

**The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow,
British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)**

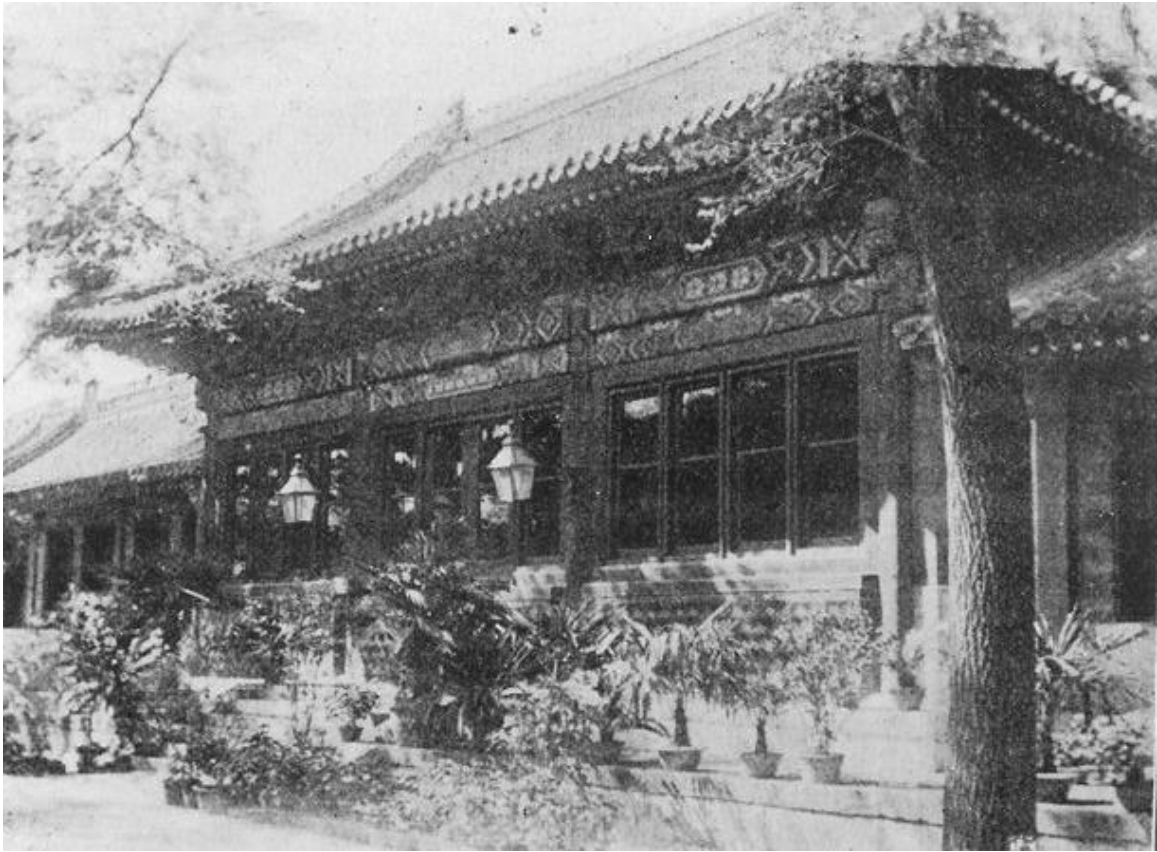
In Two Volumes

Volume One: 1900-03

Volume Two: 1904-06

Edited and Annotated by Ian C. Ruxton

With an Introduction by James E. Hoare



The Peking Legation in the 1880s, but much as Satow would have seen it after repairs following the Siege in 1900 (Picture from an album in the British Embassy, courtesy of J.E. Hoare)



Satow meets Viceroy Chang Chih-tung on board the Royal Navy cruiser H.M.S. Eclipse at Nanking (now Nanjing 南京) inland on the Yangtze river. This photograph is of astonishing quality and is interleaved in the diary entry for November 27, 1902. (Publication rights purchased by the author Ian Ruxton from the National Archives of the UK in March 2006.)

Identities of persons photographed (best guesses)

Front Row (left to right): F. E. Wilkinson of the China consular service; Admiral Harry T. Grenfell, second in command on the China station; Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), Viceroy of Liangjiang; Sir Ernest Satow; unknown consular official (S.F. Mayers? W.P.M. Russell?)

Second Row (left to right): One of the Chinese must be Chang's interpreter Liang, mentioned in the diary. The naval captain behind Satow is possibly Captain Stokes, mentioned in the diary, who was later Rear Admiral Robert H. S. Stokes (1855-1914). The British consular official is probably either S.F. Mayers or W.P.M. Russell.

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Brief outline of Satow's life and career

- 1843 Born in London (June 30)
- 1862-83 Japan consular service
- 1884-87 Siam (Thailand) – steps up from the Japan consular service to the diplomatic service
- 1889-93 Uruguay
- 1893-94 Morocco
- 1895-1900 Japan
- 1900-06 China
- 1907 Second Hague Peace Conference – British delegate.
Appointed (but did not serve) for six years British member of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague.
- 1907-29 Ottery St. Mary (retirement)
- 1929 Dies at Ottery (August 26).

EDITORIAL PREFACE

It is with much pleasure that the publication is hereby announced of the Peking (Beijing) diaries (1900-06) of Her ('His' after Queen Victoria's death in 1901) Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Sir Ernest Mason Satow, G.C.M.G. (1843-1929). One important reason for their publication this year - apart from it being exactly one hundred years since the last entries were penned - is to celebrate the installation with effect from January 16, 2006 of Sir Christopher Hum K.C.M.G., late H.B.M. Ambassador to China, as the 41st Master of the author's *alma mater* Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge University. Sir Ernest Satow was one of Sir Christopher's most illustrious and distinguished predecessors as Britain's envoy to China, and another Master of Caius College in the 20th century was the great Sinologist Joseph Needham. So the Anglo-Chinese (or Sino-British) connections evoked here are both important and many.

These diaries begin with Satow just about to leave Tokyo after five years of service as envoy there. One reason for this is that I have already published his Japan diaries through Edition Synapse of Tokyo in 2003, and this book taken together with the previous one is intended to form an unbroken personal record of his service in both Eastern capitals, including the period when he was back in England between the two postings in 1900. The previous book appeared in hardback format, and as a single volume. This one is a paperback, at least for now, because I am keen that as many people as possible shall have the chance to gain access to these fascinating diaries and own personal copies if they so wish. Naturally the difference in price for a two-volume set of just over 800 pages is considerable as between the two formats, and the cost of a hardback edition would likely limit the potential buyers to university libraries and institutions for the most part.

I am most grateful to Dr. James Hoare for kindly agreeing to write a scholarly introduction. His knowledge of the British presence in China during this period is, I believe, unparalleled and his expert eye has looked over the manuscript and offered many helpful comments and corrections, as well as valuable suggestions for the bibliography.

In a book of this great length there are sure to be errors, all the more so because the transcription is from microfilms and digital images, with checking in case of doubt performed against the venerable handwritten originals (held in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, formerly the Public Record Office). Every effort has been made to ensure that these errors are kept to the barest minimum, but any which have survived are mine, and mine alone.

Ian C. Ruxton (sometime Scholar of Gonville
and Caius College, Cambridge)
Kyushu Institute of Technology, Japan
March 2006

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INTRODUCTION

Sir Ernest Satow's appointment as Minister to Tokyo in 1895 was understandable in terms of his background and skills. He was the foremost scholar of Japanese to have emerged from the Japan Consular Service, which he had joined in 1862. Although subsequently given diplomatic status, and eventually to serve as Minister in Thailand (Siam), Uruguay and Morocco, in the eyes of the Foreign Office, he remained above all an expert on Japan, and with Britain's relations expected to move to a new level after the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1894, it made sense to have Satow in Japan. From a personal point of view too, Japan seemed an obvious choice. Satow's Japanese family, although not formally acknowledged, was important to him, while his many friends from his earlier years in the country now occupied important positions. With his command of Japanese, he would be able to make good use of these connections in subsequent years. He does not seem to have enjoyed his earlier ministerial postings in Bangkok, Montevideo and Tangier, and in any case, he would have been aware that, with his relatively lowly family and consular background, he would not progress very far in the still heavily aristocratic diplomatic service. It was significant that when applying to the Treasury for a pension for Satow in autumn 1906, the Foreign Office noted that he had served at two first class posts, Tokyo and Peking.¹

Yet he was not the obvious choice for the Beijing (Peking) embassy in 1900. He had never served in China, despite a brief stay there as a student interpreter on the way to the Japan consular service in January-September 1862², and there were others who thought that they had as good a claim. Some were suspicious of his scholarly interests, which seemed to point to a less than robust approach to Asians³. Satow had acquired a reputation of being out of sympathy with the tough policies associated with his former chief in Tokyo, Sir Harry Parkes, the darling of the treaty ports. Whereas Parkes had believed that a constant show of force was necessary in dealing with 'Orientals', Satow favoured a polite and less blustering approach. He was very much a product of his period, for example in his lack of doubt that China should be punished for the Imperial support for the Boxer uprising, but he also believed in good manners and diplomatic proprieties, and that the Chinese had rights as well. In the Chinese treaty ports and among their representatives in Britain, it was also believed that Satow would be less willing than some of his predecessors to support British merchants' interests, and when his proposed appointment to Peking became public knowledge, there was a brief campaign among some 'Old China Hands' to object⁴. This came to nothing but the suspicions remained.

¹ See the papers in National Archives, Foreign Office Records FO366/1140/34164 of 1906.

² See Ch. 1, *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929): A Scholar-Diplomat in East Asia*, ed. I. Ruxton (The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998).

³ Cyril Pearl, *Morrison of Peking* (Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 140.

⁴ Nathan A. Pelcovits, *Old China Hands and the Foreign Office* (New York: American Institute of

Satow, for his part, was well aware that the China post, given Britain's large commercial interests in the country, the great number of Britons who resided there, and their dominance of the treaty ports, would be a more challenging appointment than Tokyo. There was also a much larger and more widely spread consular service to manage.

When Satow was approached about the Peking post, the Boxer uprising was scarcely more than a small cloud on the horizon. By mid-summer 1900, that had changed. The attacks on foreigners and the siege of the legations from 20 June to 14 August increased the importance of Satow's appointment. His predecessor, Sir Claude MacDonald, who had played a major role during the siege, was due to go to Tokyo, but for a time there were doubts about whether he and his colleagues had survived the siege. If this had happened, Satow, like the senior officers in the Foreign Office, was prepared to punish severely the Chinese court and others involved – despite his previous strong views about Sir Harry Parkes, in July 1900, Satow wrote that 'the old gunboat policy was the right one'. He would modify this view once he was in China.

MacDonald survived and went directly to Tokyo in early autumn 1900. After a hectic social and family round in Britain, Satow left for China, with stops in the United States, Canada and Japan – where he was warmly welcomed by his former colleagues – he arrived in China in late September 1900. After a brief stop in Shanghai, he moved up to Peking, and began work. He was in a somewhat anomalous position, since he could not present his credentials as minister. The Imperial court had fled from Peking as the allies suppressed the Boxer uprising but even if it had remained, the allies thought of themselves as at war with the court. So from September 1900 until January 1902, Satow was technically not the British minister but rather the British High Commissioner for negotiations leading to the settlement of the foreign claims arising from the Boxer uprising. This had little effect on his standing among his colleagues, but it gave rise to the sort of minor diplomatic questions that would eventually be discussed in his great post retirement work, *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*.

Indeed, one of the striking features of the Peking diaries is the frequency with which Satow made notes on issues of protocol and similar. As well as noting long conversations on political and economic matters, he paid careful attention to how he and his fellow members of the diplomatic corps dressed on various occasions. Protocol at the Imperial court in Peking clearly intrigued him, and he always recorded the relevant positions of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor; the former clearly took precedence over the nominal ruler of China! He also observed the jockeying among his colleagues over issues of precedence, including the precedence of spouses.

Pacific Relations, 1948), pp. 273-74.

But as before, the main interest of the diaries is in more substantive issues than disputes about which lady should go first at an Imperial reception. Many of the earlier entries are concerned with the negotiations over what became the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and the subsequent issues that arose over the status of the Peking Legation Quarter, the stationing of foreign troops in China for protection purposes, and the Chinese indemnity – curiously enough, as early as December 1902, the question of the eventual return of at least part of the indemnity was already under consideration. None of these issues ever disappear, but others crowd in as well. The Russo-Japanese tension over the Russian presence in Manchuria, and the consequent Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, receive much attention. Satow's Japanese contacts were especially useful in providing insight on these issues. Satow understood the Japanese position, and like most Britons of his generation, he had a strong suspicion of the Russians. Yet he was no uncritical supporter of the Japanese position. After the Japanese defeat of the Russians, and their establishment of a protectorate in Korea, he recorded, with demur, some very hostile comments about Japanese behaviour in the peninsula.

Missionary matters were an issue of concern. Satow was by 1900 a firm Anglican, but was also prepared to admit that he had contemplated becoming a Roman Catholic. He clearly had good relations with many of the Anglican missionaries, but he was also aware of some of the problems caused by over zealous missionaries, and especially by the practice of missionaries supporting their congregations in what were essentially secular matters. He had discussed such issues in Rome on his way back to Peking after his 1903 leave, and he regularly raised the matter with his French colleagues, while warning his Anglican missionary contacts of the dangers of such entanglements.

Railways, and railway concessions, increasingly feature in the diaries as the years pass. Trains became a fact of Peking life after 1900, and Satow mentions a number of his own journeys by train, and that the Chinese delegation to King Edward VII's coronation in 1902 set off by special train – something that would have been unthinkable just a year or two previously. He recorded long discussions on railway issues with the Chinese authorities, with eager British businessmen, and with his diplomatic colleagues. On a more minor scale, there were discussions with the Chinese about where and where not railway lines might enter Peking.

The Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs was another important issue. Satow seems to have at first thought that the venerable Sir Robert Hart, the British Inspector-General of the Customs, was past his best. Gradually, however, his views changed, and he became steadily less critical of Hart. The question of a successor as Inspector-General was a thorny one and perhaps Satow's warming to Hart was partly to put off the issue of deciding on who should succeed. Satow also took some interest in the affairs of the customs at the ports. From 1903-04, the question of Tibet and its status

features, with the Chinese very concerned over the Younghusband expedition and an apparent British expansionist policy, and the British about the Dalai Lama, who fled to India after being deposed by the Chinese.

Satow also had responsibilities for the British China Consular Service, though this is less obvious from his diaries than from his semi-official and official correspondence. Nevertheless, consular concerns over matters such as promotion and leave, as well as some personality clashes, intrude from time to time. Although he acquired a reputation for being somewhat demanding and unsympathetic towards the China Consular Service¹, he could be kind on a personal level. He was godfather to one of W. Ker's children and notes the provision of cakes and shortbread for another consular officer's daughter. Visiting consular staff were often invited to stay in the residence. However, when the language students did not reply promptly to an invitation to Christmas lunch, the invitation was cancelled.

Satow the man is less in evidence, except when he recounts his time on leave. He clearly enjoyed renewing family connections on such occasions, even if they sometimes brought problems, and he relished events such as his reception by the King at Windsor, sitting for his caricature by 'Spy' for *Vanity Fair*, and other signs that he had arrived. At the same time, he kept up with old colleagues and acquaintances such as W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins. He mentions book-buying expeditions while on leave but does not seem to have been interested in Chinese curios or books. He played bridge with his diplomatic colleagues, enjoyed the cottage that he rented not far from Peking, and describes walks on the city wall and elsewhere with evident relish. After an unexplained three-year gap, he began to ride again in 1904. His well-established interest in botany remained strong. But he was also frequently ill, with colds and stomach problems serious enough to keep him in bed for days, and suffered a serious fall from his horse on one occasion. He turned 60 in 1903, and although in those days, some diplomatic and consular officers served beyond that and Satow was kept on for another two years, he seems to have been ready to retire when the call came in 1906. He had not become as attached to the Chinese as he had to the Japanese and there were other things to do. Although some scholars have regretted that Satow's evident skills were not again deployed in a diplomatic role, there can be little doubt that his time as British representative at the Second International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907 provided an important and useful service to his country.²

¹ P. D Coates, *The China Consuls: British Consular Officers 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 445-46.

² See Nigel Brailey, 'Sir Ernest Satow and the 1907 Second Peace Conference' in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 201-228 (pub. Frank Cass, London).

Satow's Japanese language skills, honed over his long residence in Japan, were the envy of his colleagues and a source of great admiration and wonderment to the Japanese themselves. He was without doubt the most talented linguist in the Japan consular service, and probably in the whole foreign community. In the Peking diaries we find several names written by him in the original Chinese characters, many of which are not used in Japanese. He was also surely able to read complex Chinese documents on his own. It is not clear, however, whether he had a reasonable command of spoken Chinese. It seems likely that he relied to a fair degree on his Chinese Secretary and assistants as interpreters, if only to give himself time to think.

Scholars of East Asian history have long used Satow's diaries, but hitherto there has been limited access to them. In a most welcome development, Ian Ruxton and his publishers have now made this valuable resource available to a much wider audience. I suspect that Satow, who made careful arrangements for the preservation of his official papers, would have been pleased.

J E Hoare

HM Diplomatic Service 1969-2003.

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[Satow returns from Japan to England via Canada.]

- 4 May By 9.25 to Yokohama along with Orfini. Lots of people to say goodbye. d'Anethans and the Legation with us. Saw [John H.] Gubbins for a few moments; he went off in the "Centurion" to Wei-hai-wei, no time for any talk. Told him about Peking, of which he evidently had not heard. Lunched with Bonar and went off in the "Endymion's" barge. Left a quarter to five, the Endymion and an Italian man of war firing salutes as we passed. "Empress of India", [Captain] Marshall.
- 8 May Wind up to yesterday and a certain amount of malaise from the motion. Today no wind, but mist over the water. About 130 first class passengers. Montgomerie & his wife, late of the "Bonaventure" on board, Pritchard-Morgan M.P., Henningsen of the Gt. Northern Teleg. Co. I sailed in this ship ["Empress of India"] this time three years ago [see diary for May 7, 1897].
- 15 [May] Arr. Victoria Quarantine station at 5.30 a.m. Very few days during the journey when we had not the fiddles on the dinner tables, and yesterday a headwind with rain, so much pitching, but at 7 got into small water. Otherwise a fair wind always. Abt. ½ past 6 went on board for a walk and found quantities of what looked like asphodil of a dark purple colour, also larkspur, various vetches, a stone crop yellow, double red daisies, buttercups, a small blue flower with pods like lupin. Trees, spruce, oak and arbutus, the latter of very great size.
- 16 [May] Arrd. Vancouver early in the morning. Walked abt. the town with Orfini, and lunched at the Hotel. A fine day, with strong wind, rather cold. Private car "Champlain" lent me by Sir Wm. Van Horne. Had Mrs. Ricketts to dinner, wife of an engineer on the Chinese Govt. Railways at Shanhaikwan.
- 17 [May] At Winnipeg. W.R. Baker representative of T.H. Shaughnessy, President of the Company and the Premier Hugh John Macdonald took Orfini and self for a drive round the city, and we called on the Lieut. Genl. Mr. Paterson.
- 21 [May] Arrd. at Montreal. Sir W. Van Horne came to meet me at the station and took me to his house to stop.
- 22 [May] Paid \$200 additional on my passage by "Teutonic" from New York, went to Bank & drew a bill for £60. In the afternoon Lady Van Horne took me for a drive to Mount Royal, and thro' the residential portion of the town. Left cards on the Shaughnessys. Off to New York by 7 o'clock train.

1900

23 [May] Arrd. New York at nine, drove round by Brentanos & bought some books. Then to "Teutonic". Wileman came to talk abt. his eyes, wch. may necessitate a journey to England. Promised to support his application for leave if necessary. Sailed at noon.

31 [May] [Satow reaches England.] Arrd. Liverpool after a fair passage. Made the acquaintance of Mr. & Mrs. James Amory Moore of New York (38 East 35 the Street), who know the Peter Barlows & the Chas. Dodges. F.C. Jennings a retired tea merchant (also of New York), B.S. Guinness, Rev. Chas. M. Sheldon (Kansas), & Mr. H. Walter of Baltimore, a collector of lacquer and porcelain, the latter chiefly Chinese.

Charlie & Sam met me at the station & I drove to my flat rented from Miss Maye Gorton at 11 Portland Place. To F.O. Saw Bertie, Sanderson, Cockerell, F. Campbell, Hon. St. John Brodrick, Foley, Monk-Button and Eric Barrington. Found that it is all settled abt. the exchange betw. Macdonald & myself, the former going to Japan about September. Tower is to go out as 2nd Sec. & will succeed Bax-Ironside as 1st.

Bertie seemed to think the news from Peking abt. the Boxers serious, and that the Powers will have to use such strong measures agst. the Empress-Dowager as will bring China to the ground & hasten on partition. The Germans seem to want more than Shantung and to come south. He talked of a massacre of foreigners at Peking. I said the mob could not force the gates. The Empress-D[owager] he believes encourages the Boxers sous-main. (But a later teleg. said the Chin. Govt. consented to foreign guards to the Legations coming to Peking. So the danger would seem to be over for the present.)

The Shimonoseki consulate & medical officer in Nagasaki are to be sanctioned. To discuss after Whitsuntide ¹ with Cockerell and Villiers.

St. John Brodrick anxious to know whether Japan wld. fight Russia abt. Masanpho. I gave it as my opinion that she wld. not act in any case before 1903 when their fleet & army will have attained their full expansion, and even then only if England backs her up. We talked a little abt. the War in S. Africa and I suggested that Lord Roberts' censure of Buller in the Spion Kop desp. was in order to give him an opportunity of resigning, as I had heard a disquieting rumour abt. him. He said that various things had completely destroyed B's military reputation. Nothing went right until the civilians took matters out of Ld. Wolseley's hands, & passing by him apptd. Roberts & Kitchener.

My apptmt. to Peking does not seem to have gone before the under-secretaries (Villiers did not mention it) & the P.S. So I suppose it will be some time before it is made public.

¹ Whitsun is the seventh Sunday after Easter, and the week that follows that Sunday. In 1900 it was early in June.

1900

Thanked Barrington for the complimentary terms of his teleg. He said Macdonald is delighted to go to Tokio, & hoped I shld. not mind Peking. I said that it wld. be interesting in many ways. Proposed to go out mid-September & work my way up from Canton visiting the ports, so as to get to Peking end of November, unless there was some reason for going out earlier. This was agreed to.

Wilkinson's apptmt. as judge has been laid before the Queen. They are going to cut down his salary & try to get rid of his son as Crown Advocate. I said that I understood fr. H.S.W. that he wld. arrange this. Barrington said Bax-Ironside has not behaved well to Macdonald, & that he was not quite a gentleman, but spoke highly of Tower who is to replace him.

Gubbins' apptmt. to Corea was touch & go. The day after he had been told Macdonald telegd. recommending Fulford.

Went to see Emma Sturges, & then to dinner at Oriental Club where I found Dick Beynon.

June 1900

- 1 June Stayed in all the morning waiting for Agneta, then to order gloves &c. at Greggs', lunched at Club, to tailor and then into the city to see Shand & find out abt. the state of my balance. Back to Hatchards to order books. Called on Mrs. Thursby & to dine with the Tom Murphys, previous to going to see Mrs. Patrick Campbell in "Magda". At dinner his brother Capt. James Murphy, a well-read retired soldier.
- 2 June To see [R.K.] Douglas. Told him under seal of secrecy about Peking, at wch. he expressed his great delight. His youngest boy, 17, is a midy on board the "Centurion". Went to have a chat with Mrs. Thursby, and after lunch wrote my name at Marlborough House, York House and on the Queen at Buckingham Palace.
- Lady Chas. Beresford, whom B.S. Guinness my fellow traveller asks me to go down to Ham House to spend afternoon and dine on Sunday next. Wrote that I shld. prob. be out of town, but wld. write & let her know.
- Down to Oxford by 4.45 express to stay over Whitsuntide with the Tozers.
- 3 June Laburnum, scarlet thorn, may, lilac, horse chestnut, mountain ash all in bloom and the air full of their perfume. A multitude of thrushes, blackbirds and other small singing birds quite a wonder. Called on Prof. Earle, and then to Cathedral with Henry [Tozer] walking the whole way. Both he & Augusta much stronger than I had any hope of finding them. The weather splendid.
- 4 [June] To the Bodleian [Library] in the morning, and in the afternoon Henry and I to St.

1900

John's [College] garden, Christchurch meadow and Magdalen. Left cards on the [E.B.] Tylors. A brilliant day.

5 [June] By Exeter to Sidmouth to join Sam at the Royal York Hotel. Magnificent weather. Left by 9.25 train, and got in at 3.55. After tea we walked by Beckwell past the golf links to the top of Mutter's moor, where a magnificent prospect over the vale of the [River] Otter burst upon our eyes and rewarded the fatigue. Hot and still. Below us Newton Poppleford and silver stretches of the Otter. Truly a sight of beauty to be grateful for. *Laus Tibi, Domine!* [Latin: Praise be to Thee, O Lord!] Then along the moor to the edge of the cliff, and so home. The town en fête for Lord Roberts' entry into Pretoria, and bells pealing. Ned Conant, an invalid & consumptive. Old John Radford died yesterday.

6 June After breakfast we climbed Salcombe Down, and followed the edge of the cliff to Salcombe mouth, descended a short way and then turned inland, crossed the valley to a farmhouse on the opposite side, and ascended the slope to the edge of the cliff, following it to Weston Mouth, where are a succession of irregular grass grown mounds and a little further the remains of an old kiln. It seems that lime was formerly burnt here, and the mounds were thrown up in excavating the stone. Along a pleasant shady lane to a farmhouse, part of wch. is an old manor-house now called Dunscombe Castle. Here we sat down with a jug of cider and smoked by the kitchen fire. From here we took to the road, and walked to another farmhouse, called Weston Hall, where are ruins of a manor house destroyed by fire many years ago. From the remains one wld. judge it to be early 18th century. Back along the Lyme Rd. to Bucks Ash, where we took the road to l. thro' Salcombe, and so got to the "York" by 1.15, say 3¾ hrs. Found a purple orchid with spotted leaves by the side of the Lyme road. A bright warm morning, wind from N.E. In the afternoon took tea with Mrs. Curry at Livonia and her dau. Alice Jenkins. Monty Curry is now Col. of 1st Devons, commandant at Pretoria. Walked round by the convent, The Lodge, Cotlands, Marino & Witheby.

7 June By 9.10 train to Exeter, went to a bookshop, and caught a train to Paignton, where we arrived in time for 1 o'clock lunch with David [Satow, Ernest's elder brother] and his wife; he has moved to a pleasanter house, overlooking the bay, called Classenwell. A showery day. Got back a little after 7, having a long interval at Exeter, which we spent in walking into the Cathedral.

8 June By the same train to Exeter, where we walked through the public garden, and seeing some bamboos there were led to go on to Veitch's, where he had some more. Yadake he has wrongly marked metake : flexuosa seems to be their name for hanchiku. Got to Teignmouth at 11.30, and had an hour's talk with Joe abt. estate matters before lunch,

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and again after. I said I could do for Hatchard all that Mamma had been in the habit of doing. Cathie sang us some songs after lunch. Charles H. Allen & Mary Pepper staying there. Took 3.30 train back: tea at Hoskins overlooking the end of Queen St. very crowded, and so back to Sidmouth by 5.40 or thereabouts. In the train going to Sidmouth junction found ourselves with Lake, the coach proprietor and another old resident with whom we conversed about past times. In 1887 Lake got together all the oldest people in the place, and put them on the outside of a coach; it was driven by a man of 85 and another of the same age was guard; the united ages of all the old folk, whom he had much difficulty in hoisting up to the outside, was 1097 years.

9 June Rained all night, but began to clear after breakfast, and was quite fine at 11.30 when we started in an open carriage with one horse to pay a visit to the Astons at Beer, reaching their house at a few minutes after one. The sea was of a delicious blue and a narrow band of haze hid the horizon. We discussed the piracy of his book on Japanese literature, wch. Heinemann says has been pirated in Japan. A Japanese has written to Aston to ask him to permit it to be translated, wch. he is willing to accede to, and to add something to the last chapter on the modern literature, but he thinks the Japse. Govt. for whom this is to be done, shld. give something to Heinemann for the permission. I expressed the opinion that they would refuse. I also told them abt. Peking, enjoining secrecy for the present.

We started on foot at 3.30, and walked over Beer head to Branscombe mouth, where we found mimulus in flower, and yellow iris. Then up the opposite side, along a green track bordered by an ash wood, and so on to the top, where there were formerly lime kilns. Somewhere at the edges of the cliffs we found a small yellow cistus. So on to Weston mouth, where we turned inland to the Burnt Farm by 5.30, and the carriage meeting us here, we drove in by six.

10 June. Trinity Sunday. We walked in two hours to Ottery St. Mary. Outside the porch [of the church] is a stone tablet to a lady of the last century bearing the curious Xtian name Embrance. The church is a fine old structure, with a chancel as long as the nave, and a little chapel behind the altar. After lunch started at two E., got on to the old Honiton Rd. and walked along the moor to the Beacon, got on to Core hill, descended to Sidbury, and took tea with Mrs. Curry. Left cards on the Tyrells, and walked thro' the grounds and kitchen garden of Arcot, a house recently for sale, and now to let, then home. The S.E. wind which had been blowing all day, subsided while we were at tea. Brilliant weather.

11 June We took a two-horse trap and drove over to Honiton in about an hour and a quarter, lunched at the Dolphin, and caught the 12.33 up train. A delightful drive, the sea fog that hung abt. the shore in the morning having cleared away just as we left, a very hot day.

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Went to see Mitford and afterwards dined with him and Henry Yorke C.B. of the Admiralty at the Travellers. Where I am to come up for election some time next year.

12 June To B.M. [British Museum] to work on Saris. ¹ Lunched with Mrs. Bonar & Mrs. Churchill at the Albemarle Club. Called on the Wellses, and then to F.O. depositing Augusta at the Clifton Hotel en route. Saw Campbell abt. the Formosan tea duty & my last Note in protest, read desp. abt. Heinemann's copying in Japan & had a long chat with [law officer W.E.] Davidson. Then saw Lord S[alisbury]. He looks as if he suffered fr. eczema. Boxers. He thinks the business will not come to much. As to Japan, I assured him that no preparations are being made for war, tho' it is the case that their military & naval programme will be completed in 1903. That I think they will avoid war with Russia unless they can obtain active assistance. Down to Chislehurst to dinner.

13 June A Mr. R. Knight-Bruce called to ask the name of an agent in Japan for steel, especially boiler tubes. Recommended R.J. Kirby.

Down to Slindon Rectory near Arundel to see the Rev. Arthur Izard about Eitarō, and agreed with him for £250 a year.

On my return found Edward & Eva and gave them some tea.

Admiral W.H. Henderson called. He returned from Jamaica 26 May.

Anderson, on whom I had called in the morning, came in.

Augusta and Sam to dinner.

14 June B.M. M.S. dept. in forenoon to look at maps of Eastern Archipelago. After lunch to F.O. saw Villiers, Chauncey Cartwright, Newman, who says the new arrangements abt. consular pay when on leave will be settled shortly, and Sanderson.

Ralph Paget called, then came Wm. Foster by apptmt. to talk abt. Saris' journal. Herbert White from Tangier. Returned Hendersons' call, but did not find them in. Augusta to dinner, took her home and went on to have a chat with the Andersons.

15 June To B.M. & finished examining the M.S. maps and Chinese words in Saris's journal with Douglas.

Called on Admiral Custance, who told me he had made use of my letter to him abt. Ottley ², & that it had been arranged for O. to remain in Japan till next year, and the Treasury was being applied to for funds to appt. a separate naval attaché to Washington.

Saw Boyce at Constitutional Club.

Lunched with St John Brodricks to meet Lord Middleton, a charming old gentleman, Sir Cuthbert & Lady Peak, Count & Countess Hoyos.

¹ Published as *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*. Edited from contemporary records by Sir Ernest M. Satow. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, Bedford Press, London, 1900.

² See PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 32, Satow to Custance, dated April 11, 1900.

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Brodrick: told him Lord S. was averse to asking Japanese to send troops to China, but that he, Balfour & Chamberlain desired to ask Russia & Japan each to send 4,000, we sending 2,000. He thinks I may have to be hurried out.

Went to talk to Mrs. Murphy at her club, had a talk here with Wm. Heinemann about the copyright in Aston's book, wch. I did not think had been pirated & recommended him to send to Japan instructions to have copyright applied for under Berne Convention.

Called on Lady Charles Beresford, whom I did not see, on Lady Weber, Maud Warrington and dined with the Trowers.

16 [June] To Berkhamsted with Sam.

17 [June] We walked in the afternoon across the common to Lane's rhododendron nurseries, where there was a fine show of shrubs & standards, & some pretty yellow, flame[-]coloured & mixed azaleas.

18 [June] Back to town. To see Arthur, to whom I pointed out that the trustees had exceeded their powers under my father's will, that there was no necessity to move the fund set apart for the payment of the annuities of £600 & £150. It amounted as shown by the accounts to £23,000 odd, wch. if invested in good securities & left there, such as my own L. & N.W. debentures, it would have produced the required interest, and have grown by at least 25% in the last 26 years, whereas it had only grown to the extent of £3,500. That the trustees I presumed were liable for the loss on investments not authorized by the will, amounting to nearly £3,600, and that he could not rightly keep the brokers' commissions. These he admitted had been received by his firm of H. Vigne & Sons. I then gave him my reasons for not signing the release sent to me by Joe, and offered to abandon any claim in respect of the foregoing acts contrary to the tenor of the will, if he wld. consent to give up being Augusta's trustee. Finally I said I wld. write proposing to him to accede to her desire to have trustees chosen by Henry or herself, and if he agreed to this I wld. sign the release. Otherwise not. I understood him to agree to this.

Lunched with the Hoyos, old Mrs. Whitehead, two of her daughters, Admiral Albert Markham, who was 2nd Lieut. of the "Centaur" in Japan in 1862 when I first went there, Ad. Drury who married another Mrs. Whitehead, & 2 daus. of the Hoyos, one I think Countess Herbert Bismarck.

Walked with Markham to the Intelligence Dept. at Queen Anne's Gate but did not find Sir John Ardagh, then to 49 Cambridge St. Hyde Park to try & find Dudley Hervey and A.M. Skinner; went to B. Arnold in Baker St. about my plate left me by my mother, & left cards on the Chas. Churchills.

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19 June B. Arnold's successor came to look at the plate & I arranged for him to send on the morning of 26th to fetch it away.

To Intelligence Dept. to see Sir John Ardagh. He did not seem enthusiastic, but rather half-hearted, abt. Churchill's work as Mil. Att. at Tokio. Told him thought Ch. would like to remain at his present post, there was no intention to change any of the Mil. Atts. just now, in fact two of them had been prolonged for a year.

Boyce to lunch.

Left Seal and the Boleslawski pocket book at Lockwoods in Bond St. the one for a case to be made, the other to be made up new with the old mountings.

Went to see David & his wife at Grand Hotel.

To Epsom to stop with Edward & Eva, & walked up to the racecourse with him.

20 June Back to town early.

C.M.S. came. He brought his passbook to show, and wants an advance of £200. I asked abt. the shares in a patent bung company wch. he was to get in 1897, on which he asked me to advance a considerable sum of money. He said he never received a single share, owing to the way in wch. the solicitor of the Co. had "crabbed" the affair. I pointed out that he shld. have written and told me this, as he had left me up to the present moment in the belief that he had recd. the shares, and that I was accordingly at a loss to understand his need of money.

He says he has borrowed £1650 fr. A.H.P. and £230 fr. S.A.M.S. I said I understood he had £2600 from the former. Before promising to advance any money I posed certain conditions. 1^o that I shld. go and see the place, 2^o, that I shld. send my own man to examine the books and make an estimate of the running expenses. He did not like this, so I told him he had better think it over and let me know.

Went to meet Reginald Tower at the St. James Club & promised certain letters of introduction to Canada.

Lunched with Dudley Hervey and A.M. Skinner & showed the former some of my difficulties in the Saris M.S.

To Westminster to meet E. Sturges, & with her to the Tate Gallery.

Dinner at St. John Brodricks. Took down Mrs. Lawrence Brodrick, & found myself next to Lady Windsor. Lord Wemyss, Arthur Balfour. White the American Secy. of Embassy, tall man with very pleasant expression. Eric Barringtons [Lord Salisbury's private secretary] there. Was introduced to Balfour, Lord W. & White.

21 June Took daguerrotypes of Father and Mother to Houghton 88 High Holborn to be copied.

To F.O. to see telegs. & talk to Brodrick. Three vessels have been ordered fr. the

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Mediterranean. Bruce telegs. to Admiralty in great excitement to have a whole battleship's crew sent out to him. Troops sent from Wei-hai-wei. He asked my opinion whether the Japse. wld. accept a mandate fr. the PP. I said that if they did, prob. they wld. not be content to take a backseat when affairs were finally arranged.

Called on Miss Mason & Lucy, and left a card for Mrs. J. Bell Irving at Claridges. Dined at the Webers. Met Taylor & his wife, Hilda Weber, Cecil Smith of B.M., Sir Borrodaile & Lady Savory, a certain Bence-Jones who was at Trowers the other night, the Ernest Schusters.

22 June B. Brennan came to see me. We talked much about China. Suddenly he asked whether I would like to go to Peking, to wch. I answered that it was a difficult post, Tokiō a much softer thing.

Lunched with Chauncey Cartwright at the National Club. Sir A. Bateman of the Board of Trade, Maurice Hewlett, [I.V.] Chirol, Edmund Gosse, Regn. [Reginald] Tower and Walrond Clarke [Note: H.B. Brooke crossed out] of the F.O.

Afterwards to the Hertford collection opening by the Prince of Wales, Mitford having procured me an invitation. Met J.G. Kennedy, Sir Ed. Hertslet; afterwards went to see Mrs. Kennedy at the Crawfords in Cavendish Square.

J..P. Reid, formerly of Yokohama, came to call.

Went to see Mitford & left message that I shld. like to call on him on Monday afternoon. Sam came up to lunch, and we discussed the question of Arthur's remaining trustee for Augusta, Charlie's desire to borrow money from me, and Arthur's suggestion that the rest of the family should assist in paying for Hatchett's support during the last nine months.

To Brighton, to my aunt at Eastern Terrace, E. Sturges there.

25 June Back to town & lunched with Mitford at Dieudonnés. Talked over his idea of removing the capital to Peking in his letter in "Times" of 22nd. Then went to Bertie at F.O. & saw the latest telegs. He thinks that whether the Legations are safe or not it is surprising that nothing shld. come thro' but telegs. from `Peking to the various Chinese officials on Yangtse. As to Mitford's idea, the Russians wld. never agree, & Lo-fêng-luh, when he suggested to him some two years ago the same thing, said Nanking was too near the sea; he wld. prefer Wu-chang. I said that wld. do. But B's idea is that if the Chinese have really massacred the Legations, the integrity of China is at an end; if the Russians occupy Peking we must give up the North, and establish a scion of the Mings in the S. He decidedly did not wish to talk to Mitford, whom he said he saw a few days ago. He asked if anything was settled abt. my going out. I said no, & that L[or]d S. had told Barrington he did not wish to shorten my leave, but of course I shld. be ready to go out

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whenever I was wanted. He rejoined that at present it was an affair for admirals &c. I expressed a strong opinion that if the Legations have been massacred, women, children & all, not one stone shld. be left standing on another. His view, in wch. I agree, is that nothing can be thought of till the curtain lifts.

Ad. & Mrs. Henderson, & the J.P. Reids to dinner here.

26 June Took E. Sturges' 'Imitatio' to Edwards to mend. Called on F.H. James, W.G. Howell, Shand & lunched with the Trowers, who had Anderson & E. Pets also. To return the card of Matsui, Japse. Ch. d'Aff. And to tea with Mrs. Thursby, where I met Nina Baring, who is to marry Ld. Granville. Dined with the Napiers in Cottesmore gardens; met a Dalrymple Hay (son of Sir John) who is a Treasury clerk, a David Campbell Johnson cousin of the Napiers, Capt. & Mrs. MacSwiney: she is a sister of H.S. Trower & he has been in China for the Peking Syndicate, & wants to be employed on the present expedition, rather disposed to think himself not duly valued, and Mrs. Bonar, also a Meinertzhagen and his wife; he was for 3 years a resident pupil of Dr. Wallbaum in Clapton.

27 [June] To Weybridge to stop with the old Churchills; Mrs. Arthur Ch. & two daus. Lily & Constance. We went on the river with the old gentleman & Miss Constance, & rowed up to Laleham, taking tea on the bank opposite Lord Lucan's place; a delightful afternoon. At dinner there were also the eldest dau. & son-in-law, Mr. & Mrs. Still.

28 [June] Back to town. Lunched with Chirol, Sir John Ardagh & Lady Malmesbury, Mr. & Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Sir Frank & Miss Lascelles, Sir Hugh Wyndham & Miss W. Mrs. Clinton Dawkins wife of the late Financial member of the Viceroy's council. Talked to Wyndham, Lascelles & their daus., Ardagh, Ward & Mrs Dawkins. She was 4 years in Lima, then in Egypt & one year in India. Expressed hopeful view of position of the Legations at Peking.

Called on W. Foster at India Office, Mrs. Lowther, where I met a miss Russell, dau. of Lord Ampthill, and a Miss Leigh (? Lee, Lea or Legh, interested in people at Peking.) Tea with Gore. To go and walk with him in August. Went to hear Paderewsky in a Concerto by Cowen, for wch. I did not care, nor for Dvorak's Symphonic Variations, nor for Schumann's 4th Symphony. But the 4th overture to Fidelio delightful.

29 [June] To Lord Esher at the O. of W. [Office of Works] who ordered a copy of Boyce's report on govt. buildings in Japan, China &c. to be sent to me. Saw also Akers-Douglas, talked to both of them abt. Japse. & Chinese characteristics. Returned cards of Geo. Jamieson, Henry Marsham & F.T. Piggott. Down to Batsford with Mitford by the 1.40.

30 [June] Lord Lansdowne. Lord Claud Hamilton & Henry Yorke came to stop. C.H. remembered that he had stopped with me in 1874 at Tokio.

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July 1900

- 2 July Returned to town. Dined with Douglasses at Dulwich. Lady Norman wife of Sir Francis N. in the train. Wife of Capt. Hills R.E. had asked me to tea, but could not go, nor did I go to the State concert, for w[hi]ch I had a card. Shoe buckle & Douglas' dinner interfered.
- 3 July Ordered a plated tea service at Lamberts for Helen Sturges' wedding present, she having declined silver. Sam came in afternoon & we discussed Arthur's letter, enclosing one fr. Hollams about the resignation of the trust. We came to the conclusion that the difficulties put forward by them were all nonsense.
- Dined at Chas. Churchills, took down a Mrs. Adrian Hope, not the same that I met at the Napiers 3 years ago [see diary for 8 October 1897]. Sanderson & his sister there. After dinner we talked abt. China. He thinks that if the Legations have been destroyed we ought to raze the Imperial City to the ground, & I agreed with him. I suggested that we had gone on the wrong tack during the last 40 years, & that the old gunboat policy was the right one. After dinner to Royal Artillery Soirée, & met Miss Bell who was in Japan a couple of years ago with her brother Maurice, & young Matsugata, who piloted me about.
- J.B. Capper called.
- 4 July F.H. Trevithick called. Also [W.] Kirkwood, but I was out and so did not see him.
- Lunched with Winstanley at the Thatched House Club, Tom Foster and F.S. James also. Afterwds left cards on Fedor [Satow] & his wife, also on L. Cholmondeley's aunt Hon. Mrs. Newdigate. Dined with Lucy & Ellis, who had stopping with them a Mrs. Kinnaird from Abergavenny [South Wales], and Wm. Freshfield & his dau. Frances. He is the solicitor to the Bank of England: knows Mrs. Jameson who used to come to Tangier, who was a client of his.
- 5 July Went to Lords [cricket ground] to see the Oxford & Cambridge match fr. the Churchills' carriage. Coming back found [William M.H.] Kirkwood at the door, & it turned out that he had engaged rooms next door to mine! After he went, had a long discussion with Joe, which terminated good-humouredly, & I said I would prepare a draft deed enabling Arthur to get rid of the A.H.P. trust, & relieve him of responsibility. While we were talking the Henry Daughlshs came in. Dined with Mrs. Churchill & her two sisters-in-law, a young Lushington & a young Matthews, & went afterwards to the "School for Scandal" at the Haymarket Theatre. Winifred Emery as Lady Teazle, most diverting old play.

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6 July Went to the levee, and after shaking hands with the Duke of York, retired into the crowd, where I met J.G. Kennedy. The cabinet ministers were standing in a row, so I went up and spoke to Akers-Douglas abt. China. Lord Salisbury passed me as he went out, then turned back & said "It is lucky you did not effect that exchange [with MacDonald]", to wch. I replied "I think I shld. like to be there [i.e. in China] just now, Sir." This was the first knowledge Akers-Douglas had of the proposed exchange. He introduced me to Walter Long, who also talked abt. China.

[Margin: I told Akers-Douglas & Long that from my knowledge of Peking, as long as our people held the wall, they would command the road in front of the Legation, and I did not believe the inmates had been massacred.]

Fedor [Satow] came this morning with his wife in a carriage, so I went downstairs & made her acquaintance.

Down to Tilbury Docks to meet E. [Eitarō] who arrived by the "Sanuki maru", but just missed him, he having been carried off by Saburō whom I had sent to fetch him.

7 July Took E. to Beman's for clothes, & bought him some hats. Called on E. Sturges in the afternoon.

8 [July] To Vere Street to hear Canon Page-Roberts, whose sermon was excellent in matter and tone. Walked back with St. John Brodrick, who told me that H.M.G. has offered to pay Japan's expenses in sending a force to rescue Legations. News today that on the 3rd the Br. Legation & some others were still standing. After lunch went to his house to a meeting of Goschen, Ardagh, Lord Geo. Hamilton, Brennan, Col. Browne. Lt. Norton of "Centurion". Desultory discussion as to protection of foreigners in Yangtze valley, and advance from Tientsin. [Margin: Goschen asked whether Shanghai was N. or S. of the Yangtze, for there was a rumour that Chinese troops were marching down to attack it. G.P. Browne suggested that the Admiral shld. be telegraphed to withdraw from the Southern forts at the S. of the Taku entrance to the Peiho. I remonstrated that the people on the spot would know best what to do. Brennan said the country towards Peking wld. be flooded, & an advance on Peking would be impossible. Agst. this I cited my own experience in 1862.]

Harry L. Satow & Miss Baillie came to call; gave him the coffeepot destined for him by Mama. Called on Mrs. Kirkwood & Mrs. Bonar, and dined with Lucy & Ellis at the Carlton Hotel; Mrs. Kennard & Lord Temple. Good dinner, but noisy band, & room hot; a veritable piece of Vanity Fair.

9 July To Gravesend to lunch with the Hamilton Curreys. Their dau. has grown a huge girl, nearly six feet high only 16½. He has a coastguard apptmt. wch. ends in 18 months. Geo. Jamieson called.

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- 10 [July] Took E. to call on Anderson.
Lunched with Geo. Jamiesons at Reform Club, and met Rennie also, with whom we had a talk abt. old times.
To J.F. Burton abt. codicil providing for annuity to Hatchett, and £21 annually for Olive Jessie Satow. Left with him papers relating to proposed deed relieving a.j.a. from trust for A.H.P. To F.O. to read latest telegrams, & saw [Henry G.] Bergne.
Dined with the Ernest Schusters. Sir Hermann & Lady Weber, Mr. & Mrs. Melchers. She was formerly the wife of Ahrens of Yokohama & Tokio, and her brother is Moslé, the Belgian Vice-Consul at Tôkiô.
- 11 [July] To the Queen's Garden Party at Buckingham Palace. Met Cecil Smith, Will. Sturges & wife, Capt. Schomberg R.N., old Mr. Lowther and the Henry Bergnes. Dined with the Lansdownes, he having previously introduced me to her at the garden party. Exceedingly kind people. Took in Lady de Vesci, and sat next to Lord Mount-Edgumbe. Patti & her husband (Cederstrone), Lady Randolph Churchill, Lady Blandford, Lord Pembroke, Lord de Vesci and Ld. Fred. Hamilton, and one or two others. Fine statues in the dining room, and fine pictures and miniatures in the inner drawing room.
- 12 [July] To Chislehurst to lunch. Only Agneta, Olga and Alice Durrell. To 115 Mount St., Miss Kinnaird's, to meet Mrs. Bishop whom I told about the protection of Christian converts in China by Consuls, wch. in my opinion is the cause of persecution, burning of churches and murders of missionaries. She says the China Inland Mission and Presbyterian missions in Manchuria abstain entirely from invoking consular protection. Told her my experience in Morocco, and pointed out the fact that in Japan there is neither consular interference nor persecution. Dined at Clapton: Ethel, Geoffry, Norton, Arnold and Douglas.
- 13 [July] Ordered some linen suits of Beman and a straw hat at Lincoln & Bennetts. Tried to catch Mitford, but failed. To Eton & Harrow [cricket] match; to lunch with Lady Peek; saw the Churchills, Mrs. Bonar & the Bullers. Ad. Buller wants me to go to Plympton after middle of August if I am down in those parts. To tea with Fedor's wife, & called on Gubbins' sister Mrs. Lyte, whom I found with the General sitting under a tree in Green Park.
- 14 [July] Rev. Arthur Izard called, and I introduced E. [Eitarō, his eldest son] to him. Promised to send him a cheque for £62.10 in advance, quarterly. E. went down with him in the afternoon. Lunched with [F.V.] Dickins at Savile Club, and then to Kew, to look at the bamboos. They also have yadake misnamed metake; found *Phyllostachys nigra* and *Henonis* in flower. Then on to tea with Mrs. Dickins, and to see Miss Charlotte

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Hanbury, who brought me down to the station.

