tientsin.

"I am convinced, and this I tell you in perfect sincerity, that overtures to this effect arriving before the vote in the Chambers of the credit to be given, and of the troops to be sent to Tonquin on the one hand, and before the definitive occupation of Formosa on the other, would have a great chance of being received, if not with pleasure by the Government, at least with satisfaction by the Chambers, which, whilst voting larger credits than those asked for, do not any the less entertain the liveliest desire to put an end to our differences with the Chinese Empire, on account, as you will understand, of the approaching elections.

"Consider, reflect, my much honoured and dear Doctor, these are simple ideas which I suggest to you, and submit for your highly competent examination.

"I greatly desire to go over to meet you ; it will depend on your reply whether this pleasure shall not be too delayed.

"Accept, etc.,
"..."

"MY DEAR SIR,

"PORTLAND PLACE, 1 November, 1884.

"I hasten to reply to your two letters of yesterday,¹ but in the first place I must thank you for the clearness with which you communicate to me the result of your efforts to discover a ground on which we might meet for the purpose of coming to an understanding on the question which interests us so greatly.

"As concerns the four proposals which, in your opinion, might be taken as the base of an arrangement, I do not know how far the Chinese Government would be disposed to accept them.

"But seeing that the third proposition contemplates the abandonment of the indemnity, its special aversion that has created so many obstacles, I shall not be surprised if, with some slight alterations, the Tsungli Yamen consents to adopt them.

"I have asked the Marquis Tsêng for his opinion on the subject, but he declined to express one until enlightened by his Government, after having asked it for instructions. He would be happy to do this if he had the least reason to believe, in fact, that the French Government would not refuse to discuss the question from your point of view.

"You can readily understand, dear Sir, how difficult it would be for the Marquis Tsêng, notwithstanding his goodwill, to submit to his Government ideas which were only those of a too enthusiastic desire to end a deplorable struggle.

"It is quite possible that the French Government shares the views expressed in your four propositions ; but before he could

¹ The second letter is unimportant.

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bring them to the knowledge of his Government, His Excellency must be assured that the French Government would accept them.

"For otherwise such a step on his part would only have the effect of complicating the affair in the event of the French Government refusing to accept a solution from your point of view.

"You will, I am sure, appreciate the justice of the reasons which inspire the Marquis Tsêng in asking for some proof that, as far as concerns the French Government, an arrangement in conformity with your propositions would be acceptable. That given, he will lend his aid so as to bring to a happy ending the matter in dispute between our two countries. His Excellency has always done what he could to find an honourable settlement between the two countries, and the dispatch of 17,000 troops as reinforcements, which you mention, will in no way change his opinions.

"Receive, etc.,
"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"PARIS, 6 November, 1884.

"MY MUCH HONOURED AND DEAR DOCTOR,

"When diplomatic matters are in question and it is necessary to see certain personages, there is no end to the business; thus I am compelled to tell you once again that circumstances altogether independent of my will have prevented my replying at once to your last letter.

"The contents of that letter, although couched in vague terms, allow nevertheless of my supposing that at root we are sufficiently near to an understanding.

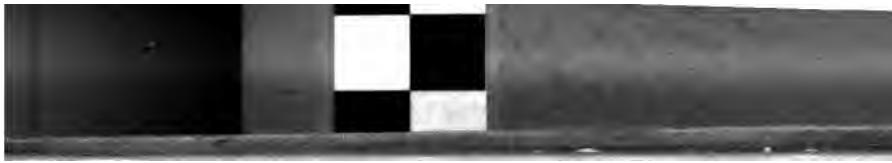
"Still permit me, in the very first place, to make here a slight observation. You seem always to think that in acting as I have done I have above me the tacit official authority of my Government.

"On this point of view I wish to undeceive you and to put an end to your error. Moreover, you must easily recognise that it could not possibly be as you have imagined.

"In fact, France has made proposals to China. You know this. I have no need to recall them or to dwell upon their want of success.

"Under these circumstances, if the French Government were to make even, by a private intermediary, the semblance of a proposition it would be to take up almost the attitude of a suppliant, which would not accord, as you must admit, with its really victorious, or, if that word offends you, dominant position with regard to the Tonquin question.

"This is to show you that I have always acted in the important matter with which we have been occupied in an entirely officious character, and if I lay stress on the point it is because the French



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Press, within the last few days, this very morning even, sets forth as extracts from the English papers almost textually the views that I have submitted to you of my own accord.