July 15 By 10.15 from Paddington to Windsor with Sir Hermann Weber. A fine, warm day. We walked through the town, and got into the Park, and then by Queen Anne's path to the Dell, where we lunched with Baron & Baroness v. Schröder. There were also her sister Miss Schlösser, a Mr. & Mrs. Bingel, Sec[retary] to Schröder and their children. Afterwards we sat in the garden, and went into the picture-gallery, wch. contains several fine Alma Tademas, a portrait of Peter the Great by Paul Delaroche, a famous portrait of Napoleon at Fontainebleau Mar. 14, 1814, Paolo & Francesca ¹ by Ary Schefer [Scheffer], the subject of wch. the Baroness explained to me at length, till I pulled a Divina Commedia [by Dante] out of my pocket. They were exceedingly civil & hospitable. The collection of snuffboxes and engraved gems is remarkable. Back to Windsor, a few moments on the Terrace, and then caught the 4.30 back to town. Took tea with Lady Weber, when Alick Donaldson, a nephew came in.

News from Peking very bad.

16 July Norton came to talk about Canada. Gave him my card to introduce him to the Sec. of the Agent-general for Canada. My impression of him is that he is a malingerer, and does not really wish for work. He has been doing nothing for the past 2½ years.

Called on Hayashi [Tadasu, Japanese minister in London]. He thinks Prince Tuan is a 'swell' (tono-sama) in the hands of more truculent Chinese, like Tung Fuhsiang. Has little doubt of the massacre reported from Shanghai. Now that there is no more question of "rescue", the future proceedings will have to be reconsidered.

Lunched with the Lytes: a Mrs. Beresford-Hope there. ? Mrs. Adrian B-H.

To F.O. & read the latest telegrams. There they have quite given up hope.

James Davison came to dine tête-à-tête. He says Austin Lee wrote to him that Macdonald & I were to change places, and he thinks A.L. said it had appeared in a newspaper. But this I rather doubt.

17 [July] Went down to Wargrave to see Lady Hannen, who is looking very ill, and extremely sallow. Mrs. Ted Hannen, Mrs. Lance Hannen, Jessie and Rosie all there. Sculled down the backwater and down towards Shiplake, then back by the backwater.

18 [July] Down to Oxford. [Margin: While at Oxford, a service for the members of the British Community in Peking was to be held. Tho' not believing in the telegs. of massacre, I applied for a ticket. On going to the station however I found from a morning paper that it had been given up, so gladly remained.]

20 " To Adlestrop, to lunch with the [Lionel B.] Cholmondeleys.

¹ The painting illustrates a famous episode from the fifth canto of Dante's Inferno, in which Dante and Virgil see Paolo and Francesca condemned to the darkness of Hell with the souls of the lustful.

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23 " Called on the Markbys.

28 " Went over to Batsford to lunch with Mitford. We examined the bamboos with my book in hand, and talked a great deal about China. He thinks the massacre of the foreigners in Peking is an accomplished fact, and that Macdonald's letter of 4 July has been delayed en route by the Chinese. He is publishing with Macmillan the letters he wrote to his father from Peking in 1865, with a preface. In 1870 he wrote an article in Macmillan, in wch. he spoke rather severely of Hart, suggested the removal of the capital to the banks of the Yangtze, and spoke of the foreign ministers being boxed up in Peking as a dangerous arrangement.

August 1900

1 Aug. T.L. Bullock, formerly consul at Chefoo, now Professor of Chinese at Oxford, returned my call of yesterday. He had not believed the stories of the massacre. French missionary and convert protection was the origin of the antiforeign feeling to a great extent.

Came up to town; Bonar to lunch. His journey thro' Siberia facilitated by a letter given to him by Rosen. Passed in one day 5 trains carrying 1200 troops each. Passenger traffic stopped after he passed. Conversation of Russian officers very hostile to Japan, especially as to Corea, but expressed desire for understanding with England.

Went down to Ernest Becks at Hoddesdon. Five girls, Rachel, Katie, , Barbara & Christabel. After dinner a trio from Rubinstein, slow movement; then slow movement fr. Mendelssohn's violin concerto, & a cello solo.

Aug. 2 Returned to town. Went to F.O. saw the recent telegs. Russian memo. of vague purpose abt. Command-in-chief. Talked a little to Fairholme, acting head in Campbell's absence. Saw Barrington, who said that for the present nothing abt. date of my leaving, in wch. I agreed. I praised Morrison's teleg. & young David Oliphant, also Jordan.

Called on Mrs. Ker and E. Sturges.

J.G. Kennedy dined tête-à-tête. Had asked Rear Ad. Penrose Fitzgerald, but he could not come, being engaged umpiring for naval manoeuvres.

Aug. 3 Letter from [Reverend] Izard saying E[itarō, Satow's eldest son] had had a hemorrhage from the throat. At first telegd. to consult doctor at Chichester, but after consulting Anderson, telegd. for him to come up to town by the 8.50 tomorrow.

Lunched at Club.

Canon Gore and John Milne turned up together abt. five, and went for a walk with the former in Regent's Park afterwards.

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Sam [Satow] to dinner.

Ad. Fitzgerald called just after Gore & I went out.

[Aug] 4 E. arrived & I took him to Dr. Frank Payne, who finds signs of tubercle in one lung, and prescribed for him. Payne seems rather pessimistic.

[Aug] 5 To the Abbey at 10 to hear Gore preach; he condemned the sensational telegram from Shanghai abt. the rumoured massacre of Europeans.

[Sir Francis] Plunkett came in the afternoon, and we talked much abt. China. The impression abroad is that the Chinese have got the Russians and French isolated from the other ministers, and the absence of direct news from [Stephen] Pichon is considered inexplicable. The Belgians look at things a good deal thro' French spectacles, and consider the German seizure of Kiaochou [in 1897] responsible for all that has happened since. Our relations with Belgium bad. They resent our opposition to the Peking-Hankow concession. A very strong Note, ending with a declaration that the Queen has seen it & entirely approves of its terms, has been sent in. Fact is, Belgian government afraid of Socialists, who are getting formidable, and will be a serious danger before many years are passed.

6 Aug. Down to Donhead Lodge Tisbury, to stop with Walter Ed. King. Rainy afternoon. A Mrs. Finch & Miss Royd, cousins of his late wife, Ed. & Mrs. Sutton fr. near Gillingham & a Mrs. Smith, sister of the young fellow who has succeeded Archie Madden at Tangier stopping in the house.

7 Aug. [W.E.] King drove me over to Shaftesbury, and in the afternoon we went a party to ruins of Wardour Castle. Shaftesbury, very high up, enjoys a fine view over a broad vale to the S.W. We came back by Semley common, on the hillside opposite are the woods of Fonthill Abbey, formerly belonging to Beckford, and the place of the Benet-Stanfords. Far off on the N. horizon Glastonbury Tor, and a town on the end of a long down. Wardour Castle was a dwellinghouse defended agst. the Puritans, was afterwards retaken by the Arundell of the day, and in its two sieges suffered so much that the family had to build another house.

8 Aug. Walked with King to see the church of Donhead St. Andrew, wch. he is busy restoring. curious brass with the instrument of the passion above, and the Man of Sorrows beneath. Then to Donhead St. Mary, where the church tho' older is less interesting; outside S. side of tower traces of a granary roof. Drove in the afternoon to Semley station, and took the train to Seaton.

9 Aug. Called with Mrs. Aston on the Wrigleys, who live just above them, friends of Charles Leckie; there was his aunt Mrs. Seafield and a Miss Cozens-Hardy, niece of the judge. Afterwards came in a young Tetley and his wife, he a brother of Mrs. Anderson

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and she a cousin of Sir Claude Macdonald.

- 10 Aug. It cleared up and in the afternoon we went with the Wrigleys, Mrs. Carr, Miss Cozens-Hardy and two girls to tea in the Undercliff not far from Rousdon, and walked home along the cliffs, thro' the golf links.
- Aug. 11 With Mrs. Aston to lunch at Rousdon, where we spent the afternoon, and drove back by the Lyme Road thro' Colyford, enjoying very delicious views of the country to the north, about the Shute woods. The forenoon we spent looking at a site for a house here on the top of the cliff behind the Astons. It was a brilliant day, with a little north wind.
- [Aug.] 12 Went to church with Mrs. Aston. The Cunninghams from Axminster & their boy Cuthbert who is going into the Indian Staff Corps came to lunch, and then a crowd of people afterwards. Then we walked to Bovey House, & looked over it. I did not think the place would suit me at all. It was a lovely day. I got a letter from Sanderson in the morning saying they want me to go out at once, with a commission to act there if on my arrival at Shanghai it is necessary. Rather a sudden blow, and when the sun set I felt quite downhearted at so soon leaving this beautiful land.
- [Aug.] 13 Came up to town & saw Sanderson who explained the reasons. Went up to Bertie with him, and read thro' the draft commission, which is the same as that given to Lord Elgin ¹ [in 1857], conferring on me most ample powers. ² The idea is that I go out, ostensibly as if to my Tokio post, but if not stopped en route, go straight on to Shanghai, find out from Warren what the position is, and teleg. home. Then on their empowering me, I am to produce my commission. Bertie says Brennan is to be kept here, as he is likely to do not quite so well as Warren; he is considered conceited. Said a good word for [J.H.] Gubbins to Bertie, as he gave me the opportunity. It seems Bangkok was offered to Conyngham Greene, who refused it. He would accept Lisbon, but thinks he ought to have Teheran. The question whether I should go by Canada or by the Red Sea was left open, but later on I got a note from Sanderson to say that Lord Salisbury agrees to my going by Canada; that will get me to S'hai 4 days earlier, and I shall avoid the heat of the tropics.
- Aug. 14 Went to see [A.A.] Shand by the "Twopenny Tube". Told him that I had heard [J.H.] Gubbins puts on side and cocks it over his subordinate. We agreed this was sad, and he promises to write & tell him to be careful. Also told him under the seal of secrecy that I

¹ In 1857 James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin (1811-63) became High Commissioner to China, and he visited China and Japan in 1858-9. He signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Japan in 1859. He became Viceroy of India in 1861. He died in India in 1863.

² For the full text of Satow's commission, see B.M. Allen, *The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow G.C.M.G.: A Memoir*, London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trübner, 1933. p. 121. See also Ian C. Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, p. 467.

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am going to Shanghai, and the arrangements I want to make about paying Izard Eitaro's allowance and Hatchetts pension to Arthur. He says that Hart telegraphed to Campbell for "new clothes", which looks hopeful. Also that Tom Jackson went to see Balfour at the latter's request, & was surprised by a question whether the Chinese had weapons of precision; told him yes, quantities of quickfiring Krupps and Creuzots, also abt. one million of the best Mausers, financed by the Russo-Chinese bank, Deutsche Bank & H'gk'g & S'hai Bankg. Corpn. Balfour lifted up his hands in astonishment. I rejoined that Ardagh certainly knew all this.

Dined at the Webers quietly. Dr. Jacoby of New York, Fritz Weber, Miss Weber & Frida.

15 [Aug.] Harry Satow turned up unexpectedly at breakfast time, & poured out a lament over his impecuniosity. Said I would help him, and sent him £25. Afterwards Norton, to whom I spoke rather plainly. He thinks he wld. like to go out to Canada in March to Manitoba. Said he had better find out about passage money etc. & write to me c/o F.O. That if I paid his passage, he must not look to me for pocket money. Eitarō came up to stop the night. Worked all day finishing section of the Introduction to Saris abt. Moluccas.

16 [Aug.] Drove E. to Victoria, and self went to Brighton to stop with Aunt.

17 [Aug.] Returned to town. Augusta came up to stop. Went down to Chislehurst to dine and say goodbye. Agneta was at home, also Evelyn, Louis, Reg. & his wife, Ernest & Hugo.

18 [Aug.] In the afternoon with E. Sturges to the Hertford collection, where she wished to see again Ary Schefer's Paolo & Francesca. I was much taken with a sea-piece of Copley Fielding, & Bonnington's Pays [Pasys?] de Cause; there are many others by these two worth looking at.

19 [Aug.] To the Abbey morning and evening to hear Gore preach.

20 Aug. Rev. A. Izard came to see me. Told him exactly about E. He said it would only make him take a greater interest in him. Said I would write to Parr's Bank giving instructions about payments.

Going to F.O. met A. Archibald Douglas, & talked abt. China. He is now second naval lord.

Went to see Bertie, & talked abt. China. His main idea is that we should hold aloof if possible from interference in the internal affairs of China, and if there is a civil war, to let them fight it out among themselves, till a strong man comes out on the top. We can assure the Yangtze viceroys of our protection and support, and say we confide in them to maintain order and protect foreigners. Hippisley's idea was recently that Yuan Shih-kai wld. offer the Empress Dowager & Emperor an asylum at Tsinanfu. He thinks no Power wld. want to take advantage of a civil war to appropriate territory, except

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Russia and perh. Germany. Lord S. suspects the Emperor William of big designs in China. Russia wld. have enough to do to absorb Manchuria,

Missionaries. I gathered are not regarded with favour. I expounded therefore my idea of protection for persons & property of missionaries, but leaving them to arrange as to their work with the native authorities; & said that I confidently expected the greater part of them would agree to this policy wch. I wld. act on, if approved. But I did not wish to run the risk of H.M.G. being attacked by missionary societies on acct. of such a policy.

Reparation for attacks on legation etc. He does not know what the demands will be, but that question will prob. be arranged between the PP. As to negotiating with Li Hung-chang it is necessary to be very careful. Some people think there may be an attempt to revive the joint action of Germany, Russia & France [the Eastern Dreibund of 1895], to wch. we must oppose joint action of England, U.S. & Japan.

Railway. The Russians maintain that the arrangement was that they should manage the whole. Ad. Seymour & Romey declare it only applied to the portion as far as Tientsin. Evidently this will rather be a question to be decided in Europe betw. the govts.

Niuchwang. The Russians have set up their administration in the native town and hoisted their flag at the Custom House. Inquiries have been addressed to St. Petersburg as to this.

Inspector-general . We must stick to the Chinese undertaking that he shall be an Englishman, as long as the balance of trade is English. The retirement of Hart was desired by H.M.G. and Bredon was to succeed him. But now it is said that Hippisley would be a better man. Shld. Hart come away from China, then Bredon must succeed him; if B. also, then Hippisley.

Mentioned that it wd. be a convenience to me to receive a teleg. authorizing me to act on my commission as early as possible, before my arrival at Shanghai. He replied that he did not see the necessity of so much secrecy, and would endeavour to let me know as soon as I get to Yokohama.

Cypher. Said I had asked Louis Mallet to give me one for use on the journey.

Brennan appears to have started, but I shld. prob. arrive before him. It will be for me to decide whether I shall use B. or Warren as the medium of communication with the Viceroy. I said I could if necessary attach Warren to the Mission, and employ him for such purposes, and I hoped that if this were done the Treasury wld. not let him suffer in point of emoluments. It had been suggested that the Chinese Secretary shld. be the best man we cld. get with such a salary as wld. deprive him of the inducement to seek promotion in the consular line. My practice would be to take both Sec. of Legation & Chinese Secy. into my confidence.

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Saw also Mallet, and asked him for a copy of the Treaties with China, a cipher and the last Conf'l print.

Robertson & Maycock. Found that they had the Commission still wch. in the desp. from Gosselin of the 18th was said to have been enclosed. Met Bonham in their rooms, going off to his post.

Saw also Villiers, to whom I said that possibly Macdonald being a soldier would have found the Siege rather stimulating; if he preferred to stay on in China, I shld. be quite content to leave it to him. He congratulated me on the importance of my mission.

Saw also Gosselin, who told me Tower and Dering used not to pull together when at Berlin with him, but perhaps they are now on good terms again.

Gore. Went for a walk to Battersea park. The bamboos in the sub-tropical garden looked ill. Told him my view as to missions. He cordially agreed, and said he thought the missionary societies wld. approve. If any one made a row, religious people would oppose it.

Dined with Burton, and told him what I am going out for, also a good deal abt. Far Eastern politics. Should A.J.A. after the proposal to appt. Edward Tozer still refuse, then it wld. be clear he was only making pretexts. In that case we shld. have to appeal to the Court, and he thought the Tozers ought to commence an action of an acct, and for the brokerages recd. by a.j.a., I coming in in the Second rank. It wld. be best for Henry to be in communication with him, and he cld. see us at 3 on the 23rd. The release cld. be signed by me & given to him to make use of if & when the trustee question is settled; also guarantee to A.J.A. not to allow any claim agst. him by persons taking thro' A.H.T.

21 Aug. Went to Intelligence Division abt. maps. Found Major Grant, who had just returned from S. Africa and " [Major] Gwynne who had just come back from leave, but betw. us worked out the question of maps of China promised by Ardagh shld. be mounted.

Said goobye to E. [Emma] Sturges.

Sam came to dinner. Gave him corresp'ce c. Joe, himself, Arthur & Henry abt. change of trusteeship.

22 Aug. Saw Augusta off at Paddington to Oxford.

Lunched with Mitford & his boy Bertram at Dieudonnés & talked China. He gave me a hearty farewell.

Plunkett came in the morning. Agrees with me that my apptmt. ought to be made known before I get to Japan. Dined at Oriental Club.

23 [Aug.] Rev. A.F. King called, looking very well. Talks of leaving in November, together with a young Freshfield. Henry arrd. before lunch. At 3 we went to J.F. Burton, and discussed the plan of operations to induce A.J.A. [Allen?] to retire from H's trust. I

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signed the release & indemnity to A.J.A. to be handed over to Hollams when the affair is settled to the satisfaction of A.H.T. [Tozer] & a letter was drafted by Burton for me to address to him empowering him to act for me.

24 Aug. Dined with the Plunketts. Said goodbye at F.O. to Bertie & others. He says Lord Salisbury suspects the German Emperor of wishing to do some[thing] big in China. My private note asking them to teleg. to me whether I am to make use of my commission has been sent on to Lord S. Told the same wish to Barrington.

[Satow leaves England.]

25 [Aug.] Left by "Campania" for New York. Davison & his brother-in-law Allen at Liverpool to see me off. Paid £25 extra for sole use of chartroom. Mrs. Buck, Davenport & his wife, Robinson & his wife (he has a brother on board "Empress of China") Jim Spicer & his wife, Bishop Hendricks, one Young, a potter from Stoke among the people I most consorted with. Capt. Walker commander.

September 1900

Sept. 1. Arrd. early this morning, & drove to Manhattan Hotel. After writing a few letters, went book-buying, first to a man named Johnson just opposite, then to Putnam's close to Madison Square in 23rd Street, but found it closed, this being Saturday. After lunch tried Brentano's, but they also were closed. Various newspaper reporters got hold of me, and by the afternoon one had his interview, a very short one, in the "Evening Telegram" [New York Evening Telegram]. Found Captain Lewis Bayly, the new naval attaché here. He says he has been appointed for Japan as well as America, and that Ottley will prob. go to sea in about six months. For himself he prefers being at sea to the work of naval attaché, but they 'ordered' him to take it. Left for Montreal by 7.30 train, having secured a drawing-room by great luck.

2 Sept. Arrd. Montreal at 9.30. C.P.R. people very obliging about my baggage. Cannot give me a private car, but have given me a drawing-room and a lower berth for Saburō. Went to Windsor House, but found it absolutely full, so got the young woman who presides over the telephone to ask Place Viger Hotel, & the answer being favourable drove there. Got a room on the first floor! Warm, tho' not so hot as New York was yesterday. Stopped in all day, and did not even go to call on Van Horne.

3 Sept. Started by 9.30 train for Banff. Very hot at the outset, but heavy storm came on just as we reached Ottawa. Cleared up again, and the next day round Lake Superior was very

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beautiful.

Baron Czikann Austrian Minr. at Peking and a new attaché named v. Forster came into the train at North Bay, but I did not see them till Fort William. Rain began again there, continued all night & most of the next forenoon, except an interval at Winnipeg, and the temperature was disagreeably low. Afternoon gradually cleared, and sunset at Moosejaw very fine. Blow, the photograph-amateur, beekeeper and botanist (amateur in all, but first-rate) in the train. Also Prince Oukhtomsky, his wife and child, the Russo-Chinese bank President & newspaper editor; he has been delivering himself at Winnipeg, also in New York on the Chinese question, attributing the present difficulties to German action respecting Kiaochou.

Sept. 6 Banff . Czikann, Forster, the Oukhtomskys and I got out here. A splendid day. Good room at back on first floor overlooking the green waters of the Bow as they flow through a huge rent in the mountains into an amphitheatre the opposite end of wch. is closed by three massive pyramids surmounted by a precipitous wall extending behind and beyond them. Found here Tom Jackson and a daughter, also Amhold of Amhold & Karberg. Went for a ramble, found a blue campanula composite exactly like Gaillandia, blue daisy, a rose with leaves turning red and simulating a dwarfed mountain-ash; also a low plant the bracts [leaves] brilliant crimson, like a salvia in colour (Indian pink); a yellow flowered low bush a little like rock cistus; a cowberry, a white flower like honesty. Sunny and warm, with Chinook wind.

Sept. 7 Walked about five miles up the Spray valley, along the lumber camp trail and found a large yellow composite Cornus Canadensis and a white anemone. In the afternoon drove with Czikann and v. Forster up the Tunnel mountain, wch. commands a magnificent view up the Bow valley, to the Cave & Basin hot springs, and to a curious split in the rock known as Sundance cañon [canyon].

Sept. 8 Bad cold, so stopped in all day. Excellent Scotchman & his American wife, from Montana.

Sept 9 Pottered about near the hotel, and left at noon for Vancouver.

Sept. 10 Splendid morning. arrd. 10 min. after time. The steamer full of acquaintance, H.W. Dennison [Denison] of Tokio, Ringer of Nagasaki, Sir T. Jackson & his dau. Old Okura & his wife, Genl. Iditti.

During the voyage Denison told me that some years ago the Austrian Govt. had proposed Hengelmüller as minister at Tokio, but the Austrian Ch[argé] d'Aff[aires] who had been at Rio under H. and had quarrelled with him told the Japanese Govt. that H. kept a mistress whom he introduced in society as his wife. For this, and also because of his connexion with the negotiation of the Austrian Treaty 30 years ago by Baron Petz

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the Jap[ane]se refused him.

Also that the Japanese Govt. had caused it to be made known thro' Alex. Siebold to the European press that the Japanese were much hurt at the offer of £100000 fr. H.M.G. for the expenses of the expedition to Peking, & he asked whether I had heard anything to this effect, as he thought the answer given by Brodrick on the subject indicated annoyance with the official answer returned by Japan. I said I knew nothing of all this.

Sept. 24 Arrived early this morning in Yokohama, after a very pleasant voyage. Found a teleg. fr. Lord S. saying that they had told Macdonald I wld. join him on receiving a summons, and leaving it to me to decide whether I would go on. Went ashore and talked things over with [James B.] Whitehead, and decided to go to Shanghai, telegraphing to Lord S. & Macdonald to that effect. The telegraph to Peking is evidently very much subject to interruption.

Lunched at the Oriental Hotel with all the Legation & Consulate, who were exceedingly nice to me; only Lay staid behind in Tokio, in case of a telegram arriving ; the Whiteheads, Chalmers, Forsters, Cheetham, Churchill, Parlett, Crowe, Holmes, Firth, and Hampden the giver of the entertainment. Saw d'Anethan & Paul May, J.M. James, Duer & one or two more at the Club.

25 Sept. Rough night, wind & swell fr. N.E., arrd. Kōbe about five and went to see foundation stone laid by Jackson of the new Hongkong & S'hai Bank. Kōbe Chronicle expresses doubts as to my being "strong enough" for Peking post, but adds that I am somewhat of a heretic to popular ideas, since I believe that Orientals have rights as well as Occidentals, and that imperial necessities sometimes override local interests. Told [J.C.] Hall that I was pleased with this appreciation of my character. Dined with him & Wileman & Wawn at the Hotel, & re-embarked. Met Bishop Scott of North China who has just lost his wife from dysentery at Nagasaki.

27 [Sept.] Fine day yesterday thro' the Inland Sea, passing Shimonoseki about five, and got here [Nagasaki] early this morning. Rain. Went ashore & saw Bayly of the "Aurora" for an hour, & then to Consulate. [Joseph Henry] Longford, Rentiers & Gordon. Lunched with Ringer. Alf. Glover, Carlill, Capt. Tillett the "ship's husband" of the C.P.R. at Hongkong, & went on shore. High wind fr. N.

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[Satow arrives in China.] ¹

- Sept. 29 Anchored abt. 5.30 at Wusung. After breakfast Wilkinson, Warren, Sly & Bourne in a launch to fetch me ; long journey of at least 2 hrs. up against tide to Shanghai. At landing-place other consular men, Bob Little [of "North China Herald"] and Hewitt Chairman of municipal council and a guard of honour of Indian troops. General Creagh had been there, but as we were so late had to go off abt. some duty. So I sent him my compliments & thanks for the guard. At Wusung Wintz who commands the "Goliath" sent an officer to excuse himself from coming on board as he has a court-martial. At the Consulate came Clarke of the "Undaunted" whom I had known in Japan. Then W. drove me out to his house near the racecourse. Read various telegs. & sent off one to F.O. reporting my arrival, no change in Yangtze situation, fr. Peking no news, and an edict communicated by Shêng dismissing Tuan, Tung Fuhsiang & others. Had a talk with Cowan who came to lunch abt. buildings at Peking legation; call fr. a bore named F. Anderson & talk abt. Hwangpoo conservation scheme, call fr. Wade Gardner of Hgkg & S'hai Bank. Drive out along Bubbling Well road. At dinner Major-Genl. Creagh, Comr. Cowper of "Plover", Major Turner attached to Col. Sir Pratab Singh (these two came to call this afternoon) MacEwan of J.M. & Co., Comr. Armstrong ("Hart"), Fox of the consular service, Lt. Col. Harris (2nd Queen's Own Rajpur L.I.), Lt. Comr. Watson ("Woodcock"), Major Watson (Genl. Staff), Hewett P. & O. Agent & Chairman, Col. Mayne and Pratab Singh.
- 30 Sept. To church. Bishop Cassels of the China Inland Mission preached. Lunch the Bournes, Willis', W.H. Wilkinson Consul at Ningpo, Mrs. Hughes, Bredon, Warren. At dinner Baynes, Gardners, Bob. Little, de Cartier, Jamieson.

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- 1 Oct. Bredon came. Says he returned here 2 yrs. ago with the understanding Hart was to go home. Sir Claude said he had it in writing fr. Hart that he wld. do so; yet H. put off going, & he was left hanging on as Deputy I.G. Now the F.O. clearly wanted H. to go, & wld. at one time have offered him almost any inducement, perh. even a passage. He might have had anything, P.C. or any decoration. Perh. the best to offer now wld. be a proposal to come home to be consulted on China finance.

¹ For a very good account of Satow in Peking, see T. Otte, "'Not Proficient in Table-Thumping': Sir Ernest Satow at Peking, 1900-06" in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No.2 (June 2002), pp. 161-200.

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I took it all in, assured him that H.M.G. wld. insist on his being appted. as soon as H. retires. He suggested that it shld. be put on the ground of his being Deputy, his long service & acquaintance with Chinese affairs, rather than an agreeet. obtained fr. them always to appoint an Englishman. Also that there shld. be no new deputy I-G.

He says that PP. [Powers] will prob. want to have an international commission to reorganize Chinese finances, & to drag in the [Chinese Imperial] Maritime Customs therewith. But in the interest of the many Englishmen in the service, they ought to be kept separate. Chinese shld. take financial advisers into her service to organize, not put herself in their hands.

He thinks demand for return of Court to Peking shld. precede demand for extradition of ringleaders. That it wld. have been disastrous if the Palace had been destroyed.

I said at the time of the relief if the Palace had been destroyed I shld. have liked it, but now it was too late. What was required was that the Court shld. be made to understand the ha[e?]inousness of the attempt to destroy the Legations, even the foreign residents needed to see this too.

As to Likin [provincial tax], very difficult to arrange, on acct. of separate interests of diff[erent] provinces. Tonnage dues 7/10 now allowed for lighting coasts. But Chin. Govt. has always maintained they were part of the general revenue, not affected to particular purposes.

Revision of the Tariff. This & other commercial questions shld. only be mentioned in a general way in the Treaty for resumption of peaceable relations, a separate Treaty of Commerce and Navigation being afterwards negotiated. Japan wld. prob. consent to a revision of the tariff.

He brought with him Taylor, the Statistical Secretary, who had been made I.G. provisionally, previous to the relief of Peking, who promised me some reports for the last few years.

Then M. Odagiri the Japse. consul-general came. He said Japan wld. prob. object to German demand for extradition of the ringleaders, but wld. have to give way if she found herself alone. I said I knew nothing, but my personal preference wld. be in favour of letting China whip her naughty children herself, rather than undertake that duty for her. He said he knew the two Yangtze Viceroyes better than any other consul in Shanghai, speaks Chinese. Thinks Chang Chi-tung a waverer (this confirms what others say).

Talked to Wilkinson & then to Warren abt. my wish to take him to Peking to be head of the Chinese chancery, perh. with local rank as 2nd Sec[retar]y. Yesterday he had talked to me abt. the need of an Intelligence Dept. at the Legation under a senior, with one or two good interpreters under him.

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Bredon also said to me that the Legation was badly served in the matter of information fr. Chinese; that what was wanted was some one who wld. be civil & sympathetic to Chinese, patient, not rude & overbearing.

At dinner the Rockhills, Mayers, Cronins, young Parkes.

Rockhill is going in a day or two to see Liu Kun-yi, to expound the situation.

His opinion is that the first thing to urge is the return of the Emperor to Peking, and then to talk abt. the punish[men]t of the guilty, wch. shld. be carried out by the Chinese instead of their being handed over. ¹ The Empress ought to be placed in retirement, and we might well assure the viceroys that we had no wish to do anything agst. her person. (Warren told me subsequently that he had told them this, but they wanted more.) That the heinousness of the attacks on the Legations, their guard, and the murder of the missionaries with circumstances of unmitigated atrocity, ought to be brought home to them: at the same time they shld. be given fully to understand that the maintenance of an entire and prosperous China was our policy. He was agst. withdrawal of troops from Peking, wch. wld. produce on the Chinese mind a belief that we had run away. He added that the American govt. is in a difficulty because the army of 100,000 men has only been voted up to 30 June 1901, and they must begin shortly to send them home.

I said I was not in a position to say anything officially, but I thought he might safely tell the viceroys that the policy of H.M.G. was in accordance with those of the U.S. as to the above.

Oct. 2. Teleg. fr. Lord S. to be sent on to Peking, that with Sir Claude's concurrence I might say that I had been appted. H.M. Repres've, as his health necessitated his leaving, and that I had a commission fr. the Queen empowering me to act in that capacity. That nothing shld. be done to lessen his authority & influence in the most important negotiations now pending, & that I ought to profit by his experience. For that reason I ought to spend some days in Peking with him, and be presented by him to the Chinese Auth: & colleagues.

Sent this off to him, and added words implying my entire readiness to concur with his wishes.

Lunched with Warren. Went to Bank and opened an account. Returned Sir Pratab Singh's call at his camp.

Brennan arr[ive]d.

¹ Satow reported Rockhill's views in a letter to Salisbury dated October 8, 1900. PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 37. He later told Lansdowne: "The American Comr. Rockhill has arrived & is to stay all winter as an unofficial prompter to Mr. Conger. I find him an excellent man to get on with, as is Conger also, but Rockhill is more of a true diplomatist." (PRO 30/33 14/11, no. 47, Satow to Lansdowne, November 15, 1900)

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At dinner Mrs. Archie Little, the Platts (Acting Crown Advocate), the O'Brien Butlers & Miss Weatherston (her sister), Sly, Charlie Little, midshipman H.M.S. "Hermione", brother of H.P. Wilkinson's late wife.

Ad. Yendo also called on me at the Consulate, and we exchanged our desires for cooperation betw. England & Japan, wch. he said wld. be facilitated by my knowledge of Japanese statesmen & affairs.

Oct. 3 Called on the Ghorka Col. Rundall, Brennan, Warren & Sundius to lunch. Dined with Anderson & met Cummins of "Hermione". Mrs. Brenner & Mrs. McNeill.

Oct. 4 Paid a number of calls on consuls and on Knobel & sent teleg. to F.O. about Warren in the afternoon. Ordered stores in forenoon. Dined with the Bournes including Rockhills.

Oct. 5 Called on Col. Mayne, [H.M.S.] Hermione & Pique.
Rev. W. Muirhead's funeral.

Oct. 6 Capt. Burke of H.M.S. "Orlando" came to discuss arrangements abt. embarking on board of her on Tuesday, to proceed to Taku.

At 11 the taotai 余聯沅 came to call, with an excellent interpreter. Told him that it was necessary that the Chinese Court shld. recognize the enormity of the attack on the Legation & the atrocious murders of so many inoffensive men, women & children, and that my personal opinion was that every individual high or low shld. be punished who had either ordered or connived at or permitted by negligence the murder & the attack.

Moules, Hoggs, Rev. Hodges &c. to lunch.

Shêng 盛宣懷 came at 3 by apptmt. He tried to talk on a lot of stale stuff abt. the failure of England to help China in the Japse. war [1894-5], the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula, and now the Russians getting possession of Manchuria. I listened & replied that no doubt useful lessons for guidance in the future cld. be drawn from a history of the past, but the urgent matter before us now was to atone for the past, and punish the evil-doers as they deserve. Good Chinese must urge this. We wld. support & protect those who had recognized the treaties & international law. But the attack on the Legation & the murder of unoffending men, women & children cld. not be passed over. The longer they delayed, the worse it wld. be. He suggested threatening to pursue the Empress; a threat wld. be sufficient. I said England, if she ever threatened, would carry out her threats.

Bishop Cassels & Rev. I.W. Stevenson came & we had a long talk. I explained my views, & found them in accord. Nice men, especially Stevenson.

Then Barclay Buxton & Montagu Beauchamp. The latter will have to take his wife home, in all probability. But after that, if there is anything he can do, he will gladly place his services at our disposal. Asked him to come straight up to Peking on his return

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to China. He has been at Kuang-yuen in N. Szechuen,; a tall, thin, strong, sunburnt man with a fine face. 150 of their refugees down here.

Dined at the Rob. Littles. Met a Mr. & Mrs. Adler, naturalized English; she plays the piano well.

7 Oct. F. Anderson came by apptmt. Produced a cut & dried scheme of policy, including the apptmt. of Warren as Com[missione]r for the Yangtze, wch. he is going to discuss tomorrow with the China Association, for telegraphing to London to place before Ld. Salisbury. ¹ Tried to dissuade him from trying to dictate details of policy, but rather to affirm great British interests & necessity felt here for their being firmly upheld. He evidently thinks he knows everything & H.M.G. nothing. Afraid I was not successful. Talked abt. Shanghai river conservancy scheme, & got some notes as to points in the China Association's scheme contained in their printed annual report for 1899-00. Also tried to urge him to provide shelter for the troops, also not successful.

At lunch Knobel, Dutch Min. resident. He says where the Foreign Diplomatic Corps was misled was in supposing that a relief force would be able to be brought to Peking at any moment. The Chin. Govt. on 19 June addressed to them an ultimatum, referring to taking of Taku forts as an act of war, & requiring them to leave Peking in 24 hrs. At least it wld. have been an ultimatum, had they regarded China as a serious power; prob. the intention was to massacre them on the way to Tientsin, Aglen Com[missione]r of customs here, was at school with Sam [Satow] at Tunbridge, in the same form. Also young King from Hangchow. Taylor of the Customs, Dr. Bett, Capt. Burke.

Went with Bourne to a Chinese florists & saw various interesting things; plenty of maples from Japan.

Brenan called. Said I understood that Warren was to remain in charge of Yangtze affairs. Whether the consuls S. of this send their despp. u.f.s. thro' here, he seemed to think it unnecessary.

Ker came to urge that he wld. like to go to Peking to pack up; thinks he is on the roster for promotion. Said I thought his wife ought not to go to Peking in present unsanitary condition; wld. let him know as soon as I took over charge.

Willis came ditto, to say that he wld. be a loser by going up as acct. and that leaving his wife here wld. be very expensive. He also expects promotion shortly. Said that it wld. be very inconvenient to go up to Peking alone. He replied quite willing to come with me. I promised on getting there to do all I could for him, and either try to get the 2 allowances sanctioned, or else make other arrangements that wld. suit him. But I cld. not

¹ Satow himself wanted Warren to be Chinese Secretary at Peking. See Satow to Bertie, October 7, 1900, PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 38; Satow to Warren, December 1, 1900, item no. 50.

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interfere with the arrangements made by Sir Claude.

Warren came & we drafted a teleg. to F.O. about Chang & Liu's views with regard to the Empress Dowager, expressing W's opinion that to insist on her death wld. be resisted by the Viceroy & whole Empire, deposition at present equally difficult, but she wld. prob. retire when peace restored. He wants to go up Yangtze to see Viceroy after I leave with title of Com[missione]r. I said that without any title he wld. be equally influential by his personality.

Cowan [of the Office of Works] came, says the drains at Legation in perfect order, but will send up Simpson to look into everything, take inventory & make list of curtains &c. required to replace those used for sandbags during Siege.

G. Jamieson came. Talked abt. China Association meeting tomorrow, & desire to recommend a policy. Tried to show him the inadvisability of going into details. Gave him my views, based as I said on all I had heard here, but must be subject to possible modification after I had seen Sir Claude & learnt all that had passed betw. him & H.M.G. & the PP. As to apptmt. of a Regent, it was necessary to secure adhesion of Viceroy to the idea, adhesion of PP., a proper Chinese designation & a Chinese precedent. I expected further pursuit of Court in the spring. The Viceroy shld. be urged to declare their object to be removal of evil counsellors; later, if they were unwilling, we cld. then tell them that we must do it. Of course everything wld. have to be done in concert betw. the PP. Told him that Warren is to remain in charge of Yangtze business, that F.O. have great confidence in him, & I have also a high opinion. Said that I hoped he wld. come to Peking, for every light I could gain was a help, & he said he wld. come shortly.

Dined with Baynes, Adlers, Ayscoughs (she plays violin), de Cartier, Harding. de C. told me he had heard Germans intend to declare war on China, & take Wusung and Kiangyiu forts; but he wld. not vouch for the exactness of the information.

8 Oct. F. Anderson came to see me at 10 & stayed till 12. Said the China Association were going to hold a meeting tomorrow to outline a policy, wch. wld. be telegd. to London to place before H.M.G. & he showed me something he had drafted, in a series of cut & dried propositions. I tried to persuade him that it wld. be wiser to confine themselves to generalities, & to leave details to those who knew all that was passing, but evidently I made very little impression, for he thinks we are giving way on all sides, & that Genl. Gaselee [unfinished sentence]. Called on Czikkann & saw him for a few minutes at the Consulate.

9 Oct. Returned General Creagh's call, & he told me the contents of a letter he had written to Genl. Gaselee, abt. the way to deal with the Viceroy. I told him I entirely agreed.

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Told him a good deal of what I was writing to Ld. Salisbury. ¹

[8 Oct. contd.] Finished my letters & called on Mrs. Bourne, Mrs. Wade-Gardner & had tea with the Littles. Dined with de Cartier, along with H.S.W. Bayne & F. Anderson. The meeting of the China Association has been put off till tomorrow. Was to have returned Taotai's call, but excused myself on acct. of rain.

9 Octr. See above for call on Genl. Creagh. Said I wished I had a military attaché to keep up communications with the General. He offered me his chief of the staff, Major Watson, in case I wanted some one when I got to Peking.

Embarked at 4 on board the "Snipe". Guard of honour furnished by the Baluchis, splendid big men, with Aryan faces, and well set up. The Genl., Major Watson, the Bayes, de Cartier & all the consulate staff to see me off. Got on board the "Orlando" Capt. Burke at six, with R. Willis, Cecil J.W. Simpson of the O. of W. & Capt. Eldred Pottinger special service officer, & sailed at 9 o'clock.

10 Octr. Fine weather, slight N. W. breeze.

11 Octr. Passed Shantung promontory abt. 10 and altered [course] so as to have a look at Wei-hai-wei, wch. we passed about noon, and Tanki light on the Miantau Island before dinner; beautiful day, quite calm in the afternoon. Dined in the wardroom.

12 Octr. Anchored at Taku at 10. Admiral Seymour came aboard to have a talk & told me abt. the rlwy. Imparted to him my idea of Lord S's policy: importance of keeping in with the other PP. and prob. necessity of an expedition in the spring. After lunch went on board the "Centurion". He showed me Count Waldersee's military order abt. international occupation of Shanhaikwan, and distribution of railway control, also teleg. fr. Genl. Gaselee & his protest to Count Waldersee abt. the rlwy., & preference for Shanhaikwan over Chin-wang-tao [island] as landing-place during the winter. Ad's own preference is for Chin-wang-tao, but in view of the conflicting statements as to ice, thinks we shld. make use of both. He will give me a copy of his memo. on this subject. Showed him the Bank's teleg. of 2 Oct. abt. railway, & memo. of what I said to Wade Gardner.

Called on Czikann, who says the Fr. Ad. was indignant with the Russians for bringing up troops to Shanhaikwan to steal a march on the naval people. The Russians pretend that Shanhaikwan tho' it may geographically be in Chilhi [Chihli] is the left wing of their Manchurian army. However as Waldersee has decreed the joint occupation they are done out of that.

Returned call of Capt. Sturtin of "Arethusa". He says general Reid was placed in charge of the rlwy. at Shanhaikwan by Waldersee. (If so, then he has since changed his mind.) Also that the Japanese soldiers got drunk & ravished women at Shanhaikwan, &

¹ See PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 36, Satow to Salisbury, October 8, 1900.

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3 women hung themselves in consequence.

Calls from Callaghan of the "Endymion", Jellicoe of the "Centurion", of the Taku, Lt. Comr. Mackenzie of the Whiting and Charrington 1st. Lieut. of the "Alacrity".

Bruce is expected here in a day or two with the "Barfleur", and the Ad. then goes to Woosung in the "Centurion".

Asked after R.K. Douglas' son Philip, of whom Ad. Seymour speaks very highly, one of the cleverest boys in the ship, and well-conducted.

13 Oct. At an early hour got on board the "Taku", a destroyer taken from the Chinese June 17, by the Admiral's barge. A N.E. wind had sprung up, and there was a high sea. In getting on board my foot slipped, and I was left dangling by my right hand, but they seized me and drew me in. We all got on board without any other mishap, and started at ¼ to 7. She rolled a good deal and spray came over us now & then but after crossing the bar it was smoother, and we steamed past the forts, which now show but slight traces of conflict: just above the dockyard we had to tranship into the steam launch of Capt. Stewart of the "Algerine" and so just caught the 9.00 train, wch. however did not start till 10.5. We got to Tientsin about ¼ to 12, where Smith of the Consulate general and Col. Swan, chief of the Staff. Put up by C.W. Campbell who is acting: he was with Ad. Seymour on the first relief expedition, and got a wound in the foot during the defence of Tientsin. Decided on the whole not to start till the day after tomorrow.

Called on Fieldmarshal Count Waldersee, to make his acquaintance. He said he was starting tomorrow for Peking, and might remain there 4 or 5 days, & perh. all the winter. He said Prince Ch'ing & Li Hung-chang had been appted. negotiators. No political conversation. Then to Dr. Mumm [Freiherr von Schwarzenstein] the Germ. Min. who was out, and last of all to [Russian minister Baron Mikhail] de Giers. ¹ He had not heard of the latest Fr. proposals wch. reached S'hai on the 8th, so I told him as far as I cld. remember. He then told me of the German Emperor's having taken note of the decree handing over Tuan & others to various courts, and asking 3 questions: 1^o whether the list of names of the guilty was complete in the edict, 2^o whether their punisht. was proportional to the offence, 3^o whether there was any means by which the presence of delegates of the PP cld. be made use of to ensure the punishments being carried out. To No. 1 he had answered that the names of Yü Hsien and Tung Fuh-hsiang were omitted;

¹ Satow wrote: "There seems to be a good deal of personal feeling among the colls: ag[ain]st de Giers. I am told that at the time Sir Claude & other Mins. were urging the Ts. Yamên to put down the Boxers, he was saying to the Chinese that they need not mind, as the PP wld. do nothing. They also resent his somewhat dictatorial manners in our conferences, & his apparent desire to pose as the friend of China. They suspect him of communicating to Li the details of our conference." (Satow to Salisbury, PRO 30/33 14/11, no. 39, November 1, 1900).

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2° that till the tribunals pronounced judgment it was not possible to say whether the penalties were adequate; 3° that if the punishments were carried out at Peking, the presence of Legation officers cld. be afforded, if elsewhere then that of consular officials. He thought the first thing to obtain was that the guilty persons shld. be removed fr. the Court, for as long as they remained with it, they wld. prevent judgment being given agst. them. He had suggested this to his govt. He thought the Chinese wld. prob. agree to capital punishment for all the officials guilty, but in the case of Prince Tuan there wld. be difficulty. Banishm't wld. prob. be to Urumtsi [Urumchi, Xinjiang province]. I said that perhaps it wld. be a matter of little importance whether the punishts. were carried out in the presence of our delegates, as the fact that punishments were publicly pronounced wld. in the case of the prominent officials ensure their being carried out. His idea of demanding that the guilty named in the edict shld. be removed fr. the Court seemed to me a good one, and if it was acceded to this wld. prove that the Court was well disposed, & we ought to encourage them to act rightly. I explained of course that I had no official position, and cld. only express personal views. He said it was most necessary that things shld. not be allowed to drag on, as that wld. land us in an impasse, & it was very important to induce the Court to return to the vicinity of the capital, promising to treat it with all honour! (That includes the Empress Dowager.) He has taken a house here for the winter & brought down all his staff, but is willing to negotiate anywhere, at Peking, here or at Shanghai, wherever he is told to go. He did not express any preference.

Mumm came to return my call, and much the same conversation passed. Only he is not satisfied with de Giers' suggestion abt. placing [planning?] the removal of the charged persons fr. the Court in the first place, lest the Chinese shld. agree & then pretend it was all. He hinted that this was what de Giers was aiming at, as the Russians, not being prepared to carry out their ulterior policy, want to patch up things for the time being. He on the contrary thinks that if matters are not placed on a proper footing now, the same troubles may recur in a year or two. Wld. personally like to go to Peking, and is leaving part of his staff there.

G. Hillier came to talk abt. railway. Assured him McD & Gaselee were doing all in their power to maintain the interests of the bondholders, and H.M.G. wld. care for the policy part. He says the rlwy. staff is quite willing to work under the Germans, but is anxious that H.M.G. shld. obtain fr. Germany assurances similar to those given by Russia that the rlwy. shall be restored at the conclusion of peace to its rightful owners.

14 Octr. Wrote letter to Shanghai. After lunch walked with Willis round the settle[men]t and had a view of the emplacement of the 4.7 [inch] gun that bombarded western arsenal &

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Chinese city, also of the damage done in the French settlement, part of wch. consisting of Chinese dwellings was levelled by the French to prevent it being used as cover by the assailants, part by bombardment on the part of Chinese fr. opposite bank of the river. Cousins of Jardine's a man who has been 20 years here, 10 more at Chifu and Newchwang, and Dr. Poole of the Legation at dinner.

15 Octr. Dr. Arthur H. Smith, Dr. D.Z. Sheffield & Dr. Henry D. Porter of the A.B.C.F.M. came to call. The first says there are important documents in the Palace wch. ought to be secured, as bearing upon conspiracy agst. foreigners wch. has been hatching for the past two years. Nagamasa Toi Japse. Consul called. Has been 10 years in Peking, 5 here.

Got off at 2.15.

16 Octr. Yangtsun bridge at 3 p.m., it had been temporarily repaired, and we saw a train passing over. At this place was the second fight on the road to Peking in August. Last night was bitterly cold, but today was fine & warm, with a favourable wind from the S.W. Saw many villages totally wrecked on both sides of the river. Trees chiefly willow, some poplars with thick large leaves, millet of different sorts & Indian corn, scarcely any flowers beyond the blue autumn daisy of Japan and Canada, wch. in spots was plentiful.

17 [Oct.] Nantsai-tsun at 9 a.m. Mêngtsun at 1.30, Hohsiwa at 4. Called on the commandant who gave us some tea. Fine day and good wind.

18 [Oct.] A dull day except about 11, when we passed Tours & his family going down. We had passed Matsu at 9 a.m., where we got an obliging American officer to send off a telegram to Peking.

19 [Oct.] Fine day again, with a breeze in the afternoon, and we reached T'ung-chou at 5.30, having sighted its pagoda at about 3 p.m. Major Scott of the lines of communication came on board and arranged for proceeding to Peking tomorrow.

20 [Oct.] Started at 9 with an escort of Indian cavalry and a guard of honour of Baluchis, wind from the N.E. cold. Some hail. It had rained during the night and laid the dust for two or three miles; passed the walls of T'ung-chou, which seems a very large town and the canal on our right. Then it got colder & colder, more and more dusty. Willis & I riding troop-horses, Simpson on a pony. At 8 or 9 miles from T'ung-chou changed horses and escort, the former not for the better. The dust continually increasing and the wind in our faces. Passed Russians going down and a few French, the Australian naval contingent going up. At last we came in sight of the walls of the Tartar city, and almost immediately on the N.E. corner of the Chinese city. Entered the T'ung pien mên, and rode along the base of the Tartar wall halfway to the Hata-mên, when I could stand the cold and fatigue no longer, so got off to walk with Willis; my legs feeling quite numb and almost

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paralysed. So thro' the Hata-mên & along legation street, wch. showed terrible marks of devastation. A feeling of profound melancholy took possession of me, such as I have never experienced. It was like entering a huge city of the dead where the tombs had been thrown down and enveloped in dust. The tower over the Hatamên partly destroyed. Met at the gate by Tower, Dering, Cockburn & then inside by Sir Claude. After being introduced to Lady [Ethel] MacDonald and a Miss Brasier, had a scanty wash and sat down to lunch. The servants turned up about half past three and the baggage an hour later. After lunch had an explanation with Sir Claude about the exchange of posts, from wch. it resulted that the F.O. never telegd. to him about my coming here till some time in September, so that he was quite taken by surprise. At tea came in [Marquis Giuseppe] Salvago-Raggi the Italian minister, Col. Bertie of the Welsh fusiliers and another officer of the same regiment. Everybody went to dine at the American legation, so Dering came and dined with me.

21 [Oct.] Had a talk with Tower abt. my proposal to bring up Warren, wch. he agrees with. Then with Sir Claude. The Chinese plenipos. Prince Ch'ing & Li Hung-chang had represented thro' Lofêng luh their desire that MacD. shld. remain to carry on the negotiations, & Ld. S. telegd. suggesting that we might be apptd. joint Comrs. & Plenipotentiaries. MacD. personally did not desire it, & thought no good of the idea. He was confident I could do as well. I said that if he took that view I was quite willing to undertake the task. So it was agreed that he should teleg. to that effect to Lord S. He also discussed the arrangements for carrying on the work, and wanted Warren to go back to Hankow, Fraser to come here or to Tientsin, and in the latter case Campbell here to act for Cockburn who goes home. Told him my ideas, wch. I wrote to Ld. Salisbury from Shanghai a fortnight ago. He opposed Warren's coming here. I said I wld. await answer to my private letter. He called in Cockburn and consulted him about these matters. It appears the F.O. had been asked ten days ago to sanction Fraser coming here, and that they objected; or it may have only been a suggestion. Anyhow I promised Cockburn to let him go in a fortnight, whether Ker, for whom MacD. is to telegraph, cld. get here in a fortnight or not. Another suggestion of mine was that Mansfield might be brought from Amoy to release Campbell, & Cockburn thought he might object. Another was to bring O'Brien Butler to Tientsin, or Tratman from Chefoo replacing him by Butler there, but on the whole O'B.B. better, as he knows German. MacD. to write recommending Willis to get his interpreter's allowance while acting as asst. under the exceptional circs.

Teleg. fr. F.O. approving the suggested additions to the French propositions that have been made by MacD. wch. I entirely approve.

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MacD. tells me C. dislikes the Chinese, will not speak to them if he can help it, and that his temper is not what it was; he is troubled with loss of brain power, and has been ordered six months complete rest. Of course I was ignorant of this when I formed my plans about Warren.

Telegs. to London now get through in 12 or 13 hrs. Prince Ch'ing & Li Hung-chang came to call & have a talk. They urged MacD's remaining, but he told them it was impossible. Much desultory conversation abt. rumoured occupation of Pao-ting-fu by the French on the 14th in advance of allied expedition, the possible return of the Emperor to Peking, wch. Li now says is remoter than he had told Salvago, and idea of an international control of the finances of China. For two solid hours. It was very dull. Went to the evening service. Big dinner – Cologan, Congers (2), v. Below, Belgian (Joostens), Salvago, Genl. Chaffee, Genl. Barrow ¹, Capt. Phillips A.D.C. Colonel Grierson, Tower, Dering, Poole, Sir Robt. Hart.

Talked c. the Belgian, who says Chinese gave them 24 hrs. to clear out, and at the expiration of that time opened fire. v. Ketteler killed by his obstinacy in going to Ts'ungli Yamên [Foreign Board] alone. Ministers had asked for an interview, to wch. there was no reply. They (Tuan) had given orders to shoot from the wall any foreigners seen passing, but refrained fr. asking Mins. to come to Ts'ungli Yamên. Usual custom to wait a reply fr. Yamên before going. v. K. said he wld. go & sit there all day till they opened the doors. Date was 20 June. He was killed by a soldier of Prince Ch'ing.

Hart says he considers Chinese thought in attacking Legations they were making war, in a legitimate fashion. He looks old and has grown a beard. Looks rather like a Belfast professor, as one may conceive them.

Mrs. Conger & I had a talk after dinner. They were at Rio in 1890, and afterwards, where they knew de Giers & Pichon, also the d'Anethans & Wyndhams.

22 Octr. Discussed various points with MacD. arising out of Li's talk yesterday. Barrow came in & showed dft. of teleg. to India and of letter to the Field marshal protesting agst. handing over Shanhaikwan station & all the stores and material to the Russians, wch. we agreed to. Also news fr. Genl. Gaselee that on reaching Paotingfu he had found the suburbs occupied by the French, this partly confirming Li's statements of yesterday. MacD. took me on the wall and showed the defences, wch. were admirable. Germans lost their part of the wall, and could never retake it. The famous sortie of July 3 was performed by 15 Americans 15 Russians and 25 English marines: the Am. [American]

¹ General Sir George de Symons Barrow (1864-1959) served in China under General Sir Alfred Gaselee (1844-1918). Barrow's volume of photographs 'with the China Expeditionary Force' depict many of the main characters of the rebellion.

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officer in command was wounded at the outset, and the rest of the time the men were led by one Oliphant, brother of the student who was killed: it was a complete success.

Lt. Col. G. Shiba [Shiba Goro] came to dinner. Afterwds. he told me that their quarter has 3 times as many inhabitants as before the siege. Thinks Prince Ch'ing a good man, understands the position, but has little influence; he admits that now is the time for China to reform, but Li is prob. anti-reform. A good man on whom Pr. Ch' much relies is Na Tong, a manchu; also another who is Chinese. Shiba has made many friends amongst Chinese and offered to convey any message. He also said that tho' he did not like to say so, Nishi was too friendly with de Giers and ought to be removed, now that Itō [Hirobumi] has come into power with Katō [Takaaki] as foreign min. Does not think the Court will come back as long as foreign troops are in Peking. Prince Ching says he cannot call on Waldersee, because he is living in the Empress-Dowager's Palace, where he has no right to go. I told him àpropos of an idea of his that Germany wants Shantung that acc. to a teleg. recd. by Hart, the "Times" announces that Engl. & Germany have signed an agreement not to annex territory, there is no danger of it. He asked if he might tell Pr. Ch', & I said yes he might, but not to mention my name, only say it was in the "Times". I said that now Engl. Germ. Japan & the U.S. were in line, & wld. bring the Austrians & Italians in. He said the Fr. were disgusted with the Russians, so perhaps they might join, & suggested that the Chinese in Manchuria shld. be stirred up to make trouble with the Russians, who are not strong there. I disapproved entirely of this; we must keep in mind the situation in Europe which obliges Germany to humour the Russians. The Japse. now hold 3 gates of the Palace, the Americans the fourth. He took several trunks full of papers from the Palace, implicating a large number of persons, including members of the Ts'ungli Yamên, in the Boxer movement, but wld. keep them private, as their publication would do much harm. He had communicated a few to Sir Claude.

I said to MacDonald, that as far as I could see the sequence of events was this: ultimatum & capture of Pei-ho forts, resistance to Admiral Seymour's advance by Imperial troops, summons to Ministers to leave, expiry of the 24 hours, and opening fire. He said it was so. On hearing of the ultimatum abt. Taku forts presented thro' Senior Consul at Tientsin, he wrote to [British consul at Tientsin W.R.] Carles that they had sounded the death knell of the foreigners in Peking. Whether the capture of the forts was necessary he could not judge. The Chinese in their ultimatum said that the threat to take the Taku forts was a declaration of war. Prob. they knew that they had fallen, but put it that way to save their face. T the time of the capture things were wavering; kind messages had been sent by the Empress to Lady MacDonald to keep inside the city, and

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the anti-foreign and moderate parties were struggling for supremacy. The scales were turned by the capture.

I find he agrees with my estimate of [Admiral] Bruce.

23 [Oct.] Met Dr. Dudgeon walking in the compound. Has been here since 1863. Says desolation for miles round is intense, no winter wheat sown.

Conference of Engineer officers. MacD., self. Tower & Simpson about extending our compound so as to take in the Hanlin, the Carriage Park and official buildings beyond, also extension of the railway from Machiapo to within the Chien-Mên; also a plan for making a legation quarter and surrounding it with a defensive zone, to include part of the wall of Tartar city between Chien-Mên & Hata Mên. [Note: Mên = gate] The engineers wanted to pull down a bit of yellow tiled wall of palace opposite Carriage Park, and take portion of Imperial City wall into our outer defences. It was agreed however that this question of a defensible area should be put on one side, as it may form a subject of negotiation, but that the other 2 matters shld. be proceeded with at once. They are much hampered in their reconstruction of the line by the want of a locomotive or two. I suggested borrowing one from Japan, with trucks, but the gauge here is 4ft 8½ in[ches] wch. is more than the Japse. so no use. They are trying to get one thro' Kinder. Our people are to construct 10 miles fr. this end, of wch. they have done one half. Germans working from the other end from Yangtsun.

To Nishi. Told him nothing about the conversation between Germany and England. He told me the 5 points put forward by the French, & said the Japse. Govt. had objected to the continued prohibition of the import & export of arms. I said there were precedents for limitations of this kind on the offensive means of a beaten enemy, and that tho' it wld. not always protect us, it wld. be valuable for a period of say 25 years. He rejoined that we might fix a limit, say as many as 15 years. On another point suggested by Sir Claude at the informal conference, the improvement of relations betw. Diplomatic Body & Court, he observed that perhaps little would be gained by stipulating that I wished to have direct access to the Emperor or Empress, as perh. they wld. not be able to understand, or to act on their own decision. He agreed with me that they are not autocrats & must act thro' the Grand Council. As to abolition of Ts'ungli Yamên, he believed it was mooted at the time of the Shimonoseki Treaty [of April 17, 1895], & Li objected its impossibility. He then told me of the Chinese proposals, one of wch. was for a cessation of military operations as a preliminary to negotiations to wch. I answered that it was usual, but not always done. Also of their suggestion that the existing commercial treaties shld. be modified where necessary. (This I think gives us a useful handle.) Thirdly he said the Court wld. not come back as long as foreign troops

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remained at Peking; ¹ he thought we might say that after fixing the no. of Legation guards & reconstructing rlwy. to Tientsin wch. we wld. hold the troops might be withdrawn outside, perh. there. I said I wld. consider feasibility of this. He alluded to the inconvenience of his being unable to speak French fluently, & yet he supposed he wld. have to stay on.

His Sec[retary] Hioki came in. I had met him at Aoki's. He was Secy. at Söul at the time of the murder of the Queen [in 1895].

Shiba took me over their defences of the Su Chinwangfu.

24 Octr. Walked with Willis round the Imperial city to a point S.W. of the Hsi Hwa-mên & then had to come back the whole way. Dined along with the MacDs. at the Secretary's mess.

25 [Oct.] A brilliant morning. The MacD's went off at 11. Tower & I rode ahead to the Tung pien mên to say goodbye to them there, but owing to our having taken a side road thro' the Chinese city, while they went along from the Hata mên under the wall, they passed thro' before us, & that altho' we'd had a a quarter of an hour's start. T. galloped on after them & overtook, but I stopped. It was very vexatious to have missed them thus. ²

Maharaja Scindia: met him as he was riding in. He is a youngish looking man, speaks English quite well. Brought him into the house & showed him the place where the shot went behind the Queen's picture.

Genl. Barrow came in to talk abt. removing in ten days or so to a house in the Tartar city. Said I would put up Genl. Gaselee in the rooms underneath him, and that I shld. be quite pleased if he would keep his office in the verandah till then.

Armistice . Told him of the Chinese proposal on that head; he says from the English military side there wld. be no objection, as we hold Paotingfu in the province of Chihli.

Germany . Told him of the Agreement signed by Engl. & Germany, self-denying as to territory, & that Austria had already acceded.

Death warrants of boxers . Explained that I could no longer go on signing, but wld. sign judgments, if the military wld. give the sentence. He agreed.

Promised to keep in touch & work harmoniously with each other.

26 [Oct.] Meeting of colleagues summoned by Cologan at the instance of the Russians, who began by proposing to take as a basis of negotiations the 5 French proposals. I objected that a meeting of colls: had already discussed them, and made suggestions wch. had been approved by H.M.G. & other Govts. wch. could not be treated as non-avenue : so Joostens read a French note of what had occurred. de Giers protested that he had no

¹ This view was reported by Satow to Salisbury. See PRO 30/33 14/11, no. 39, dated November 1, 1900.

² This was the day when Satow took charge of the Peking Legation.

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desire to ignore the previous conversation. Then we went into a discussion as to whose names should be presented as primarily guilty & what punishment shld. be demanded, and whether it shld. be in the form of an ultimatum. At last we got to a "formula", in wch. Mumm, Salvago & I carried "la peine de mort" [the death penalty] against de Giers' "la punition la plus sévère" [the most severe punishment], and we parted a little past 12, having begun at 10.

Paid calls in the afternoon. First to de Giers, who complained that he had been regarded with suspicion at the meeting, wch. had prevented him from bringing forward his real motion, wch. was for cessation of hostilities. I said "in all Chinese territory? or only the prov[ince] of Chihli". It seemed necessary for an armistice to define limits. He thought not. Also that in these limits the local auth: shld. be recognized, except of course the places where we had established provincial govts. I promised to support him on Sunday at our next meeting. He says he wants to go on leave in a couple of months, and wld. like to see an end made of the negotiations, wch. was quite possible if we worked from day to day. I said that I should like more time in between meetings. Also that had I known what he was calling our meeting of today for I wld. have come prepared.

Then to the Congers, and the French, where I saw Mme. Pichon & left cards for Joostens & Cologan, who were out. Then to Mumm, whom I found indisposed to ask his Govt. to stop military measures, but he agreed to two suggestions I made (1) preamble of the ultimatum to enumerate "les méfaits des Chinois" [the misdeeds of the Chinese] (2) the insertion of an article providing for commercial matters to be regulated by subsequent convention: & agreed to his idea of an international committee to assess indemnities. I mentioned 1 to the Italian and Fr. Secy. d'Ant[h]ouard, who both approved, & I think Conger will.

Salvago brought his Admiral and Capt. came.

27 [Oct.] Finished my calls in the afternoon and was shown over the defences of the French Legation by d'Ant[h]ouard; they had a tough fight of it there, which ought not to be forgotten.

28 [Oct.] Meeting of colls: de Giers left his proposal to the last, just as everyone was rising to go away. Mumm objected. He tried to extract a "yes" or "no" from us all. Conger pronounced in favour. So also Nishi. I said I was favourable, but would prefer to discuss the subject at our next meeting. Previous to that we had spent 2¼ hrs. in discussing the French "bases" and the addition of the FRR. at the first meeting before I came. The prohibition of examinations was accepted unanimously. Prohibition of import of arms, no term fixed, & conditions left to be fixed by Allied Govts. As to Indemnities I referred to Egyptian claims, & proposed either a commission composed of persons unconnected

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with China & from neutral small PP, or the Hague tribunal. Also that we should include Chinese who suffered for their connexion with foreigners; ended however by accepting formula "Chinese (in the service of foreigners) who during recent events suffered in their persons or property". 4 & 5 were only briefly discussed.

Joostens who came in the afternoon said Russians now intend to give up the railway to the original administration. I said that was much to be wished, as it caused needless friction betw. the Govts. & much ill-feeling out here among B.Ss. [British Subjects] He is going to send me copy of the memo. he read to us about an offer of the Belgian Co. to provide materials for relaying the line, wch. we all refused to discuss.

Conger came [crossed out] ; also Grierson & Powell; also Czikkann & Hoyos.

29 Octr. Conger ¹ came: we discussed various points, such as his proposal to make Peking an open city, mine to provide for revision of commercial conventions; also suppression of grogshops, wch. everyone is now prepared to do for his own quarter.

The German [Mumm] came. Told him of my proposal to specify the parts of China occupied by foreign troops in wch. military operations are to cease, acc. to Giers. He has talked to Waldersee, who says that nothing more is to be done. [Margin: On this occasion he asked abt. measures to be taken to prevent removal of Viceroy. I seem to have given him the impression that we wld. use force to prevent it.] He asked me whether I was of opinion that we should frame all the bases before beginning to negotiate. I said that was certainly what I understood.

Afternoon with Cockburn to Prince Ch'ing & Li. The former asked about despatch of troops to Yichou near the Imperial tombs of Yung chêng Chia-ching & Taokuang. I said the tombs wld. be respected. Li asked the same question, so I said he might rest assured we would not treat Chinese tombs in the way that ours outside Peking had been treated. He replied that was not done by the "State" but by a mob. Rejoined that who lets loose the hurricane is responsible for the wreckage. Who but the Court adopted the Boxers, placed a Prince in charge, & with its own troops battered down the legations. He said the persons who had done that were all condemned by the Imperial Edict. I asked if he had recd. the last one in writing – he said yes. I wished to see it. I wanted to satisfy myself of its genuineness. He protested Chinese officials did not tell lies, &

¹ Edwin Hurd Conger (1843-1907). American soldier and diplomat. Fought in American Civil War (1861-5). State senator, minister to Brazil. Appointed Minister to China January 19, 1898, and served until his resignation on March 8, 1905, on which day he was appointed as Ambassador to Mexico and served until his resignation on October 18, 1905. Worked to reduce anti-American feelings of Chinese after the Boxer Rebellion. Walter Townley, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking, likened Conger to "the American eagle in the *Punch* cartoon, who was ready to flap his wings for all he was worth if the lion [Britain] and the bear [Russia] would do the fighting." (G. A. Lensen, *The Russo-Chinese War*, Sophia University & Diplomatic Press, 1967, p. 265)

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appealed to Cockburn, who laughingly begged to be excused from answering. I said the Chinese Min. in London had told lies to Ld. Salisbury abt. protection of the legations by the Govt. Li rejoined these were sent to him by Tuan and other inventors of lies, who had now been dismissed. I asked how about Tung. Li said he was a soldier, having nothing to do with Govt. affairs. S[elf]: Who then is with the Emperor. Li: Wang wên shao, Lu Chuan Lin [Margin: certainly anti-foreign H.C.] and Jung Lu. I said I was sorry to say these things to him, but they had been pent up in my bosom for several months past, and they must find vent. He asked about T'ing Yang the official arrested at Paotingfu and another, and requested an official note informing him if anything were done to them. I said I had only a private letter. When Genl. Gaselee returned I wld. ascertain & let him know, but I believed T'ing had been an oppressor of foreigners at the outset of the troubles. I thought it time to go, but he asked abt. cessation of hostilities, so I said that if he wld. clear the room I wld. speak. The rabble of attendants having been turned out, I said that of course this was a military question & must be decided by the Govts. Personally I was disposed to recommend it, but only as to regular troops; we must continue to act agst. Boxers if necessary. He said he wld. put them down, with his own troops 10,000 men. I cld. not say anything as to that. He added, between you and me it is the French & Germans who want to go on making trouble. I replied: in return for that confidence I will tell you that my idea is to say that military operations must cease in all Chinese provinces occupied by foreign troops, not in Chihli alone. He took the point, and we parted very good friends, he saying that he appreciated my straightforward way of saying things. The interview lasted at least an hour, and did not once wander from the point. I looked at him straight and shot out my words wch. little Tsêng translated faithfully. I nearly broke down at one place, when the idea of the murdered women & children came into my mind, but kept it back & so recovered my self-control.

Foochow reformers. Li promised to telegraph to Viceroy not to make arrests: he had been in teleg. commn. with Liu Kunyi abt. reactionary Taotai fr. Shanghai (who he says was a protégé of Kangyi) & told him to keep him back, also to detain present man there. Prince Ch'ing said there was no truth in rumour of the two Viceroys being summoned to Si-ngan-Fu.

Rev. J. Stonehouse of London mission brought a letter & list of Boxers at Tung-an. Gave copy of latter to Grierson, to be sent out to our column marching back near there to act on. Told Stonehouse I did not think colls: wld. agree to compensate native Xtians, quâ Christians, for their losses; but that we wld. ask for it in case of Chinese in service of "foreigners". Expounded to him my views as to protection of missionaries, and also

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as to indemnities for residences & schools. It appears that most of the chapels were built with money furnished by the converts. Told Mr. S. that if he wanted money to help Xtians in distress I wld. supply him. Also, at his suggestion, that I had no objection whatever to his obtaining whatever he could from Chinese officials without my intervention.

Powell & Grierson abt. rlwy. to Shanhaikwan. Told them what I had done, & also abt. the mines at Tongshan of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co.

Barrow showed me telegs. about Russians having commandeered 50 miles of railway material in Niuchwang belonging to Jardine Matheson & Co. & sent teleg. to F.O.

Afternoon to Count Waldersee. Discussed the international occupation of rlwy. to Shanhaikwan, and prob. garrisoning of Tientsin for a term of years, wch. he thinks more practical than the construction of forts near the coast, and expressed myself agst. defensible legation quarter, i.e. a sort of fortress. Also talked abt. suspension of hostilities wch. he wld. agree to on condition that a line were drawn fr. coast westwards, south of Paotingfu, and suppression of "boxers" carried on.

Saw Czikann who is agst. armistice being granted, and says Pichon furious at the idea.

Mumm came & said that de Giers wld. drop his idea, as he found there was opposition.

31 Oct. Good meeting & much progress; I gave notice of a motion abt. commercial matters for Monday 5 Novr.

Shiba & his brother Shiba Gorō came to call.

Went round to Mumm, Czikann, Anthouard and Salvago, & found they agreed that 'ultimatum' had been used in our discussions rather vaguely, & not in the strict sense.

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Nov. 1 Sharp frost last night, many leaves fallen. Genl. Gaselee returned and came to lunch, also du Boulay.

Prince Ch'ing. Talked to him abt. objectionable Govr. of Hupei, new gov. of Shanhsi, and his letter on the subject of Fang-shan. Some of the German and Anglo-Indian troops are coming back that way from Paotingfu, but head local official need be in no anxiety and we have heard good reports of him. As to his request to be allowed to raise troops to put down Boxers, the word 'troops' shld. not be used; as it cld. not be admitted by the Allied generals. But why not use 巡查 [policemen] as in Japan. I wrote down the

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characters and the old boy greatly approved of the idea. I said the letter wld. be referred to the Military Authorities, & then I would reply to him. Told him we shld. have to examine each other's credentials.

Li also came having announced himself before. He wanted to know abt. the Paotingfu official. I said that it was a military matter, & I could not officially inform him of the acts of the German Fieldmarshal. But why not see the German Minister [Mumm] about it. He replied that it was the German Minister's turn, as he had paid the first visit in Shanghai. I counselled him not to stand on ceremony, if we did that instead of drinking a friendly cup of tea together, we should be sitting on opposite sides of a green table. Under present circs. why not stretch a point. When I learnt the result of the inquiry as to this official, I wld. let him know privately, but I had not yet seen the report.

Abt. new govr. of Hupei who is objected to, it was agreed I shld. write to him [Li] and Prince Ch'ing stating my instructions, and then he wld. be able to make a representation to the Emperor; otherwise he wld. be accused of having a 'down' upon Manchus. As to Yühsien's successor, he was a good official for Chinese affairs, but *laissant à désirer* [leaving something to be desired] in foreign. I said we shld. watch his conduct closely. As Yühsien had abettors in the massacre of British subjects, the first thing to do was to arrest all those people. He said he cld. give orders for that. Then we talked generally about Chinese affairs, and I expressed my wonder at all those reactionaries getting into power last summer. He said he was sent South because it was known to them that he was too enlightened to join in their proceedings. (People have said he arranged to go there to be out of the way.) I said that he and the other enlightened Viceroys were the only men who could save China, and they must make a great effort. He told me he had sent a teleg. to Foochow according to promise; I replied that I had such confidence in his performing it that I had already telegraphed to Lord Salisbury. Told him abt. the Govr. of Hongkong being obliged to refuse arms to Acting Viceroy of the two Kwang; also that if he heard any rumours of troops being landed at Canton he was not to believe it, as people ran about repeating everything they could think of.

2 Nov. Conger came. Promised to give him a copy in English of my proposals as to commercial matters before next meeting. Nishi joined us, & said he wished on his own account & without instructions to propose to the Colleagues to adopt some method of letting the Court know that we cld. hand over the civil govt. of the city, excepting of the legation quarter, if they wld. return here. He does not think that wld. take place till the spring, & admits that we must first present our conditions, & see what chance there is of their being accepted. Conger & I agreed to support a motion to place some expression of a desire to facilitate the return of the Court by such means.

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Mumm came. Told Conger & me that he may perh. desire to place in the Note a demand for an expiatory Embassy to Germany, & erection of a monument on the spot where v. Ketteler was murdered. We both approved. After Conger was gone I said I thought the article shld. be placed first or second, and that in the preamble of the Note it should come in a prominent position along with the other enormities of wch. China was guilty. The fact that his death was anticipated showed that it was premeditated.

Salvago has shown him a short note on financial guarantees. I am to see Conger abt. it after hearing from Salvago.

Privately, Waldersee regrets that Shanhai-kwan was not inserted by us in the 6th article. I said I wld. look at the procès-verbal, & wld. add what I had said on this subject, wch. I perfectly remember, if it is not already there.

He showed me a new army order about the railways. I said that I quite recognized the military necessity; and our protests were directed agst. the high-handed actions of the Russians, who carried off all the material that could have been used for repairing the line & had seized 50 miles of material on 6 Oct. belonging to Jardine & Co. at Newchwang: & I explained to him why I had made all possible reserves in replying to Joostens the other day. He replied to Joostens that it was a matter outside his province & he cld. express no opinion.

Showed him what I propose to say abt. "ultimatum" at our next meeting, & at his suggestion slightly altered my draft.

Went to return Genl. Yamaguchi's call at his headquarters near the Chi-hua-mên. The street from the 4 pailohs north crowded with booths both sides of the roadway, the shops open. Handsome fronts of gilded carving and tall gilded signboards, very fine.

3 Nov. Genl. Barrow told me he is to go on the 5th to Tientsin, & with a German & Russian officer to form a commission to inspect the railway line. He says orders have been sent for the execution of three persons condemned at Pao-ting-fu.

Czikann to talk over my motion on commercial matters, & suggested several excellent amendments. He will support it, and speak on one or two additional subjects. We spoke of Salvago's intended motion about control of revenues. I said Mumm had already mentioned the subject, and I had undertaken to speak to Conger.

Salvago came abt. the same thing, & I told him I was ready to put his formula before Conger, but I thought perh. he might not be able to support it, as U.S. used to dislike taking part in such intervention. Lent a copy of what I am going to lay before the meeting on Monday.

To Conger. Gave him Engl. copy of my proposal abt. commercial matters & Salvago's about guarantees for payt. of indemnity and interest &c. of loans. He read me

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his telegraphic instructions wch. empower him to support such propositions.

Rode with Tower to Engl. cemetery, and saw the devastation, now partly repaired.

Genl. Gaselee came for a talk. We discussed the executions ordered at Pao-ting-fu by the Field Marshal, and I said that this being a military matter, I abstained fr. interfering, all the more that I had no official knowledge of them. It seemed to me quite possible that these executions wld. produce a good effect. We agreed that I need not take any part in ordering the execution of Boxers found in Peking, and G. said between ourselves he had thought MacD. exceeded his powers in signing death warrants. Told him that I am apptd. H.C. & P. [High Commissioner & Plenipotentiary], & showed him my commission.

Shiba Shirō came to see me. Says that a day or two ago the Russn. Minr. informed Prince Ch'ing that Manchuria being now pacified, the Russ. Govt. desired to have new Chinese Govr. app[oin]ted. We talked abt. gen[era]l policy. He was rather disappointed that Japan, wch. desired the integrity of China above all shld. have been anticipated by Engl. & Germany. Of course there were Japse. who anticipating the appropriation by Russia of Manchuria were anxious that Japan shld. have a share; they pull one way & the Japse. Govt. another. I observed that even if we had an *arrière pensée* as [to] what we wld. do in case of a partition of China, that being only a pis-aller we shld. hold our tongues abt. it, and only insist on the principle we desired to see maintained.

Warren writing on [October] 23 says that the Anglo-German Convention abt. China has given great satisfaction to the Chinese officials.

Shiba asked a good deal abt. "cause de la dette" system being insisted on by FRR. [Foreign Representatives] Told him it was all in the air at present, but no notion of anything so extensive is entertained.

Went to Nishi. We spoke abt. Mumm's proposals to bring up v. Ketteler's murder tomorrow, & I said that if he asked for mention to be made of Sugiyama's murder ¹, I wld. support him. In ans. to my suggestion that the murder of v. Ketteler was pre-meditated, he told me that the day after Sugiyama's murder, wch. was June 11, v. Ketteler met in Legation St. 2 boxers: he was with a German guard, & arrested one, the other got away; this caused more excitement, & barricades were put up in Legn. St. to prevent Chinese coming in. On the 16th, a party of our marines & a half dozen Japse.

¹ "Expecting Seymour's relief force at any moment, Japanese embassy chancellor Sugiyama Akira donned a tailcoat and a top hat on June 11 and set forth with his valet in a Peking wagon to meet the Allied force at the railway station in the Chinese City. He would have been wiser to stay at home, for the Allied relief force was far away having troubles of its own. Outside the Yungtingmen Gate, where Sugiyama entered the Chinese City, he was set upon by General Tung's soldiers, dragged from his cart, and hacked to pieces." (Sterling Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 319.)

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sailors under Lt. Col. Shiba were patrolling beyond the Austrian Legn., when they found some 50 boxers in a small temple, whom they surrounded & exterminated. This is Nishi's acct. ; I think Dr. Poole said it was the 12th. As to the other proposal to force the Court back to Peking by cutting off supplies, the object of expression of opinion wch. N. had suggested to Conger & self was the same, only the means were diff[eren]t. He agreed with me that the Viceroy was not likely to consent, even if they were called on by us to do so. He talked abt. railway communication betw. Tongku & Shanhaikwan. Replied that we were negotiating with the Russian Govt. for the rlwy. to be handed over to Kinder & his staff to repair, and that at least 20 miles were broken down betw. Peitang and Hsükochuang including a large iron bridge over the Peitang river, & the Russians in order to force us to retire fr. Peking following their move, had hitherto neglected to do any repairs. But this portion, Peking-Yangtsun I understood fr. Count Waldersee would be finished by 15 Decr.

5 Nov. Meeting of Colls: to discuss bases of negotiation, & finished our business. Afternoon had a talk with General Gaselee. He thinks that it may be worth while in the spring to send an expedition to Tai-yuen-Fu, to avenge the people who were murdered there, & it wld. not be difficult. Si-ngan Fu wld. be a much more formidable business. Will have to indent for clothing &c. for next summer. Thinks it wld. be advisable to have some Engl. troops. Indian organization is in brigades of two Engl. & two Indian battalions. The foreigners do not know how to treat the unoffending natives.

Second meeting of colls: Discussed a Note fr. Chinese plenipos. asking Cologan to say when FRR. would be ready to negotiate. Agreed he shld. acknowledge receipt & reply he would let them know when we had instructions to begin. Agreed to appt. commission of secretaries to state the limits of the Legation quarter, & to devolve on them various cognate questions fr[om] time to time. Letter of Li Hung-chang abt. Paoting-fu expedition & allegations of bad behaviour of the troops. German, Italian, French & I agreed to return. Russian, American & Japanese said they wld. simply not ans[wer]. Two things wrong 1st the subject was discussed by all the diplomatic Body, and 2nd those of our own colls: of whose troops no complaint was made, instead of showing their indignation on our behalf, demonstrate their sympathy with the Chinese complainer by keeping his letter.

6 [Nov.] Conger came to talk abt. Russian opposition to the proposals for addition to the bases of negotiation made by himself, Salvago & me, all of which he regards as of the highest importance. He fears that de Giers' opposition will wreck them. I suggested that those of us who had supported them might teleg. to our govts. stating that we regarded them as most essential, it was now or never, & say collectively that we hold this opinion. I also

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said that we had force here, & that even tho' the Russians shld. succeed in excluding them fr. the Note, we cld. insist on them separately.

In acc[ordance] with a promise to him, I saw Salvago, Czikann and Joostens, who promised, if they had not done so, to send such a telegram. Czikann told me privately that he knew Mumm had orders to support my motion.

Cockburns left.

Had a little talk with Morrison, who had evidently heard all ab[ou]t our meeting, that we hoped to put such pressure on our respective govts. as to make them insist. We have troops here, & I for one wld. never recommend the withdrawal of a single man from China till we had obtained all we want. I only wished the F.O. wld. publish MacD's despp. about the Siege so as to move public opinion, and get a backing for their action. M[orrison]'s was published Oct. 14 contained in 19 columns of the "Times". Asked him to give me a hint now & then, as we are all new, and know nothing. He gave me some useful names.

Called on Hart to return his card, & said the same to him. He said he avoided calling at the Legation, lest people shld. think he was running the establish[men]t.

To Conger. I said that the participation of non-interested Colleagues in discussion abt. Li's note was queer, also that if he had consented to return the note, it wld. have showed sympathy. I thought if it had been his case, I would have sent the note back. He ans[were]d that if he had understood we were so anxious for him to join, he wld. have done so. Salvago to whom I related this conversation, said he thought even for the Russian colleague he wld. have done it, wch. was quite sufficient as an indication of his opinion. We said no more.

It was yesterday agreed that he, Czikann & d'Anthouard shld. form a committee to draft the preamble to the Note.

Hart said he believed no proclamation had been issued to the Chinese inhabitants explaining why the allied troops had come to Peking, & that they were consequently regarded as banditti. I undertook to look into this matter.

7 [Nov.]

Went to Mumm abt. teleg[ram], he is quite willing. Hanneken's claim to the coal mine occupied by our troops. He had sent v. der Goltz to Tower abt. it. I said the question wld. be whether H's rights dated fr. before the Siege & had been recognized by the duly constituted Chinese Authorities. I told him of Cowan's complaint of arrest by German soldiers, wch. he wld. no doubt make the subject of a fierce leading article in the 1st no. of the paper he is going to establish under Mumm's aegis. M replied all that he had done was to inform the Field marshal of Cowan's wish. He also told me he was informed by newspaper correspondents that the British, German & French officers

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had plundered the Imperial tombs, Germans taking the lead; they had however not done anything to the tombs. I said I trusted to leave Peking as poor in Chinese curios as I came to it. He spoke abt. the temptation.

Went to [Japanese minister] Nissi, but he was ill; so wrote to the Colleagues. Salvago came with a suggestion fr. Mumm that I should write to Nissi, wch. I did.

Mumm came after lunch, to ask what I had done abt. Russian annexation of left bank opposite foreign concessions. Told him I had instructed Campbell to receive all rights of British SS [Subjects], & that I did not at present propose to do more. He has not recd. any letter from Li complaining of troops marauding near Hai-tien; told I had & shld. return it.

Hioki had previously been to deliver message fr. Nissi about our plan of telegraphing in support of 3 props. An argumentative young gentleman.

Genl. Gaselee came. Talked about the 'looting' of Imperial troops & looting in general; find he agrees with me. Genl. Richardson got 4000 taels & a bond for 36,000 more from official of Yung-ching for murder of Norman and Robinson. Said Norris & I did not like blood-money for missionaries, and added that it was ineffectual way of preventing. He replied that it was a fine. Wants to hand over to me. Asked for a couple of days reflection.

Pokotilow called. Has been 12 years in Peking, is Manager of Russo-Chinese Bank, & a Director of the Russo-Chinese rlwy. Expressed his thanks for harbourage during Siege.

8 Nov. Discussed with Norris the question of how to dispose of the 4000 taels & bond for 36,000 exacted fr. the town of Yung-ching, and showed him my private letter to General Gaselee, wch. he entirely agreed with.

Joostens came to borrow 1867 Treaty relating to Luxemburg. He telegd. home that I had given notice to introduce a motion relating to commercial matters, and that he had just recd. teleg. authorizing him to support.

Col. Alexander and Major Stockley of the Bengal Lancers came to tell me that the latter was apptd. one of a committee, consisting besides himself of 1 German & 1 Italian officer to divide among the officers of the column, 32 Germ. 8 Engl. & 24 Italian the cloisonné vases & jade objects taken fr. two of the Imperial Tombs called Hsi Ling near I-chou, by orders of the German officer commanding Colonel von Naumann, on the 28th Octr. Afterwards an Engl[ish] officer named Hohlimann who sketches, and Angus Hamilton correspondent of "Black and White" went back to the tombs while the force was still halted at I-chou and found the French in possession; and the tombs had been completely gutted, presumably by the Fr[ench].

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I gathered from Col. Hamilton that he made a forced march from Paotingfu, starting at six o'clock p.m. on the 22 and arriving with his headquarters at I-chou at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 23. On the morning of the 24 Major Stockley [Captain Maxwell written above] with 30 men was sent to guard the tombs, and was billeted outside the park. Also that after he had visited the tombs the first time with some German officers, he sent a message thro' a Germ. officer named Wienecken(?) to Col. von Naumann to say the things were intact, but apparently suggesting that if they were to be appropriated to anticipate others, it wld. be best to decide how they were to be distributed, and in the result the aforesaid committee was apptd.

It wld. seem therefore that there had been a race who should get there first, the Germans & Engl. or the French. Also that the 'taking' having been directed by the German officer who was in command, the responsibility rests with him. Wrote the story shortly to Lord Salisbury, and told Genl. Gaselee in a private letter that I had done so.

Genl. Alexander came, & explained that fining the town of Yung-ching 40,000 taels was his own idea, not suggested to him by Rev. Gilbert Reid. I explained my ideas & those of Norris; he had heard the contents of my private letter to Sir A. Gaselee on the subject read to him by that general.

Later came a Secret Teleg. fr. F.O. demanding reasons for desiring return of Court to Capital & re-establish't of govt. there, vis the geographical position of Russia & China. This is a conundrum indeed.

9 Nov. Another meeting, at wch. De Giers accepted the reform of the office of foreign affairs & modification of the ceremonial for the reception of foreign envoys. He also agreed to Conger's motion. Pichon suggested an addition in the shape of a monument in each of the foreign cemeteries wch. have been destroyed: decided to give it 3rd place. Draft of Note was read & some observations made. I reserved my opinion till I had a copy in my hands. Meeting fixed for 12th as Conger & I objected to Sunday meetings.

In the afternoon rode with Tower to the Temple of Heaven, and visited both the altar and the building in wch. the Emperor is said to pass the previous night.

Hynd came to show me letter he had recd. fr. Tientsin abt. the Northern rlwy. & contract proposed by the German & Russian military authorities with Luhan rlwy. for supply of materials. Pointed out that the writer had mistaken the meaning of the Belgian offer of reduction of 50% on goods, & said we were of course quite intelligent and reminded him I had shown him the minute of my reply to Joostens.

Mumm came to ask my views ab[out] what shld. be done if Russia & France held out agst. us abt. my proposal for revision of the commercial treaties and Salvago abt. guarantees for indemnities & service of loans. His Govt. appeared to him slightly

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inclined towards a second note, or inclusion by consenting PP in our copies of the note. I said I shld. prefer that M. de Giers shld. give way, as he had done in the case of the Ts'ungli Yamên, Ceremonial & Conger's proposal. But speaking for myself, having had nothing fr. H.M.G. apropos of my proposal, I shld. wish the agreeing PP to act together and either add to our "notes identiques", or put in a second note. I added significantly that I considered we were in a position to obtain all we wanted fr. the Chinese. It was clearly understood that this was my personal view & I shld. much prefer agreement of de Giers, whom I had not opposed on anything he desired, but I cld. not make any advances to him, as the relations betw. Russia & Engl. were strained over northern rlwys; & tho' I had talked to him on business matters he broached on the occasion of my first call, he had never been inside Hu's house, except to drop a card. I mentioned news fr. Barrow that Liniévitch had said the rlwy. was to be handed over to Count Waldersee, and I had entire confidence in the fairness of the Field-marshal.

He asked me for the objections of the Bondholders to the arrangement betw. Luhan rlwy. administration, and Colonels de Keller & von Baur, wch. he said I had given him before. I said this was not quite exact. What I had said was that I had in replying to Joostens reserved all the rights of the bondholders and maintained our military protest agst. the arrangements betw. Russian & German military authorities. I had only today seen a letter (shown me by Hynd) containing the objections, and those I stated to him as far as I cld. remember them.

Then I asked him what he had done abt. Yangtze Viceroy, to wch. he replied that he had written a note to Prince Ch'ing and sent a verbal message to Li thro' a German speaking Chinese officer. I said I thought that sufficient, and went on to say that having spoken to Plenipos. & recd. assurances fr. them I had telegd. home that I was satisfied, and a copy of this teleg. had been sent to Warren. I had done no more, & since then had recd. a teleg. fr. Warren stating that the Viceroy had been apptd. Plenipos. to cöoperate with Li & Ch'ing, & that they themselves seemed no longer to be anxious. M. [Mumm] said he had understood fr. me & v. Bohlen who was with him had also been under the impression that I had said I had sent assurances to the Viceroy that they wld. be protected. I said I did not think that could have been my meaning. The thing was in train when I took over, and I had sent only the teleg. to F.O. wch. I spoke of, none direct to Warren, much less to the Viceroy, as all communications passed thro' him. Of course one always had in one's mind the resources that were behind for use in case of need, and I might have alluded to them, or perh. said we had assured the Viceroy of our support, but not I. I think this was enough to disabuse his mind as to the incorrectness of what he seems to have telegd. to Berlin that I had.

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Conference with Chin. Plenipos. I expressed my feeling of the necessity for having some kind of order established for this, and that another president wld. be desirable than Cologan, say Pichon. He wld. like Pichon, if it could be managed there was the difficulty.

P. had told him France had acceded to the Anglo-German agreement. Told him that was not the impression I had derived fr. Ld. S. & promised to look up the teleg. I had recd. on this subject.

10 Nov.

A duststorm all day.

Genl. Gaselee . Went to talk to him abt. the proposal of Hendry in letter of 16 Octr. as repres've of Great Northern & Eastern Extension Cos. to put up a line fr. Taku to Peking, to appt. their own agents & have absolute control of working ; and subsequent corresp'ce. MacD. had wired "certainly no objection as far as our people are concerned." As to control it seemed to me that the military auth: ought to have control. A meeting is to take place, says the General, at Army headquarters to discuss the Polsen line, wch. is already established, and he will give the necessary instructions to Locke, who will attend as British represve. I reminded him that Hendry states he has despatched the material.

Lord Geo. Hamilton's private letter of Sept. He showed me this, in wch. the most important thing is that our forces are to sit tight at Peking, but not to undertake distant expeditions. He told me that on Monday a German & mixed force of abt. 1200 is to start for Nankou pass and Kalgan; and he sends a party of 2 officers and 10 men to survey; thinks Germs. will establish a post at Kalgan for the winter. He also showed me letter fr. Powell proposing plan for bringing in dispersed soldiers fr. Shanhaikwan thro' Hillier and feeding & paying & disarming them, to prevent marauding. Concurred. He will send to Shanhaikwan. As to Northern Rlwys. Liniévitch says he has not yet got definite instructions to hand over to Fieldmarshal, but when he does the latter will hand over to us, and then Gaselee will place Kinder in charge of traffic management and repair of line, with an officer of R.E. over him, & will invite Fieldmarshal & other PP. to appt. officer to make requisitions for trains &c. Barrow to go on to Lutai on the 12th. Concurred heartily.

Mumm. Showed him para[gra]ph of teleg. fr. F.O. abt. French answer to communication of Anglo-French agreement, as Pichon had told him that Fr. had acceded.

Draft note. Told him my suggestions as to slight alterations and additions, also my idea that we need not be in a hurry as PP had not yet approved our additions and modifications; & that I thought we might amongst us throw difficulties in the way of

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presenting Note unless the Russians accepted the proposals of Salvago & self, the former of wch. I considered the more important, as if we did not provide for guarantees for indemnity, we shld. leave the door open for pressure being put on the Chinese subsequently.

Li had been to visit him & also Czikann. Went on to Czikann and gave him my suggestions abt. Note to wch. he agreed (as Mumm had also done).

As to the Russians' withdrawal he thinks they have badly blundered: they partly needed them to suppress troubles in Manchuria, partly to put pressure on the other PP. to withdraw.

We spoke also about the absence of necessity for at once accepting the draft note, in wch. I find he agrees with me. Let us wait until we learn the opinions of our Govts. as to our amendments and additions.

PRO30/33 16/4

Nov. 11 Went to d'Anthouard, and arranged with him about my proposed modifications of the projet de Note identique. Apropos of Shansi and Yü-hsien, he says that when the latter was appointed, being in charge, he spoke to the Yamên, and also protested agst. apptmt. of a man well-known to be antforeign & antimissionary to a province where there had never been any troubles, but without effect.

As to missionary indemnities, they are covered by what has been put in the "base". The Fr. have precedents, acc. to wch. the missionaries present a claim. This is inquired to on the spot, in conjunction with a Chinese official, and often reduced in amount. Then it is paid thro' the nearest consul. Often the missionaries included cost of maintaining their poorer Xtian converts who have been deprived of their all. The lesser societies require indemnities for buildings destroyed because they wld. never be able to lift up their heads again.

I mentioned the idea of the China Inland Mission of not claiming indemnities, wch. he said was in accord with their principles and truly evangelical. Also what my own personal feeling is, but that some missionaries wld. be disposed to send in claims. Also he said a Fr. Bishop had been done to death in a most cruel manner, his fingers cut off one by one, his body sliced, petroleum poured into the wounds & set alight. I said that for such a crime as this no money payt. could atone.

Lien-Fang. Li's Fr. interpreter ¹ came at my request. Told him abt. execution of 3

¹ Lien Fang was "an unusually sophisticated Manchu official...who had served abroad and spoke French, although it was barely comprehensible. He was one of Prince Ch'ing's inner circle, preferring mediation to confrontation." (Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 316)

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officials at Paotingfu, by superior military order. Had tried to delay execution, but orders had already been sent. Requested him to tell Li, acc. to my promise, & that I had only unofficial knowledge. A propos of the statement that the Chin. Govt. had thro' its ministers abroad declared that it was protecting the legations at the time the bombardment was being carried on daily, he said it was quite true. The progressist party had opposed the action of the Conservatives, & there had been fighting between the two parties in the streets, but the others were too powerful. The telegrams expressed what the progressists were trying to do. So they were not lies!

Going away, he asked abt. the negotiations. I said we were pretty nearly agreed, & were awaiting the instructions of our govt. The only obstacle was the opposition of the Russian Min[iste]r, wch. caused delay. This, I added, is for yourself only.

Geo. Jamieson arrived from Shanghai.

Dined with the Squiers. The Rockhills were there, also Mme. Vidal who passed a summer at Chiuzenji with the Pimodans at Chiuzenji a few yrs. ago.

12 [Nov]. Conger & Mumm came early, the latter abt. our attitude to force Giers to accept Salvago's & my propositions, the former abt. danger of T'ung taking the bit betw. his teeth if we demand his head.

At meeting Czikkann on necessity of excluding Tuan's son fr. the throne if we take the father's life. The Fr. Govt. had already stated this to Pichon. Mumm & Salvago said they wld. both say the same thing to their govts. I want to have the discussion postponed, in order to give time for consideration.

Read the draft note, & several amendments to the preamble carried. Lively discussion over the "base" abt. punishments, wch. had to be postponed till tomorrow. Conger spoke on the danger of provoking resistance of T'ung, who has court in his power. I supported his view, with object of gaining a postponement. De Giers insists on omission of three names fr. our list, wch. were in the Imperial Edict. I said I thought one at least was responsible for the edict offering rewards for the heads of foreigners.

After meeting over Giers made approaches abt. modifying the wording of my & Salvago's proposals so that he cld. accept them, & I met him half way. Suppose he has had instructions fr. his govt.

Hioki fr. Nissi to ask what we had done at Tientsin abt. Russian & Belgian annexations of land. Showed him corresp'ce betw. Russian Consul & [C.W.] Campbell & Belgian consul's letter, & told him wld. instruct Campbell to send a protest to the Belgian.

13 Nov. Meeting to discuss dft. note.

Rode with [Reginald] Tower to the "Coal hill". Beautiful view of the City, the Palace,

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all spread out foursquare and buried in a mass of green. A pinus, 3-leaved, wch. loses its bark in green patches, more like Stuarti[?] than anything else.

Conger came. Thinks Salvago's prop. very necessary, & desirable to bring de Giers round. I agreed, & promised to talk to Pichon. Expressed the opinion that we must prevent a tête-à-tête betw. Russia & China abt. indemnities. As to Tung Fuhsiang, his govt. has expressed opinion that it may be impolitic to demand death penalty, & might it not be advisable to treat him as "Queen's evidence". I agreed.

Morrison came. Told him we had all agreed to the death of all the guilty. But I found he also is a little disposed to think Tung might be let off.

Geo. Jamieson says already Prince Ch'ing is thinking of becoming regent. This is an idea to be borne in mind.

14 Nov. v. Hanneken came with a letter of introduction fr. Mumm to talk abt. the coal-mine wch. is guarded by Sikhs. Told him if he furnished me with the titles and an accompanying letter explaining, I wld. refer it to the Genl.

Max Menicke came to lunch.

Walked with Willis along S. wall to the corner and then came back thro' the city; not much destruction there.

Rockhill came to see b[oo]ks saved from Hanlin Yuen [Academy]. He found Changchi-tung and Liu Kungji not quite agreed abt. possibility of our removing 'evil counsellors' fr. side of the throne. We discussed the coming conference, & agreed that [Stéphen] Pichon was the man to preside on the precedent of the Hague tribunal, and we might hold the meetings at the German Legn., also necessity of drawing up regulations for conduct of the debates and apptmt. of secretaries for the protocol, and for Chinese language. ¹

Dined with Mumm: Richthofen has come from Japan to be military attaché to German legation.

15 Nov. Genl. Gaselee abt. tea-time. We talked abt. the curios in the summer palace, wch. the British & Italian officers want to appropriate & the General thinks that a handsome screen standing behind the throne might be sent to the Queen. I said he had better find out whether Her Most Gracious wld. be disposed to accept it, and reminded him of the way in wch. we had denounced the Russians for pillaging.

Morrison dined.

Teleg. fr. F.O. in reply to my letter of Oct. 7 fr. S'hai ² authorizing me to employ

¹ See Satow to Lansdowne, PRO 30/33 14/11, December 25, 1900. "I suggested (privately) that we shld. choose Mon. Pichon, the Fr. Minr., a clearheaded man who judges questions on their merits, & having been a deputy knows how public debates shld. be constructed."

² Satow to Bertie, PRO 30/33 14/11, October 7, 1900.

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Warren here [as head of the Chinese chancery].

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Genl. Gaselee came with teleg. fr. Genl. Reid to say that Russians asked him to send troops to protect 9000 families of Christians at Kinchou. We discussed this, & I said that in my opinion H.M.G. wd. not care abt. troops being sent on any such errand, also if such a request were made it ought to be in writing, finally agreed that he shld. teleg. back deprecating anything of the kind being done.