" You ask me in your letter if I can assure you whether the French Government would accept the proposals put forward. I may in some measure return you the question by saying : Make these proposals, and I have every reason to believe that France will give them a good reception.

" But if I speak thus it is because, from rumours which reach me, I presume that a solution may be thus arrived at.

" To transform this simple exchange of private views into official *pourparlers* it is necessary, as you will easily understand, for you to address to me a letter or a note, as you will prefer, in which you will say to me in substance what follows :—

" " If His Excellency the Marquis Tsêng were assured that France would accept the following propositions :—

" " 1. Execution of the Treaty of Tientsin ;

" " 2. Simultaneous withdrawal of the Chinese troops from Tonquin and of the French ships from Chinese waters ;

" " 3. Abandonment by France of her claims for an indemnity for the Bache affair ; and

" " 4. Occupation of the island of Formosa by France as a guarantee for the execution of the Tientsin treaty.

" " He would not ask better than to serve as intermediary between China and the French Government, and to propose them to France in China's name.'

" This is the only way, I believe, of finding the true transactional ground on which relations between our two countries might be officially renewed.

" If we wish to succeed, as you have appeared to me to desire as much as I do, it is necessary that the letter I ask of you should reach me as promptly as possible, on account of the negotiations opened in other directions, and which might well profit from the trouble we have taken without our having the honour of bringing a result to pass for which H.E. the Marquis Tsêng and we ourselves were the first to work.

" Accept, etc."

The second phase, commencing on page 385.

" 49 PORTLAND PLACE,

" MY DEAR SIR,

" 23 February, 1885.

" I resume very willingly our correspondence interrupted some time ago.

" I thank you for all the amiabilities contained in your letter of 19th inst., and especially for the proof of friendship which you give in inviting me to be the first to again attempt to find a means of

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putting an end to the conflict which continues to separate two nations who ought always to remain friends.

"I am quite of your opinion that the moment has come to end it, and nothing in the world would give me so much pleasure as to see the former good relations restored. Be convinced, Sir, that nothing on my part will be wanting to bring this to pass.

"I am very glad to learn that this appears so easy to you as only to require a little goodwill. If this is so, reassure yourself, for on my side you will have it in abundance.

"I wish very much that I could share these attractive views with you, but unhappily I must avow that, despite all my desires, I do not see in the present state of things any reason to hope that this new attempt will succeed better than the former. Since then what has happened to make one believe that at the present moment the sentiments with which the two Governments are animated would be more favourable than before to an accommodation?

"The French troops, driving the Chinese army from one position to another, have taken the town of Langson; but will that make the Government of the Republic readier to recognise the just demands of China? I do not think so. Victory is a deaf and exacting divinity.

"On the other side, China, have her losses and her sufferings rendered her more submissive? Have they discouraged her? Up to the present I see no sign of it. On the contrary they have only irritated her and decided her to continue the struggle.

"'I know,' you say, 'for a certainty that from the turn which the campaign in the Far East is going to take, China, and more particularly the reigning dynasty, has everything to fear.'

"That may be true; I know nothing about it. It is easy to be deceived as to the effect of a blow dealt such an immense country, or to a nation whose springs of action are so different from those which move Western nations.

"Since the commencement of the war in Tonquin the French Government must many times have recognised this. If I might dare to risk an opinion as to the effect of another campaign upon China's reigning dynasty, I would say that as long as it goes on fighting it has nothing to fear from internal dissensions.

"Notwithstanding all the losses that it has experienced in this war, the Manchu dynasty is more firmly seated at this moment than it was when it began.

"Only a craven policy or a dishonourable peace can shake the throne of the Manchus. That is my opinion. Is it not confirmed by the remarkable unanimity with which the whole population of China has sustained the efforts of the Government in continuing the war since it decided to adopt an energetic policy?

"I shall be very pleased to exchange views with you on the present situation, and I will do my best to reopen *pourparlers*.



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"I experience no difficulty in recognising the great qualities which you attribute to the French nation, but what China will ask of it whenever negotiations are opened will be not generosity, but justice.

"I conclude, dear Sir, this long letter with the hope that it will prepare the ground for more definite discussions.

"I join my thanks to those of the Marquis for the devotion of which you have given such proof.

"Accept, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"49, PORTLAND PLACE,

"2 March, 1885.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am very glad to learn that in order to prevent the loss of time inevitable from an exchange of views by writing you have decided to come and see me in London.

"I have always been of opinion that, to smooth the path for fruitful negotiations, frank communications *vivæ voce* are worth far more than strokes of the pen made at long range from behind the armoured works of a mistrustful diplomacy. More than a year ago Lord Granville brought the Marquis Tsēng and His Excellency Monsieur Waddington face to face as his guests at Walmer Castle. I had hoped much from that meeting, and I have always keenly regretted that at the conclusion of their conversation the two ambassadors separated without arranging to continue some other day the *pourparlers* thus begun.

"The good sense, the conciliating manner, and the just spirit which distinguished Monsieur Waddington at this interview, appeared to me to designate him as the man destined to put an end to the differences between our two countries.

"I shall be very happy to see you here at the Legation on Thursday, 5 March, at the hour you have named, but I think it my duty to warn you that I shall not be able to communicate to you in a positive manner at our first interview what are the present sentiments of the Chinese Government, for the Marquis Tsēng will have to ask for new instructions, and he will only take this step when you have informed me of the views of the French Government as to how the difference is to be regulated.

"Accept, etc.,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY."

"REPORT.

"LONDON,

"10 March, 1885.

"In the course of a friendly visit paid to Dr. Macartney, Secretary of the Chinese Embassy in London, by his friends . . . the

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conversation having turned on the dispute which at the present time exists between France and China, M. — asked Dr. Macartney whether, in consequence of recent events, China would not be disposed to reopen negotiations with a view to arriving at an understanding, and supposing that such were the case, on what base he thought these negotiations might be resumed.

"In the event of the Chinese Government being desirous to resume *pourparlers* for peace, M. — and M. — offered their services officially to bring under the notice of the French Government the new proposals that China believed might serve as a base for negotiations.

"Mr. Macartney replied that at every period China had been sincerely desirous of arriving at a friendly understanding with France, adding that at this moment, as always, she was ready to make every effort to bring about a happy settlement.

"As to the exact conditions on which China would consent to resume negotiations, Mr. Macartney regrets not being able to state them definitely, for the reason that since the last attempt at mediation made by Lord Granville the Marquis Tsêng has not received any indication of the views of his Government on the subject. But he thinks that as a base for fresh negotiations the following draft might be taken with advantage :—

"DRAFT OF TREATY.

"His Majesty the Emperor of China and His Excellency the President of the French Republic, being desirous of putting an end to the dispute which has troubled the good relations formerly existing between the Celestial Empire and the French Republic, as well as to restore peace between the two countries, have nominated as their respective plenipotentiaries to wit—

"His Majesty the Emperor of China. . . .

"His Excellency the President of the French Republic. . . .

"The said plenipotentiaries having communicated to each other their full powers, and having found them to be in good and due form, have agreed to the following articles :—

This article consecrates the independence of the King of Annam and the abandoning of the right of suzerainty by China over this kingdom. It has been deemed useful to formulate it thus in order to treat tenderly the susceptibilities that more formal terms of abandonment might arouse at the Court of Peking, which would have the effect of at once stopping the negotiations.

Art. I.—His Majesty the Emperor of China, desirous of conforming with the traditional policy of his predecessors, which consisted in not interfering with the internal affairs of the neighbouring countries, leaves complete liberty to the King of Annam in his relations either with France or with any other foreign State.

With the same object it has been deemed necessary to add the words "or with any other foreign State."

In this article mention is made only of treaties to be concluded. Concluded treaties, such as the Fournier treaty, are not mentioned, for the reason that in treaties already concluded words are to be found which might be considered hurtful to China.

In replacing these treaties by a definitive treaty, as is said in Article IV of the Fournier treaty, which abrogated the former treaties, it is useless to mention the treaties concluded in the past.

The definitive treaty will be ratified by Article II; therefore suppressing the word concluded carries with it no injury to France.

This article is introduced with the object of masking the abandonment of China's rights on Annam, and of conciliating certain susceptibilities which might otherwise be aroused.

It must, besides, be remarked that the Emperor of China consents to the King of Annam sending his gifts, but that he cannot in any way compel him to do so.

France can in a word, by using her legitimate influence with the King of Annam, determine his attitude in this matter.

This article gives Tonquin to France.

What is the new state of things created by Articles I and II?

It is that China will have as a neighbour an independent Power instead of a vassal Power. It is consequently necessary to determine the frontier as exactly as possible.

Art. II.—His Majesty the Emperor of China binds himself to recognise all the treaties that may be concluded between France and the Kingdom of Annam, provided that these treaties are such as may in general be made by a neighbouring and friendly Power.

Art. III.—His Majesty the Emperor of China and His Excellency the President of the French Republic consent to the King of Annam sending presents to the Emperor of China as in the past.