Capt. Bingley who commands port at Liu-ko chin came to complain of Italian interference at Yamên-ko, Sanchin-tien & Pali-chuang as in mem. attached. [see PRO 30/33 16/4 p. 4.] Showed him a private letter I am writing to him abt. the curios in the summer palace, wch. he approved.

To Salvago & suggested his letting Li know the real nature of his prop[ositio]n abt. finances, so as to weaken Giers' opposition. Showed him Vitale's proclamation wch. Capt. Bingley had brought me, & told him of the talk abt. \$1 a head being levied on camels by native Christians at two points on the road fr. the coal mines to Peking, & said I had told Bingley not to bother abt. Chinese, Xtians or not. Left translation of the Vitale decree with him.

Cheesman, sent Vitale to see abt. a house for Cheesman this morning. Coalmines: Italians have prior rights over Hanneken. Summer Palace loot: he agrees with me that the curios ought not to be touched, except by common accord, & I gave him my view; [that] if the officers insisted on taking them I wd. wash my hands of the whole affair. He said an Italian officer had found some things outside & proceeded to put them in cases, but an Engl. officer interfered. Prob. difficulty of language prevented their understanding each other: if the Italian did this to put them in the store he was right, but if to take away, then he was wrong.

Rode with Tower to Japse. quarter beyond Chihkua-mên, then W. to Bell Tower & so home thro' Imperial City.

S.G. Lock Lt. R.E. [Royal Engineers] came to say that “Teleg. conference” had discussed Polsen's proposals, but decided to maintain field-telegs. as at present. Bullard's plan not discussed. He is to lay 40 miles of line from Tongku towards Shan-hai-kwan. Offered to put up a telephone betw. Headquarters & Chancery, wch. I accepted.

Joostens came to say that in face of the opposition that his annexation of land had encountered at Tientsin he was instructing his consul to rescind it.

17 Nov.

Went to see Pichon. It appears that he has been long ago, àpropos of the Fr. bases, informed that he may discuss question what prince shld. succeed to the throne, if the present Prince Imperial shld. become unable to succeed in consequence of the execution

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of his father. Explained to him Salvago's proposition, & why I thought Li Hung-chang prob. had an idea that it was much more far-reaching in consequence of his conversation with Sir Claude on Oct. 21.

Hart Explained Salvago's proposal to him, so that if he likes he can allay Li's fears. His idea is that if the indemnities are spread over a series of years, China wld. be able to pay. He also wld. like the revenues appropriated for the purpose to be administered by the Imperial Maritime Customs, so I said prob. foreign jealousy wld. prevent that being accepted, and that another board wld. be insisted on.

Joostens came to say that he has instructions fr. Brussels to stick to what he has done, and so he will hold on for the present, otherwise other people will want to take what he leaves. He will write me a letter.

Marc Froment Meurice representing Anglo-Chinese Syndicate with a letter fr. Pichon, to present himself. They want to obtain monopoly of copper in Yunnan among the reparations insisted on. I said I wld. await my instructions fr. the F.O., and converse with Pichon.

18 Nov. Mumm came. Undertook to send a note to Prince Ch'ing resp. Ch' & Li, asking whether my observations as to the unadvisability of removing the Yangtze Viceroy to the Court whilst engaged as co-negotiators.

Told him of Chang Chih-tung's suggestion that the F. RR. shld. inform him, Liu & Li that no negotiations are possible as long as the Empress keeps Tung Fuhsiang with her.

Indemnity. He has heard Sir Robt. Hart thinks the indemnities wld. come to £50,000,000. Now he thinks the 6 PP. who have had the greatest expenses, Engl., Fr., Russia, Germany, Japan & U.S. after allowing a certain sum to Austria & Italy shld. divide the balance equally among themselves. Russia he hears talks of £8,000,000 for damage to the Manchurian rlwy. I replied by the precedent of the Shimonoseki indemnity. He is anxious that I shld. not teleg. this as coming fr. him.

Imbeeck's claim. I said if he cld. establish the amount I thought H.M.G. ought to pay, & if necessary recover fr. China.

Hanneken. I must reply that I thought he had established no claim to the coal mines at Mên-thou-kou.

Conference. We agreed that after our Note is presented we shld. get a reply accepting before discussing details, but might give them a hearing for the purpose if necessary of affording explanations.

Mr. Henry Hope, whose wife is a sister of Lord Rosebery, an old man of 61 turned up, and I invited him to stay.

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19 [Nov.] Meeting of colls. Nothing done about Salvago's prop[ositio]n. I proposed to inform Ch'ing & Li that Tung Fuhsiang must be at once removed from Court. A note identique prepared by Pichon was at once agreed to.

I read the decree of 13 Novr. imposing punishments, & asked opinion of colls: It was recd. with the derision it merited.

Also spoke abt. honours to the sons of Li Ping-hêng & agreed to send round a draft.

Postponed sine die. A suggestion to take the "legn. quarter" question into cons'n. was also delayed until the Engineers' plan is ready.

Called on Mrs. Squiers.

Morrison came, to ask whether we had made any progress. Told him it appeared fr. what the colleagues had said that discussions are going on among the PP. (on Salvago's propn. but this I did not mention). M. says Germany talks of £80,000,000 for all the PP [Powers] but Hart says she cld. not pay more than £50,000,000. Expressed my contempt for the punishts. mentioned in the decree; he says Li & Co. are too ashamed of it to communicate to us.

Young Hwang Chung-husi called, says he is going to establish a Chinese paper here to open the eyes of the people & instruct the higher officials. He spoke of Lu Ch'uan-lin as being as bad as Kangyi. Told him Decree of 13 Nov. was absurd, & showed him the decree offering rewards for the capture of foreigners.

21 Novr. Went to Gaselee. He agrees with me that we had better not go on worrying H.M.G. abt. the Northern railways at present in the interest of the bondholders, as it is a military question, and we have not much to complain of in that respect, tho' no doubt we shld. run it better. Promised to write privately to Lord Lansdowne abt. English troops being sent here. ¹ Also offered to have the Chinese text of his proclamations put in proper order for him.

Salvago came to tell me the result of his private communication to Li abt. his proposition. Understanding that it means only a portion of the Chinese revenues, and not the whole, Li & Ch'ing are quite content, and would accept the article as it stands. He has telegd. this to his govt.

He says if de Giers had not persuaded Sir Claude to delay telegraphing to Admiral Seymour, the first relief force wld. have got to Peking in time; that it was madness to take the Taku forts; this was done under the influence of Alexéieff, who was in command, & gave out that torpedoes were being laid in the channel. But whether this was true or not have [has?] never been shown. Told him the conversation betw. Sir Claude & myself abt. the 'chronological sequence of events', & MacD's words "you

¹ See Satow to Lansdowne, November 21, 1900, PRO 30/33 14/11, no. 48.

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have sounded our death-knell" to Carles. Told him that Mumm & I had written unofficially abt. the Viceroy, and that we had got an answer that there was no question of it.

22 Nov. To Mumm. French movements W. of Paoting Fu. Asked if he knew anything. He says not. I dwelt upon the uselessness of our negotiating here while Fr. & Russians disregarding the Field-marshal, whom our people, the Americans & the Italians follow, carry out independent military operations.

Kalgan, rumour of death of Yorek & 2 other officers not true. He was with Field-marshal till 5 yesterday, & all he learnt was that an interesting report had come fr. Yorek. Viceroy. Told him of my reply recd. fr. Ch'ing & Li.

Day's letter. M. thinks question of limits & defence hang together. I agreed. He says Field marshal thinks we shld. take all the land up to Ketteler Strasse, and leave there an open space on this side of Hata mên street for an international exercising ground. He also wants land to be able to exchange with Club, HgKg & S'hai Bank or Jardines. Decided to wait for a report of the Secretaries and then let the military experts be called in to advise the F.R.R. [Foreign Representatives]

Scandinavian & Engl. missionaries at Paotingfu. The former are under U.S. protection.

Attitude of Japan. He read me a teleg. fr. Bülow, much the same as Lascelles; the Japse. had objected to my addition of materials for the manufacture of ammunition, as they have an interest in saltpetre. As to omission of 'décision irrévocable' the Japse. Minister (Inouye Katsunosuke) had been told that Germany preferred to leave the words in, but had given directions to her Repres've as to inclusion of names & degree of punishm't. I said that this wld. enable us if we thought fit to substitute for the words 'penalty of death', the 'highest possible punishment', wch. I understood could be rendered into Chinese so as to include death. He rejoined that in his opinion it was better to leave the clause as it stands, and try to get the punisht. inflicted by stages: e.g. Tung Fuhsiang, we first ask for his removal from Court, & will obtain his punish[men]t after. The Japse. also thought it unwise to insist on death of Imperial Princes like Tuan.

I said that I did not think with Richthofen that the attitude of Japan had changed. They had been playing abt. in Fuhkien, without success for some time before the change of cabinet. That we are in a strong position here, and the Court doubtless wishes to return. We can prevent their doing that unless they comply with our demands. Si-ngan-fu was never a Tartar capital, but only of the T'ang dynasty; the Manchus must prefer Peking.

Circular abt. Li Ping-héng. He & Czikann had supposed that I merely wished to submit dft. of a letter I proposed to send alone for their approval. I replied that certainly

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I shld. never do that. But I had sent round an amendment thro' Cologan.

Hynd came after lunch, and we discussed a scheme for effecting economies by carrying the whole of the tribute rice from Nanking by sea instead of sending part of it by the Grand Canal. He estimated the amount to be £500,000, but on exam[inatio]n this seemed excessive. He is to bring his compradore tomorrow.

[French] Genl. Voyron and his aide-de-camp. He has troops down at Chingting, and towards Great Wall on the west. Mentioned the missionaries at Taiyuen Fu, and my idea of getting them sent to Paotingfu. He wld. then send an escort to meet them. If diplomacy permitted him, he wld. even send a column to Taiyuen Fu. I said I was trying to find out about the presence of the missionaries there, and when I had more information wld. talk to Pichon.

Sir Robt. Hart thinks the tribute rice if sent by sea would effect a saving, but not much. Salt, more likin and the junk customs at ports where the Maritime Customs are established could be secured. The question wld. be how these were to be administered & collected. Told him I thought some PP thought this wld. give such an excellent opportunity of getting a hold on China that we ought to have the Commissioner nominated by the PP. Discussed missionary question & told him what I had said at one of our meetings, and my idea of quâ B.S. [British Subject] & quâ missionary. He approves. The R.C. sisters have done good work, but the missionaries do interfere on behalf of their converts.

Dined at the Congers.

23 Novr. Joostens came to say that he had seen [C.W.] Campbell's reply to the Belgian consul, & he was sorry that the indiscretion of the latter had drawn this on him. I was rather cold, & gave no indication of any readiness to withdraw it. He says Conger wishes to have words added to Joosten's letter of explanation wch. shall state that he only wishes land enough for a consulate. I replied that after his assurances, I did not need this.

Hioki fr. Nissi to ask why the question of the hereditary Prince had not been discussed at the last sitting. I said we had expressed ourselves abt. it, & that for my part I considered the question at an end. For my own part I thought it was altogether undesirable to interfere in such a way with the independence of China.

To Czikann with whom I found Mumm. Asked them whether they were authorized to sign the Note. They said yes, & would do it provided Salvago's proposal was admitted. Conger had told Mumm the same yesterday. Then to Pichon, whom I asked the same question. He has telegd. to Paris the limitation of Salvago's proposal as recently explained, and is in favour of it, but has no instructions. Had heard of the Japse. objection abt. "décision irrévocable", so I told him Germ. Govt. had replied that it must

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be kept in, & that Japan wld. prob. not insist. Spoke to him abt. an alteration in the wording of Salvago's prop[ositio]n wch. Czikann & I had discussed last night. He said he wld. see Czikann & try to obtain de Giers' assent.

Salvago came in the afternoon. The Fr. have been making objections to both his & my props. at Rome. He thinks that with de Giers it is no good making concessions, as that leaves the PP. nothing left to bargain with Russian Govt. abt.

Hynd & his compradore abt. tribute rice, & got the figures fr. them. Compradore promised to send the names of two prominent boxers in Peking.

Pichon came to say that de Giers would accept the proposal to modify Salvago's article, & recommend it. He to speak to Czikann & I to Salvago.

24 Nov. Meeting of colls: finally agreed on dft. note, de Giers accepting a modification of Salvago's proposn. as agreed betw. Czikann, Mumm, Pichon & self. Li Ping-hêng honours note accepted. Then a great discussion abt. the limits of the legation quarter. I maintained my opinion that it is far too large.

Li Ching-mai & Tsêng came. Told them abt. arrest of Ch'ang Ming, writer of a letter to Wên jui abt. the best way to reduce the Peitáng, and my proposal to hand him over. Also abt. Yung-ching arrange[men]t as to disposal of the fine. In general what I wanted was punisht. of guilty, not fines. They complained of German methods in levying fines, Italians taking houses & appropriating the furniture &c., and praised Genl. Gaselee's proceedings at Paotingfu. We talked also abt. municipal taxation scheme: Tsêng thinks 10% on rental enough, a liao per inhabited room too much. Scheme for allowing Viceroy to police certain parts of the city and country outside, with consent of Field-marshal. I said we shld. certainly agree to anything approved by him. Then the Fr. Min. wld. have to be consulted. They also talked abt. Tung Fuhsiang, and the note identique asking for him to be sent away fr. the Court. Hoped this wld. not be followed by any other demand; there were things the Plenips. cld. get, others not. They were evidently alarmed at our activity. Tung is clearly too powerful. However a private teleg. has been sent to Yung lu to try and get Tung Fuhsiang away fr. the Court.

26 Nov. Hioki came fr. Nishi, with draft of amendmt. to note abt. Sugiyama's murder. I said I wld. accept it if formally introduced at a meeting of Colls: & recommended him to go round separately to the colls: & sound them, including Mumm. He also asked me to explain some references to "ultimatum" in the procès-verbal of 28 Octr. Told him also my views abt. Tung Fuhsiang.

Returned Genl. Voyron's call. He has fine curios in his rooms, wch. are close to the old Pei-t'ang: the Russians & Germans he said had carried off the rest. Has a post at Huolu west of Chêng-ting-fu. From the latter place only 8 marches to Tai yuen-fu.

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Called on the Congers, & then had a long talk with Rockhill abt. Tung & the proposed extension to the Legation quarter. I said I did not think there was any necessity for such a large extension nor for 250 men a piece. He thinks Li very wanting in straightfor[ward]ness & not to be relied on. He is of opinion that the Dept. of State does not sincerely object to the death penalty, but his own opinion is that the Note shld. not give any names, thus getting over the difficulty as to Tung.

27 [Nov.] Hioki came again to say that Conger, Salvago, Pichon & Cologan were in favour of the Japse. addition to the Note regarding Sugiyama's assassination, but Czikkann, prob. inspired by Mumm was decidedly agst. it. He had not seen Joostens, De Giers or Mumm. As to punish[men]ts told him what my personal view was as to the article being modified, and as to my addition abt. materials for manufacture of ammunition that this question had been left to the PP advised by military experts, & the details wld. have to come after. What is now needed is to express the demands in a perfectly general form, obtain Chinese acceptance, & then they can ask for cessation of military operations.

Morrison came to ask for information. Told him 1 or 2 things I had heard fr. Li.

Jamieson it seems arranged with O'Sullivan that Ch'ang-ming's house was to be looted, & that he was to have part of the furniture. Capt. Selwyn came to me to say that it seemed hard to turn the women out of the house, with no place to go. Expressed my surprise at the confiscation of the goods, & refused all participation on side of the Legation. Jamieson went entirely beyond my instructions to him, wch. were only to get the man arrested.

28 [Nov.] Conger came. Hears that de Giers has instructions to sign the Note if either "penalty of death" or "irrevocable" be taken out. C. thinks this weakens our hands, but the retention of irrevocable is preferable, as that gives us all the rest. He has powers enabling him to sign, and has always told his govt. there was a mental reservation as to Tung Fuhsiang. Also the Prussian [Mumm?] agrees with de Giers. Told him I had instructions to send home the full text; that I had written home about Tung, & how I had been left in a minority of one, tho' I believed he & de Giers agreed with me.

General Barrow brought me papers showing that Jamieson had agreed with O'Sullivan that the objets d'art were to be brought to the lootgodown fr. Chang-ming's place, & that a selection of the furniture shld. be given to himself. So I gave him a good talking to, and he professed to be very penitent. I had a great mind to send him away from the legation.

The Fieldmarshal has a teleg. fr. the Russian Auth: that they will hand over the rlwy. to him abt. Jan. 1, or perh. a little sooner, so Kinder has been told to come up here in ten days time to confer. Barrow & the two other Comrs. signed an agreement as to what was

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to be done 1) if handed over 2) if not handed over.

Saw Pichon also, & told him I had to teleg. full text so shld. not be ready for a week or so. He also had heard of de Giers' instructions, and there seemed to him to [be] a preference for retaining "irrévocable" and cutting out death penalty.

In the forenoon I had said to Conger that I had told both de Giers & Hioki that I preferred leaving out the death penalty to running our heads agst. a brick wall, as I had mentioned at the Conference. Also I read to him long teleg. giving me views expressed to Lord Lansdowne by Fr. Am. R. & Jap. & my instruction to send home full text.

29 [Nov.] Conger came again to say that the President "disapproves" of the word irrevocable as implying an ultimatum in the preamble; questions the advisability of prohibiting materials used in the manufacture of arms and ammunition, & has grave doubts as to the wisdom of inserting the death penalty. We drew up a form that would suit us both, & agreed I shld. go to Mumm. Which I did. Found him stiff abt. irrevocable, so I agreed with him to go together to Conger and talk it over tomorrow morning.

30 [Nov.] Met Mumm at Conger's, & we thoroughly thrashed out all questions, including the Japanese demand abt. Sugiyama. Mumm agrees to substitution for death penalty of the words "exemplary punishment" & even the omission of "irrevocable", wch. we say is not necessary in English. I said I had no instructions yet, but wld. agree to both, but I wanted all the names to be left out, in consideration of the difficulty of inserting that of Tung Fuhsiang. I wld. also accept excision of my own addendum to 4°. & promised to see the Japanese to get him to be reasonable on his affair.

Saw Nishi & talked to him. I explained why the attack on the legations must come before Sugiyama; and why v. Ketteler had been put first on my proposal. Said that the formula shown us by Hioki was too obviously a copy of the German parag., wch. we had adopted from Mumm. As he seemed anxious to get something, I said if he would give me a draft I wld. show it to the others, but could not undertake that they would accept.

Chang-yi [margin: 張翼, his interpreter 吳仲賢] came to say that Outchtomsky had told Li that they were going to hand the rlwy. over to us, & he wanted to know what we shld. do. I said I had heard a rumour that they were going to hand it over to Count Waldersee, but did not know officially. They had told H.M.G. they wld. do this when the Russian troops were withdrawn fr. Chihli. On being asked if the Russians wld. be as good as their word, I made a gesture implying inability to guarantee their keeping their promises. Chang-yi also seemed rather doubtful. Told him that if the rlwy. were handed over, it wld. still have to be managed by military people, tho' with civilian traffic manager & chief engineer under them. That if the rlwy. were handed over to us we shld. certainly re-transfer it to the Chinese when things were settled. They asked abt. the negotiations. I

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said that we fancied that we had agreed to everything here but people at home had wanted, some one change of wording some another. He could understand that it was much more difficult to manage business when there were ten directors, than only one.

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1 Dec. Conger came to see me & said that as Pichon & Czirkann had let us know they were ready to sign he felt it necessary to go on. I objected that de Giers had not yet opened his mouth, & that I wanted him to commit himself, but he wld. not listen, feeling that he must act at once, in order to be able to teleg. the Note. So I let him go on to Mumm.

Went to Pichon & complained abt. the Fr. consul at Tientsin claiming that owners of land in the newly annexed bit of land shld. have their title deeds examined by him, & reminded him what had been done 2 yrs. ago when we got an extension. He said he only knew of the annexation by hearsay, but wld. call for a report, & he thought with me [i.e. was of the same opinion as me] ab[ou]t the registration of titles. He had made an arrangement with Sir Claude abt. Shanghai extension on that basis.

Rode out to the Observatory, the instruments of wch. are being removed by the German military people, an abominable piece of looting, for wch. there is no excuse.

2 Dec. De Giers came to say that he had teleg. authority (dated 27) to sign the note if 'peine de mort' were taken out, & he wanted to know what my opinion was. I said that I had no instructions yet, but personally I had no objection, nor to Conger's desire to omit 'irrevocable' wch. was not necessary to the English sense. Told him conf[identially] I thought difficult to induce Conger to be content with less, but that Mumm, if everyone else, including Pichon spoke before him, wld. be induced to give way on that two [too?]. Agreed with him that I wld. express my personal concurrence in both, & that the names shld. not be mentioned; I expressed my apprehension as to Tung Fuhsiang, but at any rate I wanted the head of Yü-hsien. Then as to leaving out 'materials &c.' I shld. like 'ammunition left in after arms to complete the sense. And as to Nissi, we must get him to accept something less than a mere copy of Mumm's demand. So he left, to try his persuasive powers with Pichon.

劉鐵雲 of the Peking Syndicate, with his interpreter 常思湛 Ch'ang came to ask leave to bury some Southern Chinese whose coffins are lying in the S.W. quarter. Referred him to Capt. Selwyn. In the course of conversation he displayed perfect knowledge that we had asked for the head of Tung Fuhsiang, & said that was the only difficulty in the way of peace, as he has 10,000 men.

Had a talk with Genl. Gaselee who says Kinder tells him the others all say we are

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making difficulties for the PP by refusing to stop supplies to the Empress-Dowager. He thinks we ought to arrange peace, & so provide for the troops being withdrawn fr. Peking in the spring. A Brigade of white troops ought to form our share of the occupying forces at Tientsin & along rlwy. He really believes the Russians will hand it over by 1 Jany.

[Margin: Railway is being brought to the Temple of Heaven, & we agreed it should not be brought any further, without being first submitted to Diplomatic Body.]

Hioki came fr[om] Nissi abt. the Sugiyama reparation, says they have telegd. to Tokio, & are awaiting answer. Would not I give them an idea of what might be substituted for the original article. I said better wait till they had their reply fr. Tokio. He then suggested verbally something like what I had thought of myself, ample amends to be made by China to the satisfaction of Japan, but I said still we had better wait.

Mumm came: He says the mention of Sugiyama was put in the preamble by Czikkann of his own motion in drafting, Nissi having dropped it. As to the Observatory instruments, that it was suggested by General Voyron to the Fieldmarshal, on the ground that there were some old instruments that came originally fr. France in their quarter, & he wld. like to take them away. He evidently did not like the subject, but took it in good part; has had a teleg. fr. home asking about it, & knows therefore that it has been telegd. home.

Told him of de Giers' visit this morning, & that I had said Conger wld. stick out for the omission of the w[or]ld 'irrevocable'; for my own part I thought it could be dispensed with: have not yet any instructions. We also discussed the question of indemnities, their scope, as asked for in teleg. fr. F.O. of today. Members of Legns. guards, missionaries in Peking, other civilians, Tientsin people, missionaries in the interior, damages to govt. property, and lastly war expenses. Also I shld. have added, for Chinese who were connected with foreigners.

3 Dec. C.W. Kinder came to call & talk abt. railways. Was quite moderate in his talk. Rode down to Temple of Heaven to see where the railway had been brought in. Du Boulay arrived to dine & sleep.

4 [Dec.] Another meeting of colls: at wch. Conger brought for[war]d his prop[osal]s., wch. were accepted, after consid. discussion.

Hioki had been with me before the meeting, & shown me a modified claim on behalf of Sugiyama to be inserted in the note, wch. I thought might be acceptable; no mention of special mission to Japan or of a monument was made in it, but in the course of the sitting Nissi recd. a teleg. telling him to insist. He consulted me, and I told him to go ahead. He fought his case well, but the opposing party were too strong, and he finally

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accepted "an honourable satisfaction &c." being put into the Note.

Afterwards went to Pichon & showed him draft list of indemnity classification, with wch. he agreed, and to Conger. The latter says they usually insist on rebuilding of chapels, but not on indemnities for Chinese christians.

Morrison came. Had heard the FRR had agreed to expunge 'peine de mort', & that Russians are to hand over r[ai]lw[a]y by end of the year. Talked to him abt. the unfortunate misunderstanding that arose fr. the 'Newchwang rlwy.' being always mentioned, so that both Govts. were in ignorance of the Shin-min-tun line. He & Kinder dined in the evening. The latter seems inaccurate in his statements, fr. mere carelessness.

5 Dec. Went to Hart and showed him Kang-yu-wei's memorial to the Emperor wch. I have been asked to forward thro' Li Hung-chang: he advised me to have nothing to do with it, as no good cld. possibly result, perh. harm.

Missionary question : we talked this over. Nothing short of complete protectorate of native Christians, a complete abstention [i.e. from attacks?] wld. be of any use.

Detring at Tientsin : has put him there on account of his famly, Drew having got tired of his post, & asked to be relieved.

Missionaries at Ku-an . Showed him what I proposed to say verbally to Li (thro' Jamieson), & he said he wld. take the same line, sending for Lien fang to communicate it. Is personally agst. protectorate, but the Fr. Govt. desire to maintain it. He foresees that great trouble will ensue after the withdrawal of the troops.

6 Dec. [Margin: Snowed 1 inch last night, cold wind all day.]

Kinder came at my request to give information abt. the land belonging to railway seized by Russians at Tientsin.

Hynd . Knows nothing abt. proposed loan to the Govr. of Foochow. Germ[an] Min[ister]'s desire to get Bank premises here; told him that I had replied to circular that I had no intention of intervening betw. Bank & Germ. Legn. & had added that this was an affair to settle between them. All I had ever said to Mumm was that if he cld. arrange with the Bank & the latter were content to accept a lot of land in the district beyond the carriage park wch. we talk of annexing to the legn. I wld. give him a bit, but I added to Hynd that possibly he wld. not think I cld. give a good title. He said people had been going abt. Peking saying that the Germans were to have the bank premises.

Young Tsêng brought me copy of a decree from the Plenipos. announcing that Tung Fuhsiang had been ordered to retreat into Kangsu with his soldiers.

Full powers of Ch'ing & Li. Mumm came to say that he doubted whether he could send in the note without seeing the pleins pouvoirs & ascertaining that they were in order, as his instructions were to that effect. Fr. what Tsêng told him this morning they

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have only a decree transmitted by teleg. As far as he & other colls: are concerned they are Plenipos. by the fact of their apptmt. & credentials. I said the Chinese made war & declared it, but we never did. They therefore must satisfy us that they have full powers, while we, not being at war, need not. Promised to look into the question & let him know. Pichon has recd. telegraphic full PP. Read him teleg. fr. London 27 Sept. (? 103) authorized to commence negotiations, in conjunction with the colls. with Ch'ing & Li, if their full powers are deemed sufficient, & on the clear understanding that negotiations are purely preliminary for ref[eren]ce to H.M.G.

Conger came to say he has recd. auth: to sign even with retention of 'irrevocable' if colls. desire it. President congratulated him on his success. Will not say anything till I get mine. He seemed so pleased, that I asked him abt. the U.S. concession at Tientsin, wch. [C.W.] Campbell writes is a no man's land, & he said we should have it, if the U.S. did not want it.

Dering returned.

7 Dec. To lunch with Genl. Chaffee ¹ at Temple of Agriculture, along with other colls: An intensely cold wind from the north, and dust obscuring the sky; last night thermometer at 10° .

Willis', Sly & Porter arrived.

Jamieson took my verbal answer to Li about the London mission evangelist who is said to have exceeded his instructions, given by Stonehouse, at Ku-an, with wch. Li expressed himself pleased.

Li said if I wld. write officially abt. the Govr. of Chêkiang he wld. have him removed.

Full powers. Li did not like our questioning him & accused us of supporting 'those Germans'; he will get whatever we want in that way, if we will give him time, but hopes we will not delay negotiations on that account.

8 Dec. K. Tsêng brought back the notes for Li [which] Jamieson left with him yesterday, & said Li was quite satisfied with the line I had taken abt. missionary indemnities, & wld. give instructions accordingly.

Full-powers . I explained to him my view that the powers of wch. he had communicated copies were not sufficient. I had full powers, wch. I showed him, signed by the Queen, & I wanted him to produce something similar. Tsêng said the Emperor's seals are in the Palace in the charge of some of the ladies, who are under the protection

¹ Major-General Adna R. Chaffee, U.S.V. Commanding China Relief Expedition. See his Report on the China Relief Expedition, U. S. War Department, *Five Years of the War Department Following the War With Spain, 1899-1903* (Washington, D.C., 1904), pp. 395-407. Chaffee has been described as "a sour and vindictive Indian fighter who had just come from slaughtering Filipinos..." in Sterling Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 358.

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of Americans & Japanese. The Plenipos. can teleg. text of proposed full powers & ask leave to take the seal out of the Palace and affix it to the document. I said that in my opinion this ought to do. Talked also abt. officials whose dismissal & punish[men]t was necessary. I said those who had ordered or connived at murder of foreigners ought to lose their heads, esp. Yü hsien. Tsêng said all that cld. easily be done, if we went gradually to work, & did not demand too much at once, as that frightened the officials: e.g. Yü Chang was dead, it was said of grief & vexation (Li yesterday told Jamieson that Y.C. had prob. committed suicide). We also talked abt. adoption in China. He was adopted by Marquis Tsêng, who afterwards had a son of his own, & the latter therefore succeeded to the title. Tsêng said China was pleasanter to live in than England, because here a man is not expected to do so much for his neighbour; he can pursue his own interests & pleasures more freely.

Nissi came. Has recd. authority to sign Note. We talked abt. the full-powers, & I told him what I considered necessary. From that we drifted into talk abt. the outbreak of the attack on the Legations. He says that the hostility of the Boxers against the Legations began with v. Ketteler's seizing a Boxer, & then the Germans fired on some cavalry, who left their horses & arms wch. were taken. At this very moment Sir Claude was at the bridge talking with Tung Fuhsiang abt. placing troops to protect the legations. Clearly Nissi does not consider the Chinese were so very greatly to blame in all this business.

Guy Hillier . Called. Cld. not give anything precise abt. machinery removed from Tongshan works, nor situation & area of railway land occupied by Russians. The agent of the Russo-Chinese Bank at Shanghai had approached him with a suggestion that now was an advantageous moment to buy out the bondholders, & Pokotilov was sure to try to negotiate. He had not given any affirmative ans[wer], except that H.M.G. ought to be consulted. What did I think. I said I had absolutely no instructions, but that as this question of the northern railways had been much debated betw. H.M.G. & Russia, & had produced much friction, they ought to be made parties to any negotiations.

The "representatives of the bondholders" are Jardine Matheson & Co. & the Bank as agents out here of the "British & Chinese corporation", wch. includes J. Keswick, Ewen Cameron, one Mackay & a few others. They act as Repres[entati]ves because the half-yearly interest on the bonds is paid thro' the bank, & the monthly interest on the loan is paid by the Chinese to the Corporation: no meeting of bondholders is called.

Asked him abt. Bewicke & Moreing: he says the £200,000 has been underwritten, but he does not believe any money has passed.

10 Dec. Meeting of colls: Discussed first full powers of Li & Ch'ing. Mumm started it. I

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supported him. A draft of full powers had been sent to Mumm by Li, wch. we had translated by Goltz & by Cologan's man. The former was better. Nissi looked at the Chinese & agreed it was satisfactory. If they can get a decree authorizing them to use the Emperor's seal this wld. do.

After some discussion initiated by me as to the choice of a President of the Conference, locale, secretariat &c., de Giers, Mumm & I were appted. a committee to frame a programme to be submitted to the Corps diplomatique. Cologan said he wd. not insist on proceeding. I said this was not like an ordinary meeting of the Dipl. Body with the Tsungli Yamên, that it was a conference, & we ought to model it on the Berlin precedents. Afterwds told de Giers that I shld. like Pichon as President & for locale the Russian, German & Engl. legations alternatively; he suggested Cologan as rapporteur i.e. whenever anything was to be done collectively for the Dipl. Body.

I also asked abt. scope of indemnities, & there was a lively discussion in wch. Pichon mentioned the wd. protectorate of native Christians.

As to the Note all have instructions to sign but myself. De Giers has recd. them to sign a note identique but is willing to sign collectively.

Several of the others are authorized to sign a collective Note.

I said I had as yet no instructions either to sign the Note, nor on the point of 'identique' or 'collective'.

Promised to let de Giers & Conger know as soon as I get instructions.

11 Dec. Morrison came to say he had intended to go with Kinder to Tientsin, but having heard that the Note wld. shortly be presented, when the one of the FRR. who had not yet authority to sign got his instructions, intended to stay. Did not tell him I was the one; it was difficult to say when the Note wld. be signed: might be in a couple of days however. Kroupensky had told him at a meeting of Generals yesterday it was agreed, Gaselee alone dissenting to bring the railway thro' the wall of the Tartar City close to the gate of the Palace. Wrote to ask Gaselee if this were true, but Barrow came in and said that there was no truth in it at all, & that as soon as he came back from the expedition to Shanhaikwan he saw the disadvantages of the idea, & put a stop to it. Macdonald, he says, ought not on his own hook[?] to have asked us to get permission fr. the Germans to bring the rlwy. thro' their quarter, but if required, General Gaselee shld. have been moved to address the Field-marshal, who was rather annoyed at the way the matter had been brought before him thro' Mumm & myself. I said we had merely tried to be agreeable to our own soldiers. Says railway acc. to letter from Count Waldersee is to be handed over to him 13 Jany. & after a few days by him to us.

Guy Hillier came to tell me of Pokotilov's approaching with a proposal to buy out the

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bondholders, on the basis of their investment, deducting the expenses of repairing the line, & he showed me a letter he had written, putting him off, inasmuch as negotiations are going on betw. 2 Govts., & it wld. be undesirable to enter on a discussion, wch. might not be welcomed, so long as the friction existing was not removed by handing over the rlwy. Sent a teleg. to F.O. on this, warning bondholders not to accept bad terms.

Procedure in meetings with Chinese Plenipos. Long discussion at de Giers' with him & Mumm. I wanted to have Pichon in the chair during the negotiations, the RR to sit in alphabetical order as at a Congress & various other things. de Giers refused to give up his droit d'ancienneté. I retorted that it wld. not be a meeting of the diplomatic Body &c. Finally we nearly agreed on a draft of regulations for the preliminary meetings regarding the presentation of Note & reception of reply.

Teleg. fr. F.O. deploring change from "peine de mort" to "peine la plus sévère" & objecting to "absolutely indispensable".

12 Dec. Rev. Gilbert Reid came to ask for information. Said to him I believe you are a newspaper correspondent. Yes, of Morning Post. Told him I was sorry to be unable to give him any; he inquired whether I had recd. my instructions. Told him I really cld. say nothing. It was his professional duty to try to find out everything, mine to give none. Talked abt. missionary work. It is funny that he shld. be Selwyn's interpreter, correspt. of a paper, & missionary.

Called with Tower on Genl. Chaffee.

Went to Mumm abt. teleg. fr. F.O. of last night. He had also a teleg. of 7th saying Ld. Lansdowne had declared he wld. not give me instructions to sign until they had agreed c. Germany. They wished it to be understood that death penalty wld. be inflicted, & M. thought colls: declarations at meeting sufficient, but wld. join me in this. As to the other pt. he urged that its excision was only voted for by a minority of 4, of whom Nissi & de Giers were indifferent, & they cld. not be counted. The other six were for the word 'irrevocable', & since Conger had recd. leave to sign with it in, all were willing. Would it not be better to try to get H.M.G. to accept it, as if I brought for[war]d my declaration on the subject, the utmost wld. be that he & others wld. have to ask for instructions. So I consented, & went to Cologan, who confirmed what Mumm had said abt. all wanting "irrévocable".

Sent off a teleg. on this, two more long ones abt. seizure of rlwy. land at Tientsin by Russians, and the action I had taken in relation to Chü-chou massacres.

[Margin: Hillier said Li wanted to borrow Taels 200,000 fr. Bank for a certain Tartar Genl., whose name he wld. not disclose. We agreed that he shld. tell Li that he had better write to me & explain exactly what it was needed for.]

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13 Dec. Shiba came. Says the Chinese are frequently coming to him & expressing anxiety lest the heads of Tuan & Co. shld. be demanded. He says that according to Chinese principles in their books Tuan who was at the head of the whole business ought himself to offer his head, as being responsible to the Emperor for the evils that have befallen the Empire. It was a pity he thinks that we did not burn the Palace at the beginning. I am of the same opinion.

Li Hung-chang came. We talked abt. Ch'ang-ming, & agreed that I shld. write on receipt of a letter that is coming fr. him, & offer to hand a man over for punish[men]t.

He then talked abt. Chü-chou, new Govr. of Chêkiang, & Shêng's visit to Warren, who had a very friendly talk. I replied that Warren had given Shêng a list of persons implicated in the massacre who deserved capital punishmt. & I showed him the list of 3 officials & 3 gentry. He asked how many of our people had been killed; I said five, including women & children.

Fr. that he went on to talk abt. negotiations. I said I had not recd. my instructions as yet. He rejoined that Lo Fêng-luh had been told by Lord Salisbury (mistake for Lansdowne) that I had recd. instructions to sign. Replied I could not carry out without referring back once more. The real delay was due to some one in Peking influencing Li himself. Li then began to talk abt. the merchants in China, & the loss of trade. I said that the feeling of people in England & other countries, who were not directly interested in trade, was one of horror at the attempts to massacre all the inmates of the Legations and innocent rlwy engineers, missionaries, teachers, doctors &c. I did not think the Chinese people wld. ever attack unoffending Europeans unless hounded on by persons in authority, & these were responsible, therefore ought to be punished. Who were those that treacherously made use of Prince Ch'ing's name to lure forth the F. Minrs. & induce them to give up the Christian refugees. Showed him the proclamation denouncing death agst. the people who shld. protect foreigners, & offering graduated rewards for the capture of men, women & children, wch. was issued under the responsibility of Prince Chuang, Duke Lan & Tsai Nien[?]. Did not such people deserve death. He replied they did not accomplish their purpose. I said 60 people were killed & 160 had been wounded in the Legations. He said these were nobodies. I replied that any Englishman was as good as any Chinaman. He added that these were all cousins of the Emperor. I said what wld. you think if the Prince of Wales & cousins of the Queen had headed an attack on the Chinese minister in London. He replied they were foolish people. He asked me to write a letter enclosing a copy of this proclamation, & he wld. memorialize the throne. He said the Germ. A-H. & Italian were obstructing negotiations, people except the Germ. who ought not to be taken into account. Going away he said he hoped I wld. not delay. I

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told him I was hastening as far as lay in my power, & he must not suppose it was my fault.

Grierson came. Says there is no truth in the story abt. arresting of Genls. abt. the railway & that a line has been drawn east of Hokien S. of Tientsin, wch. leaves Tsang-chou, the birthplace of Chang Chihtung outside, so he may be at ease in his mind.

Private letter fr. Bertie that Lord Lansdowne wants to be kept better informed as to instructions recd. by F.R.R. & their attitude at conferences. ¹

Colls: dined here. Rockhill also, find that he has been writing strongly abt. necessity of settling this business by a conference among the powers, & will teleg. strongly. I told him I am quite of same opinion. So it wld. appear are Conger & de Giers.

14 Dec. James Webster of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission in Manchuria came to see me: he has had some personal losses, books &c. wch. he has sent in to Consul at Newchwang. The Society always arranged its own matters & those of native Christians, without appealing to the Consular Auth: Many Christians recently apostatized, in fact all, when they were brought face to face with death. The following resolution was taken by the missionaries "That the Christians do not in any way prosecute those who have injured them. That on the re-establish[men]t of a civil govt., unless such govt. calls for the apprehension & punish[men]t of those who have injured them the Christians shall not take the initiative. On the re-establish[men]t of a civil Govt., shld. property wch. has been confiscated not be restored to the original owners, the Conference shall assist the Christians in bringing the matter before the proper Auth[orities]. He doubted whether the Society wld. claim an indemnity for destruction of its buildings thro' the Br[itish] official channels. Russian policy in Manchuria is to induce the Chinese officials to return & administer the country for them, as they find it impossible to do. This is the meaning of non-annexation, a sort of unofficial protectorate.

Cólogan came to show me his 'discours', wch. I said was much longer than we had conceived it wld. be. Drifted off into talk abt. the delay & I told him I had given all my support to Conger in getting rid of irrevocable, and now Conger went back on me.

Du Boulay came to dine & sleep.

15 [Dec.] Teleg. fr. F.O. consenting to "irrevocable" being retained, & adding a sentence to be put at the end of the Note. Went at once to Mumm, Conger & de Giers. Mumm accepted Fr. version without demur. Conger did not like it. de Giers wished to change 'remplir'

¹ Satow wrote to Lansdowne on this day and suggested that "the seat of negotiations be transferred to Europe" (PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 52). This suggestion was not well received: "You made the blood freeze in the veins of some of us by the suggestion of turning the whole matter over to a European conference...Doomsday would find [the conference] still sitting." (Sanderson to Satow (private), 1 March 1901, PRO 30/33 7/1.)

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into 'accepter'. Conger came again after dinner; he wld. prefer to go backwards & cut out 'irrevocable'. I refused, seeing that I had supported him & been left in the lurch.

16 [Dec.] Saw Pichon & Nishi. Pichon agrees. Nishi in doubt abt. 'remplir'; as to "accepter" he wld. not object. Nishi came to me again after lunch on this point. To quiet his scruples said I wld. telegraph for instructions as to wch. sense of 'comply with' is meant. Mumm also came. He wld. prefer to stick to it. Later on Salvago, who asked for information; he will sign with either. Has heard by teleg. that besides fresh letters of credence by the new King of Italy, they are sending regular "pleins-pouvoirs". His En: Ex: &c. He talked abt. Spanish Legn. here having been abolished & that Cologan ought spontaneously to resign office of Doyen, as Denby did as soon as he knew Conger was to relieve him. I said the prob[ability] was that C. wld. have left before the negotiations commenced, so we need not bother abt. the question just now. He also pressed me abt. 'Legation quarter' question, in wch. I do not see eye to eye with him, & we talked abt. Herman & Hanneken trying to get possession of the coal-mines in the western hills, as to wch. Italian syndicate had been promised a concession that the Chinese withdrew at the time of the San-mun affair, wch. they had no right to do.

[Margin: Knobel came. Talked abt. Note. Told him if the non-fighting RR. voted in a matter of ultimatum agst. me as they did the other day I wld. protest. He replied that he was in a diff[icult] position, as he had had 2 ships at Shanghai.]

17 [Dec.] De Giers came, & we discussed the rendering of 'complied with': he is to let Pichon suggest 'adhérer' & then we can all agree on 'se conformer à'. Also as to Tuan & Lan who he explains are descendants of Emperors, while Chuang is of a brother of 1st Emperor. Asked me if I could not go back to the form of words in Teleg. 179, but I said it seemed to me impossible, as I had communicated the other to so many, & they had agreed.

After lunch to Conger to show him what I propose to say on the 13th. He still does not like the proposed addition. Then to Czikann who agrees to the addition. Mumm came in: showed them both what I am going to say, & that I intend to put forward the text in Engl[ish]. M. would personally accept 'se conformer à'. Going home met Conger & Hioki together colloquing. Nishi is still in a quandary about the formula. Conger said yesterday an American came to his legation & said he had a copy of my addition fr. the Chinese. Morrison evidently has the whole text.

19 Dec. Meeting at ½ 4 to discuss my declaration abt. 'peine de mort' & proposed addition to Note. Till 7¼, including reading of protocols of 4th & 10th. Gained point at last.

Col. Browne, military attaché arrived fr. England.

20 Dec. Meeting at 2.30 to sign note. To general consternation Conger produced a teleg. of

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yesterday fr. Washington saying "insist on omission of irrevocable". It came en clair because there had been previous misunderstanding. I believe that if he had proposed to omit 'irrevocable' there & then & we had adjourned for a couple of hours to let the Note be copied out fair again, it might have been done, but Mumm said he wld. have to telegraph to his govt., wch. was doubtless bluff; anyhow Conger did not ask it, & after private conversation among ourselves, de Giers being evidently very anxious to sign without further delay, we sat down & did it. Pichon also told Conger he had instructions not to omit irrevocable.

There followed an awkward discussion raised by Conger that we shld. choose the locality for our meetings with the Chinese. Every one unanimous not to go to any Chinese house, but great difference of opinion showed itself. Conger having proposed German legation, de Giers, Knobel, Salvago, Mumm, Joostens & Cologan abstained; Pichon for the Spanish Legn., Nissi for Great Britain. Czikkann Conger & I for Germ. Legn. Pichon then came back to the charge, & proposed to vote for Sp. Legn. Czikkann, Conger & I agst. but Joostens, Pichon, de Giers & Nissi for, while Cologan, Mumm, Knobel & Salvago abstained as before. So it went agst. us.

Twice yesterday Mumm tried to make out that when I was expressing a personal opinion I was speaking in the name of H.M.G. one was when I said I wld. support a proposal to re-insert the names, wch. was not however seriously brought for[war]d by any one. I think he disliked my observations abt. rumours among the Chinese of future operations, & my mention of possible withdrawal of troops in the spring.

Teleg. repeated fr. Washington that Conger has leave to agree to addition, provided he makes it clear that he does not pledge his govt. to further operations & that there has been much telegraphic misunderstanding abt. "irrévocables", wch. is now removed. So went to console him with this, but found it no use. He told me between ourselves that the teleg. he had communicated on the 7th to us all read 'you may sign Note as majorities', & as he had telegd. that majority favoured retention of irrevocable, he thought it referred to this. But later they telegd. to him their surprise at 'irrevocable' having got back into the note, as they particularly objected to it; they let him know that he might sign the addition provided he did not pledge his Govt. to any military operations, & that he obtained yesterday, but they added that their original teleg. was "sign Note as transmitted"; the diff. being that a 4 had got substituted for a 6. So then he telegd. back again yesterday that it cld. not be helped, & does not know whether this "insist on &c." is in reply to that or not. So has telegd. again.

21 Dec. Lt. Watts-Jones R.N. came. talked to him abt. his brother's murder, wch. seems certain. Told him he ought to teleg. to his mother.

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Genl. Gaselee brought a long document signed by Seymer Hankin protesting agst. construction of 4-wire teleg. line for Shêng's use by the Gt. Northern & Eastern Extension Cos. & enclosing a Chinese docu[men]t. Told him Bullard had been protesting agst. Poulsen's line, & what I had replied to the F.O. As to observatory, he wrote a protest to Count Waldersee, who replied practically to the effect that each Comr. was at liberty to take what he had under his control, & he had consequently written home to suggest some of the Summer Palace things being taken for the Queen, the rest to be distributed among the officers & men as 'souvenirs'.

Squiers came to ask Tower abt. our flagging at Tangku, who replied we had done it to protect British property.

Norris told me abt. recent Germ. raid on Yung-ching, that they had released people arrested for complicity in the murder of the two Engl. missionaries in July last, had tied up the worthy magistrate, taken 11,000 taels, part of wch. had been taken by Chinese magistrate out of money collected for the Engl. fine, as they had no other way of procuring it.

E.G. Hillier after dinner told me he considered Peking Syndicate had a great share in exciting recent hostility agst. Europeans in China. He has always urged importance of Northern China to our trade, but was told by F.O. people that it was impossible to excite any interest in Chinese affairs.

22 [Dec.] Conger signed this morning. Mumm came to warn me that there was an intrigue on foot to have the meetings held at the Russian legation; told him I could not go there. He remarked significantly that he was equally friendly with us and the Russians.

Cólogan called a meeting without specifying the subject.¹ After arranging that the Chinese plenipos. shld. be invited for 24th at 10 a.m., he began to propose to fix the order in wch. we shld. sit. After he came to my name I said that I had no proper precedence, that I had no letters of credence, but only a commission as High Comr. & Plenipo. to negotiate with RR [Representatives] of Chinese Govt. That as such I shld. come after, not among those who had presented credentials. I was of opinion however that when we met the Chinese Plenipos. it was not as the Dipl. Body, but as Plenipos.

¹ Satow reported his frustrations to Lord Lansdowne on December 25, 1900: "No one cld. possibly have any idea beforehand of the manner in wch. the discussions of the diplomatic body are conducted here. They are presided over by Món. Cólogan the Spanish Minr., a man of no capacity, quite unable to maintain order, speaking Fr. only passably, & hand in glove with the Russian Minr. de Giers. The consequence is that subjects are frequently started of wch. no notice has been given beforehand, 2 or 3 speak at once, interrupt each other in the middle of a sentence, & what takes place resembles a conversation at a round dinner table where everyone cares more to make himself heard than to listen to the others." (Letter book, Satow papers, PRO 30/33 14/11, no. 53; and Satow to Lansdowne, private, December 28, 1900, Lansdowne Mss, FO 800/119).

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representing our govts. & that the proper order was the alphabetical, a simple and ancient principle that had descended to us fr. the Phoenicians if not fr. the Egyptians.

Cólogan was furious, talked loudly addressing me by name, said he had only desired to show his respect for me & for G.B.; & proposed a commission to sit on the question, including also that of Mumm & Salvago's precedence. Salvago said he had letters accrediting him also pleins-pouvoirs; Pichon said he had telegraphic pleins-pouvoirs. Mumm described his. I said the only principle applicable to members of the diplomatic Body was date of presentation of credentials; those who had not presented them cld. not have any precedence. I regarded myself as outside the Diplomatic Body properly so-called. I regretted very much that this question, of wch. I had recd. no notice, shld. have been raised, but I was entitled to express my opinion. I did not claim any rights; as to a commission, I did not see how they cld. settle my position. Why not leave things as they were, and say nothing abt. the question of order. Salvago supported this suggestion, that the protocol shld. not mention the subject, & I agreed. So the matter was dropped, & Cólogan recovered his equanimity.