Art. IV.—In consequence of the new state of things resulting from the stipulations contained in Articles I and II of this convention, the two contracting parties agree that the frontier between China and that part of the Kingdom of Annam called Tonquin shall be more clearly delimited than up to the present.

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It is agreed that the delimitation shall so far as possible be traced in conformity with a line drawn from one point . . . to another point.

It may be authoritatively added that China is disposed to draw up a treaty as advantageous as possible for France.

Art. V.—The two high contracting parties bind themselves to nominate commissioners charged to delimitate the frontier in conformity with the provisions of Article IV.

They bind themselves besides to nominate plenipotentiaries to negotiate a commercial treaty between the two countries and to fix the points of the frontier through which trade may be carried on.

Art. VI.—The two Powers agree to conclude forthwith an armistice which shall apply to the Chinese, French, and Annamese forces both of land and sea, stationed either in the Kingdom of Annam, or the Chinese Empire, or the island of Formosa, or in any other place.

The terms of this armistice as well as the period at which the troops shall withdraw to their respective frontiers, after the delimitation of the new frontier, shall be set forth in a protocol annexed to the present convention.

Art. VII.—The ratification of the present convention shall take place (at Peking or at . . .) within a period of . . . counting from the day on which this convention is signed.

The blockade of the island of Formosa will be raised forthwith. The French troops will commence, and will complete the evacuation of that island within a period of . . . counting from the ratification of this convention.

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Art. VIII.—As proof of the desire of the two high contracting parties to renew amicable relations between the two countries, the treaties of friendship and peace existing between France and China on 1st January, 1884, will be renewed and confirmed.

"In proof of which the plenipotentiaries have sealed and signed the present convention in six copies, three being in French and three in Chinese.

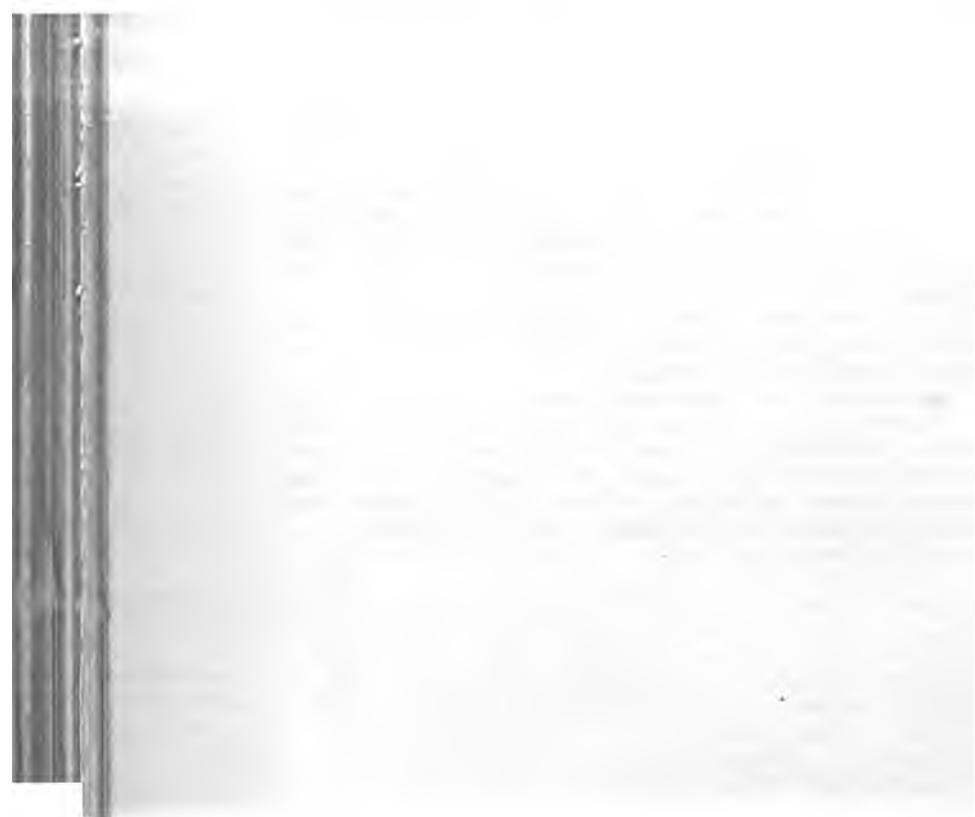
NOTE.