We then discussed the translation of the Note, to wch. Popoff had added a head & tail, converting it into an ordinary Note (or despatch) of the form used for usual business. There was a general howl at this. Nishi & I examined it, & reduced it to its proper proportions. d'Anthouard asked how the FRR.. shld. be designated in the future protocols, & I suggested RR but it was decided to use Plenipotentiaries; Knobel said he was as yet simply instructed to sign the Note, & wld. teleg. for full-powers, as he is only a Min. Res. [Minister Resident]. To d'Anthouard's other question whether the RR. wld. sign the protocols & if so in what order, no definite reply was given.

Agreed to summon Chinese plenipos. for 10 a.m. 24 Dec.

23 [Dec.] Joostens came and gave me his account of what he had done about the Belgian missionaries.

24 [Dec.] Meeting of FRR [Foreign Representatives] & Prince Ch'ing to hand over the Note. Cólogan had arranged with de Giers to change all our places, and lied about it, saying that he had simply sat down in the middle, & everyone else had taken the place which he chose! But von Bohlen saw him go off to de Giers the previous day with two plans of the table wch. he had drawn up.

The doyen foolishly asked Prince Ch'ing if he had brought his full powers, who then produced 11, one for each F.R. and distributed them. Some of the colls: were so childish as to wish to keep their documents, sealed with the Imperial seal and wrapped in yellow silk, but on the question whether we shld. keep them or return them to him after examination, the Prince naturally said "please return them". He then asked for ours,

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wch. rather non-plussed many of the colls.;, so the meeting was brought to an end. There is I am told to be no mention of this in the Protocol.

Afterwards we had a long discussion. Cologan wanted to agree that he shld. reply in the name of all that they considered themselves empowered to treat, as being Env. Ex. & Min. Plenipotentiaries, who had presented their credentials. I said that for my part I wld. speak for myself to the Prince if he put the question, & then Salvago said he had letters & full-powers on the way to him; de Giers & Pichon both have telegraphic full-powers. Mumm had with him a copy of the [German] Emperor's order app[oin]t[ing] him En: Ex: & Min. Plen. certified by v. Bülow, who was then Secretary (not Minister) for F.A. & a letter to all whom it may concern fr. v. Bülow stating that he is empowered to treat, but no letter of sovereign to sovereign. So we came to no conclusion. We also discussed the question of putting Cheshire on the commission of interpreters, in place of Krebs, so that U.S. wld. be represented, & this was agreed to. As result of a conversation betw. de Giers & myself we recorded the opinion that if the Chinese Plenipos. asked for explanations, & we gave them, & after that if the terms were accepted by the Chinese, they would be recorded in a protocol signed by all of us & the Ch. PP: [Chinese Plenipotentiaries] I said that of course I shld. have to telegraph the reply & get instructions. That later on the results of the detailed negotiations shld. form treaties, conventions, exchange of notes as might be most suitable to the subject matter.

Afterwards showed Mumm a copy of my commission, & he told me the exact nature of his documents as above noted. Spoke also to him abt. the Yung-ch'ing expedition of the Germans, & said I wld. write him a private note. He told me the Field-marshal was fighting the Russians on our side: the R. were demanding as a condition of handing over the rlwy. that they should be entitled to take possession again whenever they chose. Met Nissi ¹ in the street, & suggested the F.R.R. like himself shld. reply that they were not at war with China, & therefore need not produce full Powers. He said that it was not war, but only a "yuki-chigai", misunderstanding.

Went on to see General Gaselee. It appears the Russians are carrying off everything from Shan-hai kwan, & Genl. Reid has done nothing to prevent it.

After dinner a burlesque entertainment by the Australians, very bad.

Rev. Geo. Owen, of London Missionary Society to see me abt. missionary matters. Gave him my ideas, wch. he does not like. He thinks Note ought to have contained an expression of regret for the murder of so many native Christians, and an attempt to introduce reforms, bringing back Kwang-hsü to the throne; also that the prohibition of

¹ Nishi was soon to be replaced by Komura Jutarō.

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import of arms quite unjustifiable.

26 Dec. Mr. G.H. Edwards, formerly of C.I.M. [China Inland Mission] ¹ but recently working in Shansi independently, came to say he hoped to go with German force wch. Genl. Ketteler at Tientsin said wld. prob. be sent into that province on a punitive expedition. Told him I was sorry to hear this, on acct. of what Germans had done at Yung-ch'ing, & that outside public wld. attribute to him a sordid motive. I did not like missionaries turning interpreter to military forces on such occasions. He said there was money collected at Shanghai & Chifu wch. might be remitted to McKie thro' Chinese, & the Ch. Govt. ought to be asked to help. I said I wld. think abt. putting pressure on them to this end.

Desp. arrd. fr. F.O. dated 26 Oct., saying I was appted. En. Ex: & Min. Plen [Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary]. Told Cologan & Conger. Talked to Cologan abt. the ans. that shld. be given to Prince Ch'ing, if he asked to see the full Powers of the Dipl. Body, that we have no need of them to receive his answer to our Note, any more than they were needed to produce theirs before we delivered the Note.

Taken ill with pneumonia & pleurisy. So had to go to bed and be nursed by a Miss Bridges, a trained nurse who fortunately had arrd. just a day or two before; and sent excuses to colls: whom I had asked to dinner.

[End of diary for 1900]

¹ The China Inland Mission (now called the Overseas Missionary Fellowship) was officially set up in 1865 under the direction of the Rev. James Hudson Taylor and William Thomas Berger. Refusing to appeal for funds but relying on unsolicited contributions, the goal of the China Inland Mission was the interdenominational evangelization of China's inland provinces. Missionaries were to have no guaranteed salary and were expected to become closely involved in the Chinese way of life. The archives of the C.I.M. are held at the School of Oriental Studies, London, ref. GB 0102 CIM. (http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2?coll_id=66&inst_id=19 accessed June 9, 2005.)

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January 1901

Jan 10, 1901 [the first entry for 1901]. Got up and dressed and sat till 9 o'clock in the evening.

[Jan.] 12 Began to do work, and got out into the garden for a bit of a walk.

Conger came to see me. He says the 1st decree authorizing acceptance of our terms contained a number of objections, wch. Li refused to communicate, but thro' a sure source (? Pethick) Li sent him some of them. But it is now believed that it is all arranged, and that the "Protocols" one for each legation, will be signed in a day or two. He fears Germany will break away fr. us on the question of indemnities, & says instructions have already been sent to the Chinese Min[ister] at Petersburg to arrange all matters betw. Russia & China. I said I thought Germany wld. not break away, that she was working very well with us, and tho' her war expenses might be £10,000,000, yet the others wld. be much less. Ours I thought wld. be £3,500,000 up to the present, then the Japse. Fr. Russians & Americans cld. hardly be as much as £30,000,000. Perh. the private claims might amount to £1,000,000. Say £50,000,000 in all. I thought the way to provide for this wld. be not to raise a foreign loan, but to let the indemnities be a debt due fr. China to each power, bearing interest and providing for a certain annual amortization. Let a commission be appted. under the Chinese Govt. on model of [Imperial] Maritime Customs, the personnel being taken fr. Hart's staff, & the salt, opium &c. handed over to it. Then if the junk trade were placed under Hart and the Tariff slightly increased, we shld. prob. have enough. I said these were only rough ideas, but perh. they might form a basis to work on. He appeared to approve. U.S. expenses he thought wld. scarcely come to £1,000,000.

13 [Jan.] de Giers came abt. the tearing down of a Russian proclamation at the temple where the rice they took is being distributed to Chinese by special wish of the Emperor, transmitted thro' de Witte to the Russo-Chinese Bank. I told him Capt. Barrow denied having torn down any inside, only one outside not in accordance with the conditions stipulated by Capt. Barrow. He said he wld. undertake that none shld. be posted in the street, but the other was inside in the 3rd Court. I asked if the distribution continued: he said yes. I told him I had never occupied myself abt. the way in wch. one quarter was administered, & that I could not undertake anything on behalf of the military authorities, but Genl. Gaselee being away at the Summer Palace & Genl. Barrow having gone to visit him, I wld. see the latter on his return & see what cld. be done. I was desirous that we shld. remain good friends. He was very mild, & used none of the threatening language employed by Kroupensky to Tower.

Salvago came. His notes, figures & everything else relating to the finances of China were burnt at the beginning of the Siege, & he cannot replace them.

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Pichon came. He is afraid the Russians will try to settle their indemnity separately. For his own part, he thinks the only safeguard is in our all acting together. I sketched my ideas of the manner in which the indemnity should be provided for, and he approved.

14 [Jan.] Czikann came. Then Mumm. From the latter I heard that Germany objects to the Hague tribunal for fixing the war indemnities, as she will not submit anything to arbitration. Exposed to him my ideas about amount of indemnities, & the way to raise them.

Rockhills to tea.

15 [Jan.] Genl. Barrow came. Told him I would write officially about the matter of which de Giers spoke to me, & gave him to understand that my commission entitled me to be listened to on a diplomatic matter by the military authorities. Also complained to him of an escort having been given to Norris to go to Yung-ching, after I had expressly asked the General not to do it, & had told Norris that I objected; he took a note of it.

16 Jan. Joostens came. He said that Mumm had objected to his taking so much ground, as he would not defend it. Pichon had intimated to him the opinion that Belgium ought to contribute to the defence of the Legation quarter. He wanted my opinion. I said that was entirely for his Govt. to decide. I could not express any opinion about it. I thought however that no minister had any right to object to the extent of ground taken by any other. I should never think of doing so, nor would I allow such observations to be made to me.

He is aware that Genl. Voyron desires to construct a light railway from Lukochiao to Peking & has obtained the permission of the Field Marshal [von Waldersee]. Some time ago it was agreed that the Luhan railway should be allowed to extend itself to Peking, independently of the Imperial Chinese railways.

Murder of Belgian missionaries. He has the names of one or two officials, especially Liu[?] of Kuwei-hua-chêng, responsible for the murder of the Bishop, which was accompanied by atrocious circumstances.

Salvago came. We talked about answers [answer] to be given to the Chinese about number of legation guards, & troops to remain at Peking, agreeing that the best reply would be that China having previously denied our right, while the necessity had been amply proved by the events of last summer, all we intended to do was to stipulate that in future we shall have that right, but that we are not in a position to say how many men we shall require nor for how long, as that will depend on the attitude of the Chinese Govt.

As to import of arms, that we consider this necessary temporarily, also dependent upon their attitude; that our Govts. must agree among themselves to maintain prohibition of export to China, & give necessary powers to Consuls to prevent. (This also to Joostens, who said prevention of smuggling of small parts of rifles impossible, as they came in as samples.)

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As to keeping open communications, that we shld. ask the commanding officers to draw up a scheme or to delegate officers for that purpose, & we agreed to draft a Note wch. we wld. address to our colls: that have forces in Chihli, the result to be sent to our govts. who must decide among themselves what nationalities shld. occupy what points respectively. Better to prepare this beforehand, instead of stating it at a meeting of colls:

Mumm came. He has seen a sketch of the Note containing inquiries & remarks of the Plenipos. on 9 out of the 12 articles of the Note, & it was agreed betw. us that he shld. come again tomorrow to talk them over with me when the translation is made. We talked over the same subjects as I had discussed with Salvago, also the question of providing for the indemnities, as to wch. he has instructions to consult with me. His Govt. wld. not be averse to the additional revenues being placed in Hart's hands for collection, nor to his successor being an Englishman: they had thrown out the idea of his being aided by a council, or of the FRR. exercising some sort of control. The Germ. Govt. wld. not like the idea of a guaranteed loan, & perh. still less the conversion of the indemnities into a fixed debt to each Power. I told him H.M.G. had suggested to me that the indemnities shld. not be fixed at a sum wch. wld. cripple China's capacity for absorbing foreign imports; & of course the debt wld. be much larger if it had to be raised by a foreign loan. We also discussed the answers given to Knappe by German merchants at S'hai as to tariff &c. supposing the commercial treaties were modified. He says Knappe addressed these inquiries to the Germ. merchants while Mumm was staying in his house, & yet did not inform him. I remarked that they also alluded to conservancy ¹ of the Wusung bar, Taku bar & Upper Yangtze, & I expressed my regret at loss of German steamer above Ichang. He read me a bit of his consul's report of interview with Chang Chih tung, especially his idea of a change of capital, wch. accorded with what I had heard fr. Fraser. Altogether very frank & friendly.

18 Jan. Salvago came abt. draft to generals asking them to consider the military questions "forts" & "free communication. He had made a dft. himself, but agreed to one I had drawn up.

Ans. [Answer] to be returned to the Chinese Plenipos. as to their memo. He agrees with my view that we shld. reply that they have misunderstood the final clause of our Note, and that they must proceed to inflict punishments on the guilty without delay. [Margin: as to Tuan & Lan he wld. have to ask for fresh instructions if I insisted.] S. has not yet the names of the men responsible for murder of Italian Bishop at Hêngchou 4 July. He is desirous of joining the Note identique about Xtians in Shansi, at wch. he has been working for some time past.

¹ conservancy: (British English) A commission etc. controlling a port, river etc. e.g. Thames Conservancy.

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Conger came. He also agrees to my suggestion abt. ans[wer] to be sent to Chinese Plenipos. & that in addition to requiring punishts. to be proceeded with we shld. demand immediate issue of decrees mentioned in the Note. [Margin: he also was agst. asking for the unattainable.]

Letter to generals commanding. The draft of this he took away to copy.

Chüchou massacres. Consul-gen. at S'hai has been instructed not to interfere abt. punishments, as these are to be arranged for at Peking.

Legation quarter. He is quite ready to accept Gaselee Rd. as western limit, like de Giers and myself. As to fortifying legation quarter, neither he nor his govt. approve of the idea, wch. is inconsistent with any kind of diplomatic intercourse.

19 Jan. Mumm came. We are agreed abt. the ans. [answer] to be returned to the Chinese Memo. He says that in Germany Tuan is regarded as the 'fons et origo mali' [the font and origin of the ills], and consequently he does not wish to let him off the death penalty. And he sees with me the difficulty of making a distinction betw. him & the others for whom we must ask it. In Germany they know nothing of Duke Lan & Yühsien even.

Salvago came, & we agreed all three to text of letter to be written to our generals asking their opinion about the occupation of the line of communications betw. Peking and the sea. Mumm took away the clean draft, on wch. to base a letter to Count Waldersee. Then we discussed the ans. to be returned to the Chinese Plenipo[tentiaries]' memo. & agreed that he shld. go to Pichon & ask him to frame a good French draft.

21 Jany. Tsêng came fr[om] Li apparently to beg off [=request leniency for] the Chü-chou taotai Pao, tho' he did not mention him by name. I said Li shld. let me know the comparative guilt of the men whose heads Warren had demanded, and I wld. consider. I expected a desp. fr. Warren with full details abt. ten or twelve days hence. Talked also abt. Tuan, Lan & Tung. The last of these he says the Chin. Govt. cannot undertake now to execute, tho' they will later on; at present it wld. excite rebellion on his part. As to Tuan the Empress cannot be induced to give him up. As to Lan he thought there was not the same difficulty. What Ch'ing & Li wish is that the FRR. shld. state their demands, on wch. the PP. cld. memorialize. If we leave it to them, they will have nothing to go upon.

Pichon came to talk abt. ans[we]r to be returned to the memo. of Ch'ing & Li & I gave him my ideas. He said he wld. draft something to show to me & the colls:

Hoover came to explain position of Moreing towards Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. & also to an agreement to work all the mines in Chihli. As to the latter I said I had no information fr. F.O. and wld. thank him to send me copies of the more important documents.

Grierson came & talked abt. his position with the Field marshal [Waldersee], wch. has

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turned out to be purely ornamental. He has nothing fr. the auth: at home as to what his position was to be, only telegs. ordering him to proceed here.

22 [Jan.] Conference of 3 hrs. abt. ans[wer] to be returned to PP [Powers]. Pichon, Czikann, Salvago & I were apptd. a committee to draft it, wch. we did in the afternoon. We also discussed the punishments to be demanded under art. 2 (a) of the Note. The Russian, Japanese & U.S. said they cld. not ask for death penalty in case of Tuan, Lan & Tung.

24 [Jan.] Meeting of the colls. to continue discussion about the punishts. & approve the draft Note fr. the doyen to the Chinese Plenipos. It passed without alteration. Meeting came to an end because I recd. a teleg. announcing death of the Queen [Victoria] at 6.30 on evening of 22nd.

25 [Jan.] Went to Czikann. He says he has instructions to act with Mumm & Salvago, so that if we insist on punishment of Tuan & Lan, he can do it. Personally he does not think the Court so powerless in the matter as is stated. His Govt. however above all desires to preserve unanimity.

Li came to condole on death of the Queen. Also to talk abt. the rlwy. wch. he is anxious to see in British hands. ¹ I advised him to pay the outstanding interest, as the Russians having heard that there was a difficulty, were refusing to hand over to Waldersee the portion betw. Lutai & Shanhaikwan. He said some time ago, when Hu was administrator, an arrangement for Russia paying off the bondholders was nearly concluded, but owing to interference it fell thro'. They were now offering to take over portion of line outside Great Wall in part payt. for damages to the Manchurian line, but he (Li) had refused. I said he shld. stick to that, & I knew he was strong enough to refuse sometimes what Russians asked. He gave me quite clearly to understand that the Chinese had borrowed the money fr. the bondholders to construct line to Shin-ming-ting & Newchwang to keep the Russians out. If Russia gets possession of the line to Peking, China is done for. I said possibly the bondholders, if their security were depreciated by the Chinese refusing to pay this £57,000, they might come to terms with the Russians without consulting Chinese or British Govt. He protested they had no money no credit & nothing to offer as security. I recommended him to send for Hillier, but he asked that I wld. see Hillier myself & then let him call.

He spoke abt. Chüchou, in consequence of my answer to Tsêng the other day he had sent for a report, wch. he wld. communicate when he recd. it. I said I expected Warren's report in a few days. Going away Tsêng said he hoped I wld. do what I could. Told him we could not spare the Taotai Pao, but would be willing to let off the Chêntai. He promised to tell Li.

¹ This interview with Li was reported to Lansdowne by Satow (PRO 30/33 14/11, January 30, 1901, no. 62).

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27 [Jan.] Prince Ch'ing came to present his condolences on the death of the Queen. Rockhill called & I propounded to him my plan for meeting the indemnities. He thought it business-like, & the best in the interests of the Chinese.

28 [Jan.] Tsêng came fr[om] Li to say that Sir R. Hart had talked with him abt. paying the interest on rlwy. loan; they had found some money at Berlin and are going to pay out of that. I said I was glad to hear this, as it would save the credit of China fr. a great blow. He also talked about the Tao-t'ai Pao of Chü-chou & begged earnestly that I wld. be lenient; & handed me a copy of a teleg. fr. Yün & Shêng. I said I cld. promise nothing; that the matter wld. be considered by the Foreign RR. He said Li had really nothing to do with the affair, Shêng having been empowered to discuss it with Warren, whom I had apptd. on our side. I said not so; they had never acquainted me with Shêng's apptmt. & I had not authorized Warren.

Meeting of Fr. Ital. U.S. Dutch, Belgian colls: & self to decide as to provincial officials concerned in massacres. We considered most of the cases in wch. we consider death penalty to be deserved, reserving the others for another meeting on the 30th. We also agreed that Pichon shld. draft the indictment agst. those concerned in the attacks on the legations, wch. cld. afterwards be presented to the rest of the colleagues at a meeting as a proposal coming from some of us.

W.M. Upcraft, a Baptist missionary from Yachow in Szechuan, who is at present acting as interpreter to the forces, came to ask my opinion as to the advisability of his returning to his post, as he has been told by his Society to go back. I said I could not give any very clear opinion, but I understood Bishop Cassels was going back, & in that case it was prob. safe for others too. Told him my view that the only persons who had any right to call the Chinese govt. to account for violations of Art. VIII of the Treaty of Tientsin were H.M.G. & British officials; not missionaries. He asked whether the latter might not discuss with mandarins on the invitation of the latter. I said yes, if it was quite understood by both parties that it was an entirely private discussion, but that missionaries ought never to take the initiative, nor to mix themselves up in litigation betw. christian & non-Christian Chinese. Told him my view of art. 8, & that in Japan where there was no such stipulation, there was complete toleration. When he went away, said to him that I shld. be glad to hear fr. him whenever there was anything that he thought it wld. be useful to me to know.

Sir R. Hart came at my invitation to talk abt. the indemnities. Showed him the report of Hippisley's lecture to Johns Hopkins University, & then laid before him the scheme I telegd. to F.O. yesterday. He said it agreed with his plan, wch. he has not yet put forward. Native Customs yield he says Tls. 2,000,000; could be doubled first year, quintupled in a few more. Salt collectorates he has 3, under an Italian (de Luca), German & Englishman. Easy to utilize these. He wld. like at once to take steps for getting hold of the native

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customs. Said I saw no objection. With these two there ought to be enough to pay interest & sinking fund on the indemnities. He is in favour of raising a small loan to pay off mercantile & missionary claims, & smaller indemnities to govts., say 3 millions. He thought that cld. be obtained without difficulty. Hippisley's estimate that the 37 millions paid to Japan cost 47 to obtain was in excess, as there was a balance out of wch. China bought ships &c., & that £40 millions wld. not cost so much as £55 [million] to obtain. But he admitted that my plan was cheaper. As to import duties, they are in reality only fr. 2½% to 3%, tho' framers of the tariff intended 5% + 2½% on being transported into the interior. I said that the question of tariff wld. be considered in connexion with revision of commercial treaties; he was in favour of reducing export duties to 5% all round. Then if the existing duties were doubled a customs revenue of T1 30,000,000 cld. easily be raised. Last year the revenue fell off, but it was not below 1898, on wch. estimate for paying interest & sinking fund of existing loans was based.

As to punishments he says it is a fact that the sentence of death has been pronounced on Chuang & Yü-hsien. (I heard fr. Rockhill last night that a memo. on punishments had been sent by Li to de Giers for communication to colls.; wch. he has not made!) He has told Na-t'ung that China ought to inflict punishments at once, without waiting for them to be dictated by the Powers. I said that was my advice also to them. It wld. have created a feeling in their favour if they had done it months ago.

30 [Jan.] Meeting here of the 6 who have had missionaries murdered, at wch. we did nothing but discuss & agree to the "requisitoire" [indictment] drawn up by Pichon agst. "les grands coupables." [the most culpable people]

Mumm came to see me. We discussed the difficulties in the way of a commission of officers fr. the allied forces to frame scheme for keeping open communications betw. the sea & Peking, & were both of opinion that it wld. be best not to take all the colls: into our counsels, but for Pichon, Conger, Komura ¹, he & I to agree together to represent our govts.

Li wants the next meeting to be at his house on account of his health; Mumm & I agree in thinking it impossible to agree to this.

I remarked that Count Waldersee seems to make the evacuation dependent on the Chinese agreeing to the sum of the war indemnities, whereas our war expenditure cannot be known till the evacuation is completed, except as an estimate. Our people say they

¹ Komura had replaced Nishi as Japanese minister. "The new Jap. Min. [Komura] is expected here in a few days. He has recently been at Washington & Petersburg in succession, & speaks English quite readily. I knew him 3 years ago as V.M. for F.A. at Tokio. He is probably more American than English in his sympathies, & certainly will be less pro-Russian than his predecessor." (Satow to Lansdowne, PRO 30/33 14/11, 25 December 1900)

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could furnish this. Mumm suggested that a sum might be fixed up to a certain date, and beyond that so much a day. His govt. expects China to pay the whole of their war expenses. I do not think his idea practicable.

We more or less agreed to send home to our respective govts. the claims of Imbeck & Krüger, wch. I thought ought to be supported internationally. He says the German, French & Italian commanders, especially the German did not recognize Sir Claude as commander-in-chief, & that he had to send requests to von Soden thro' von Below.

I told him what had passed at this morning's meeting.

We also talked abt. the colls: being asked to the Parade, and I said I wld. try to arrange that the colls: shld. be separately invited.

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1 Feb. Salvago came & talked at great length about the "defensible quarter". I maintained all my previous objections to undue extension & agst. fortification. I intimated that I wld. not mind giving, say to him or the Austrian, land betw. Carriage P[ar]k & Gaselee road boundary, if they wld. build a legation there.

Indemnities. He asked me my ideas. Told him my estimate of total & of revenues that cld. be applied to payt. of debt. He said: "Why shld. we go out of our way to make things easy for the chinese." We also spoke of private & legation claims; he wants to put in for legation guards, & declared the colls: had all agreed with him when he brought the question up at a meeting. I said I had not expressed any view for or against.

Went to Rockhill & told him of my idea of getting sentence of death recorded, even if it has to be commuted, & begged him to talk to Conger. He agreed to do so, saying that Ch. Plenipos. wld. agree to lay before the throne anything we asked, & through [throw?] on it the responsibility of refusing.

2 Feb. Service in the Chapel in memory of the Queen. Chancel draped with black & white gauze, and decorated with white chrysanthemums. We had the Burial Service, cutting out the middle of the lesson, and omitting the words on coming to the grave. Norris also composed a prayer of thanks for the Queen's reign, taken from one in the service for 20th June transformed. All the colleagues, Count Waldersee in my pew, the English generals, officers of Australian contingent. Afterwds. a parade of abt. 1500 English troops & detach[men]ts fr. the Fr., Russian, Germ., Japanese, Austrian & Italian troops in Peking under their commanding officers. A bitterly cold North wind, but a bright sun.

3 Feb. Left cards p.r. on foreign legations.

Conger came. Discussed my plan for getting sentence of death recorded, wch. seems to

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please him. I added to what I had said to others abt. it that we might come to an agreement with the colls: & the Chinese, & all sign a protocol together. Also told him quite unofficially my ideas about providing for the indemnities: he entirely agrees with me that we should not pay indemnities out of enhanced customs dues, so as to enable Chinese to say they were paying out of our pockets. He promised to tell me amount of claims sent in to him up till now.

Jamieson went to Li on my behalf, who told him he had recd. authority fr. Hsi-an [Xian] to pay out of the funds at Berlin the interest on rlwy. loan. (It seems people in London finally refused to pay it out of capital, as Li or Lofêng luh had suggested.) Also [to] complain of his signing an arrangement with the Russians about concession at Tientsin. Also to tell him that if he wld. agree to the sentence of death being recorded agst. Tuan &c. with commutation I would try to get Lord Lansdowne to agree to it also.

5 Feb. Meeting with Ch. Plenipo[tentarie]s at 10, lasting 3 hours, & another in the afternoon of the same length of the Foreign RR only. Both at this house.

6 Feb. Pichon, Czikann, Salvago & myself, as Commission de redaction, met at 9.30 to fix the text of the Note to be sent in about punishments, and at 11 the colls: came & approved it. In the afternoon the same committee sat for several hours (1½) polishing up the draft decrees handed to us a few days ago by the Ch. Plenipos.

8 Feb. Meeting at wch. we settled the decrees: I also had a motion to bring forward abt. the punishment of Tuan & Lan. All because Ld. L[ansdowne] wanted to add an unimportant sentence or two to the Note, & his teleg. arrived after it had been sent off. This interfering in small details is sometimes childish; as if out here one could not be trusted to do a thing properly.

9 [Feb.] Sabbione came to see me. Told him in as polite words as possible that G. Jamieson had not accredited him to me, and I thought it was useless to ask him to come & see me at the present juncture, when no business conversation wld. be possible between us. Told him of Liu coming to me yesterday, to bother me abt. getting his rank back, & that of a certain Wu, also belonging to the Syndicate. Begged him to keep this person from coming to see me, as he had obtruded his views on political subjects on me, and I had no desire to talk abt. them to such persons.

10 Feb. Salvago came and talked persistently abt. the Legation Quarter, also abt. Wu Shih chao and Liu. Told him I had not seen the report nor the plan of the former, nor read the dossier abt. the latter.

11 Feb. Li came and argued for 2 hrs., trying to get Ying Nian and Chao Shin chiao let off. Told him it was not possible, & that H.M.G. were much severe than I; that they had not approved of my consenting to change peine de mort into la peine la plus sévère. Finally

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consented to teleg. abt. Chao, but said I wld. not recommend lenity [leniency].

Warned that China cannot alienate the portion of line outside the Great Wall to anyone.

Also that we wld. not receive Chang Pohsi in London, nor anyone until atonement had been made. He showed great eagerness to receive my Note informing him of this decision without delay. Jamieson tells me he (Li), does not at all approve of the selection.

Dr. Sheffield (American) & Dr. Owen came to deliver to me a letter abt. missionary matters not having been alluded to in the Joint Note. I talked a good deal with them, & explained my view that mission work ought not to be dependent on the arm of the flesh.

Mumm came. Read me a teleg. urging him àpropos of Art. X of Joint Note to get something strong done on behalf of missionaries. Personally he thinks Russian & Japse. wld. object, & he does not wish to bring it for[war]d. He had been instructed to consult with me, & made a note of my personal opinion, I having no instructions, namely that it was not advisable to admit that Christianity has anything to do with with the recent outbreak agst. foreigners, & that I think Art. VIII of the Tientsin Treaty, if equitably observed by both sides quite sufficient.

We also discussed question of indemnities & resources for paying them. In Germany the idea is that by raising import duties to an effective 10% enough wld. be provided to pay interest on a 5% loan of £50,000,000 sterling, but they have apparently overlooked the fact that the Chinese wld. not get more than 37½ millions. He and I both agree that if we pay indemnities with enhanced customs duties, we not only let the Chinese chuckle over making us the payers of our own claims, but also lose our only lever for obtaining commercial concessions.

We also discussed scheme for legation quarter, on wch. he seemed as if he cld. never say enough.

12 Feb. Meeting of colls: much desultory discussion about the scheme of a legation quarter, & also principles for assessing private claims.

Prince Su called. He is talkative, but ignorant, without any practical ideas, just like an ancient Japanese daimiō; reminds me of Midzuno Idzumi no Kami.

Whittall of Reuter's called. Recd. him kindly & agreed that it was unfair that Laffan's agency shld. be allowed to teleg. what was done in the conference. I did not see what could be done, except protest in meetings agst. the way in wch. our proceedings are disclosed. He asserts that it is Conger himself.

Morrison repeated to Tower, as coming fr. little Tsêng, a good deal of my talk with him yesterday. Tsêng wants to succeed Lofêng luh in London.

14 [Feb.] Mumm came. Told me again his people are pressing him to conclude, & to arrange

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for indemnities: they do not care so much abt. commerce as we do, Germany being in the main an agricultural nation, & have not the same objection as we to raising import duties. We also talked abt. the leg[atio]n quarter. He says he has heard that G. Hillier's house in the middle of his building ground for barracks is not really his, but prop. [property] of his compradore, who offered it for sale not long ago. He has already got an appropriation for building quarters for his guard.

Czikann & Salvago came to ask me to write to Hart & ask him to accept other land in place of the Customs lots. So after they had gone I drafted a letter, wch. I sent round to Czikann for approval.

Walter Hillier arrd. He asked me abt. the Chinese Secretary's post; told him [C.W.] Campbell. He said there were personal reasons of a very grave nature that wld. prevent him fr. serving with C. & suggested my getting E.A. Fraser instead. Tried to smooth him by suggesting that C. might not get here till some time in April.

15 Feb This morning H. [Hillier] suggests that I shld. give C. two months local leave. Did not promise anything, but said we wld. see how things turn out. [Of course if Brenan does not resign, Warren must go to Hankow, & Fraser wd. be free. Then I might give home leave to C. But we don't yet know abt. Cockburn coming back or not at the expiration of his leave.]

Sir R. Hart brought me a copy of a decree wch. Li has sent to Doyen, because he (Li) regards Engl. as the most determined abt. the punishments. He told me the contents. I said I cld. not tell what H.M.G. wld. reply, but if the Chinese refused to give way it reduced us to an impasse.

Talked also abt. indemnities. He had had a talk with Mumm. By increasing the 7 million taels of last year's collection to a real 5 we get 10,000,000. Doubling that we have 20,000,000. Add 5% more in commutation of likin gives us 30,000,000. But we must subtract the 7, wch. are hypothetical already, take 13,000,000 for provisions in lieu of likin, and that leaves only 10,000. Fr. this has to be deducted cost of equalizing the export duties, and some other things, wch. brings result down to 2,000,000 evidently quite inadequate. I said that on the whole I preferred my own plan, the weak point of wch. was that the diff. PP. cld. not accept as low an interest as we & the Americans probably could.

A few words on missionaries and extraterritoriality. The Chin. memo certainly aims at diminishing the privileges they at present enjoy. Told him of memorial presented to Conger & Self.

Komura came: said Engl. Japan & Germany were giving the same advice to Japan abt. Manchuria. Showed him what I am going to say to Li & Ching on this p[oin]t. He has

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instructions to take similar steps, & will send an interpreter up.

He showed me his classification of claims & principles to be adopted in fixing the total amount of indemnities. Also his plan for raising the amount, wch. is by Customs Dues, not allowing any compensation for likin, wch. he says they wld. more easily consent to than putting salt under foreigners. I said this deprived us of our lever. His reply is that we shld. lay down the principles on wch. we wld. demand facilities to be given to commerce in exchange, making it all one big negotiation. Replied de Giers wd. certainly oppose, and that if he & were to negotiate revised commercial treaties we cld. get it thru', but other colls: understand very little abt. these questions, & to discuss them in conference wd. be useless.

I had sent off a teleg. to F.O. earlier, protesting agst. mixing up the commercial with other questions.

Count Waldersee when at Tientsin the other day talked freely abt. military movements necessary to support demands of the F[oreign] RR. as to punishments.

16 Feb. Meeting of colls: Discussed indemnities & the principles on wch. they shld. be assessed. Also decrees agst. anti-foreign societies and responsibility of local officials for anti foreign disturbances & infractions of Treaties.

Took Komura his classification of indemnities & suggested alterations. He agrees we must insist on our version of punish[men]ts. He & I with Hart might make a new commercial treaty together, but to obtain it we must have enhancement of import duties to offer.

Von Bohlen came & asked abt. instructions to speak to Chinese abt. Manchuria. Read him the teleg. fr. F.O. & told him I had sent same to Li Hung-chang; also that Komura had same instructions. Stafford Ransome came with two packets of letters fr. Sir Claude.

17 [February]. Took Mumm copy of the memo. I sent to Li yesterday abt. Manchuria. He, as well as Czikann & Salvago agree we must insist on our demands. Rockhill dining last night was greatly concerned abt. the decrees, wch. he had feared might bring abt. a split among the PP. We cld. not get all, but by giving way on Tuan & Lan might obtain more as to Ying-nian & Chao Shu-chiao.

Conger came. Thinks the idea of the military commission for fortifying Legn. quarter absurd. We have only to defend ourselves agst mobs; if agst. attacks fr. the Govt. then better not have any legations at all. He mentioned again the omission fr. the decree abt. officials of "any other treaty infraction", wch. he said wd. cover the case of converts persecuted, & if we got it in go far to satisfying our missionaries. Talked abt. Waldersee's army order; told him I had heard of it, & thought it was only intended to strengthen our hands.

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18 [February]. Meeting of drft. committee at 9 to draw up Note abt. the 2 decrees. At 10 full meeting, at wch. it was approved. We then discussed the decrees abt. punish[men]ts, & drafted a Note. I got also a Note embodying our declaration of the 8th as to Tung Fuhsiang.

De Giers in reply to my inquiry, said his Govt. had been dissatisfied with his agreeing to my chan chien'hou for Tuan & Lan. Told him mine had been dissatisfied with my agreeing to substitution of la peine la plus sévère for peine de mort.

Mumm saw Li yesterday, who had already heard of the Army Order, & had teleg'd to Hsi-an that they must accept our demands literatim [to the letter]. The result of the conversation was that Li said he wd. teleg. again. Mumm went to him at Ct. Waldersee's request to find out what effect the army order had produced. M. thought the Field marshal had made a mistake in alluding to the state of the negotiations in the army order, as that had given Conger basis for his remarks this morning on the subject.

Wrote to Sir A. Gaselee complaining that I had to ask for the Army Order, & that in general I ought to get more information from him than I do.

19 [February]. Young Tsêng & who speaks German fluently came to say they had a teleg. fr. Hsian accepting our demands as to punishments, but asking concessions on 3 points. 1 that Chao Shu-chi'ao & Ying-nian might be allowed to commit suicide, no further penalty to be inflicted on the 3 dead (i.e. not to be dug up & decapitated) , & Hsü Ch'êng-yü & Chi-hsin to be handed over to the Chinese to be executed. I said I wld. not oppose no 1, & wld. not have approved of the further punisht. of the 3 dead, nor of any proposal to execute the last 2 by our people, always provided that sentence of death was recorded agst. Tuan & Lan. He gave me to understand that this was accepted by the Court. Told him to go to see the chief colls:

Mumm came after lunch & told me that he had recd. a visit fr. the same two (evidently before they came to me) asking the same concessions, but not so clear as to Tuan & Lan.

Sent Jamieson up to Li, who assured him it was all right abt. Tuan & Lan. Also Kahn came from the Doyen, who had been visited by Tsêng & Lien-fang; they brought the same message, only that Chao & Ying are to be strangled instead of being allowed to commit suicide, & sentence of death to be recorded agst. Tuan & Lan. Mumm, Czikan, Salvago & Giers all satisfied. I said I agreed on condition it was clearly understood that Tuan & Lan should have chan-chien-hou. The edict is to be issued on the 21st, communicated to us on 24th, and the punishts. to be carried out on the 17 March. Chinese hope Waldersee's expedition will be abandoned.

Grierson came & told me all abt. a talk betw. von Schwarzhof [Schwarzhoff] and Genl. Gaselee à[ro]pos of the expedition wch. I telegd. to F.O. He thinks it is to be carried out in any case. Genl. Gaselee came after tea, & gave me the same information,

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adding that his contingent was to be 3000 infantry, 1000 cavalry & a field-battery. If the French join the Germans will cross into Shanhsi by two routes, namely I-chou and Huolu, but if not then a German brigade is to accompany our flanking movement to Shuntî. he had telegd. to Sec. of State for India for instructions. In his opinion Sept[ember] or Oct[ober] will be the earliest date at wch. our troops will be withdrawn.

Tientsin provisional Govt's extension of jurisdiction. He knows nothing of it, & seems not to be aware that it was by a decision of the allied commanders. My note of yesterday he says was 'very rough on him'. Nothing in the way of military movements, except a trifling expedition, had taken place (evidently Tulloch's expedition in search of sycee [Chinese coins]). He said he knew nothing abt. the negotiations, except what he had got by coming to ask me.

20 [February]. To Conger abt. Note proposing to let Chang-yi settle with Peking missionaries. He is much disposed to accept, and not let them be touched by the Legation. Says Germans are arranging their railways-in-Shantung-doings[?] direct with Yüan Shih-kai.

21 Feb. Salvago came; has recd. instructions to warn agst. special territorial or financial agreements, like Mumm, self &c. Also has recd. Note abt. missionary indemnities. Quite ready to accept. Letter fr. General Gaselee saying the proposed military expedition is put off, but Grierson who brought it said that an order wld. come out telling them all to be quite ready for a move, so as to keep up the scare.

22 Feb. Meeting of 5 colls: to discuss list of provincial evil-doers.

Called on Prince Ch'ing for Chinese New Year, & on Mgr. Jarlin.

23 Feb. Called on Prince Su and Li. The former said a report had come fr. the Court that the heir-apparent had been severely beaten by the Emperor and Empress-Dowager.

Li wanted to get Hsü Cheng-yü & Chi-Hsin allowed to commit suicide. I said that he had better talk to colls: who were here during the siege. He afterwards said it was arranged that Japse. Amn. & Germ. troops were to be present at the execution on the cabbage market. Hsü had been deputed to attend the execution of Yüan-chang and other memorialists agst. the insane proceedings of the Court. I said it was a fitting retribution. He asked whether I had telegd. the decree home of wch.. a copy had been sent to me last night. I said no; several colls: had unofficial copies, as I had, but we had postponed its discussion, as no official communication had reached us. Li complained that he was very much & harshly criticized for having procured the execution of so many people. Told him there was to be a list of the provincial offenders, & went into some details. Also said the order to execute Taotai of Kuei Luachêng was satisfactory.

Morrison told Tower that Tsêng said he was not to give him any more information, in consequence of a message delivered by Jamieson. This must have been on 19th.

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25 Feb. Meeting of provincial massacres committee, at wch. we practically finished our work, & gave the materials to Pichon to make up.

After lunch Rockhill (who takes Conger's place as Plenipo. while Squiers is to be Ch. d'Aff.) came to have a talk abt. the proposal to evict Hart & his staff, and the defensive scheme generally. We agreed that other matters were more important, and we might leave this to the last. So at tomorrow's meeting we shall endeavour to avoid coming to a decision.

Mumm later, about the legation quarter. He has talked to Komura & ?Czikann, or de Giers and finds them ready to agree to more than he had expected. He understood I also had [a] diff[erent] opinion fr. the report. I said I wanted to draw a straight line a little within the wall of Hanlin & carriage park and not to go beyond the W. side of Gaselee road; not to pull down the Palace wall. If that line were adopted, Italy need not come back on Hart, but could take in the proposed international Park. Hinted I wld. do a good deal in the way of conciliation to secure Hart his holding; the press at home wld. make a great row if he were turned out.

He told me that the North German Lloyd had been conferring with the P. & O. & Messageries Maritimes at S'hai about improvement of the Woosung bar, & he had a teleg. on the subject fr. Berlin suggesting that we shld. take up the subject in connexion with present negotiations. I reminded him that this was one of the matters I had brought up at the meeting of Nov. 5.

26 Feb. Meeting of colls: at wch. we agreed on a Note to the Chinese plenipos. about limits of legation quarter. de Giers & I said we wld. not insist on the W. limits, & Komura that he wld. agree provided the Palace wall N. of Stewart road were not pulled down. We also passed a Note demanding a fresh edict in favour of the 5 executed mandarins whose rehabilitation had been previously demanded.

Went to Conger & expressed my regret at his going. He said [he] had felt that his imperfect knowledge of French hampered negotiations, & he did not look forward to a summer here for himself & family. So he had telegd. for leave, as Rockhill was on the point of going.

27 Feb. Skottowe of Eastern Extensions Teleg. a distant cousin of the Skottowe in Shanghai came to call. Told him our telegrams came badly transmitted.

Had a talk with Guy Hillier about my indemnity plans, & abt. dft. Treaty relating to Mongolia, wch. was telegd. yesterday from Hankow by Fraser.

28 Feb. Meeting of colls: Provincial punishments. de Giers objected to death penalties. I said I shld. consider myself unworthy of the name of man if I did not demand death for the wretches who had murdered defenceless women & children at the breast.

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2 Mar. Another meeting of colls: at wch. the report of the Military Commission on Legation defences was read. We agreed to refer it to our governments. De Giers, Mumm & I said we personally did not believe in a recurrence of the events of last summer.

Rockhill came in the afternoon in great excitement. He had just recd. teleg. instructing him to make the same representations abt. Manchurian agreement as Mumm, Komura & I had made a fortnight ago, & had learnt from Pethick that the agreement has been signed, but Li has not memorialized in favour of it. I telegd. to Sundius to stir up Liu Kunyi, and then teleg. came from F.O. that Chinese had asked for mediation.

Walter Hillier was asked the day before yesterday to go to Hsian and advise the Court.

3 Mar. Gould Adams came. Told abt. Capi with Fr. soldiers going out to extort money for converts fr. Pagans. Two Prot. missionaries asked us help for the same. Advised him not to listen to them.

4 Mar. To Pichon & talked about Xtian massacres & possibility of overcoming de Giers opposition. He thinks Fr. Govt. may try something at Petersburg. As to Legn. quarter he has always told Salvago that he must give up the Tang-tzū. I said that this wld. destroy the scheme of defence. (Had seen Rockhill & Conger in the morning, who have no intention of doing anything towards scheme of defence on their side like what the Germans are doing at their end.) I added that I intended to stick to the Carriage Park and the Hanlin, and all the buildings on our side of Gaselee road, unless de Giers would also give up.

Joostens came to me with some resolutions of the Claims Committee. Told him I saw no objection to his railway being compensated for the loss of net receipts on the part of his railway wch. was in working order before the outbreak. He says the railway indemnity for damages & the missionary claims will be fixed at Brussels. Told him of the suggestion that the F. RR. shld. formally revise & pass all the claims of each other: & that I wld. give way on the question of the interest on losses fr. the date of the loss.

Had a talk with Czikann on the same subject in the afternoon, & also on Chinese memo. respecting legation quarter. He is for holding out.

Hillier's idea is that the Chinese PIPI. [plenipotentiaries] are merely trying it on; as for the Tangtzū the Emperor has not been there for 30 years & no one knows who is worshipped there. Chinese calculate on our desire to get the Court back.

Salvago came & talked for at least an hour. He must have recd. instructions abt. Hart's land, for he now speaks of leaving him his house & garden. If he has to give up the Tangtzū he wld. only take a bit of it on the S. & a bit on the N. of Sir Robt's land, for barracks, and put his legation where the "International Public Garden" is marked on the plan, if he could

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induce the Japanese to give him a bit to the S. of the latter. Pointed out to him that if the Tangtzū is left the scheme of defence on the N. front is knocked on the head.

Pell who dined said the Fr. are going to leave a battalion of soldiers to guard the Paotingfu-Peking line; that they are building barracks at Shanghai & talk of a garrison at Hankow. They have a strong port at Yangtsun.

5 Mar. To Mumm. Talked abt. claims committee. He is opposed to Joosten's claim for loss of working profit, as it wld. let in so many other similar claims. As to contracts, he & I agreed that damages for non-fulfilment of them due to the laches [a legal term for neglect] of the Chinese Govt. might be claimed. Talked also abt. the Legn. quarter, & say [said?] I proposed to hold out for carriage Pk. and Hanlin. We agreed that when the indemnities were fixed, he & I and Salvago & perh. Komura shld. form a committee of ways & means.

Genl. Barrow came. Told him by way of conciliation that I thought highly of Bower's report on the Tientsin provisional govt. He talked of a project to make a line from Tongshan to Fung-jun & thence to Tungchow to prevent Russians making direct line from Shanhaikwan to Peking, & said he had spoken to G.[Guy] Hillier, who wd. do nothing without support fr. H.M.G. I replied by explaining what I thought was our Govt. policy as to N. China, and that I cld. not venture to recommend to Ld. Lansdowne, but he might well do so to Ld. Geo. Hamilton. Gaselee he says does not care for politics. He confirmed story that Fr. are going to leave a battalion betw. here & Paotingfu.

Komura came. Told him that Ld. Lansdowne had asked Russia to communicate the agreement abt. Manchuria. He says Hayashi had a talk with Ld. L. on 27 or 28 Feb. & proposed joint action. Hinted that he might give up a bit of his annexation of the Suwangfu to Salvago, but he said he was not at all inclined to yield. His military men attached great importance to retaining all the points on wch. the legn. guard had made such strenuous defence during the Siege. He does not think necessary to have a glacis of 150 yds. all round; some parts of the defence might be less. Told him my ideas of ways & means.

This morning went to Hart & got from him his ideas as to prob. yield of new salt collectorates, the native customs, abolition of Manchu pensions and tribute rice, wch. I telegd. to Bertie.

6 Mar. Czikann came with a request to have plan of legation quarter made by our engineers on a bigger scale, for marking on it the property of Chinese &c. expropriated.

Arms &c. took Giers my draft of a proposal to present to the colls: & discussed it. Gave it afterwards to Smith, Rockhill's Secy. Legation quarter with de Giers. Tsêng went to him & said greatest importance attached to Tangtzū, then to the Boards W. of Gaselee Rd, then to the Board of War. As to the rest no difficulty. So de Giers gets all he wants. I took it quite amiably & said I must stick to the Board of War. But we agreed to put back the W. side of

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Gaselee Rd. so as to give a width of 100 yds. betw. it & the line of defence marked on the plan of defence. Giers says Czikan told him Salvago was disposed to abandon the Tangtzū.

Defence plan; no. of troops: he has only 300 now, 50 having just left him.

We talked abt. indemnities, & I told him we ought to get thro' pretty soon. No news fr. any govt. as to principles on wch. war indemnities are to be fixed. We must stir them up. His idea abt. the final arrangements is to have a series of notes exchanged dealing with each article of the Joint Note.

7 Mar. Rockhill came, & we discussed the draft of a report on Art. V of the Joint Note relative to the prohibition of arms &c. U.S. govt. is ag[ain]st it. I said the report wd. not deprive us of the right to express our opinion on the general principle, nor on the question of duration, & I told him confidentially H.M.G. is not in favour of the prohibition. He is afraid our military forces will melt away before we have anything done. The U.S. are to go in the middle of April, leaving only two companies. I said I wd. teleg. to get a decision as to what PP. will take part in the occupation of lines of communication; & hurry them at home to say something abt. war indemnities. U.S. are disposed to be very liberal to China in this matter.

Mumm came. He has been told by his govt. of the ans[wer] returned to Chinese request for mediation, but has no instructions to push it. Showed him d[ra]ft of proposed teleg. to Hankow, & read my first teleg. fr. Lord Lansdowne on the subject. Rockhill says he believes fr. Pethick that the so-called telegraphic edict fr. Hsian to Lo Fêngluh abt. Manchurian agreement really came from Li, but he was told to put it in that way, as he wants to be able to deny it to the Russians.

Hart dined. He says Fr. intend to claim as large a war indemnity as the Germans, whether they have spent it or not.

9 Mar. Mumm came. Says he has telegraphed to Liu Kunyi the same advice that I gave to Chang Chihtung thro' Fraser.

Chirol arrived & dined here with Tower.

Removal of Italian, German, French & our own dead fr. the temporary cemetery in front of Tower's house to respective cemeteries. The Germans showed up best, the French sent only ten men. So they cld. not remove theirs, & they had to be left till the following morning. Barrow had made himself very disagreeable about this business, wch. he wanted to manage entirely himself, & put off till the 12th wch. wd. have interfered with [Dr. Wordsworth] Poole's starting on his leave of absence to Japan.

10 Mar. Poole started. Drove with Mrs. Ker to the summer palace at Wanshoushan, wch. in former times we incorrectly called Yuen-ming Yuen. Tower & Chirol came out on horseback. It is a beautiful spot, in perfect order, except the building right at the summit, wch. was set on fire a week or so ago, and the interior burnt out. Whether by accident or design no one can tell.

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Saw the curios collected & locked up in a large building by Du Boulay, some fine screens in jade, cloisonné objects, bronze vessels and a quantity of porcelain. Driving back in the tonga [Indian: light two-wheeled carriage] we had a great deal of dust, and the street in one place was being watered with stale urine, producing a horrid stench. Truly Peking is a filthy hole.

11 Mar. Congers, their dau. & niece Miss Pierce off to America, Squiers remaining as Ch. d'Aff. & Rockhill as Plenipotentiary. Walked home fr. the station with the latter. He says the Germans are sending out two expeditions, one he believes into Shanhsi. U.S. will leave only 128 men as a legation guard.

Salvago came to ask abt. the original dimensions of Morrison's land. We promised to let him know as soon as possible.

W. Hillier. Sent at his request a teleg. to Lord Lansdowne saying that he wants to return to Engl. in the middle of April.

Prince Ch'ing came. Talked to him abt. draft Manchurian agreeet. & pointed out the disadvantages for China. He said he had been to see de Giers & Komura on the 9th & the latter had spoken to him much on the same lines. He remarked that Li was very thick with the Russians. Spoke to him abt. the attitude of Yü Yui-lin Govr. of Hunan recently retransferred to Hupei & Hsi-liang of Shanhsi, both of whom are anti-foreign, as shown by their treatment of McKie's party. Also abt. Pêng, the proposed deputy to Chi-chou, who he admitted they would oblige to accept this duty, in spite of his mourning.

Chirol had seen Komura, who talked in a very warlike manner abt. Manchuria. We also talked abt. missionary question, & admitted that we cld. not go back on the Treaty of Tientsin; but I thought the missionaries shld. not be allowed to put themselves forward as vindicators of the 8th article vis-à-vis the Chinese officials, & that we shld. endeavour to draw a line betw. R.C. & Protestant missions.

At Tower's suggestion I gave a supper to the Australians of the Legation guard, and made them a speech.

12 Mar. Meeting of colls: at wch. de Giers informed us that his Govt. considers the question of punishments is exhausted, & he therefore cannot join us in asking for those named in the list presented 28 Feb. I said my instructions were diametrically opposed to his, & asked that the colls: sh[ou]ld say whether they maintained their votes of the previous occasion. d'Anthouard at my request read the procès-verbal, & it was found to have been unanimous. So they all reaffirmed. Rev. G. Owen & Mr. Bridge of Tientsin came abt. desire of the latter to go to Chi-chou.

Afternoon Rockhill & I went to de Giers & had the amusement of drawing up a 'rapport' on the means of putting Art. V of the joint note into execution.

13 Mar. Meeting of colls: to discuss report on indemnities, & got halfway thro'. Report on Art. V

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read & ordered to be circulated.

14 [Mar.] Told Chirol abt. de Giers' volteface, & showed him the desp. & enclosures.

Afternoon finished the report on indemnities.

15 Mar. Called on Prince Ch'ing & talked Manchuria. He said Yang-ju had told Lamsdorff that rather than sign the proposed convention, he wld. leave Petersburg & ask the Emperor of China to appt. another repres've. Lamsdorff thereupon said he would consult with Kuropatkine & de Witte. I told him that China need not fear Russia breaking off negotiations, & that if he remained firm the articles impairing Chinese sovereignty would be taken out. That H.M.G. was using very firm language at Petersburg, & tho' Germany fr. her position was unable to take quite so strong a line, yet she took a lively interest in the matter; and the U.S. & Japan, both sea-powers like Engl., could also speak firmly.

Barrow (Morning) had a teleg. this morning abt. Russians having placed sentries on Br. [?] land, to prevent construction of siding, & asked my opinion. I said that any action that could lead to a collision ought to be avoided, and I drafted a teleg. to F.O. wch. I showed him. He went away saying that he wld. give instructions in the same sense.

Pichon, Czikann & Salvago came at 10 abt. the w. boundary of Legation quarter, and the answer to be returned to the Chin[ese] PIP. [Plenipotentiaries]. I said I must have the Ping-pu & Kung-pu for barracks & soldiers' playground, and should keep everything now occupied by our own troops, as the Russians showed signs of wishing to break their written agreement to make a road thro' to Legn. Street. I also stipulated that the wall on N. side of Stewart Road should be pulled down. The Tangtzü we agreed might be kept by Salvago; the Germans & Dutch & Russians also have some of the places asked for by the Ch. Plenipos.

17 Mar. Rode with Tower & Chirol to the Princess' Tomb, 1½ hr. at a foot's pace fr. the Legn. thro' the Tungpien Mén [gate] by the side of the Tung chow canal: a favourite picnic place for Peking Society, built in the 4th year of Chien Lung, and now very much decayed. There is a fine grove of pines, juniper and a deciduous tree prob. of the maple kind. Altho' the day was quite warm, the ice lay thickly in the reach above the weir.

18 Mar. Meeting of colls: at wch. we put the protocol abt. indemnities right and voted on one or two minor questions. A Mr. Boyce Kup of Tientsin, who is connected with Jardine's to lunch.

Gardener brought some wall flowers, lilac in bud and an oleander. Very warm day.

Komura brought me amended draft of the Russo-Chinese agreement abt. Manchuria, wch. he still considers unsatisfactory. The Japse. troops ought to be got away as soon as possible, as they consist of men whose time expired 31st Dec[embe]r. He thinks the Court will come back in spite of everything, & he thinks they must, or the negotiations will never come to an

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end. They might move the capital elsewhere afterwards. but at present they have no money to build one. To declare now that they would establish themselves permanently in another place would certainly prevent a conclusion of present negotiations.

Chiról (to whom I showed what Komura had given me) saw Prince Ch'ing, who said the Court would start for Honan in the Chinese 3rd month (2 mos. hence) but he could give no idea of the date when they would reach Peking.

19 Mar. Meeting of commission de rédaction to draft a reply to Count Walderssee about the Peiho reclamation scheme of the Provisional Government. I broached the question of a likin station at Tangku railway station, & found all three against it. They also agree that a maximum limit should be fixed by the PP. to the number of legation guard; so perhaps I may get a majority.

Went to Li, & got a good deal out of him about the Manchurian agreement, which proved that what Komura gave me yesterday is correct. Told him they ought not to sign the last article, as it makes China confess that she had violated an agreement. He was anxious he said to obtain a delay of 10 to 12 days, in order to get rid of this & other objectionable features, which might induce other Powers to follow Russia's example. I promised at his request to telegraph to Lord Lansdowne, & he said he would telegraph to Yang-yu to that effect. He was very reticent at first, but gradually opened out. Also talked to him about Yü Yiulin, & said I must write an answer showing what mistakes the Court had made in the telegram transmitted in their red note of yesterday. As to Manchurian agreement he found de Giers had no authority to agree to anything, but was very angry and very urgent. Li complained that Fraser had told Chang Chih-tung on my authority that he (Li) had already signed, but I must know very well that he was not the negotiator. At first it was in the hands of Pr. Ch'ing & himself, but now the Court was running the show, & did not always consult him. I replied that I had not told Fraser so, for though it was rumoured all over Peking, I had telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne that I did not believe it. But I told him about Lo [Fêng-luh] going to Lord Lansdowne & saying that the Plenipotentiaries wished H.M.G. & other Governments to mediate, & then next day went back & said it was not the Plenipotentiaries but the Court. He also said that their Minister at Berlin had telegraphed that Germany could not interfere, because of her land-frontier, but that England & Japan were in a different position. A curious echo this of what I said to Prince Ch'ing a day or two ago.

Meeting of colls: discussed the armaments regulation report, & made some amendments.

Likin station at Tongku railway station. Asked whether colls: approved its establishment by Provisional Govt. Everyone against it but Mumm, who reserved his opinion.

Murdered missionaries. Pichon added two names. Draft letter to Ct. Walderssee about Peiho Improvet. Scheme and Prov. Govt. read & approved.

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Mumm asked a question abt. war indemnities; whether any of us have been furnished by our Govts. with fig. of war indemnities. He has. Pichon also, Czikan, & Rockhill is ready to name a lump sum including everything. Knobel said there were the expenses of his ships. I replied the question was one of indemnities for the expenses incurred by Powers who had sent expeditions to Peking to relieve the Legns. & restore order. Mumm also proposed that a commission shd. be apptd. to study the Chinese resources for meeting the claims.

In the arms question Komura proposed a limit of two years, in wch. he was supported by Joostens & Rockhill. Pichon, Czikan, de Giers, Salvago & Knobel voted for five years. Mumm and I abstained.

Limitation of legation guards. I made a motion to the effect that it was desirable to fix a maximum. H.M.G. had shown itself favourable to the principles. I depicted the condition of things here with 2150 men in pursuit of drink & women. It was put on the order of the day for the next meeting.

Then it was decided we shld. ask our Govts. to say whether the military questions provided for by Arts. 8 & 9 shld. be examined by the military repres'ves of all the PP [Powers] having troops in China, or only by those of Govts. wch. wld. take part in the execution of the military measures of the Arts. Referred to.

21 [Mar.] Went to Pichon and while he [I?] was there Mumm came in, so we discussed the course to be pursued with regard to punishments. We agreed to diminish the death penalties to 4 or 5, and to bring up the question tomorrow and ask colls: to join us; Russian wld. then have an opportunity of finally declaring himself. Pichon is betw. two stools; the desire not to break c. Russia, & the desire to make an example of those who have murdered missionaries & others. I went to Rockhill, who is firmly decided to join us.

22 “ Meeting at 9.30 of punishments commission to reconsider the death penalties proposed, & it was agreed to diminish them from 10 to 4. But at the meeting of the F.R.R. afterwards when I proposed to address a joint note to the Chinese Plenipos., I found hearty support only from Rockhill and a half-hearted one fr. Mumm: Komura said he wld. go with the majority. Pichon said he must have instructions. Salvago said he had none, & so it was shelved. de Giers of course said he could take no part in the discussion.

Afterwds. we spent 2 weary hours over the proposed règlements de police.

Barrow came just as I was returning from a walk; he said Tientsin incident was at an end, but the Russians, who Wozack had promised shld. not go on with their roadmaking for 24 hrs., had recommenced work. I told him again that he had no right to order the marines about, but that if he had consulted me beforehand I cld. have given orders for him to have the marines. He then pretended that he had told me before he gave the order, whereas he really said to me that he had already ordered them up. I said that was not consulting me.

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Grierson came. He said that according to military theory every body above high water mark was under military authority. I told him not, & that the Admiral had previous[ly] refused to put the Marines under Genl. Gaselee's orders, so that Barrow was quite aware of it. The fact that the marines were needed did not excuse going the wrong way to work to get them.

23 [Mar.] First meeting of the Finance Committee consisting of Pichon, Mumm, Komura & myself.

24 “ Went to tell Komura of Shêng's lie abt. my having, as he said, informed Liu Kungji & Chang Chih-tung thro' the respective consuls that the Manchurian Agreement was satisfactory, & that Li still wanted ten or twelve days grace before instructing Yung-ju to sign.

Li had been with me to ask whether there was any answer fr. Ld. Lansdowne about the delay asked for. Told him I had none, but wld. send it to him as soon as it came. Hsiliang has been dismissed & has been replaced by the man from Shensi. As to YüYiu-lin he says he has sent on my red note by a special courier, with remarks of his own, & that I may feel sure he will not be sent to Hupei.

Told Rockhill also abt. Li & our committee of yesterday. As to guaranteeing a loan to China he is sure U.S. will not join.

25 “ Capt. G. F. Napier, recently intelligence officer at Hankow, who is proceeding to Newchwang, came to lunch.

Guy Hillier has been asked to appear before Indemnities commission, & came to concert with me the line he shld. take. Found ourselves to be in agreement on nearly every point.

Commission at 3. I put in memo. of my own after Hart had been heard.

26 “ Meeting of Indemnities committee, at which Guy Hillier was heard.

27 “ To Rev. J. Stonehouse's funeral. Met [Colonel] Scott-Moncrieff, and asked him abt. the destruction of the tower on S.W. corner of the Tartar city. He said he found the order when he arrived, it seemed to have been given verbally by Sir Norman Stewart, & S-M. promised to stop the works. I said it was only a private request to him, not to be taken as official.

Pichon, whom I met at dinner at the Belgian's, said he has instructions to join in Collective Note presenting the list of provincial punishments. Also that his war indemnity includes expenses of sending out additional ships of war.

28 “ Drafting Committee here, for Note on Provincial punishments.

29 “ Meeting of colleagues, to discuss various questions. Colonel Bowring & Scott-Moncrieff to talk abt. extension of Tientsin line east of the Temple of Heaven and so round thro' blank spaces to Hatamên and as far as water-gate. Asked to have it on paper, so that we may know exactly who is to be eventual owner. Also, Bowring proposes to leave front wall of carriage

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Park & gateway in situ. Said that I thought this change in the scheme of defence need not be referred to the other Legations or military people, but that I wished the yellow tiles to be removed. Up to the present the Chinese have not agreed to our proposals for delimiting the legation quarter, nor have the suggestions for defence been approved of by the PP.

Barrow at dinner. Talked to him abt. the proposal to assemble military officers for discussion of Arts. 8 & 9, and said he had perh[aps] better see Schwarzhof & sound him; for my part I was not going to ask Genl. Gaselee again to put himself in the way of a rebuff fr. the Fieldmarshall, who in my opinion ought to take the first step.

Railway . Explained to him my wish to be fully informed, in order that when Peking is evacuated we may know exactly who is to be the owner of the new bit; whether H.M.G., Chinese Govt. or B. & Ch. Syndicate, & explained to him difference betw. Syndicate & Bondholders.

Evacuation. When the time comes, that in my opinion there shld. be a conference of Diplomats & Soldiers to arrange date &c. & that we ought to hand our district over to the Chinese Auth: direct, not to any other Power; he said month's notice wld. suffice.

31 [Mar.] Mumm came to see me. Talked a good deal with the object of preventing my claiming for Morrison the whole of what he occupied or purchased after the siege, but I held to my thesis that if U.S. legn. recognized such purchases, so must I. Also inquired whether he wld. come to an understanding with Guy Hillier, & he intimated that he was disposed to pay something. (G. H. had been to me the previous day abt. the "affront" inflicted on him by the Germans building latrines close to his front door. I offered to be his 'solicitor' if he wld. put himself in my hands to arrange terms, but let him know I wld. not quarrel with Mumm on that acct.) We also discussed the eventual commercial agreeet. to be based on Art. XI of the Joint Note & he said he wld. willingly leave us to conclude that alone, confident that we shld. make such terms as wld. be acceptable to Germany, on m.f.n. [most favoured nation] conditions. I assured him we shld. hold out for our form of m.f.n. article. Read to him my teleg. fr. Lord Lansdowne abt. additions & objections as to Rapport de la commission on indemnities, & said I was disposed to put the latter before Colls: , while at the same time urging the Govt. to authorize my agreeing.

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1 April. To Salvago, to ask abt. date of his instructions as to a joint commission on private claims, & found it was anterior to a meeting of Colls: at wch. this notion was discussed & rejected by a large majority. He also showed me a letter to Komura by the Committee of the Dipl. Quarter, urging him to come to terms with Salvago as to the partition of the Suwangfu.

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To Genl. Barrow who had asked me to speak to de Giers abt. a flag at the head of the cutting on the disputed ground, wch. the military want to have removed. I said I cld. not go to de G. without something to prove to him that the demand on our part was justified, & that a visit expressly for this purpose wld. give to it too large a measure of importance. De minimis [non curamus.] wld. prob. be the view of H.M.G. But if I met de G. I wld. mention it to him.

Also told him that at present I had no intention of raising the question of evacuation, but wished him to think over it, as when it came to be discussed it wld. be found to be of an intricate nature and requiring a long time to settle.

2 April. Very bad dust storm, after yesterday's great heat.

3 April. Meeting at the German Legn. in the afternoon to hear Mr. Kump, agent of the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank at Tientsin on question of indemnities.

4 “ . Took my memo. on probable progress of negotiations in connexion with military questions to Mumm to read. He made no remarks.

Sir Robt. Hart came abt. appt. of Hobson to Têng-yueh.

In the afternoon called on Count Waldersee. Expressed my hope that the meeting of Generals on Saturday 5th will arrive at definite conclusions as to Arts. 8 & 9 of Joint Note, and explained to him that I had not intended Genl. Barrow to speak to Schwartzhof about evacuation. That was only a matter on wch. I had talked to B. for himself.

Walked with Grierson & Chirol to visit the famous fêng-shui wall, attributed to the Kin Tartars, a beautiful structure covered with dragons moulded in bold relief, and especially rich in turquoise & lapis lazuli blue tiles.

Col. Bowring dined, & we talked abt. the extension of the Tientsin-Pekin railway to the outside of the water gate; told him I had read the papers, and he might go ahead.

Tsêng came to me early in the morning of yesterday, and talked abt. commutation of punishments of the ex-govr. of Chêkiang and the Provincial Judge. He said Li only asked on behalf of the latter as a matter of form, and I made him write down the terms they wished for Shu, to wch. I made him add confiscation of property. Dfted a note in ans. to one wch. they had sent in (red note) & sent it on to Pichon.

5 “ Good Friday. Meeting of drafting committee at wch. the Fr. version of my draft was adopted, also one framed about examinations & rehabilitations & ‘constatation de mort’ decrees wch. they refuse. Told them views of H.M.G. abt. indemnities for legation guards and the ‘rapport’ of the indemnities commission, & also abt. my memo. on 8 & 9 articles wch. is now in circulation.

6 “ Rockhill had a story this morning that the Russian Legn. had broken off all relations with the Chinese Plenipos. & returned their letters, & he wondered whether de Giers wld. withdraw fr. the conference. Mumm & I had however later on telegs. that the Russians had

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dropped the whole negotiation, in a 'dignified' manner, & wld. await events.

Genl. Gaselee came back fr. the Conference of generals abt. arts. 8 & 9, and said that things had been arranged very satisfactorily. Kept him to lunch. Lent him to read memos. that I have just circulated to colls: the main point of wch. is that the Chinese ought to have back the civil administration before we evacuate. When he returned he said he entirely agreed with my views. We discussed also Barrow's ordering up marines fr. Taku: Gaselee says all sailors above high water mark when acting with land forces are under military command. I said they were not 'acting with' unless the Auth: had given the necessary orders. The necessity for bringing up the Marines was much more the attitude of the Fr[ench] soldiers in general towards our people than the incident with the Russians, said G.

7 [April] Mumm came again. Asked him abt. my memo. he says he agrees with it in the main, but Waldersee prob. does not like the idea of handing over civil administration before evacuation.

Saw Komura. He had heard of landing of cable at Kulangsu, but did not know the object. Told him Iswolsky's view abt. Japanese attitude, as telegd. by Macdonald.

8 April. Rockhill. Told me he quite agrees to proposal to abolish Tsungli Yamên, to be replaced by a 外務局 [Foreign Office], & that Li had suggested we shld. denounce the incapacity of the old Tsungli Yamên especially in the events of last summer, & that we propose proper salaries for the new Minister [of Foreign Affairs] & his subordinates. Also they want to get back their archives. Acc. to de Giers it is only Mumm who strongly objects. Rockhill entirely agrees w. my memo. & wld. like to go on to talk abt. evacuation, but I said we had better not do so till our Govts. had time to digest the agreement of Generals on Arts. 8 & 9.

[Margin: Lunched c. Mumm to meet Count v. Waldersee, who is 69 today.]

Mr. Owen came with P'êng Ying chin, & I promised to give passes for the latter to Chi-chou. Also names of late magistrate of Tung-an & new man appted.

Col. Bowring to talk abt. legation defences & arrangements for legation guard. He also talked abt. extension to Tung-chou & I said I was going to talk to H.Q. abt. it.

Mr. Murray of school for blind to ask help in securing place where he now is in exchange for former buildings. Told him to write to me

10 April To Pichon to propose a meeting of the Indemnity Commission for tomorrow and try to draw up our report. Then to Rockhill who showed me the American proposal to fix total claim on China at £40,000,000 and to "scale down" the demand of each Power in proportion.

Rev. Geo. Owen came to defend Pêng agst. the aspersions cast on him by Moir Duncan. It seems that Pêng has been told to go down to Tung-an by Li to collect the 3000 taels demanded by the Germans, wch. Barrow has asked Li to have paid in.

Madam O'Gorman and Sir Horace MacMahon of the Welsh Fusiliers to tea.

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- Hillier went to say goodbye to Li, who said ill-natured things to him, as that he was "dismissed", that he could not get on with me, and so forth. Dined at Headquarters mess.
- 11 April Chirol left, also Hillier.
- 13 " Went to see races at Temple of Heaven, 4th day of military sports.
- German plans agst. Chinese troops on the borders of Shansi. Pichon came to tell me of these, and request to Voyron to join. If not Germans propose to advance beyond Huai-lu (Huo-lu) alone. He wld. not so much mind if it was certain the soldiers wld. go no further than the frontier. Perh. it is a piece of bluff, got up betw. Waldersee and Prince Ching, for it was after a long talk of the two yesterday that Schwarzhoff in the evening went down to see Voyron. P. has telegd. to Paris for instructions. I sent teleg. to F.O. Browne later on told me he had heard something abt. it from Col. Aoki, Jap. Military attaché.
- 14 " Went to see Rockhill. Pichon has talked to him also, & adds that Schwarzhoff has requisitioned transport for 1100 men on the 17th to Paotingfu and possibly more on the 19th.
- 15 " Dinner of 45 persons given by Genl. Chaffee to celebrate his birthday; sat betw. de Giers & General Trotha. Lasted till midnight, songs & recitations: everyone felt it a great bore, but it had to be gone thro'.
- 16 & 17 Discussion of Waldersee's letter abt. execution of articles 8 & 9 of the Joint Note.
- During night Count Waldersee's quarters in the Empress Dowager's palace burnt down and Genl. Schwarzhoff lost his life in the attempt to save a favourite dog. At Dering's suggestion sent off a teleg. to the German emperor condoling.
- 18 April Saw Czikann & Salvago yesterday about the U.S. proposal of £40,000,000, and both adverse tho' having no instructions. This morning saw Mumm whose Govt. says it is a good proposal, but not capable of being realized. Komura had no instructions, & thought it premature to ask for any until the Report of the Commission showed what China could afford to pay; but if the other PP accepted no doubt Japan would.
- Hart writing to me yesterday says that if we insist on the metropolitan examinations being suspended for 5 years the Court will not come back during that period.
- Dined at Pichon's for whist. At dinner P. spoke with some acrimony of a Reuter teleg. in the "Times" wch. said that de Giers and Cologan had expressed the opinion that the Ministers who had gone thro' the Siege ought to have been withdrawn by their govts. instead of being appted. negotiators. I remarked that this was an American teleg. (for Whittall told me recently that Reuters & the Am. Associated Press pool their telegs). But as it is my own opinion, and I expressed it to Rockhill and one or two others, I felt rather guilty.
- 19 April Meeting of finance committee with Hsü Choupêng, Na-t'ung and Chou Fu. The most remarkable proposition they made was that if any of the Powers wanted money down,

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while the others were contented with a system of payment by instalments, the latter shld. guarantee a loan for the others. On the whole they were reasonable, but did not like our tribute rice nor Manchu pension proposals.

20 [April] Funeral of Schwarzhoff at the Winter Palace. All the diplomats in frock coat.

In the afternoon the drafting committee met, & tried to produce a letter to the Field marshal on the subject of arts 8 & 9 of the Joint Note and on withdrawal. But not having either the procès verbaux of the 16 & 17 nor the French translation of Waldersee's letter Pichon was unwilling to proceed, and it was put off till the morning of 22nd.

Genl. Gaselee recd. teleg. informing him that the F.R.R. thought the time had come for reducing the occupation forces, & directing him to confer abt. Chihli & S'hai, to withdraw in proportion to the others. Also Hongkong. H.M.G. have lost no time.

22 “ Meeting of Draft Committee to finish letter to Count Waldersee, and of Punishments Committee to draft a note in reply on provincial punishments.

Morrison came: he had a list of war expenses of the Powers, nearly correct.

Went to the Genl. and gave him a note that in a fortnight I expect Art. II to be finished, in a month Art. X, in two months (not more) the Indemnity, and that I agreed to his proposals for an immediate reduction. During the transition period we are to have 2500 men, but we agreed that he ought to try & get a few more.

24 “ To Li Hung-chang, & asked him to get Wu Shih-shao, G. Jamieson's friend out of prison; he suggested waiting for the present, adding that the man was unjustly condemned.

Also spoke of Mr. Murray's wish to exchange a piece of property where the blind mission now is for what was destroyed by Boxers.

Li talked abt. indemnities, & proposed that England, France & United States should guarantee the indemnity loan. I was not very warm about it, as I had recd. a teleg[ram] the previous day secret fr. Lord L. saying that Russia had proposed to Germany and France to enter into a separate arrangement to guarantee the loan, but said I wld. teleg. H.M.G. had no desire to embarrass China financially. Jamieson doubts whether Li had been told by de Giers of the Russian proposal, but to me it looked as if he were merely trying to get a refusal fr. us wch. wld. excuse his turning to Russia. We also spoke of the loan guaranteed by Russia in 1896, and of our offering to lend them money wch. in 50 yrs. wld. have been extinguished at 4%, but others had opposed. He replied that the conditions we asked were objected to by other Powers, and I said I had been told by a distinguished man in Japan that a distinguished Chinese had said to him that if we had not made previous conditions we could afterwards have had anything we liked.

Spoke also abt. the hinterland we want reserved to us at Tientsin, and found him not at all friendly, was afraid of our clashing with the Germans, who will prob. want their rlwy. to

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run through the said hinterland. I gathered from little Ts'êng that the way various powers have beflagged the place has given great annoyance, & that as soon as they get back the power, they will refuse to recognize any of these annexations.

26 [April] Went to Rockhill & told him in confidence that H.M.G. proposed £50,000,000 half to be raised at once on security of increased customs duties and Chinese customs, the other half at a later date.

Bohlen came to ask what I had telegd. to F.O. about Mumm's opposition to my proposal that the Govts. shld. fix a maximum limit for the legation guards. Read to him portion of my teleg. 122 fr. which it appeared I had only said that Mumm did not agree, without giving his reasons. H.M.G. seems to have told Germ. Govt. that they would tell me to take the same line as Mumm.

I told him also that I had heard the bastion rampart of the German portion of wall had been thrown down without orders.

Russian. Last night I told de Giers I had looked at the Hankow dossier & was prepared to receive proposals. He suggested we shld. settle betw. us without consulting Jardine's, but I told him that I cld. not do that; if he wld. give me his figure I wld. find out theirs and try to reconcile them.

Russian wall thro' Hung-lu-ssu. He suggested [Herbert G.N.] Dering shld. meet [Basil N.] Kroupensky. So I said his proposal was to build a wall the end of wch. wld. be in the air, & of course he wld. then want to construct the partition wall between us & the road, to wch. he responded that we had to build that wall. I said no, it was the road wch. had to be made 'à frais commun', if he wld. only look at the written notes exchanged betw. us.

Newchwang consular watchman killed by Russian soldier. I told him I shld. like to hear abt. this, to wch. he responded by saying he had some similar complaint agst. a Frenchman on behalf of a Dane. I responded, so you offer me your Dane in exchange for my Chinaman, and there it ended.

26 (contd.) Walked on the wall with General Pipon, & went beyond Hatamên. Met Sir Robert, who said Li grimly remarked that he & Prince Ch'ing were called 'pleni-potentiaries' but they had no power at all, for the F.R.R. wrote to them & said 'these are our decisions' so they were 'im-potentiaries'.

27 " Col. Scott-Moncrieff came with Major Dickie, who is to replace him. S-M assures me that when they arranged with the Japse. abt. the line of our wall he had no idea that the Italians were going to have the so-called public garden. I took them round the compound and gave them leave to take all the bricks they liked for our wall. Also explained to S-M that I had no desire to fall in with de Giers' proposal that we shld. let him bring his wall at once into the Hung-lu-ssü.

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E. Hewett of P. & O. Chairman of Chamber of Commerce came; discussed the Shanghai conservancy project, & the quarantine dues, wch. he said the Chinese ought not to be allowed to impose, such expenditure being properly governmental.

Spent the day in studying the draft report of the committee.

29 [April] This afternoon we agreed finally to report of committee on indemnities, to whom I said the idea had grown up in London of cutting down to £50,000,000 & dividing payt. into 2 parts.

Hart came to talk indemnities this morning: he says Chinese offer to find 14 million taels. Asked him his opinion of the London idea merely by way of information.

Pichon came to ask whether I had any observations to make on the report. Told him yes, & that I wld. give them this afternoon.

Hillier came to ask whether any truth in report abt. raising import duties. Told him yes, & to what extent.

30 April Gaselee came and we talked over Waldерsee's letter to the Doyen of yesterday. I said that I thought Legn. guard ought to be under the authority of minister, not to be changed or removed without his consent, and we agreed that it was so, but as to discipline that of course shld. be under the general.

Rockhill came. Says Mumm told him his Govt. favoured idea of a joint guarantee. U.S. does not. Hay has telegd. that he does not insist on £40,000,000 being the limit. U.S. quarters of Peking to be divided betw. us, the Germs & a little bit to the French. Li making some objections abt. the Court ceremonial. Nothing more about the exams. I said the idea was two-fold, to give a warning to the lettered class, and affix a stigma on towns where foreigners had been murdered or cruelly treated.

Dfted. instructions to J.W. Jamieson to the Viceroy and ports.

May 1901

May 1 Meeting of colls: at wch. we presented report of Committee on Indemnities, and de Giers made a financial statement advocating guaranteed loan.

“ 2 Admiral Seymour came up with Capt. Cradock of “Alacrity”, Alton the Secy. & Fair, flag lieut.

Mumm came. Says he cannot agree to the big bastion being cut back, & wants to write me a letter, wch. I wld. communicate contents of to Genl. Gaselee. I objected that as the correspce. had been betw. Gaselee & headquarters of Waldерsee, it had better go back.

Triangle betw. Racecourse road at Tientsin & new Germ. extension. Germans agree to take. He is to write to me, then I inform Chinese, & then he will do so a couple of days

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later.

Wusung Bar. Agreed he shld. get Cologan to put it in orders of the day for 7 May & get him to propose a committee consisting of him, myself, the American & Frenchman.

Lunched with the Vidals.

4 May To the races. Yesterday my pony "Tycoon" won the Belgian cup and another race, today he came second in one race, but broke down in the "Champion".

5 " Little Tsêng came to ask me to stop demolition of the Li-pu. Told him I would do so, but that the Lands Committee had agreed with Prince Ch'ing that part of it should come down.

Mumm came this morning, & we drafted together a motion abt. informing Chinese of the total amt. of losses and expenses up to 1 July, and asking them how they would meet the liability. He still has no instructions fr. his govt. abt. a guaranteed loan.

6 " Admiral Seymour, Alton & Fair left.

8 " Rockhill came to say there was an intention of handing over to our care the Tai miao [temple] in wch. a large treasure in gold bars, fr. 10 to 30 million taels, is said to be concealed. Very few people know of this, and we want to keep it a secret.

9 " General Barrow came to lunch, and we discussed this, and also a teleg. to F.O. abt. withdrawal of troops, wch. I sent off after agree[men]t. It looks as if the Germans were taking no steps to reduce their forces, that they & the Fr. are watching each other, and the latter mean to leave a battalion at Paotingfu to guard the railway.

Meeting of the colls: at wch. we agreed to a letter to Chinese Plenipos. abt. Court ceremony in presentation of credentials, & discussed Walderssee's letter of 29 April, with a view to an ans., but could not agree. I had previously informed Mumm that in my opinion an ans. was not desirable, for while he had only recd. authority to make the statement agreed to by the Corps diplomatique abt. a partial reduction, H.M.G. were disposed to go farther.

Lady Bruce and Mrs. Creagh came up to stop. Afternoon Drafting Committee dfted. letter to Tientsin abt. Peiho Commission, & one abt. examinations.

10 " Change of guard over the Tai-miao took place, Prince Su having been present.

11 " Meeting of colls: at wch. draft abt. exams and to Consuls at Tientsin abt. Peiho conservancy committee approved.

Question of expropriation of Europeans who own property on the glacis much discussed, & notional conclusion arrived at.

Likin on salt at Tangku to be referred to consuls at Tientsin.

Customs duties in S'hai, dispute as to. Mumm proposed to write to Hart. Sent him a private letter afterwards to say it was already arranged.

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May 16 Michie arrived. Left cards on Ratard & Liébert.

May 17 Lady Bruce left.

Returned card on Beau, who called the day before yesterday with Pichon. Photographic group of Conference at d'Anthouards.

[May] 18 Hu Yü-fên 胡燏棻 came with the comprador of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank, to talk abt. Rlwy. land at Tientsin. He seems to give hopes of proving our title, i.e. the title of the rlwy.

“ 20 Hsu Choupèng came to talk abt. indemnity. I told him about the British Govt. proposal of bonds and that amortization in 30 years would cost about 26,000,000 taels annually on a 4% basis. He was much pleased with this, as he had understood from Pichon at the meeting with the Finance commission that China would have in all to pay 900,000,000 of taels. I also told him that H.M.G. were willing to let part of the 450,000,000 stand over.

Examinations. He talked about metropolitan exams. at Peking and provincial at Tai-yuan-fu. I explained to him that these two places being distinguished above all others by the enormity of the crimes committed, it was necessary that they shld. be indicated to the rest of China as guilty and unfit for exams to be held in.

He said he quite understood. I chaffed him abt. their readiness to pay money, rather than give way. He also said Li wanted the Indemnities commission to visit him and have a talk, but I hinted to him that I did not see my way.

Stewart-Lockharts came to stay.

21 [May] Went to Mumm & told him I had instructions not to support any proposition for a reduction by 50 million tael or any other sum, and argued that if we could get the limit of 450 fixed, nothing to be charged beyond 1 July, also the bonds at par, Rockhill ought to be satisfied.

Had a talk with Beau, and left him my memo. He says Ratard finds 5% ad valorem would produce 4 000,000 taels. Said I was glad to hear it.

To Giers abt. Bullard's letter proposing to obtain fir[om] Shêng Taotai permanent control & working of the Taku-Peking line for international traffic. He had nothing abt. it. We also talked ab[out] indemnities. Russian Govt. opposed to bonds & insists on 10%; why shld. we wish to take the salt tax. I said I feared the meeting tomorrow wld. do little, but we must try to reconcile the self-love of our govts.

To Rockhill & told him could not support 50 million reduction, as contrary instructions had come, but the limitation to July 1 and the bonds had practically that effect. I think he wld. be contented if we cld. get these.

22 May Meeting of colls: to discuss reply to the Chinese about indemnities and I put for[war]d scheme of H.M.G. without mentioning the subject of reduction.

Comr. Tuke, Lt. Lowther-Crofton, Philip Douglas (son of R.K.) and Osborne, nephew

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of Ad. Seymour, both middies [midshipmen] came up to stop.

23 [May] Continuation of meeting on indemnities: discussion of dft. letter abt. the legation quarter. I said I wld. rather not have a grille instead of the wall opposite to the carriage park.

Rockhill came to say that he had seen Mumm & offered to try to persuade the President to accept 450 millions, if Germany would agree to it as a minimum.

Major Dickie took me round our own defences. He thinks the grille would be better than the wall, as then we should be able to see whether mines were being dug. Brig[adie]r Gen[era]l Bowring came in also; asked about the German bastions which our rlwy. people began to pull down; he says they are obstinate and have done nothing towards replacing them as they were.

24 “ Capt. Jellicoe came up. Tuke & Crofton going down.

25 “ Meeting in the morning of the Committe on pay[men]t of indemnities to consider a progressive amortization, a committee of encash[men]t at Shanghai, & totals of the claims. In the afternoon discussed and agreed to a note abt. limits of legation quarter. Then Mumm & Salvago announced that they were authorized to agree to 4 July as limit in time, and 450,000,000 as limit of the sum.

Examinations. de Giers in support of the Chinese proposal to allow the Peking metropolitan & provincial exams to take place. I agst. with some heat. No conclusion come to. He proposed a commission to consider the question, or that the commission on provincial punishments shld. consider it. Nothing done. I told him afterwds. I had formal instructions abt. it. Mumm says he is afraid his people do not care abt. it Beau spoke in the character of a conciliator. Salvago with me. Komura agst. me. The others more or less silent.

Stewart-Lockharts and Michie left.

26 [May] Long conference with Simpson abt. the repairs, etc. to the Legation. Dickie at my request brought me plan of our extension, and promises several copies properly marked and coloured.

27 “ Jellicoe left. W.M. Hewlett entered on his functions as private secretary.

[Margin: Hu tajen came to talk abt. rlwy. also ex-Treasurer of Chêkiang as to whom I gracefully gave way, & list of unpunished boxer chiefs etc.]

In the afternoon a large party got up by Poole to tea at the Bell Temple, W. of the Têh-Shêng-Mên. I went in a chair, about 1½ hrs. Very hot wind. The bell is of enormous size, covered with Chinese characters from the shoulder downwards & with Thibetan inscriptions above; hung by four points, and a huge ring in two parts, fastened together by large headed pins. The beams from which the base hangs must be three feet square. At the

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top of the bell a hole, into wch. we threw cash. In a courtyard in front some fine apricot trees and a huge misshaped *Pinus sinensis*, in the other court two very large bushes of *Pinus spectabilis*, bearing fruit. I could not in the least recall having seen the bell before, i.e. in 1862. But from there we struck across to the Yellow temple, guarded by Japanese soldiers, and were shown round by a bearded officer. The monument of a Thibetan holy man is there still, as I remember it from 1862, covered with sculpture. Some mischievous person has smashed some of the faces of Buddhas and legs of animals.

28 [May] Meeting of colls: Question of ceremonials. Rockhill said that he had been told by Li that if we insisted, we shld. get what we want.

Prov. Govt. of Tientsin. Agreed to acknowledge two letters of Fieldmarshal, and send the question home for instructions.

Also the request of the prov[isional] govt. to tax salt at Tangku rlwy. station.

Exams. I proposed to ans. the Chinese maintaining suspension at Peking, Shen-tien fu & Taiyuen fu. A provisional compromise arrd. at to the effect that we maintained for two latter & wld. consider the question of the first later on. The Drafting committee to prepare a Note to this effect & several others.

Hopkins from Tientsin to consult on various matters.

Clever juggler in the evening and little boy of 9½ who performed wonderful feats of contortion.

29 “ Hsü Chou pêng came abt. indemnities & exams. He says Li had originally intended to memorialize as I maintain shld. be done, but finding thro' Chou Fu that colls: were weakening, he waited to see.

30 “ Round military barracks with Genl. Gaselee, Major Dickie, Col. Browne & Simpson; unable to shake their insistence on having a large portion of the Kung pu & Ping pu &c.

Meeting of indemnities commission to discuss the amortization schemes of Hillier & Mumm. We thought the latter preferable.

June 1901

1 June Meeting of colls: to discuss the two schemes: Mumm's was preferred.

de Giers said that our people at Tientsin had put a fence round a post, but removed it, and stopped up a road. He had sent Kroupensky to Genl. Barrow to ask what complaint they had made to H.M.G.

Genl. Gaselee & Barrow came after lunch. The latter told K. that they had no complaint at Tientsin agst. the Russians, wch. I said was odd, as they had sent me Col. MacDonald's report on the placards that had been posted up Russian wharf. 'Russian

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bridge' at Tientsin now to be surrendered to provisional govt. who will give it back to Russians. G. expects transports here by end of June, & to evacuate by middle of July. Germans are to have nine work battalions of 300 men each. We agreed on [telegraphing?] to F.O. abt. Russian bridge in reply to Lord L's 174, and one about Russian intention to leave 1000 men at Shanhaikwan. G. thinks Wozack runs the show at Tientsin & was surprised at my telling him de Giers & Beau anxious for T.P.G. [Tientsin Provisional Government] to come to an end. (Can it be a blind, & that de G. & Mumm are secretly working together?) Rockhill came to propose 10% import duties, wch. he said he wld. accept in exchange for abolition of likin on imports, reduction on exports and Hwangpu river. Thinks de Giers, Mumm, Komura wld. support, prob. also Beau.

Komura told me a day or two ago that if they knew the precise date of evacuation they wld. reduce their forces at once to the 'transition' period. Rain.

2 June Count von Waldersee called to say goodbye. He is going to pay a visit to Tokio, where he will stop in the Shiba Palace, thence back to Nagasaki, Batavia, Germ. S.E. Africa and get home by beginning of August. Grierson goes with him as far as Japan & then by Canada. Rain.

3 June Count Waldersee went off this morning, & everyone went to bid him farewell. Meeting with Li Hung-chang, Hsu Chou-pêng & Nat'ung at the German Legn. with Indemnities Commission. We discussed their inadequate scheme of amortization & Mumm's (wch. was done by von Bohlen). Afterwards Li said he wanted to talk to me, abt. the delay in our getting replies. Finally it came to this that he said a decree wld. certainly prohibit the provincial exams. at Taiyuan-fu and Shunshin-fu, but he had recd. two days ago a teleg. fr. Si-ngan fr. the Chühchichu that if the Peking metropolitan exams were stopped, the Emperor wld. not come back. I said I wld. refer the point to H.M.G. Then as to Liū Shu t'ang, he wanted me to ask for nothing more than what had been given, but I insisted on the addition of "to be placed under surveillance of the local officials" wch. had been proposed to me by his emissary Tsêng; & he said I was wrong in letting off Yung-ch'uan, who was worse than the other. I said that if he wld. give me the head of the Taotai he might do what he liked with the others. I teased him abt. wanting always to have the best of every bargain. Lien-fang says Prince Ch'ing wants him to come and see me abt. not pulling down the wall of the Palace outer court, & I told him he cld. come any afternoon. Campbell suggests that in return for the metropolitan exams & the wall we might obtain something else we want.

To Li I also said that H.M.G. thought bonds much better than a guaranteed loan, in the interest of China, and he said emphatically that the guaranteed loan idea was altogether abandoned. Fire in Palace 4 [June]. Rain in the evening.

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5 June J.B. Eames of Tientsin abt. military occupation of land at Chin-wang-tao belonging to the Engineering & Mining Co. to consult abt. getting the soldiers out. Told him he shld. write to me, after summoning the military to cease their obstruction.

Mr. Edgar Price [sic. Pierce?] Allen, an American lawyer on behalf of his client, the hsien of Chao-yang. Told him I would not interfere until proof positive was produced to me that the Pigott family voluntarily went to Taiyuenfu.

Rockhill came with a plan for 10% on import duties, in return for abolishing likin on imports and the most important exports. He calculated it would produce 11½ million taels on the average of 1898-1900. I showed him that this was an excessive estimate by abt 3 millions, as compared with results of 1900. Also that if this 10% were pledged for the new loan, 3,200,000 would have to come off fr. the likin pledged for the Anglo-German loan of 1898, & there would be little left. I thought the Chinese offer of gabelle ¹, native customs & five millions on tribute rice might be relied on. What they undertook in the way of paying money they would perform. Altogether I threw cold water on the scheme & told him H.M.G. wld. not look at anything over 5%, nor touch a joint guarantee with a barge-pole. He asked whether we cld. support U.S. in demanding Woosung bar for 5%, as it was important to them, as their new steamers draw 31 feet. I said I wld. back him.

Later in the evening he wrote that he has recd. instructions directing him, in view of the failure to agree on question of indemnity, to formally suggest to the Powers that the whole question be transferred to the Hague tribunal.

6 [June] Met de Giers on the wall. He said [he] had wanted to consult me abt. a 10% tariff being kept in reserve, if the Chinese did not pay sufficient with gabelle, native customs reliquat [remainder] & 5% tariff. If this were agreed to, he thought Russian Govt. wld. accept. I said that we shld. of course make the Reserve that we cld. not accept 10% without the reforms mentioned in connexion with Art. XI of Joint Note. He says he has ascertained that the Chinese cld. give 14 millions fr. Gabelle. Has no instructions fr. his Govt. & must refer his idea to them, so cannot at present frame a formula, for I said all depended on the wording. Told him I had heard fr. a coll: that Beau had instructions to accept 450 millions; had he, No. Then he reflected a little & said that his govt. was not opposed to the idea.

Went to Mumm & proposed we shld. ask Colls: abt. razing forts in their possession. He agreed, & I wrote a note to Genl. Gaselee, asking for a list of forts to be razed & their occupants.

7 June Powell left early.

Mumm called & we agreed on a meeting of Woosung Bar committee for the 10th.

¹ Gabelle: an obsolete French word meaning any form of indirect tax, especially the tax on salt in France from which the nobility and clergy were exempted.

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8 [June] Mr. Dick Hoste & Archd. [Archibald] Orr-Ewing of the C.I.M. [China Inland Mission] came to talk abt. their proposed visit to Shanhsi in place of Timothy Richard who said he wld. rather not go. Told them that they must have passports obtained thro' us. I also explained my personal views about VIII art[icle] of Tientsin treaty and that the missionary is not the accredited agency of H.M.G. for carrying it out. Also why women ought to run no risks. The British public did not mind men being killed so much as women & children, and it was our duty to prevent the risk being run, fr. a purely secular point of view. They took all I said in very good part.

Col. Bower of Tientsin Prov. Govt. lunched. Told him of the feelings of the colleagues towards it, & of the concluding sentence of my despatch to F.O. on the subject, wch. gave him satisfaction.

Capt. Norie & Major Steele came; the latter wanted a letter to Fulford, as he is going to Newchwang. And Norie brought a letter fr. Genl. Gaselee for approval about an exploring party he wants to send into Szechuen in Sept. by way of Hunanfu, consisting of Lt. Hunter, Major Manifold & a European interpreter.

Salvago came to ask whether there was any truth in the story that Tung Fuhsiang had 'wiped' out the Catholic mission at Ning-tiao-liang just N. of the Yellow River in W. Mongolia; he has heard from Italian missionaries in Shensi that "refugees" report it to be true. Major Pereira, Norie said, wants to go into Shanhsi with Edwards' party. Asked him to send Gatrell to me.

[Margin: Dickie came at my request to discuss estimates for Legation defences, wch. seem to require revision.]

9 June Kinder came abt. railway matters. He gave information abt. the construction of the road from the station to the river. Hu assures him no difficulty will be made either abt. the railway station for the diplomatic quarter outside the water gate and the removal of a small bastion to build the railway platform, nor to the T'ung-chou extension. He says Barrow is wrong in saying that the earnings of the existing line are being used for constructing the T'ung-chou extension.

Genl. Barrow at my request. Showed him a teleg. fr. F.O. abt. the posting of notice boards at Tientsin on wch. Col. MacDonald had reported, & my draft in reply, in wch. after some discussion with him, I made a slight alteration wch. was shown to him.

Proposed journey into Ssu-ch'uan of Major Manifold & Lieut. Hunter R.E. Showed him Campbell's observations, & gave them to him to take away & show to Genl. Gaselee.

Report that G.S. [Gaselee?] is going to move his H.Q. shortly to Tientsin, asked him abt. this, & elicited the fact that a letter had been addressed to Li speaking of evacuation as a contingency. I expressed my surprise at this being done without communication with me,

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& asked for a copy in order that I might teleg. to F.O., as if H.M.[G.] desire to leave the question of evacuation in Gaselee's hands, I wished to know it.

Also expressed my surprise at an alteration being made in the disposition of the buildings assigned to the Legn. guard, after the agree. betw. Genl. Gaselee & myself on the ground. Barrow said that [Cecil J.W.] Simpson was reported by Dickie to be impossible to get on with. I reiterated my view that the O. of W. [Office of Works] being the Dept. charged with maintenance of land & buildings of the Legation, we ought to be consulted, & if D. cld. not get on with S. he could always come to me.

Simpson came & said he heard the Military were going to write home & proposed that the portion set aside for the guard be handed over to R.E. to do what they like with, to wch. he had no objection, but till it was decided so, he must maintain his position. That Genl. Pipon's committee had proposed a report to Browne to sign, to wch. he had objected, but on alterations being made, he had agreed to it.

Col. Macdonald abt. railways. Says that his officers are working well with Kinder's staff. Revenue of rlwy. increasing. Suggested he shld. see Squiers abt. bastion, & also abt. hole in the wall that Kinder proposes to make for use of the diplomatic body.

Went along wall c. Kinder & saw where he proposes to cut the hole with miners fr. Tongshan, 10 ft high & 8 wide. Were joined by Newmarch, one of Kinder's men, & walked with him to the Hata mên, where Kinder's men are now working instead of the Sappers. Walked back with Genl. Pipon & Dickie, but made no allusion to questions in controversy.

10 June Meeting of Wusung committee at Mumm's in the morning.

E.G. Hillier came abt. the conditions in regard to taxation & police regulations wch. the Cis[?] Canaliers[?] establish, & wch. Mumm wishes to impose as part of the bargain.

He says a private teleg. has come fr. Hsi-an apropos of the return of the Court [to Peking], instructing the Plenipos. 1 that the rlwy. is to be returned to the govt. 2 The Peking terminus to be moved outside the Chinese city 3 City walls to be left intact & not fortified 4 Legn. guards not to exceed a total of a few hundred; say under 1000.

E.H. Edwards abt. the magistrate of Shaoyang. From my conversation with him, I gathered that he did not believe the story put forward by E.P. Allen, on the testimony of a Chinese, in exculpation of the magistrate; and to [C.W.] Campbell he said privately that even if he were innocent of the charge of giving over the Pigotts to death, he deserved what he has got on other grounds. He expects to go into Shanhsi with C.I.M. people.

吳德章 Wu Têchang, a Fr. speaking Chinaman newly arrived fr. Paris & apptd. a secretary to the Chinese Plenipos., came to call with a letter fr. Monseigneur Jarlin. Has been apptd. to deal with the cemeteries question & provincial punish[men]ts.

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Dr. Thos. J.N. Gatrell came and we agreed that when Genl. Gaselee goes he should be engaged by me for intelligence purposes at about \$350 a month, and extras for people employed by him to get information.

11 June Meeting of colls: called at request of Beau, but with the object of enabling de Giers to introduce his motion abt. resources for paying the indemnity. In the course of a discussion on 5% ad valorem de G. apparently withdrew his consent to a condition made by Rockhill that the Inland Navigation rules shld. be amended, & in the course of the afternoon sent round a furious circular on the subject.