"The present treaty signifies the cession to France of the whole of Tonquin and the whole of the Kingdom of Annam, as well as great commercial advantages.

"It therefore gives as much as, and even more than, the Fournier treaty, but with the difference that by the manner in which it is drafted it avoids irritating China's sentiments of honour, which was not the case with some of the expressions used in the treaty of 11th May.

"In Article I the word 'protect' had in particular been found hurtful, and above all of a nature to create in the future fresh difficulties between the two countries.

"The present draft of a treaty having been communicated to the Marquis Tsêng, His Excellency, in the event of the French Government being willing to accept this draft as a base for fresh negotiations, without going outside the Tonquin question, has promised to present it at Peking, and to use all his influence with the Chinese Government to bring about a pacific settlement."



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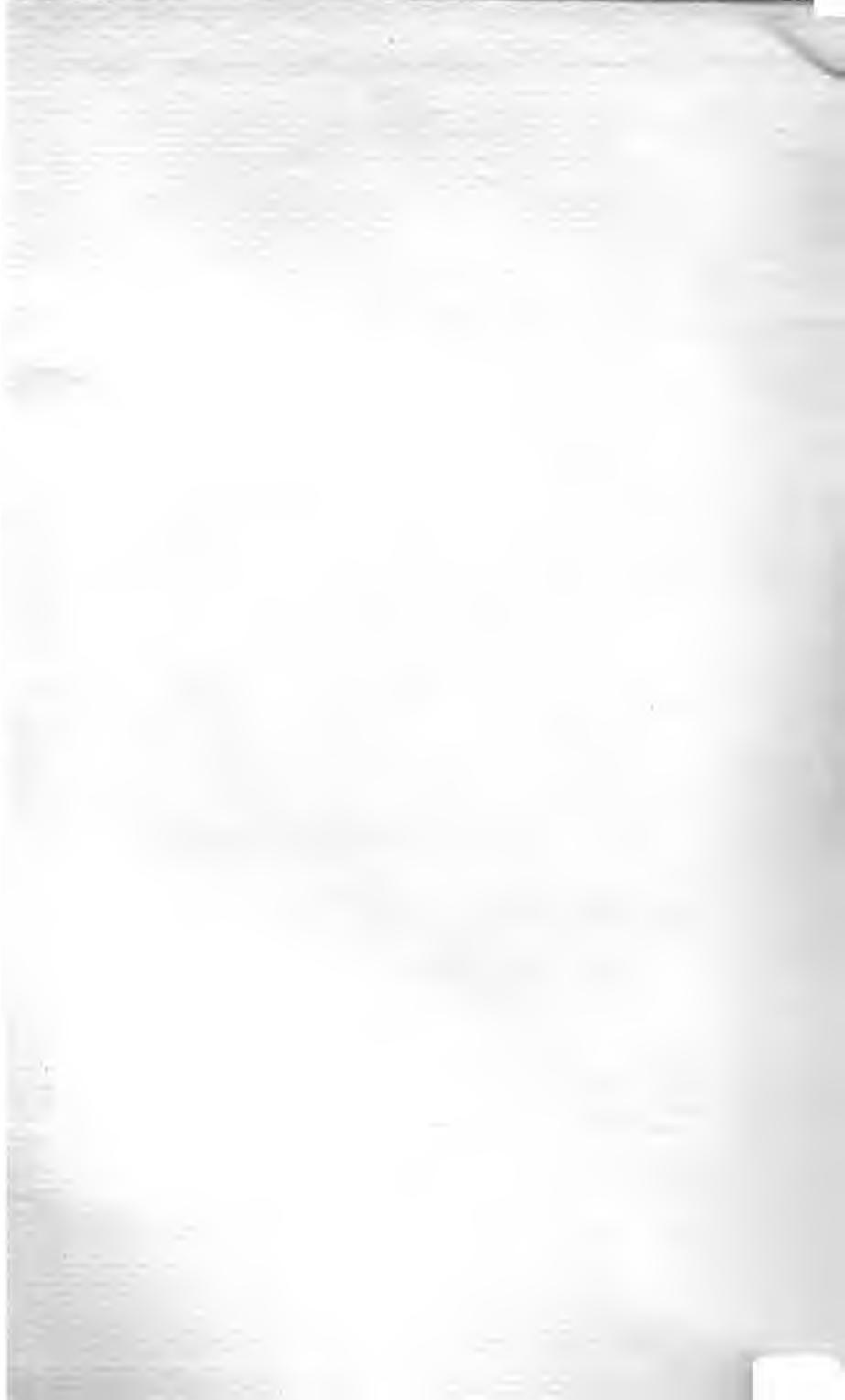
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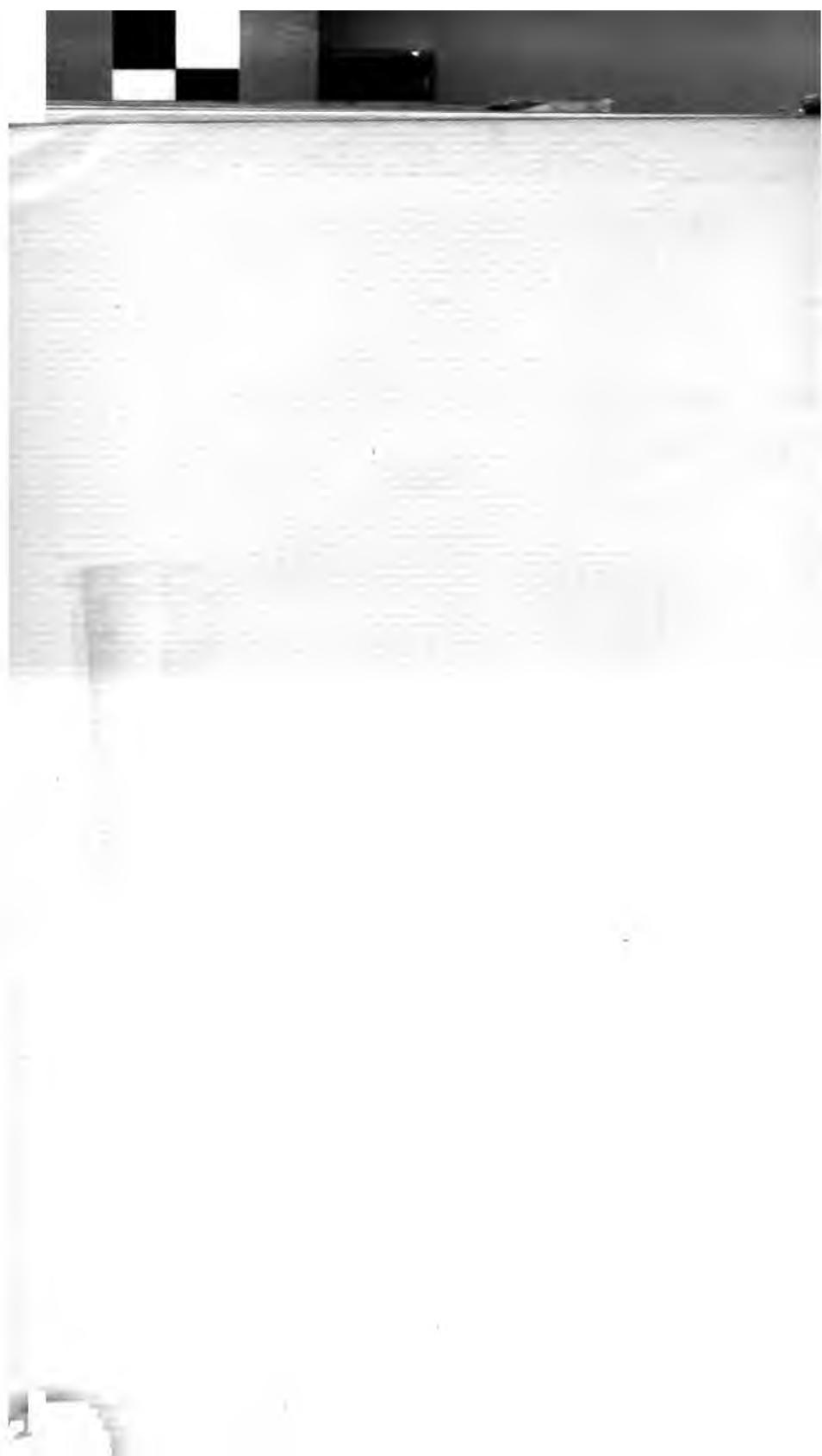
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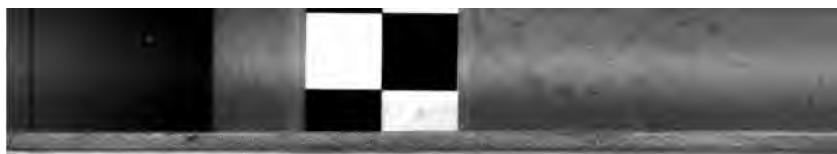
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