Vaughan arrived.

12 June Morning: a meeting of punish[men]ts Committee to consider dft. [draft] of ans[wer] to last Note fr. Chinese Plenipos. on the subject, & also some papers left with Doyen by Wu.

de Giers, to ask me to stir up Jardine's people abt. lot 496 at Hankow. Promised to teleg. again to F.O. Told him Rockhill was rather hurt by the tone of his letter last afternoon: de G. says he wrote it at Mumm's request. Thinks 450 millions practically fixed.

Mumm to ask what we had done in the morning abt. punishts. & exams. Told him only former. He read teleg. fr. Chang & Liu abt. the latter, & I told him my teleg. fr. Chang & reply, also Li's observation. Agreed with him that we shld. verbally tell the Plenipos. that we wld. consent to removal to Shantung & Honan, if they liked to propose it.

Capt. Barrow & Rainsford abt. keeping up Hospital in S.E. Chinese city after evacuation. Wld. cost \$1500 to \$1800 a year. Asked them to write me a letter recounting its history, & promised to guarantee maintenance for 6 mos. This is evidently the hospital Gatrell spoke abt. but if I recollect aright he put the expenses at a good deal less.

Col. Macdonald: Squiers & Rockhill agree to demolition of bastion & opening passage thro' wall to rlwy. platform, provided Chinese consent. Said I wld. bring it up at next meeting of colls:

13 “ Squiers brought Major Robertson & Mr. Clarke of his Legation guard to call.

Komura came. Says in the event of bonds being agreed to, he is to claim for Japan such an additional percentage of bonds as will enable them to makeup for selling below par.

14 [June] Went to Genl. Gaselee & Barrow, & had it out with them respecting their letter to Li, Li's ans. & instructions fr. home. They said they wld. not pursue the correspce. with him. I said that most of the points they had mentioned were such as I shld. have agreed to, if I had been consulted before the letter was sent, but Li as Viceroy of Chihli had nothing to do with Peking & was only one of the Ch. Plenipos. I proposed a conference of generals & diplomats, & offered to let Campbell come to see Barrow on my behalf on any matter wch. required arrange[men]t. As to handing over the civil & police administration of our pt. of the city to the Chinese, I thought this could be done before formal evacuation, as I have

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always said, but the Police Comr. shld. be kept on till the end, & in this Gaselee agreed. Told him how I had resisted Italian proposal to hand over the Summer Palace, because I knew G. wanted to keep it. Also suggested an inventory being taken of the curios in conjunction with the Chinese, & formal handing over, just as possession was taken formally by the military & diplomatic auth: combined.

As to the wall of the Palace court wch. they want me to have pulled down, I had injunctions from home to be moderate and not to prepare for anything more than a coup-de-main or popular rising; so his protest left my withers unwrung. Besides I was using it as a card to play in return for the bastion & hole thro' to station.

Major Pereira, Grenadier guards came to ask whether there was any objection to his going with the Edwards party to Shansi & further on if possible. I said I could see none.

Hughes engineer of John Wolfe Barry & Co. came abt. Japse. interference at Ching-wan-tao with projected works. I said the proper people to complain were the Engineering & Mining Co. on whose behalf the work was being done.

Went to see cricket at Temple of heaven, inside inner gate to the l. where the races were held.

15 June Funeral service for removal of the remains of Baron v. Ketteler.

Meeting of colls. at Spanish Legation at wch. de Giers said his govt. wld. accept the bonds system, but had never mentioned the sum of 450, millions of taels, nor 4% interest. Komura officially announced that Japan cld. not afford to accept 4% bonds at par, and if that rate of interest were fixed, she must ask for such an amount in bonds as wld. protect her from loss.

Went in a chair to Pa-ta-ch'u in abt. 3¼ hrs. to bottom of the ascent. Passed Ta-pei-ssü, Lung wang-t'ang and climbed up Hsiang-chieh-ssü in about ½ hr. With Vaughan & Hewlett. After lunch went up to Dr. Martin's little place, Pao-chu-t'ung, wch. commands a very fine view, and thence to the top of the hill behind, overlooking the upper valley of the Hunho and Marco Polo's bridge of Liu-ko-chiao.

17 [June] Genl. Barrow came & gave me his ideas as to handing over the police & civil jurisdiction in our two sections of Tartar & Chinese cities.

Beau with Kahn to tell me he had been talking to Li abt. letting Chin. troops in to Japse. quarter & proposed proclamation announcing harmony ever more betw. Chinese & foreigners. Czikkann came also, so agreed with him for aprell[?] in any meeting with colls: tomorrow. Hu came & talked abt. troops coming in. Gave him cold comfort.

18 [June] Meeting at German Legation under Presidency of Czikkann of RR. of Powers who have sent troops to Chihli, & drafted a Note to the Chinese Plenipos. abt. proposal to bring 3000 of Yuan-shih-kai's troops into Peking, wch. it was resolved to refer to Diplomatic Body

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tomorrow. We also discussed the contents of my circular letter of the 15th to colls. on certain military questions that have to be decided, but at Kroupensky's desire left them for final discussion.

Went to Komura, & found he was not disposed to give over policing to Chinese, except under the supervision of Japanese military auth: Then to Rockhills to tea & showed him what I propose to say apropos of de Giers' props. as to 10%. R. (as well as Komura & Mumm) thinks de G's propn. of no importance. The compensation for Japan might come out of the surplus of the 450 millions, as to wch. Mumm is reported to have said the revised claims wld. be not over 430 millions.

This morning at Mumm's we held an informal meeting of the Woosung committee, & drafted a teleg. to Ch. of Commerce of Shanghai to send us a delegate.

19 [June] Meeting of colls: at Sp. Legation. I read a summary of my instructions about the 10% duties wch. de Giers proposed to keep in reserve to supply deficiencies in the interest on the indemnity, wch. greatly upset both de Giers & Mumm.

Also discussed my letter of the 15th & it was agreed to ask the opinions of our generals separately on the points contained in it.

I also made a state[men]t abt. prohibition of the importation of arms on the part of H.M.G.

20 [June] General Barrow came to say goodbye.

23 “ Major Clement A.R. Browne R.E. [Royal Engineers] the new military director of railways and Kinder came, & I gave them cards of introduction to call on Rockhill & Mumm apropos of the little bastion & the passage thru' the wall.

24 “ Czikan came with a draft note to the Ch. Plenipos. abt. limits of legation quarter. We were discussing it when Mumm came in to ask whether I had heard anything of disturbances on Korean border. We discussed the removal of bastion on American side of the water-gate, Kinder's proposed hole in the wall, & demolition of Imperial wall opp. the carriage park. Said I regarded myself as merely the mandatory of the diplom. body in regard to arrange[men]ts for railway station, & cld. give up demolition of wall in return for securing the other two things. Mumm said he was averse to putting the latter into the note, & his military people wanted the wall down. Czikan was for pulling down bastion & confronting Chinese with a fait accompli. It was suggested that in the note we shld. say the question of the demolition of the wall was deferred. Told Mumm Major Browne wld. see to restoration of destroyed rampart, if he were allowed to send workmen on the wall; he referred Browne to Montgelas.

H.P. Wilkinson arrived.

25 June Major [C.A.R.] Browne brought plan of proposed station, showing inconvenience of not

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having the bastion down; asked him for a copy to show to the colleagues, in order to obtain their consent if possible. He did not see Montgelas yesterday, but is to receive a call from him this afternoon.

Went to the Rockhills. He says he had a row with Knobel abt. removing bricks fr. the wall, & used very strong language to him. He cannot be prevented from stealing these bricks.

Hart this morning said that Salvago tells him very politely that he cannot yet say whether he must retain northern half, western half or the whole of his site for Legation purposes; Campbell had suggested speaking to Pansa, the new Italian ambassador in London, but Hart thinks better not. I agreed with this view, inasmuch as P. wld. scarcely like to interfere with a matter that concerned another colleague.

He lent me a letter from Wolf about the salt gabelle, wch. it seems the Chinese propose to increase beyond what it can bear.

Hillier came at my request, & we discussed the necessity of bondholders having a legal repres've here; & I sent off teleg. to F.O.

27 [June] Meeting of colls: at wch. we determined to remind Chinese of certain letters they had not ans[were]d. To accept decree abt. suspension of exams, to offer a compromise in the audience question, to write a letter abt. the diplomatic quarter. I proposed the destruction of bastion w. of watergate, but no one except Czikann supported, & de Giers tried to argue that we ought not to hold the rlwy. as the clause of the joint note did not authorize it, but I declined to discuss it.

Prince Ch'un, Changyi & Liang-chêng, also Yiu-chang who are going to Berlin, & Na-t'ung who is going to Tokio called this morning. The little prince did not seem very intelligent, but one cannot expect much. He said he had recd. a teleg. from Hsi-an asking him to return Straight to China by way of U.S. I recommended him to take Paris & London on his way, as that wld. be quite as expeditious as returning by the Red Sea.

Liang remained in Tientsin foreign settle[men]t during the bombardment. He speaks English very well, and was a great friend of the late Chang-yin huan.

Rockhill came. Gave him to read a d[ra]ft proclamation to be issued on our side prior to evacuation, wch. he approved.

28 June Committee on drafting met, and afterwards showed draft proclamation to Czikann & Salvago, who approved.

Afternoon took it to Mumm, who approved.

Capt. Burke of "Orlando" arrived.

29 " Indemnities Committee, at wch. a new plan of amortization was considered.

Talked to Komura abt. offer of H.M.G. to give Japan £500,000 of our bonds, wch. he

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had been told of. My idea is that if the margin calculated on by Mumm shld. prove not to exist, we might simply reduce our claim by that amount. [On reconsideration I think it must be that there is a reduction all round]. Showed him dft. proclamation wch. he approved. He also agreed with me that a simultaneous and formal evacuation of Peking should take place.

Hoover came to say that his friends are not able to get Chang Yenmao to carry out his contract about Chihli mines, & that Detring, who had wanted to be apptd. Administrator of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. has now thrown over Moreing & the others. Could I put any pressure on the Chinese Govt. I opined not before Sept[embe]r, & then I shld. want to get instructions fr. home. He said the Peking Syndicate were trying to get a concession in the western hills, wch. was an interference with the Oriental Syndicate. I responded that I was entirely ignorant, & he might rest assured that all syndicates were equally in the position of havng to look out for themselves.

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2 July Burke left.

Took draft proclamation to Beau, who agreed to it. Also explained to him my idea that some formal act of evacuation should take place.

3 July Meeting of colls: at wch. de Giers repeated what he said on 19 June abt. reserve guarantee, and I replied I had nothing to add to what I had said on previous occasion.

Returned call of Prince Ch'un. He had two younger brothers with him, one of whom was bigger & very intelligent.

Meeting at Mumms at 6 with Hewitt abt. Wusung conservancy.

Told Mumm what H.M.G. wants in the way of amortization. See Teleg 153 to Berlin.

Col. Max Richter to ask whether Govr. of Singapore shld. call on Prince Ch'un. Said I wld. let him know if I heard of instructions being sent there.

4 [July] Went to Komura abt. his extra claim & communicated précis of teleg. fr. F.O. He said that in his personal opinion the total amount of our claims ought not to be increased beyond 450 millions wch. had been practically, though not formally agreed to. He wld. wait, after what de G. had said until the private claims are all assessed, & if there was a surplus bring it forward again. If none he wld. advise his Govt. to withdraw it. His 2,500,000 of private claims are subject to reduction.

Rear Admiral Yeh (Leaf) came abt. the 4 torpedo-catchers taken at Taku. Asked abt. troops & mines in July last at Taku. He said 500 had been sent down to Taku, but of the latter he knew nothing; they wld. be outside, not in the mouth of the river.

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In the late afternoon to Li. He talked abt. an embassy to the Coronation, & I told him the crowned heads of Europe would send Princes of the blood, but carefully refrained fr. suggesting anyone. We also spoke of the intelligence of Prince Ch'ün and Duke Hsün; the former during the troubles of last summer, when everybody else was excited, shut his gates & wld. not allow anyone in.

Also whether the dipl. body would go to the railway station to receive the Emperor on his return. I said I had no idea what the Colls: wld. say to this, but speaking individ[ually] it seemed to me a good suggestion. He said there had been a suggestion that the Imperial party shld. go by water to Tientsin and come thence by train, but their surroundings were afraid of their passing thro' a place where there were so many soldiers. I replied that the generals wld. wish to put guards of honour at the station, that was all.

He asked abt. our handing over the rlwy. Replied that I had no instructions. Then why had we asked for the apptmt. of a director. Replied there always had been one, it was convenient to have one to consult with, and there was the question of the railway land.

Ho Naiying & Kuei-ch'un. He tried to find out what I had heard abt. these 2. Told him he knew quite as well as I did that they were undesirable people, and he did not insist any further.

Indemnity. He wanted to know why the delay occurred. I talked abt. amortization & said the Chinese wld. gain by a long period of amortization & by having money with wch. to carry out reforms in finance, just as in Engl. Peel had put on an income tax to enable him to reform the Tariff. He told me the author of the last plan of amortization was Bauer, (an engineer of Tientsin) not Detring (so Mumm's refusal to let me have the name was useless).

5 July Genl. Gaselee came & talked abt. various military questions, such as the withdrawal fr. the Summer Palace, wch. he wld. rather like to have in Septr. & then sending half the Fusiliers to camp near Patachu. He is much easier to get on with now that Barrow has gone.

Hillier. We talked abt. the Br. & Chinese Corporation having telegd. to Cousins to consult with me abt. collecting information as to the railway land, & we decided to teleg. to F.O. that the Corporation has no locus standi, only bondholders. In the afternoon he sent me a bond, fr. wch. it is clear that the bond is a contract betw. the bondholder & the Chinese Govt. & so long as the interest is duly paid, they cannot complain of anything. I said H.M.G. must exercise their sovereign power to protect Bondholders' interests.

Afternoon a 3½ hours sitting with Knobel & Hewett to draft constitution & powers of the proposed S'hai conservancy Board.

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- 6 [July] Com[mande]r. Charlton of "Orlando" called abt. 9 a.m.
Afternoon; with Knobel & Hewett finished draft in French.
- 8 " Meeting with Hewett of Wusung committee at 5 ½ p.m. to read draft.
Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge arrd. with his Secy. Com[ande]r. Harrison-Smith, Fl[ag]. Lt. Hamilton, and Erskine Capt. of "Alacrity".
- 9 " De Giers came and we talked hard abt. the deadlock, produced by Komura's demand for more bonds, and our refusal of the 'reserve guarantee'. No progress, so I said I wld. go & see him later: mentioned Russian consul's orders to prevent Chinese unloading merchandise into rlwy. goods yard & said I wld. give him copy of the report.
Mumm came in & interrupted us. He had not much to say.
Komura came, agreed to accept 450,000,000 as definite figure & not to say anything abt. his surplus claim; he would accept it unconditionally. Showed him my draft of a protocol abt. the indemnity, to wch. he agreed, with a slight modification, wch. I put in in pencil.
- 10 [July] Meeting from 9 till past 12 abt. Wusung, and heard Sir Robt. Hart, who was less 'opposite' than might have been expected.
Chou-fu and Wu came to see me. The former put on more than his usual air of stupidity, & talked abt. the indemnity, the provincial punish[men]ts. Murray's house. I told him as to the 1st that an intimate friend of Li's was the obstructor, not I, that as to the 2nd I wld. make no more concessions, & as to the 3rd he had better talk to H.P. Wilkinson. Campbell thinks he was in reality after something else.
Went to Giers & told him what Komura had said, & he promised to agree also to the figure. We then continued the discussion, and he tried his hand at something wch. wld. not do. I wrote something & showed it to him, but wld. not let him have a copy. Then came back and wrote a long teleg. to F.O.
Showed Rockhill my draft of a protocol abt. indemnities, which he approved.
Dined with Genl. Gaselee.
- 11 July Mumm came. Told him what I had done with Komura and de Giers. He has seen the latter abt. a general protocol. Finds him inclined to be troublesome abt. art. XI, but on the whole not violently opposed. The previous day he had spoken to Beau & d'Anthouard, who were not enthusiastic. Li told v. der Goltz he considered the question of the metropolitan exams. was not finished by their last note, and they were still waiting to hear what the Diplomatic Body wld. reply on that point. He wld. not he thought be able to support me on that point in the conference. Replied I had understood the Chinese reply to mean that at Peking & Shuntienfu all official exams. were suspended, and had informed H.M.G. that the question was satisfactorily settled, but I wld. clear it up with Li.
- 12 July Meeting of the Wusung Comn. at 9¼ [9.15 a.m.]: finished draft of Convention and

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annexe defining powers of Board &c.

Prince Chun left. Mumm Knobel & Komura went to see him off. We were asked to send a guard of honour, but declined, as it seemed to me entirely a German affair.

Mumm being asked about the withdrawal of troops from Shanghai said his govt. wld. prob. not wish to keep them there beyond the end of April next.

13 [July] Admiral Bridge & his staff left early this morning.

Went to Komura abt. Chang Chih Tung's teleg. to me. He had not recd. any similar message. As to withdrawal of troops fr. S[hang]'hai, he thinks they might be left there until after the complete evacuation of N. China, wch. if the Chinese Govt. during the ensuing winter show themselves reasonable, might take place in the spring, not only the transitional troops but all others. As to the protocol, he thinks that it wld. be better to have a separate one for the indemnity, wch. is a lasting measure, & for the others wch. are only transitory, a separate document.

To Rockhill & told him all this. He thinks that as the U.S. will for several years have 50 or 60,000 troops in the Philippines, they & the Japanese cld. always come to the rescue. He has heard nothing fr. Chang Chihtung.

To Beau. He also thinks S'hai troops cld. be withdrawn simultaneously. As to the last note abt. examinations (wch. he said he had not seen, but wch. I explained to him) he thought we might reply that we regarded the decree as settling question.

Rockhill also told me he had seen Li & urged him to at once get out a decree ordering the 9 chanchien hou [executions?]. Salvago had been to bully him abt. the Italian concession at Tientsin threatening all sorts of things about it.

15 [July] Meeting of Wusung committee to discuss Sir Robt. Hart's memo. Rockhill proposed that the Engl. version we had prepared should be printed alongside the French, and this gave rise to a lively discussion. Mumm said he personally did not care, but his Govt. might want a German version. I retorted that I was quite willing and that it might be printed in black letter, wch. drew a smile from Beau and something more.

Talked to Mumm afterwds. & promised to tell him later on in the day after seeing de Giers what F.O. reply had been: he was rather ill-natured about Bertie & insinuated that the refusal of Bertie to sanction my proposals was the result of personal animosity towards me. He said he was going to write a letter to the Doyen abt. rlwy. being obliged to construct a road alongside of the railway betw, Chien mên & Hata mên. I replied that if he adopted that course, the rlwy. people wld. get their backs up, & he said he wld. content himself with writing to Rockhill & myself.

Went to de Giers and thrashed out the 'reserve guarantee' question with him, leaving copy of Fr. paraphrase of F.O. teleg. He seemed more disposed to be reasonable than I had

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expected. Spoke also abt. Powell: he said P. had been very rude to Alexeieff some months ago about taking the Shanhaikwan forts. Also abt. Poppe's returning Hopkins' official letter abt. the Russian concession, & I told him that Hopkins had acted under instructions.

16 July Li [Hung-chang] came; says they have no rlwy. fund to pay interest, as long as the railway is not in their possn., & wanted to know when it wld. be handed back. Replied that I could not tell. The surplus revenue was being employed in reconstruction of the line, there were also the sums expended on repairs wch. must be repaid to the various powers. I wld. report however what he had said to F.O.

Pressed him abt. Examinations & punishments, & he pressed me abt. the indemnities.

17 “ Rockhill came to see me & said he had instructions fr. his Govt. not to oppose de Giers as to reserve guarantee; they are anxious to see the question ended, and therefore had put it on the order of the day for tomorrow. Told him my instructions and said that to bring up de Giers' original proposition was to put us with our back ag[ain]st. the wall, & that I doubted H.M.G. giving way. But to expedite matters I would announce that we agreed to the latest plan of amortization if a majority accepted it, & wld. also propose to fix the 450,000,000 as definite claims, & get Komura & de Giers to accept this. I also told him I had some private conversation with de Giers and rather hoped to have found a solution.

Afternoon over Tientsin railway land with Cousins – Hillier also being present. We also spoke of the negotiations about a siding fr. the railway into Cousins & Butterfields etc. on l[eft] bank, wch. we came to the conclusion did not establish a right.

Mumm called while I was engaged, so I went on there afterwards; apparently his object was to tell me that someone, he did not say who, wld. bring up de Giers' proposition again tomorrow, and that he wld. feel compelled to give his vote against me. I explained our position again. He reiterated their griefs, failure of Stübel's mission, having given away on the ? [question] of joint guarantee & bonds &c. It seems there is a strong feeling among them all, & Mumm is evidently working with de Giers. I told him that of course it cld. not be de G. with whom I was discussing a compromise, to wch. he had even suggested a change of words, but Mumm thought that wld. not prevent him. I rejoined that a proceeding on his part wld. render it impossible for me to ever again discuss anything with him privately.

18 [July] Meeting of Colls: Evidently there was a conspiracy among most of the colls: to force our hand abt. the “reserve guarantee”, for it was brought on the tapis at once. I restated the case of H.M.G. & was left alone, but we got the 450,000,000 accepted unanimously except Komura, Czikkann & Joostens who said they must refer for instructions, & plan no. 5 of amortization approved by all, some definitely others at referendum . Then we discussed the Whangpoo river conservancy scheme, & at the last the metropolitan examinations. I

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maintained that the Chinese decree included them. de Giers & little Kahn took a different view. Finally de G. asked in a hurry who was for stopping importation of arms for 2 and who for 5 years & who had any instructions. I said H.M.G. were not strong partisans, if any difficulty in the way of enforcing them presented itself, & that we were for two years.

Mrs. Powell wife of the Commodore at Hongkong & her dau. who said they used to see a good deal of Lawrie at Portsmouth, and Mrs. Brandreth wife of a lieut. of the Argonaut dined.

19 July Meeting of committee of redaction to draw up answers abt. Court ceremonial and Metropolitan examinations. Salvago did not come, Beau sent d'Anthouard, having to go and make a row with Li abt. dismissal of Chinese employed by the French in the administration of Paotingfu.

Lt. Com[man]d[e]r. Baird of "Phoenix" & Capt. Wintz of the "Goliath" came up to stop.

20 " July Baird went down again.

22 " Went to Summer Palace in a tonga [light two-wheeled carriage] with Wintz & Campbell, where we found Du Boulay, Capt. Dr. Browning (who is to have charge of the legation guard in Peking) & young van der Gucht. The road pretty bad. It is certainly not a pleasant way of travelling. Heavy rain in the afternoon. About 2 hrs. going and a little more returning, but the roads in the city were much worse for the rain.

23 [July] Wintz went down to Tientsin.

Komura came to show me his additions to joint protocol, made thro' Baron Hayashi in London, & Bertie's counter-suggestion. He said thing wld. be definitely replied to this week. I pitched into him for voting agst. me the other day, & pointed out that his reservation of Japse. rights wld. prob. prevent de Giers proceeding. He explained that those rights were 4% and right to expression in Japse. money. I said the other thing had best be left alone for the present.

Kroupensky came about leave to take the S. half of the Hunglossü & copies of Bullard's letters abt. exclusive control of land line. Promised to give him satisfaction on both. He said that as to indemnity we had come to a deadlock. I made no remark.

Mumm came. Says Berlin & London had been talking about alternative offer abt. fresh measures in case China did not pay in full, & that Berlin had agreed to our suggestion as quite meeting the case, & had even gone so far as to recommend it to other Powers. But my previous declaration abt 10% had altered the position.

I recounted to him what had happened, & said that everyone having voted for de Giers & against me, I was obliged to say what the position of H.M.G. was, all the more that de Giers had given me no notice of his rejection of my new formula, & had thus treated me in

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a way he (Mumm) wld. have thought very strange if I had acted thus.

The fact is Mumm's language now is very different fr. what he held to me on the 17th, & it seems he got this information from Berlin on the 18th after the meeting. Perh[aps] he has got a wiggling fr. his govt. for making mischief.

24 July Meeting at Mumm's to revise the Woosung bar draft convention. After Rockhill had gone, he said that Austria had added on a million taels to her war indemnity on the ground of a miscalculation wch. perh. only meant that they were going to charge for the erection of barracks: he thought the question of admitting it shld. be discussed by the plenum.

Went to see Sir Robt. he had sent me some papers abt. proposed Lloyds station on Sharp Peak. Opening of Nanning, as to wch. I told him I had not moved at all, & various other small questions.

25 “ Sir Rob[er]t writes that “Salvago has sent plans proving that without ‘your’ land Italian is inferior.

Morning a meeting of the Drafting Committee to produce various notes to the Chinese Plenipos.

Mumm came to see me & say that he thought de Giers wld. have instructions to give way. Later on I recd. a teleg. fr. F.O. to similar effect. Salvago also told me that Currie & Germ. Ambassador had strongly urged Ital. Govt. to accept F.O. substituted formula.

26 “ de Giers came at ½ past 9 with a formula he proposed to read, and it was ungracious enough. I consulted my instructions and replied much in the same tone, but at less length. Then we went off to meeting of colleagues, and the compromise was effected. Then we agreed to refer my draft protocol to the Indemnities Commission & agreed on d[ra]ft. note to the Chinese about the indemnity. In the afternoon another meeting of drafting committee to prepare letter to Genl. Voyron & several others.

27 “ Meeting of indemnities committee at wch. we added something to the dft. Note to Chinese PIPl. [Plenipotentiaries] abt. the indemnity, and discussed certain pts. of importance, e..g. when the interest shld. begin to run & notice be given to merchants.

In the afternoon, a meeting of colls: to revise Note to Chinese on indemnities, inserting the revenues wch. are to be appropriated.

30 [July] Meeting of Indemnities commission to discuss dft. protocol, but did not get thro' the part relating to “guarantee”. Told Mumm that I cld. not vote for official representatives of countries having less than 500,000 tons of shipping at Shanghai on the Conservancy board; he is for it. Was ‘nasty’ about the questions in Parliament about the German garrison being increased there, and said that as far as he cld. see the English wld. have it all their own way on the Board. Went to Komura & Rockhill & told them the same; K. says his Govt. very anxious, otherwise there wld. be no Japanese Repres've on board for

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50 years to come.

31 [July] Meeting to read draft article for final protocol and annexe respecting Hwangpou, at wch. I said I could vote for official repres'ves of countries having 500,000 tons of shipping at Shanghai, but I could not see my way to voting for less.

Telegd. to Genl. Creagh asking him to send battery back to Summer Palace, as Li was getting insolent. (Note of Plenipos. to Doyen accusing me of delaying question about Legn. Qr. because of negotiations with Hu abt. bastion and water-gate.)

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1 Aug. Teleg. fr. Genl. Creagh that orders have been given. Col. Alexander came before lunch to ask whether this suited me, as arrangements for handing over Summer Palace had already been made. Explained to him my reasons. Wrote a note to Cologan to be circulated and suggesting that the language of the Note being improper the Colls: shld. refuse to accept it. Campbell saw Hu, and told him confidentially that we shld. not give up the summer palace on the 5th for this reason, & showed him the letter. Hu said it was drafted by some one in the yamên [office] of Li, & signed by him without looking, but this is evidently not the case, for the general tone of Li's notes is bad. Saw Salvago & explained to him we were sending back the battery, as Changwangfu is flooded (wch. it is) and also abt. Li's letter, wch. he agreed was impertinent.

2 Aug. Meeting of indemnities committee, at wch. the draft of the final protocol, of wch. Mumm had sent me a copy the previous day, was somewhat modified.

Genl. Creagh & young Norman his A.D.C. came up. Showed him round the defences, wch. he thinks far too formidable and even absurd, then we went up on the wall to Hatamên & walked back along rlwy. to Chian Mên, to show him the road wch. Mumm wants and the water gate. He says Barrow was universally disliked by our military men, also by Germans and Russians. Met Genl. v[on]. Trotha and his A.D.C. who is going away on the 4th. Told Creagh about Dickie's cutting gaps in the wall, entirely without authority. He promised to sit on him, also on Major Brown abt. the road & watergate estimate; the latter officer listens he says too much to Kinder who does not tell the truth always. Creagh says he fired out Lorne Campbell & Swann, whose great idea was to write smart letters. Also Reid, a terrible Scotchman with no tact. Fort no. 1 abt. wch. we made such a rumpus, not worth having an examination.

3 Aug. Went to Mumm & insisted on the re-insertion in the final protocol of my reservation abt. opium and rice, also exclusion from the "reliquat" of all expenditures of Customs revenue except cost of collection & harbour & coast lights. M. rather objects to Chinese

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being allowed to provide these out of revenue of Customs wch. are pledged, and I said I had no great desire to allow them. He promised to call a meeting of Indemnities committee for the morning of the 5th, & I agreed, so as not to have a long discussion in the plenum on the 6th.

Genl. Creagh went down this morning. We told Dickie that the plan of the Legn. Qr. must be ready by 12th.

5 Aug. Meeting of Committee at Mumm's to revise draft of Protocol, and I got in my proposal to exempt opium from 5% ad valorem duties; several other changes made, notably the basis for converting ad valorem into specific. Dr. Gatrell came in afternoon, and I told him to find out what is going on betw. Li & Russians abt. Manchuria. Went to Cologan & asked him to put off meeting about Protocol.

6 Aug. Salvago came. Wanted to know how long we shld. remain at Summer Palace. Said perh. till 15 Aug. Told him that we wished to reinsert the para. abt. China not paying off the debt except by means of amortization plan. He complained of Li making difficulties abt. turning off the salt merchants on the bit of land he has taken for a concession, Li having agreed to a similar arrange[men]t with de G. for the Russian concession. S. says we had taken some salt at Tangku and given it over to the provisional govt.

de Giers came, nominally to condole abt. the Empress Frederick, but really to find out whether we wld. agree to all the bonds having roubles, francs, marks & Sterling on their face at the rate of exchange of 1 April. Told him that I had no instructions except to insist that our bonds should be in Sterling. The wording of the protocol wld. not prevent it, but this like other points must be left to the Govts. to settle afterwds., with advice of their financiers. Told him I shld. get instructions to ask for the insertion in the protocol of the para. forbidding China to pay off except with the consent of the Powers in any other way than that provided by the plan of amortization. He replied that he did not think his govt. wld. agree to it. He had telegd. the gist of the protocol & had not yet recd. instructions; thought we cld. not have a meeting before the 10th.

Went with Rockhills & played Badminton with Col. Rainsford, Major Manifold, Pearson R.E. and another man.

7 Aug. Mumm came. De G. had written to him last night the result of his talk with me, wch. had been preceded by a talk with Mumm. M. says he is ready to say in the Plenum that he considers the principle of the debated para. to be ensured by the plan of amortization attached to the Protocol; & that perhaps de G. & I might get out of the difficulty by agreeing to make a similar statement. I said that personally I thought that wld. do, but it must depend on my instructions wch. I had not yet seen. Told him I wld. teleg. to Bower to go to Nanking, & lent him declaration as to overland duties.

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After lunch went to Mumm with my instructions. He agreed to suggestions necessary for making it clear that the bonds are payable in gold, objected to re-insertion of the para. objected to by de Giers, was furious abt. the proposal not to have an international committee on specific tariff, did not like declaration about our surplus, and went for the F.O. who he said always came in with something new at the end. Hinted that I might again find myself in an uncomfortable position with an unanimous vote ag[ain]st. me, to wch. I replied I did not care. Berlin had sent a teleg. to Eckardstein to complain that in spite of all the trouble they had taken for us, we still made difficulties. He said that Eck. had telegd. fr. London that I had made a great row here and threatened renewal of hostilities &c. To wch. I told him I had not telegd. a word to F.O. on the subject, but it had got into the China Times that the battery had gone back & newspaper correspondents had no doubt made the most of it. He said "de banquiers" had been inserted after "commission". [Margin: He also told me he had telegd. home that he had helped me in the affair of the objectional Note.]

Fr. him to de Giers, who was reasonable on most points, but opposed to the para. after our own conversation of yesterday he had telegd. but was convinced Russia wld. not agree to parag. Told him I also had telegd. He has heard that instructions will be sent him abt. Protocol, and expects them by Saturday. Showed him my proposed declaration as to overland duties, wch. he asked leave to keep for a few days.

Then to Rockhill. He said para. wld. embarrass U.S. who will prob. revise their claim and either give their surplus to China or to Japan; but they wish to be able to do as they like. As to international committee on duties, I explained that the question need not be prejudged now by putting it in the protocol, and he agreed to support leaving it out. (But if in the mean time he is got at by Mumm, he may change his mind.) As to gold debt amendments he saw no harm.

Then to Komura. Like the other three he is agst. the para. to wch. he attaches no importance without the rider proposed by Japan. But he agreed to Mumm's promised declaration that the para. is needless, because it is implied by China's acceptance of the amortization plan.

Wrote to Major Browne that he must make a plan for enlarging water-gate & giving access to the railway station, & to Creagh regretting that the desp[atch] of the battery to Summer Palace had got into the papers.

8 Aug. A note fr. Rockhill throwing me over abt. the international commission. Went to have it out with him, but he was fr. home. To Beau & found he did not think the fact of a note having gone in made much difference, & explained also the necessity telegd. fr. home of making it quite clear that we are to have gold, not tael. To Hart: he says abt. 6 wks. ago Govr. of Kwangsi telegd. to Court that Nanning ought to be opened & that he recd. in

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consequence instructions to send some one to make a preliminary report; Harris has gone up, and after its receipt Nanning will be opened in the same way as Yochow [Yueyang], Chin-wang tao [秦王島] & Sam-tu-ao, as Chinese marts, not 'treaty ports'. Told him abt. the question of an international committee. In either case he said conversion will take at least 6 mos. The Customs do not possess any precise values of specific tariff goods nor their values; ad valorem duties are generally arranged amicably with the importations. My idea of separate discussions with Repres'ves of diff.[different/difficult?] PP. [Powers] did not seem to please him. He wld. only be able to spare the Statistical Sec. & a couple of helpers.

To Prince Ch'ing, who assures that Emperor is coming back, in spite [of] outside rumours. Starting on 1 Sept. fr. Hsi-an. Was very anxious to have the final protocol arranged as quickly as possible. Told him I was doing my best. We also spoke abt. the gates they wish to close for repair.

Thence to Chi-ye Fu, where Col. Rainsford showed me over the hospital & we drank tea. Rain very heavy.

9 Aug. Komura came to tell me that his idea of an international commission had been telegd. by him to Tokio & approved, so he cld. not now give it up. Told him my instructions were precise. (Rockhill had been at him & talked it over yesterday. Fr. Komura he evidently went to Mumm, who wrote me a note to the same effect, as to a 'Note' to Ch. P.I.P.I. having gone in).

10 Aug. Meeting of Plenum, in wch. I said I cld. not agree abt. joint commission, and the whole matter was referred back to the Indemnity commission. Tower returned.

11 “ Meeting of committee at 9. We redrafted part of Art. VI, and also a para. abt. the commission. Told Mumm my instructions, & found him disposed to be conciliatory.

Met Beau on the wall, and urged him to stick out for immediate insertion of rice & other cereals.

12 “ Meeting of Plenum, at wch. we agreed on final text of the 6th Article, and I got the international commission for the conversion of duties struck out.

Rockhill came round in the afternoon and said he was quite contented with its having been got rid of. I told him conf. that I thought HMG. wld. propose to the U.S., Japan & Germany to join them in the commercial questions, & perh. in the conversion. His expert in Customs matters, if he comes out, wld. be very useful.

14 [Aug.] Mumm came to say that Rockhill saw Li yesterday, who said he could not even agree to the list of forts to be demolished being annexed to the Protocol. I looked up my teleg. to F.O. & found nothing in it to prevent our consenting to its omission, but said that I must put off finally saying yes until I got teleg. fr. F.O. abt. art. 6, as that wld. show whether F.O.

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wanted any more details or not.

He thinks most will agree, Komura & Beau certainly, & if necessary will write to de Giers.

He had recd. information like mine fr. his Consul-gen[era]l & had telegd. strongly that the Wusung scheme must be accepted, or else the protocol could not be signed. Has induced Rockhill to teleg. direct to Liu, and Komura and Beau also to send instructions to their consuls.

15 Aug. Meeting of Plenum, to read & pass text of the protocol, wch. was done, with substitution of the years 1897, 98 & 99 for first 3 mos. of 1900 in the basis of conversion of duties, at my request. Certain references to Liu Kun-yi to be inserted in the Hwangpoo conservancy scheme were agreed to, in case the protocol be accepted. As to the 200,000 tons I said I had voted for 500,000 tons, but could not at present say more, for fear of correspondents.

Dined with Mumm who had General von Rohrscheidt, who commands the Germ. troops at Tientsin. He expressed great doubts as to Court coming back here & criticised the enormous legation guards and fortress. 50 men each wld. have been enough as long as there was a force at Tientsin, Italian port at Hwangtsun & Germans at Langfang.

Genl. Creagh I know holds the same view & regards our fortifications as quite absurd.

17-20 At Hsiang-chieh-ssü in the Western Hills with Vaughan, Hewlett, Mrs. Ker and Capt. Poole. Fine weather the whole time. Found a brilliant scarlet lily, with slender petals and leaves, also a tall pale iris with ensiform [sword-shaped] leaves.

21 [Aug.] Hu Yü-fên brought Genl. Chiang Kuei-ti to call. Hu explained postponement of the Court leaving Hsi-an by saying that they were still under some misapprehension as to the no. of troops left in Peking. They do not realize that a large no. have already departed, and he asked how many of ours were still here, in order that he might inform them. I replied that I did not know, and must ask Genl. Creagh.

Hu inquired on behalf of Prince Ch'ing when I wld. be ready to hand over the Summer Palace. Replied that I wld. make a present of it to Prince Ch'ing when the protocol was signed, as I had already told H.H. [His Highness] it might be one or two days later. Also I wanted to see the punishments for the Chüchou massacre carried out.

Afterwds. went to Komura, who in the meantime had recd. the visit of Hu & Chiang. He says Yamane declined to admit Chinese troops into Japse. quarter, as he could not guarantee their not exceeding its limits. I told K. we must hold on to the few things we have left, or we shld. never get the protocol signed. K. is going on leave immediately afterwards.

To Rockhill, who said he had heard that the text of the draft Protocol had been

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transmitted to Hsian by telegraph, last night, & that an answer cld. not come for four or five days. He is now going to stay on till the business is finished, no matter if it keeps him here till Novr., having recd. teleg. fr. John Hay asking him to stop on.

22 [Aug.] Drafting committee meets to frame a reply to the Tientsin provisional govt. abt. their proposed system of registering transfers fr. Chinese to foreigners, and to discuss [Doyen] Cologan's discourse to the Chinese Plenipotentiaries at the moment of signing.

Told Salvago I did not want to give up the summer palace till after signature.

24 “ de Giers came to talk abt. dividing the spoil; he said it had been decided that neither Salvago nor Beau shld. present their Shansi claim for Ts [Taels] 4,000,000, and that the latter had arranged for its being paid, with a reduction of half a million by the province. This wld. cut off 8 millions; then he wld. abate 1 million & perh[aps]. other colls: wld. make further reductions so as to bring the total down to the amount of the indemnity to be paid by China. He however wld. be ready to join in a proportionate reduction of the claims of the respective PP if the total was over 450 [million]. I told him that our private claims are not likely to be further reduced, & that our Govt. claim in taels wld. have to be slightly increased, as the sterling at 3/- represented more than given in Bohlen's letter. He also tried to persuade me that the Engl. declaration as to disposition of the surplus wld. be agreed to by all, if we expressed the intention of ultimately returning it to China. I said we cld. not well do that, for there might be others equally well entitled, & it was not in accordance with my instructions; and I did not think H.M.G. wld. agree. But I said I wld. find out if possible views of the other coll[eague]s.

d'Anthoüard came after lunch: he says it is not the case that the 4 000 000 taels are to be paid by the province, only a small portion & the rest will be included in the Fr. claim.

to Mumm. Told him this, & my talk with de G. He says his instructions wld. admit of his going with me, but not with de G. He agrees with me that if the Court says it will not return until the railway posts are withdrawn we ought to reply that until it comes back no further diminution of troops is possible. We ought he says to clear up the question of the 8 000 000 before any question of division is raised. Wants to know for his private information what our private claims were before any reduction was made.

Met Conger & brought him in to tea. Told him I thought H.M.G. wld. ask U.S. Germany & Japan to joint examination of points in the commercial treaties wch. require revision.

Rockhills & Morrison to dinner. M. says the Court will certainly come back, otherwise the eunuchs wld. not begin rebuilding their property outside the Chien mên. Rockhill also optimistic, as usual. Thinks Li has taken advantage of his illness to insist upon Prince Ch'ing, Liu & Chang taking some of the responsibility of agreeing to the Protocol.

Hillier came. Told him - on his showing me copy of the letter fr. F.O. to Br. & Chin.

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Corpn. abt his scheme of Corpn. being apptd. General Manager of Northern R[ai]lw[a]ys - that I had telegd. to F.O. that it was premature. Genl. Creagh he said had used much the same language. Then he went on to talk about the next coupon, & the possibility of getting it paid out of revenue; so I promised to inquire of Genl. Creagh what was the financial state of the railway.

27 [Aug.] Genl. Creagh came up. We agreed to ask for battery of field artillery, 1 battalion infantry & cavalry regt. till the intentions of the Court are known, i.e. till next spring at least. He also had with him Lt. Col. [C.A.R.] Brown[e] the military Director of railways, who admits now that the next coupon can be paid out of railway earnings. He wanted to arrange the question of the railway land with his Russian friend Dessino who is coming fr. S'hai to replace Wogack, but I warned him agst. this, as dangerous under the circs. that H.M.G. were thinking of app[ointin]g a commission.

28 Augt. Meeting of diplomatic body to discuss the decree abt. the importation of arms. Rather unsatisfactory conclusion; every body in great haste to sign. In the afternoon meeting of Drafting Committee to prepare a draft to Generals about the evacuation of Peking, and the province of Chihli, the destruction of forts outside the jurisdiction of the Tientsin provisional govt. and the settlement of certain questions wch. form object of correspondence betw. Genls. Sucillon and Creagh (namely v. Lessels and his proposal that Post commandants shld. defend the rlwy. stations and Sucillon's idea to arrange fr. [for?] protection on either side of Tientsin halfway to the next post.)

Genl. Creagh went down this morning.

30 Aug. Komura came. Wanted to know whether I had any instructions about a joint commission for transforming the tariff. Told him No, but said nothing abt. teleg. fr. F.O. that Bateman & Alford are framing a tariff. He asked abt. Newchwang & said that as soon as the protocol was signed, Japan wld. like to raise question. I said Russia might possibly respond by pointing to Tientsin. K. replied he was anxious for it to be restored to the Chinese as soon as possible. Reminded him of Ct. v. Waldersee's opinion. He said Japan wanted to diminish her troops still further, and p[er]haps also the no. of legation guard. I said that I was opposed to any further diminutions as long as the Court did not return [to Peking from Xian/Hsi-an]. In reply to a question he admitted Court's return uncertain.

Went to Mumm and gave him rough figures of our private claims before they were reduced. Also told him that H.M.G. thought the provisional Govt. shld. be brought into relations with the FRR. whose repres[entati]ves were on it; thro' their generals I thought we cld. work this. He replied that for him the disadvantage lay in the German member of the T.P.G. [Tientsin Provisional Government] being Genl. v. Rohrscheidt, chief of the staff, so that practically he had no appeal to the general agst. the proceedings of the German

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delegate. He said he was not for permanency of either T.P.G. or the garrison at S'hai, but thought we ought to see what the proceedings of the Chinese Govt. were before making any change. Perh. next spring wld. enable us to withdraw both. I told him I agree in the view that the Court must show its good intentions before we diminished either the legation guards or the garrison in N. China.

He said he supposed I shld. be able to sign when we recd. the edicts. I replied "if they are satisfactory". He told me he had urged Chinese to write accepting the Whangpoo, and that he understood a Note to that effect had been recd. by the Doyen.

31 Aug. Took Conger a letter written by an American missionary named Walker to the Magistrate of Têng-yun, insisting upon the release of a man arrested by our military authorities & asked him to find out whether it was genuine.

U.S. concession at Tientsin. He said the corresp'ce betw. Squiers & myself would soon be reaching Washington & he shld. ask for telegraphic instructions authorizing the transfer to our municipality. All he wanted was the right to make use of it for military purposes, if the necessity arose.

He also said his Govt. had instructed him to sound the colls: [colleagues] as to the continuance of the Russian occupation of Newchwang.

Rockhill, who dined here with his wife, says that the German Emperor at first demanded that Prince Chun should perform the kowtow to him, and then said he would be contented if the suite did it. This 'impasse' is what is now delaying the signature of the protocol. Li prob. has had the punishments and examination edicts in his hands for some days.

This explains Mumm asking me abt. the ko-tou and his studies in the history of Macartney's embassy, abt. which he talked yesterday.

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1 Sept. Mumm came abt. 11 & said he was going to send round a circular wch. perh. I should not like, urging that we shld. sign protocol on receipt of a Note fr. the Chinese plenipos. to the effect that the two edicts wld. be found to be satisfactory. He had not had any instructions from home, only a press teleg. fr. Berlin stating that Prince Chun cld. not be recd. till the Protocol was signed.

I said Reuter told us there was some hitch abt. the ceremonial to be used at the reception of Prince Chun, and it was the opinion of those who like Campbell & Rockhill understood Chinese, that the edicts have been recd. some days ago, and are being held back solely in order that the question of ceremonial can be settled before signature. I was

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no more able to agree to sending the Note proposed by him today than I was a week ago.

He said that 5 or 6 weeks ago he had reported to his govt. agst. trying to adopt any modified Asiatic ceremonial, which they would not be able to manage properly at Berlin.

[Most people will incline to the belief that a suggestion to make the Prince perform ko-tóu was made by v. der Goltz and for[warde]d by Mumm. That he has had noth[in]g abt. signature of the protocol fr. the Berlin Govt. I disbelieve. They are very anxious there to have the protocol signed, perh. as a means of pressure on China.]

In the afternoon the circular came round. de G. had signed warmly approving and Rockhill had said a few days more or less did not matter. I stuck to my text also.

Went to say goodbye to Mrs. Squiers.

2 Sept. Campbell dined with Hu last night, and the topic of conversation was the demand that the members of the suite should perform the ko-tóu. The report was that Li had telegraphed to Hsi-an urging them not to give way.

Mumm came this afternoon to say that the Emperor had never thought of asking Prince Chun to perform the ko-tóu, it was merely arranged that he shld. make a low bow! As to the others (the Suite) he implied that the ko-tóu was a sine qua non. He reiterated that he had six weeks ago reported agst. any Oriental ceremonies being adopted.

He spoke also abt. Fr. consul at Canton having interfered in the export of antimony by a German firm, and asked me what view I took of French pretensions. I said I should not admit them for a moment.

3 [Sept.] Mumm circulated a red note fr. the Chinese plenipos. stating that the edicts are being telegraphed and ought to be here in 3 days.

4 [Sept.] Reports fr. Chinese side this morning that the Emperor William has given way and will receive Prince Chun and the German-speaking member of the suite acc[ording] to European ceremonial, and that the edicts will soon be communicated. The Chinese are jubilant.

Salvago came. Says that abt. end of 1897 or beginning of 1898 Sir Claude teleg[raphed]. home that the Syndicate was Anglo-Italian, and had promised that a portion of the personnel should always be Italian. Luzzatti had offered Sir C. in return for his support to throw over his countrymen, but afterwards pretended he had not said anything of the kind. L. brought recommendations fr. the Italian Govt. & in supporting & acting with Sir C. he had been going on his instructions. The question as to whether the Syndicate was purely Engl. or not could not be settled here. Geo. Jamieson had told him when he was recently here that the Syndicate had come to the conclusion that it had better be exclusively British. I replied that acc. to all that had come fr. F.O. since I arrived here, & wch. was all I had read, it was so, the Directorate being composed of four Englishmen; I

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knew however that Luzzatti had acted on behalf of the Syndicate in obtaining concessions, and that accounted for his being supported by the two Legations.

Salvago dropped a hint that if the Anglo-Italian character of it was not recognized, his legation could put obstacles in its way.

Asked him about Père Barnabé's claims in Shansi and got the impression from him that Edwards' statements about the demands put for[war]d for indemnities were prob. true. Showed him Beau's letter to Doyen abt. dividing the 450,000,000 among the Powers.

Dr. Nevin arrived.

7 Sept. We signed the Final Protocol this morning at eleven, both Li [Hung-chang] and Prince Ch'ing being present. ¹

Afternoon saw de Giers and gave him a Note verbale abt. Poppé's sending back Hopkins' letter and reiterating to him on that ground by instructions of H.M.G. the conditions wch. we must insist on before any B.S. [British Subjects'] property can be included in the Russian concession. He did not at all like it.

We also talked abt. the division of the spoil. I said I must have instructions, and that I thought it hard that I who had cut off so much from private claims, whereas others had done nothing, shld. be called on to reduce still further in order to bring the total down to 450,000,000. He also suggested the necessity of the general bond being drafted.

Dinner at Mumm's, at wch. he & Cologan made speeches. M. talked about our achievement as if it were something of a first-rate diplomatic character, and used language to my mind out of all proportion with what we have really done and the way we carried on our discussions.

8-10 [Sept.] At Hsiang chieh ssu with Tower, beautiful weather, cool in the evenings. Climbed up to top of the hill at the back, and had a view over the valley of the Hunho, coming back by the gap. Quantities of a reddish-purple Lespedega and of a large Adénophora; one pale iris, the red lilies all gone.

9 “ Walked to Shih-tzu Wûh[?], the Eunuch's temple (Li Tajên) where the Squiers' were this summer, the view from wch. is finer and more extensive than fr. Hsiang-chieh ssu. Below it at some distance stand the ruins of our former summer residence, completed in 1899, and only occupied for a few weeks. “Boxers” set it on fire 10 June 1900. ²

¹ The Final Protocol, or Boxer Protocol, was the peace agreement between the eleven Powers and China. Its twelve articles can be found online at

<http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob26.html> (Accessed 4/7/05)

² “We have no details of how it looked or how it was furnished. Lucy Ker, writing long afterwards, noted that it had a verandah.” Lady MacDonald went there with her children on 3 June 1900 despite the burning of the foreign settlement at nearby Fengtai on 28 May. MacDonald brought the group back to Peking under armed escort on 4 June. (J.E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East*, p.34) “The siege of the legations is deemed to have run from 20 June to 14 August.” (Hoare, *ibid.* p. 41)

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10 [Sept.] Returned in the forenoon.

11 [Sept.] Meeting of Finance committee to discuss the 'general bond'. Mumm had consulted Sir Robt. Hart, who had produced a form in Chinese & Engl. I said I cld. not do anything without instructions, so the discussion was postponed.

12 [Sept.] Went with Mrs. Ker to curio dealer in the former Japanese Qr. and chose some handsome pieces for the drawing room.

14 [Sept.] Kirkwoods arrived, bringing "Joe"¹. Also Col. [A.G.R.] Browne returned.

Called c. Tower on Mme. de Giers to say goodbye, also on Countess Montgelas and Mme. Casenave.

18 Sept. Meeting of the Whangpoo Committee to discuss a private letter of Hewett's to Knobel about the phrase "intéressés étrangers" in the Annexe to Art. 11 of the Protocol, and also in that Art. itself wch. if interpreted literally wld. mean that the Chinese contribution was to be exactly equal to the amount levied from foreigners alone, the amount levied on Chinese shipping & trade being deducted first; wch. wld. be very difficult & complicated. We referred to the correspondence with the Chinese Plenipos. and to the procès-verbaux of our meetings, & found that the word "étrangers" had slipped in by mistake, and that the real intention was that the Chinese govt. must contribute an amount equivalent to that raised by the council. We decided to write privately to Hewett asking him not to raise the question, and to ignore it in a letter to be written to the Senior Consul transmitting copy of the Annexe to Art. 11, & in a Note to the Plenipos. (? Prince Ch'ing) asking him to give the necessary instructions to Liu Kunyi, the Shanghai Taotai and Comr. of Customs.

21 [Sept.] F. Henderson Capt. of Blenheim dined.

Casenave dined here. After dinner he let out that the Luhan railway claim had been presented twice over, once by Joostens [and] once by the Fr. Legn. and that the total of the claim of France ought to be only 250 million francs, not 286,000 000 fr[ancs].

22 [Sept.] Kirkwoods left.

Mumm came with Kahn and tried to explain how it was that the Chinese text of the list of cemeteries, the plan of amortization and the rules about audiences was not ready for attachment to the protocol. I insisted that it was indispensable, and Kahn had to give way of wch. M. said he was very glad.

Told him what I had learnt last night of Fr. & Belg. claims, but did not give the name of my informant. Later he brought Capt. Krupfel the Govr. of Kiaochou and his aide-camp to call.

Knobel in the afternoon came to speak abt. a letter fr. Li proposing to send emissaries to all countries where there is a Chinese diaspora to collect money, and spoke of a memo.

¹ Joe, Satow's dog apparently acquired in Japan, features in the Chuzenji diary.

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by a certain Dr. Groot, learned in Buddhism & a report of Chang Chihtung on the success of the mission. Holland had refused to allow a Chinese consul, or any such mission in 1887 and wld. do the same. I declared myself strongly agst. it.

Salvago came to say goodbye.

23 [Sept.] Went to see Li. We talked abt. Emperor's return (he spoke only of the Empress-Dowager) & of the Fr. proposal to build a line round to Machiapu, on wch. he had written to me. Evidently he was not for it. I showed him that this was quite unnecessary, as the existing line from Lukochiao is sufficient, & arranged that Tsêng, Campbell and Chinese Director of Lu-han shld. go down to Lukochiao on the 25th to inspect the line. Li says the Empress refuses to enter the city by rail. She will come in by the Yung-ting mên.

F. RR. [Foreign Representatives] to go & meet the Emperor. Wishes to know as soon as possible whether they will do this. I promised to speak to Doyen [Cólogan – see below].

Geo. Jamieson's line fr. Puko to Hwaiching. He asked whether the Peking Syndicate was going to do anything. Told him line to Siangyang useless, and he agreed the other was better, but he said I ought to speak to Prince Ch'ing. I said I merely wanted to be privately assured of his support.

Fr[ench] line fr. Paotingfu to Tientsin. He admitted there had been some talk abt. it, but nothing was settled. The Fr. merely asked to have the refusal of it.

He asked me when we shld. hand over the Peking-Shanhaikwan line. Told him certainly not before next spring, as it was used by military people, and the Chinese wld. certainly have difficulties with them. Told him one or two anecdotes in illustration. Also that the Feb. coupon wld. be paid out of revenue; he said that was a good thing, as he wld. not have found the money. I reminded him of his desire in Feb. last that the British & Chinese Corpn. shld. foreclose, and pointed out that we had rendered this unnecessary.

He [Li Hung-chang] was lying on a sofa, and said he was unable to leave the house, but he meant to live many years yet. I said the proper sort of things to him.

Went to Doyen [Cólogan] and asked him to sound coll: abt. meeting Emperor at station, particularly Mumm.

24 [Sept.] Went to Hart and told him abt. the commission for the revision of commercial clauses, as a conf[idential] matter. Met Cólogan who said he had talked to Mumm, and found him rather undecided. A caricature in Kladderadatch had represented the Dipl. Body, directed by Waldersee, performing music for the Emperor of China, and he feared something similar.

Reuter announces apptmt. of [Sir James] Mackay, Cockburn and Dudgeon.

25 “ Mumm came to talk abt. the proposed reception of Emperor by Dipl. Body. He said the

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same things as I had heard fr. Cologan. I pointed out that it was a break with the past, inasmuch as on former occasions of the Emperor going out Dipl. Body used to be asked to keep in doors, and if on a public occasion like the return of the Court the D.B. sulked in their tents, it could not have a good effect.

Then told him abt. the commercial commission and explained that the German Govt. also U.S. & Japan had been consulted. He seemed to desire that we should undertake it alone.

Took Tientsin papers of 8 Sept. to show to Lessar, but could not find him.

Poklevsky fr. Tokio called.

[Sept.] 26 Lessar came, so I gave him the Tientsin papers, wch. he promised to look into. I expressly stated that I had no authority to discuss questions of ownership, and that perh. H.M.G. were talking about that at Petersburg.

“ 27 Cologan came. Gave me Czikkann's view that the FRR. ought not to go to the station to meet the Emperor, and that our not having all credentials it was contrary to ordinary etiquette to be present.

He had seen Conger who had approved, Lessar who was ready to agree to anything. Mumm had sent him a line to say he must reserve his opinion.

I agreed that perh. the non-presentation of credentials was a difficulty. There would also be the Ch. d'Aff. At the expected date there wld. not be more than one or two RR. who had presented.

Mumm had his copy of the Protocol labelled "Congrès de Pékin". Cologan had done the same but wld. cut it off, as he agreed it was not the correct designation.

As to Fr. & Belg. railway claim, Fr. declare 4/5 of the capital is theirs, the Belgians say 1/2; both want to dispose of the money. So they have referred whole to Paris & Brussels. Joostens also has a difficulty with the Fr. abt. missionaries. It appeared to him (Cól.) that under the circs. there was no great hurry abt. the division of the indemnity. (Yesterday Lessar touched on the same subject, & I told him I thought there was no hurry, especially as none of the Powers but ourselves had reduced as yet). But there was the 'bon global' to be got ready; that need not wait. Replied that I was preparing one, & wld. send it to Mumm today.

Made it & took it to Mumm. He told me it was true that Yuan Shihkai had asked for withdrawal of German troops fr. Kaomi & the Govr. of Kiaochou had replied that he wld. prefer to leave them there till the spring. That was all. A very exciteable German correspondent had telegd. to the papers a highly exaggerated account.

He agrees with me that the transit passes must be issued by Customs & not by the Provisional Govt. & that he wld. propose to inform Consuls accordingly.

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Conger came. Objects to Germans having exclusive control of the water gate. If other Legations do not take a turn, the U.S. & Germans ought to divide between them. Is in favour of a general contribution to expense of enlarging the water gate. He evidently suspects the Germans of having sinister designs.

30 Sept. Joostens called. We talked abt. claim of Ch'ui wang Tao bondholders, and he said he did not think he had done more than tell de Winters it wld. be put on our list. Certainly not as much as Eames had written to me. Asked him abt. Belgian railway station at Hankow; he says it is beyond the Belgian concession, & the high road to it lies along the bund. Said that in my opinion we ought to have a purely Chinese road, as well as one along wch. the different nationalities could establish different taxes on vehicles, instanced S'hai & Tientsin, where the Germans were going to have the terminus in the middle of their concession. Also abt. the proposed branch to Machiapu fr. the race course, wch. he says is a project of Jadeau's, who is a Belgian. (It seems fr. what he says that there is jealousy betw. the two legations, the Fr[ench] having stuck up their flag everywhere & the Belgian nowhere.)

To Prince Ch'ing. He said they had telegd. to Sinan to app[oin]t Shêng, Taylor & Hipplesley [Hippisley] Commrs. for the commercial negotiations.

Talked to him abt. Jadeau's scheme, wch. I found he was not in favour of. Some one he said had put it into Li's head that the English w[ou]ld make difficulties abt. the Imperial train coming over their line, and he had hastily promised that Jadeau might make a branch line. He had heard of my Note on the subject, & had sent to Li to tell him the branch must not be built, had not seen my Note (messenger lazily delivered it at Li's!). Fr. the tone he used, one might conclude that all would be satisfactorily arranged, but I am not sanguine.

Capt. Brunner R.E. [Royal Engineers] came to call abt. teleg. line to Patachu. Said I wld. speak to Beau after continuing ours from Pi-yun-ssü to wch. he has his.

At dinner to Beau and Lessar talked to the former about necessity of an international road at Hankow behind the foreign settlements along the railway to the terminus, instead of each concession being extended right up to the railway. He said that it was desirable to have the latter, so that each might have access to the railway. My point of view had not suggested itself to him.

Discussion with Czikann, Beau & Cologan abt. the notion of our going down to Machiapu to meet the Emperor. Czikann declared he would absolutely refuse. The thing was unheard of, unprecedented; his govt. wld. not allow him to do it. Besides there would be a number of us who had not presented our credentials. I suggested that Cologan might tell Lien fang that we wld. go to the Chien-mên if they would come the whole way by the

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Luhan railway into the city. This did not find favour either. So Cologan will have to refuse, putting it on the ground of there being no precedent. But if a few days afterwards the Emperor likes to invite the Diplomatic Body to a reception in the Palace, we cld. go, and those who had not presented their credentials could do so before the general audience.

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1 Oct. By 8 o'clock train to Tientsin with Col. Browne & Hewlett. General Creagh and his staff and a number of C.O. at the station and a guard of honour. [H.S.] Wilkinson the C.J. [Chief Justice] & his son at dinner. Had a long talk with the former about various consular matters & with the latter about the railway claim, wch. he is privately investigating.

2 Octr. Kinder came to ask about the railway being given back to the Chinese; told him my reasons for not wishing to give it back until Court returned to Peking and showed its good intentions; also my fear that the Germans wld. step in. He explained that his reason for giving up his post as engineer-in-chief was that the military people had diminished his position & authority, wch. formerly extended over everything; he thought the military Director was spoiling the traffic by making the charges too high, whereas 6 or 7% would be quite enough. I told him I had learnt that the British & Chinese Corporation had a large sum in their hands still of unexpended balance of the loan, wch. was on deposit at 4% & 5% for wch. they got no credit, being annually compelled to pay interest on the whole amount to the bondholders.

Hopkins came. We discussed P.G. [Provisional Government] and transit passes. Also I told him I was agst. any amalgamation of the foreign concessions at Tientsin, as I did not see what advantage there could be in it. [Margin: To send him copies of the Memos. exchanged between myself & de Giers abt. land in Russian concession, & explained that I thought Poppé in returned [returning?] his official letter had acted under the instructions of de G. and not on his own motion.]

Cousins came; has got hold of some information about sale of land for the railway station road wch. he hopes will be complete in a fortnight or so. Said I was not a partisan of amalgamation of the foreign settlements. That the Taku road ought to be free to all; he said if that could not be managed, owing to the French having taken possession of part of it, a road or canal should be made at the back of our extension to the city. Also told him I thought they had a very strong position now, & cld. make what terms they liked with the Russians. As to J.M. & Co's land at Peking we agreed that it was the fault of the Germans for going about it in the wrong way.

Col. Bower. Asked him to give me copies of corresp'ce betw. Italian consul & P.G. abt.

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Italian so-called concession. Advised him to let v. [von] Falkenhayn negotiate thro' Mumm with Li about transit pass dues. That M. & I were the only colls: who supported the provisional govt. & so they wld. be wise to make no difficulties that could be avoided, & suggested that the land registration question should be allowed to drag on, as Br. Interests were not affected.

Col. Phayre of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry called. After lunch called on the Itiffes [?], who thanked me for having given him a passage up to S'hai in Sept. last on board my launch. I had quite forgotten. Went over the church with him that is in course of building, and saw the plans. Young Moule, part architect, present also. Must send them a contribution.

Bower has been offered the post of Commander of the Legation guard.

3 Oct. Left Tientsin at 9 in special train with Gen. Creagh, Col. [C.A.R.] Browne the Director of Railways, Col. [A.G.R.] Browne the Military Attaché, Capt. Norman A.D.C. & Hewlett for Tangku, where we steamed beyond the station & saw all the portions of railway properly flagged out by Germans, French, Italians and Japanese. Then on to Tongshan, in cold rainy windy weather, but it cleared up before we got there. Wilson of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. took us over the mine works, and then F.A. Jamieson, a son of my old fellow-student at Peking [in 1861] R.A. Jamieson, showed us over the railway workshops, both old & new. Slept at Kinder's house & dined there with Sergeant Dr. of old I.M.S., & Capt. Menzies the railway staff officer, of the Chinese Regt.

4 [Oct.] Got up at 5.30 and started about 7. Fine but cold. About 11 got to Peitaiho station, where we found a young Germ. officer ready to take us to their camp on the seashore, nearby the remains of the foreign villa residences. These are grouped on the "east & west points", and have all been despoiled of every piece of woodwork and all the contents by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. The light railway constructed by the Germans is 8 kilometres long & the journey takes half an hour. The site is good, grassy with no trees near, sandy stretches for bathing, and the number of houses altogether must have been 50 or 60, none inhabitable, but capable of being repaired. We lunched with the officers, and got back to Peitaiho stn. about two o'clock.

Thence to Tangho, the station for Chin-wang-tao, where Hughes of the engineering and mining Co. and R. Reynolds, who is in charge of the pier-works, met us, and we were brought right down to the pier in our special carriage by a shunting engine. Flags of Germans, French & Japanese planted all about the property of the Co. The pier is being filled up with stone and will be finished by the end of Novr. At the pier head there will then be 16 feet at low and 22 at high water. A commencement has been made of a breakwater E. of the pier. Told Hughes he might write to me privately if he wanted any help. Left Tangho again about 5 and got to Shanhaikwan before 6. The rocky mountains

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some miles back from the shore present a most fantastic outline. Put up at the house of Ricketts, the superintending engineer, whose wife crossed Canada last May year with me, and dined sometimes in my private car.

5 Oct. By tram-trolley with the general and a party down to Fort no. 1 on the sea-shore, wch. has now been given over to us, but we have allowed some Russians to remain there temporarily. It is close to the seashore and abuts on the Great Wall, as does also no. 2. The view from the ramparts is very fine, extending along the sandy shore away to the horizon, to the left the green fertile plain outside the wall, then the rugged peaks behind the walled city closing us in near on that side. On returning, Col. [C.A.R.] Browne of the rlwy. [W.M.] Hewlett and I were taken on a trolley down to the opening through the great wall, made on left by the stream and utilized for the railway to Newchwang and Hsin-ming-tun. We got out and went up to the top of the bank, to find that on the further side it is a regular brick wall, similar to, but not so high as that of Peking. The bricks on the inner side have perh. been carried away bit by bit, or used in building the forts. We left by special train at 9.30 and putting on the pace, reached Tientsin at 5.30 p.m.

6 Oct. Saw Bower, who wanted to remain on the T.P.G. while being appted. commandant of the Legation Guard. I said that was impossible. Then he saw Creagh, and said he did not care to accept, as the quarters were not good enough. As he gets £100 a month on the T.P.G. and only £200 a year as Commandant, it is no wonder he declined.

7 “ Returned to Peking by 9.30 train with H.S. Wilkinson, young Blake, [Cecil J.W.] Simpson; and we arrd. at Ch'ien Mên station which was opened on the 1st inst.

8 “ Went to see Beau, & told him Americans and Germans, as he had said on the 30th, are trying to get concessions at Canton W. of Shameen, & said an international concesssion wld. be preferable. B. replied that in France they preferred the principle of a separate concession for themselves.

Lessar came to explain the Rudkin jirik [rickshaw] incident at Tientsin, he had inquired of Poppé, who said the drawers used the paved footway instead of the road. L. suggested that the railway auth: shld. communicate with M. Poppé abt. these things. I replied that we were reluctant to do this, as it might be taken as recognizing their right to the road, wch. we could not do. He answered that as the question of ownership was to be proved by documents, betw. the 2 Govts. there could be no fear of that. About another subject I said our consuls could not write to each other for fear of their letters being returned! We also had some general talk abt. China in the course of wch. I said China was not a centralized state like France but a group of loosely federated satrapies ¹, an idea

¹ Satow later wrote to the new foreign secretary Sir Edward Grey on March 31, 1906: “China is not a centralized state of modern type, but rather a congerie of semi-autonomous satrapies...” Grey

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wch. he controverted, saying that there must be a central govt. at Peking. I told him I fully believed the Court wld. return here & the sooner the better. He spoke of the Boxer movement as having been directed agst. the dynasty & skilfully diverted from the throne agst. foreigners, admires Empress-Dowager and says the Emperor cld. never rule the country himself. His edicts issued with feverish rapidity were foolish. I interjected that what he had needed was a force to back him; had he possessed that he might have carried out his ideas.

9 [Oct.] Mumm came and talked about bon global, octroi [duty levied on goods entering a town], goods duty free for diplomatic body, note asking us to turn our merchants out of Peking. As to the last I said I was disposed to reply that this was a most unprofitable proceeding; du reste there was only one B.S. [British Subject] in this position. Mixed Court had recd. report and will send Schnitzler to Mayers.

Conger came. We discussed the proposed expulsion of traders fr. Peking, and found we were in agreement. As to Mixed Court, I impressed on him, as I had previously on Mumm, that we three could put it through without aid of Colls: who did not furnish assessors.

Hart dined. Speaking after dinner of the work of the commercial commission, he said, partly in a humourous way, that he wondered whether they were prepared to stay at S'hai two years.

12 [Oct.] Meeting of Dipl. Body at Mumm's, abt. the transit dues at Tientsin; demand of the Chinese Govt. that foreign merchants shld. leave Peking, octroi at City gates, letter fr. Hart inquiring whether revenue of native customs in all ports, opened and unopened; question whether interpreters shld. at Court go in little chairs along with the Ministers, while Secretaries walked, decided in the negative; water gate money to be paid into the Hgkg & S'hai Bank to acct. of Director of Rlwys. Hewett of P. & O. had asked Knobel in a private letter whether the Conservancy board wld. have to pay the members nominated by the Govts. Unanimous opinion in the negative, and further that the position of elected member is purely honorary. Beau read letter from his consul at Canton urging that James Scott as acting Consul-general shld. not be recognized as Senior Consul, as his real rank is only that of consul. I said this was wrong, acting consul-general being on a par with consuls-general en titre, and above all consuls. I wld. obtain information on the subject,

Papers, FO 800/89, quoted in I. Nish, *The Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, p.13. See also PRO 30/33 14/11, Satow to Lansdowne, February 8, 1901, no. 65: "China is not a centralized state but a congerie of satrapies. I believe that our attempt to treat China as the former over the last 40 yrs. has often frustrated our endeavours to obtain redress, & that it has been more or less of a mistake. The idea prob. was that by treating the Peking Govt. as if it cld. impose its will on the provinces, we shld. strengthen it, & prevent the country from falling to pieces. But our aim has fortunately not been realized, for otherwise instead of the outbreak of last summer being confined to the north, it wld. have spread all over the country."

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and in the meantime wld. instruct James Scott not to be present at any meeting unless as chairman. As to printing procès-verbaux & annexes, Beau & I were of opinion that we need not do more than complete the series of the former, adding to it all the corresp'ce referred to in the body of the p.v.

Afternoon Beau, Czikkann, Mumm & I drafted the necessary letters &c.

[Margin: Viscount Inouye Masaru dined.]

13 Octr. Col. [C.A.R.] Browne of the railway came; I impressed upon him that the temporary platform ought, for political reasons, to be paid out of rlwy. funds, & said I wld. write to the general on the subject.

Octr. 17 Went to see Lessar & said that as to the para. in the Doyen's letter to Hart abt. land frontier duties, we must answer something & I proposed we shld. say that for those matters he shld. address himself to the legation concerned.

Russian coolies at Shanhai kwan; he maintained & justified the view of the Russian officer, & I told him it had been referred to the commandants at Tientsin.

Russian rumoured demand for a concession at Shanghai. He said he did not know what might have been done in the time of his predecessor, but he had not recd. any application fr. his consul for assistance. I had prefaced my question with a remark that perh. I was going to ask an indiscreet question, so when he began to protest agst. our taking an interest in what other Powers did, I said that it was a public interest, he need not answer if he did not like to, and I had expressly said I wld. ask an indiscreet question. He would moreover notice that I had not sent in an official card to him, but a private one, & that our conversation was unofficial.

Glacis put my views before him, and found he strongly supports Beau, & wants to get the Colls: to admit that the glacis was apportioned by the Military Commission. I replied that the report did nothing of the kind & that I cld. not consent to recognize it as in any way binding: I had always been opposed to most of its conclusions, & H.M.G. had not approved it.

He said they were sending away most of their artillery.

Oct. 20 To Conger, to ask abt. U.S. Consul at Canton applying to the Chinese for a separate concession for U.S. He says MacWade has been corresponding with the Department of State on this, but as far as he knows has not recd. authorization. If he had, copy wld. have been sent to himself. C. has objected & U.S. Govt. gen[erall]y averse from separate concessions, wch. require to be kept up. I said I had no desire to oppose the action of the Dept. of State & wld. tell Scott to conduct himself accordingly. C. said as soon as he heard fr. Washington he wld. tell me.

Knobel came again abt. the passports wch. Li is asking us to 'viser' for Chinese officials

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going abroad 'to collect money for a good purpose'. I told him we had asked for instructions. Told him also the contents of my letter to the new Doyen (Czikann) abt. the disposition of the glacis; he warmly approves.

Cólogan [the former Doyen of the Diplomatic Body] came to say goodbye.

25 Octr. Went to Conger to say goodbye. As to the Reuter that the U.S. demands a municipal concession at T'sin he says they want their old concession. Chinese object on behalf of China Merchants S N Co. & Engineering & Mining Co., & offer a piece of the bank below the new Japsee. acquisition. U.S. however insist on original demand, but are willing to look at the other. All they want is a pied à terre, in case there shld. again be troubles in China.

To Czikann: told him Tower wld. take my place during my absence; he said not necessary to inform him in writing.

Hart came. Told him I was in favour of monthly equal instalments, as preventing undue derange[men]t of exchange. That we all recognize China native customs at T'sin being placed under him, & suggest a modus vivendi as to Transit dues & passes being arrived at. Rumour at Newchwang of Russia annexing the Northern portion of Manchuria, so as to own territory on both sides of the main line, with a capital at Harbin, the rest being restored to China he thinks quite possibly true. It wld. be given out not as a Russian demand, but as an offer of the Chinese. He is anxious to get Newchwang freed as soon as possible.

Court's return he thinks will take place before Easter. Some of the reactionaries were certainly anxious to have a new capital established in Honan, but at present the idea had fallen into the background. It is not possible to predict with certainty what will be the final result, as the Chinese do not know their own minds, but he thinks the Court must desire to get back to Peking. Nanning will prob. be opened abt. Chinese New Year.

[Margin: Hart said that he regretted the Protocol did not insist on Pu-chun being set aside. We might have secured this if we had been a little less hard on Tuan. Told him that had the idea been put forward by a Great Power I wld. have considered it, but proposed by Czikann it could not be regarded as serious. H. thinks Pu-chun will play the devil when he comes to the throne. At present the only person who can hold China together is the old Lady [Empress-Dowager]. Told him press was misinformed when it said we had given no assurances as to personal immunity of the Empress-Dowager & support to the Viceroy, as to both of wch. H.M.G. had been perfectly explicit.]

Afternoon to Prince Ch'ing; he spoke with certainty of the Court's return, but it is naturally his cue to do so. Gave him a pro memoriâ about Yünnan railway fr. Burmese frontier. He read it & said he entirely remembered the circs. & the statements contained were correct. He seemed to be pleased. Denied a "Convention", such as the Fr. assert they

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have, but admitted a Note having been written. (Campbell says that it was demanded by the French – ‘as soon as Nanning shld. be made an open port.) He asked me to write a Note & promised a reply shortly. Rlwy. director; referred to my letter. He said that Hsu Shoupêng had been nominated & refused, so they had recommended Hu. Reminded him they had written to me saying that when the time came the appointee wld. be found to be “acceptable” to us.

He said Lo Fêngluh [Chinese Envoy in London] was ill and had asked to be relieved. They wanted to send a successor. Would I take it into consideration. I asked who, and to my surprise he mentioned his interpreter Chang Tê-yi, who was present. As this was embarrassing I said the matter did not rest with me, but I wld. consider it & let him know.

I spoke of reactionaries at Court, newspaper rumours of another attempt to destroy the Legations, and of one of the men high in favour whose troops had attacked Legns. Last year. I thought he wld. not be very welcome here. He laughed joyfully & said that if I talked like that Junglu wld. get alarmed. I rejoined in the same tone that not he, but I, wld. be alarmed.

[Margin: He spoke of my Note abt. international concessions with much satisfaction.]

Fr. request for a line from Chêngting to T'sin. He said there was no question of that, also that it was not Fr. but Belgian line. The latter wanted a line from Tangshan to somewhere else, he did not quite know where, to bring coal from the K'aiping mines. (Prob. this wld. be from Tongshan to T'ung-chou, to defeat us); but he said it had not been granted.

Went on to Li [Hung-chang], & had a talk of 1¾ hrs. chiefly about restoration of Tientsin Govt. & the railway. I gave him pretty clearly to understand that both of them depended on the return of the Court and its showing a friendly attitude; he talked abt. the Empress-Dowager not being able to overcome her anxiety, to wch. I responded that the Powers, with far greater reason, had been unable to avoid apprehensions as to the future. That was why we could not give up the TPG. [Tientsin Provisional Government] until we saw how the Court behaved. He began the talk of apprehensiveness of the Court & that the Powers must do something to remove them. I asked what & then he said he had recd. secret instructions on that subject, wch. he had not ventured to communicate, but England & China being on such especially friendly terms it was to us he looked for help. Then I gave him my answer & introduced the subject of the rlwy. on wch. he said that he had other secret instructions on that matter. Told him what the papers said abt. Mayukun posting troops to cut our communications at Hwang tsun, the gradual collection of troops as the court advanced, including some of Tung Fuhsiang's Kansuh troops. As to the railway I had tried to get them to take an initial step by apptg. a Director. He asked me

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what Prince Ch'ing had told me, & I repeated that. I was waiting therefore to hear who was apptd. Then I said that one of our causes of apprehension was the fact that the Court was surrounded by reactionaries, of whom one of the most influential was a man whose troops had taken part in the attacks on the Legations, & I thought the Colls: w[ou]ld not care to see him. He pretended not to know who was meant, so I said that it was one whose troops attacked from the side of the Hatamên. Then he, his son Ching-mai & little Tsêng all laughed, and began to mention Junglu's name. I mentioned also Tung-fuhsiang, whose troops had been the prime cause of all the troubles, and had been brought to Peking & kept there by Junglu.

Li also said the Russians had refused Lo Fênglu, who had consequently fallen ill. Demanded to be removed. The Russians had read the blue-book and come to the conclusion that he was too friendly to England. I said there was no ground for saying that. Lo had simply acted as a channel of communication, & shown himself a faithful subject of China. He asked could not England give assurances to Russia, wch. wld. change their opinion, but I replied such a step on our part would do more harm than good. As to the blue-book, it had come out later than the refusal, wch. must have been on general grounds, & I regretted that the fact had been let out. It was no uncommon thing for a man to be refused, & I knew of such cases, where the public never heard of it. He said that Wu Ting fang had prob. let it out, but I told him the first news we had was in a teleg. fr. the "Times" correspondent at Petersburg. He asked me abt. Chang Tê-yi & I said Prince Ch'ing had put the question to me in Chang's presence, wch. made it awkward for me, as I knew so little abt. it. However I had replied that I wld. think it over, & ask H.M.G. confidentially, & communicate the result first to Prince Ch'ing & then to him. I said our great desire was to see normal relations established. When the idea of my coming to Peking was first mooted, I had expected to come to the China I had known as a boy, but what a contrast when I did come eventually! The last year had been very painful to me. On his saying that I had done a great deal for them (this was at the outset of our talk) and had helped materially in getting the Priotocol concluded, I replied that as a matter of fact it was we who had brought abt. the evacuation of Chihli [by proposing 1 July as the limit of time]. To that he replied by saying they had expected to see more troops withdrawn, & then he brought up the question of the Empress-Dowager's apprehensions & the T.P.G.

Apropos of my visit to the Yangtze, he said Liu Kunyi had telegd. to inquire whether there was any foundation for the report that I was going off at the head of a body of troops. I laughed, and said so far was this fr. being the case that as Liu well knew out of 4 battalions at S'hai we had withdrawn two, & after the viceroy had approached the consuls on the subject we had withdrawn another, while the others had not move[d] a man. And I

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was afraid things had been misrepresented to Liu. I spoke abt. his being ill on wch. Liu said it was all fudge, and that he wld. be perfectly well whenever I went to see him.

Altho' I talked to him in veiled language as I always do, I left it clear to him that the T.P.G. & rlwy. wld. not, as far as we were concerned be given up until the Court returned to Peking and treated us well, and that Junglu had better not come.

He looked very well in health, was very friendly & wld. have escorted me to the door of the Court, but I insisted on his remaining in doors.

Left with Li Ching mai copy of the pro-memoriâ abt. Yünnan railways for his father [Li Hung-chang], but said nothing abt. Peking Syndicate. With Prince Ch'ing I had some conversation abt. Wu Shih chao, & said I feared the order for his release had come too late.

To Li I said as a matter wch. was indicative of the Empress-Dowager's attitude, Rockhill & I had written a note to the Plenipos. asking for the restoration of Chang Yin huan's honours, & had got no answer. He replied that they had memorialized, but the E-D had disliked him, & no rescript had been issued. That any how was better than a negative.

26 Octr. To Tientsin by 11.40 fr. Ch'ien-mên station with Hewlett, & put up with the Creaghs.

Oct. 27 Called on Genl. v. Rohrscheidt and asked him abt. T.P.G., reminding him that Count Waldersee had said it must be maintained at least as long as the 'transitory period' lasted. This he said seemed to him likely to become the 'permanent period', as if the 4000 troops were withdrawn from Tientsin he would have no men to garrison it.

Creagh says there is every sign that the Germans & others mean to stay. A large piece of ground has been levelled at Yangtsun for the erection of barracks wch. are not to be begun till next spring. The Fr[ench] have kept a battery of artillery for the East arsenal, wch. has been given them by the Russians & the Japse. have 2 battalions for wch. they are building barracks out of the ruins of the W. arsenal, as I saw today. Whatever Komura's views may be, [General] Yamane [Takesuke] is for staying.

I remarked to Rohrscheidt than [that?] in 1860 we held Tientsin for 18 mos. Chefoo & Chusan much longer, and that earlier in the day I had written to H.M.G. that on the present occasion a longer period of retention would be necessary.

My own impression is beginning to revive that the Court will not come back to Peking. Creagh says that is the Russian view at Tientsin.

28 Oct. Left Tientsin abt. 11 in a special train and ran down to Sinho[?] in abt. an hour, where we were met by Lt. Comr. Baird of the Britomart: he took us on board to lunch; there were also Comr. Elderton & Lt. Headlam of the Indian Marine and Lt. Creagh of the 4 P.I. Started in a tug at 2 o'clock, got out of the river, tide being agst. us, a little after three, and after a smooth passage out got on board the "Blenheim" at a quarter to 5, Capt. Frank Henderson. Tongku much more lively & full of business than when I passed thro' a year

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ago, a halfdozen or so of steamers under Engl. flag entering the river, some of them doubtless "China Merchants."

29 Octr. Fine warm morning. Anchored at Weihai ar[oun]d 2 p.m. [HMS] Terrible, Curaçoa and Pigmy in harbour. Capt. Percy Scott and Genl. Dorward came off to call. With the latter I conferred abt. (1) rectification of the boundary (2) transfer to us of Weihaiwei city (3) agreement to be made that prisoners extradited shld. be tried in the presence of a British officer, so as to ensure that no torture shall be applied. As to (1) he thinks it had better be left alone for the present, as there is no pressing hurry; as to (2) I recommended he shld. try to obtain a modus vivendi, so as to give no excuse to the Russians for claiming the same in the case of Kuichow; (3) he has already arranged. Went ashore with him and [W.M.] Hewlett, and walked round the island by the road half way up the hillside, wh. connects the forts at the W. & E. ends. The former is not quite finished the other is completed. As might be surmised he disapproves strongly of the recent decision of the defence committee not to arm the forts and to place no garrison here, after a cost of £40 000 has been incurred for barracks and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the estimate for forts having been already expended.

Dined with the Percy Scotts, Major Lee R.E. & his wife, who have been here for 3 yrs. off and on, he was at Peking with the relief force and made the 'hole in the wall' that led to the H.Q. in Imperial City, Comr. Ogilvy of the Terrible, Genl. Dorward, Capt. Henderson & Hewlett. The wind had changed abt. 2 p.m. and was blowing pretty hard when we landed & when we came off.

30 " Too rough & windy for the proposed excursion to the mainland with Genl. Dorward, so stayed on board all day.

31 " Landed with Genl. Dorward & Hewlett at half past nine, visited new barracks, officers mess, hospital & house nearly completed for Hare the Assistant Comr. Capt. Watson in command of Chinese Regt. Capts. Dent & Barnes also. They seem a fine body of men, well set up & well clothed. Barracks for 750 cost £22,000, while alterations at Peking for $\frac{1}{3}$ of the number have cost £6,000. Hare's house, a six roomed bungalow with stables & offices costs £900. Number of men lost by desertion since formation 796, not 2000 as stated by Wingate (? on Comr. Daintree's authority) in Intelligence report. Of these 250 deserted just after the first detachment sent to Tientsin, & when the wildest reports were flying about of defeat of Allies. At least 200 more after their return, full of loot and money. Lunched with Capt. Lee R.E. & his wife, and got on board again at 3.15. Sailed at 4.30, a little rough outside, so that I could not dine. Temperature 45°.

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- 2 Nov. Off the North Saddle Island about 8 a.m. looking for the "Hardy" t.p.d. wch. was not there, so turned towards Gutzlaff to signal a teleg. to Shanghai. Reading Krause's "China in Decay", a stupid book, full of mistakes in facts and figures. Also Countess Cesaresco Martinengo's "Liberation of Italy", a very handy summary of events from 1815-70, and Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Eleanor". Eventually a message was signalled from Gutzlaff that the "Hardy" is to remain at S'hai, so about 4.30 we started again and left the Saddles after exactly 12 hours lost time.
- 4 Novr. Last night the monsoon strong in the Formosa channel. This morning finished Hamley's "War in the Crimea" and a vol. of amusing society sketches "The visits of Elizabeth".
- 5 Novr. Arrd. Hongkong & landed shortly after two, a salute fr. the "Blenheim", guards on the other ships lying betw. her & the shore and guard of honour on shore of R.W.F. [Royal Welch Fusiliers] commanded by Major Gwynne. Wroltesley, Ad. Bruce's Flag Lieut. came off to fetch us, and brought us up to Govt. House, where besides Sir Henry Blake I found Sir James & Lady Bruce, just on the point of starting home. Sir H. took me up the funicular railway to the peak & we had a short walk overlooking the harbour & the contemplated reclamations. Curious effect of the steep incline on the eyes, that the houses passed all look as if they were tumbling backwards.
- 6 Nov. Lunched on board "Barfleur". Sir Jas. Bruce lent me papers respecting operations, including taking of Taku forts, wch. he told me was first proposed by Capt. Bayly H.M.S. Aurora. But corresp'ce fr. Comr. Stewart of Algerine shows that he also suggested it. The information that Chinese were laying mines in the entrance to the river came from gunner of "Whiting" (15 June) to Comr. Stewart, he had seen a junk with 4, apparently ready to lay down. Bruce said he first proposed it to Bendemann who agreed. At first meeting Russian Hildebrandt & Fr. Ad. Courrejolles opposed. There is a note of 14 June fr. the latter saying 'je suis de votre avis sur l'avantage que nous aurions à occuper les forts de Taku, mais comme le disait l'Amiral Seymour c'est une mesure de guerre que les gouvernements doivent autoriser, si un incident grave ne la fait décider par nous.' Bruce telegd. decorations given by foreign govts. for Taku affair, and he was told in reply that he need not do this. The Ads. told their govts. 22 June that 60,000 to 70,000 men wld. be required to take Peking (Bruce's teleg. of that date to Admiralty). 5 July he telegd. that at Tientsin there were 15,000, & Japse. asked to send a division of 13,000, wch. with more Fr. troops expected wld. make about 30,000 – enough to hold Tientsin, Tongku & Taku, but will not be strong enough to advance beyond Tientsin! The conclusion I draw is that

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Bruce is really responsible for the suggestion to attack [the Taku] forts, and that he furnished information as to reinforcements at forts and mining the river mouth, on wch. with Bendemann's support he persuaded the other Admirals to summon the forts; this is what I have said from the first. Forts opened fire 10 minutes to 1 a.m. 17 June and action finished by capture 6.50 a.m.

Started 5.30 p.m. by the steamer "Fatshan", capt. Lessius for Canton, a smooth, landlocked passage. Fine boat, electric light & good accommodation.

7 Novr. At six a.m. still in the river, bright sunny weather, cool morning. Arrd. 7 o'clock and after breakfast on board landed at wharf and went in chairs to the Consulate-general. Mrs. Scott in bed with bronchitis. All that one had read about the busy boat life on the river fully justified.

Gave Scott copies fr. F.O. about extradited prisoners being tried in presence of a consular officer, and abt. murder of Yeung Kwisan. He has already laid a foundation for agreement with Viceroy as to the former, with the latter he must do the best he can, but not to let it interfere with more important matters. International settlement question proceeding gaily. Told him all abt. Fr. railway negotiation in Yunnan and our proceedings. While Li was here he promised Fr. consul (Hardouin) concession for a rlwy. to Wuchou and Nanning also trains to Fatshan etc., but Tao-mu says he can do nothing until Court returns to Peking. Kung , a taotai & confl. Secy. of Viceroy came abt. visitg. Finally I agreed to call, provided the Viceroy wld. return my visit next time I come here, he being too unwell to go out, asthma, piles etc.! Talk with Morgan, Comr. of Customs, white bearded man, in China since 1864, abt. international settlement, extension of port limits, american desire to get concession for dredging river, wch. he will frustrate by getting the Viceroy to do it himself. He thinks the Manchus will try again the same game as last summer. Doubts as to Empress-Dowager returning to Peking; if big Viceroys told her to retire from public life, she wld. have to do so. Salinger, Reiss & Co's man, recd. teleg. fr. H'gk'g that Li Hung chang died at noon yesterday; fr. Kung's account he has been vomiting blood.

French iron clad gunboat Styx, Monadnock, Itti[?] & small river gunboats here. We have sent up the "Firebrand" as a counterpoise to the first of these!

8 Novr. Called on Viceroy 陶模 Taomu, and exchanged views abt. "international settlement"; he had recd. instructions fr. Prince Ch'ing, and had only waited for my arrival to address a letter to the consuls offering it. I thanked him for having seen Scott abt. the question of extradited trials; he said it wld. be all right. Among other things he said it was hard on the South to have to pay for the misdeeds of the North. I replied that we had not exacted immediate pay[men]t, but had spread it over a series of years, interest very light, so as to

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make the burden as light as possible. After all China was one household the members of wch. were responsible for the misdeeds of the rest. We conversed abt. Empress-Dowager & I suggested that after having made such a mess of things last year, she might perh. retire into private life. Either she had blundered, or had been badly advised. He replied she could not give up.

Then to the Gov. 德壽 Té-shou a cheery Manchu of 72 years. Only general conversation. Then to the Tartar Gen. 壽蔭 a rather sour-looking person, whose idea of conversation was to put an interminable series of questions. Did not stop long, but went off to the old Yamên wch. has belonged to us ever since the occupation of Canton. Cadets from Hongkong and Singapore now live there. There are many fine trees, plenty of grass & shrubs. The caretaker a fine looking old Manchu with white beard and moustache said that many of the trees had been planted by Sir Brooke Robertson. Then to the Hoppo [administrator of Chinese customs at Canton] 莊山 a fat old fellow, very fussy[?], with baggy eyelids, who complained of a whitlow [inflammation near finger- or toenail], & so home. Afternoon occupied by return calls from the last three. The Tartar Genl. who in the morning had asked me questions about the walls of the legation quarter and the Yamêns we had appropriated, now questioned me abt. the rlwy.; who held it, was there any chance of China getting hold of it again, would it remain permanently at the Ch'ien-mên? To wch. I answered that we manage it, aided by German & Japse. subdirectors, that eventually China will get it back and that the station will remain at the Ch'ien-mên.

The Viceroy showed me the teleg. he had recd. announcing the death of Li Hung-chang.

Comr. Speyer of the "Monadnock" called, and some more. Returned calls of Hardouin and McWade. In the evening a dinner at Morgans followed by a reception. I took in Mrs. Sugden, a dau. of old Henry Bush of Newchwang and had McWade on my right. He talked abt. his desire to get an American concession, and I did not encourage him. Played whist after I had been introduced to several ladies & talked to them.

Nov. 9 Returned to Hongkong by the backreach in the Fatshan. Met Sir Jas. Mackay after the Governor's levée, and had a preliminary talk with him. He has C.S. Somers Cocks, and W. Clark, a nephew of Sir G. Bonham as Secretaries. Dined; 70 people, and sat betw. the Roman Catholic Bishop and the acting Attorney-general who has just been apptd. to Fiji.

Nov. 10 In the afternoon with the Govr. and a party over to Kowloon city, walked partly round the walls, and then crossed the isthmus to Yanmati, and so home. Bruce has lent me some more papers about the desire of Claude MacD. to have Bruce seize Shanhaikwan forts, and private letters from Ad. Seymour written on the eve of starting for his relief expedition, and three while on the line, up to Langfang on 13th June. At dinner Bruce very interesting abt. the taking of the Taku forts: how that morning they could see the fight

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going on quite clearly from the bridge of the "Barfleur", his anxiety till all was over and the forts taken. One can well imagine it.

Novr. 11 Went to watch the cricket match betw. Hongkong & Singapore elevens. In the afternoon had a talk with Sir J. Mackay, who says he has a commission as "Special Commissioner & Plenipo[tentiary]." Cockburn & Dudgeon only as Asst. Commissioners. He is to sign alone. We went thro' his instructions together, & I said I cld. help him with papers abt. the Mixed Court. We also agreed on a teleg. to F.O. abt. B. of T. tariff being sent direct to him instead of to me, for presentation to Hart, as proposed by F.O. Told him my views abt. the draft prepared in S'hai, that I had declined to give any official approval to it, in order that he might have full control in the matter. Expressed opinion that likin is the really difficult point in the negotiations. He goes off to Canton tonight & if possible to Wuchow, so I determined to leave Hgkg for North tomorrow.

Lunched on board "Barfleur" with Ad[miral]. Bruce, and bade him a hearty good-bye. He is a good-hearted fellow, and fr. his point of view that it was right to act in concert with the naval allies was fully justified in refusing to take Shanhaikwan or Peitang forts independently of the others. But I still think it was rash of him to counsel the capture of the Taku forts as early as he did. He says that when the allied Admirals heard that we proposed to land troops at Shanghai without consultation they were thunderstruck and horrified. As to that measure, it was a great piece of weakness on the part of the F.O. giving way to the telegs. sent fr. here by Warren with Tower's assistance, and the results have been deplorable.

Nov. 12 Embarked on board P.M.S.S. "Peru" Capt. Pillsbury, pilot Ed. Hjoubery, and reach Shanghai at two o'clock on [Nov 15]. (Stayed with H.S. Wilkinson.)

Nov. 15 Guard of honour of Belouchees and escort of RHA furnished by Colonel Mayore. Bevis dined. Showed him the telegs. fr. Peking about the demoninations of our bonds, and Hillier's suggestions as to form.

Nov. 16 Saw Bredon. He has been sounded abt. going home with the Chinese special ambassador to the Coronation. Prince Su has been mentioned, also Prince Chun. I said I thought his (B's) going wld. be useful, & that I recommend Duke Hsun if I had anything to say in the matter. B. told me that besides Chang Têh-i, one Liang, who went to Berlin with Prince Chun is thought to be in the running for the London Legation, & wld. do well for the post. We discussed prob. of Hart going home, & agreed that he prob. wld. not. B. thinks the French want to put their man in, shld. Hart die. (I am inclined to think that it wld. be necessary if H. were suddenly taken ill, to put a guard on his house at once, so as to prevent his papers falling into the hands of a foreigner.[]) He asked abt. the special commission & what it wld. do. Told him the Mackay has full powers, and that

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likin will be one of the questions. He said it was well to be prepared; he himself was likely to be consulted. It was a very big & difficult business. Wusung Conservancy Board, he says the Fr[ench] make objections to taxation. I said it wld. be a great pity if the present scheme fell thro' owing to the opposition of some, as that wld. effectually prevent anything whatever being proposed to take its place.

Taylor & Hippisley the two Chinese Asst. Commissioners also called. They say Liu Kunyi does not hold that he will have much of a voice in the negotiations.

Dudgeon came to lunch, & I had a satisfactory talk with him afterw[ar]ds. Told him that I had no share in the commercial negotiations, & had said to Mackay that I approved of the Chamber of Commerce draft tariff as a modus vivendi pending the final acceptance of a tariff by the two commissions. Hart (as Bredon told me) has also sent down a tariff based on the values of 1897, and the Board of Trade no doubt will try to get its bantling [brat, illegitimate child] accepted. D. said no harm was done by the short time allowed before 5% came into operation; he was not in favour of as long a period as six months, wch. wld. result in the market being clogged.

Hippisleys & Bob Littles' dined. Bob L. [editor, North China Herald] says that Liu Kunyi is vexed at the rumour that he only withheld the extermination edict because of a teleg. fr. Jung Lu. Some weeks before the siege of the Legations began he publ. a letter fr. a Chinese correspondent in Peking to say Chinese Court wld. shortly make an attempt to drive out all foreigners. Thinks the Legations would have been attacked even if the Taku forts had not been taken by us. (Very likely, but the capture prob. precipitated the attack wch. wld. have been made later.)

18 Novr. Jas. M. Beck of the Eastern Extension came abt. the control of the overland lines. He says the Gt. Northern [Telegraph Line Co.] man Bemer recently went to Peking & saw Lessar, who said his instructions were not 'to co-operate' with me, but 'to take similar action' & that he had been waiting for me! That on 23 July Dering saw the Eastern Extension man at Peking & told him I was going to speak to de Giers & gave him a copy of what I was going to furnish the latter with. I said it was true I had given de G. a copy of certain parts of Bullard's letters & de G. said he had no instructions, but wld. ask for them. Afterwards I heard nothing from him.

Then Beck explained that Shêng felt that it was a 'losing of face' to give the desired control. So we discussed how to approach him, namely thro' Warren as fr. me, and to suggest that as the present provisional arrangement worked well & suited every one, it wld. do no harm to continue it. To this I agreed, and gave a memo. to Warren (written today, sent tomorrow). ¹

¹ A pencil note inserted by "C.S.B.B." on 8/3/1933 reads: "fr. Jas. M. Beck. 18/11/01. British

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Taotai Yüan Shukang 袁樹勛 called with his interpreter. Is a Hunan man. Wanted to give me a dinner: excused myself on the ground of departure tomorrow & not returning here, but promised to let him know through Sundius whether after my return to Nanking I could manage it. Asked him abt. last year's movement. He replied that the Boxers were a development of the White Lily Society, & their original object was to rebel. As to Tuan & the big officials allied with him, they were simply stupid.

Went with Mrs. Bob Little to buy some stuffs for portières at Peking.

Afternoon recd. consular body at Warrens': this plan of a reception was started, Goodnow told me, by him, as soon as he became Senior Consul. Had some talk with him & Knappe (a very squalid sallow Jew) about the proposed reform of the Mixed Court.

Afterwards recd. British subjects. Not many. Addis of Hgkg & S'hai Bank asked a good deal about the Indemnities Commission at Shanghai; he suggested that Hillier shld. await my return to Peking before coming here. A Mc on a grievance abt. some land expropriated by Municipal Council. At lunch Prentice the Chairman of the Municipal Council, G.J. Morrison an engineer of very old standing here, Hardy of the "Hardy". At dinner Campbells (she was a Miss Pickwood), [J.O.P.] Blands, Bredons, [George Ernest] Morrison of the "Times", Simpsons & F.E. Wilkinsons.

19 [Nov.] Called early on Mrs. Bayne. Then drove into town and had an interview with the whole Committee of the China Association, which went off satisfactorily. Only questions connected with the revision of the commercial Treaties were discussed or even mentioned. Dudgeon afterwards gave me a note of what passed. Sent a private teleg. to F.O. recommending provisional approval of the textile fabrics tariff drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce, & repeated it to Mackay. Geo. Jamieson came to lunch, & advised him to come up to Peking to look after his railway, in consequence of negative reply of Chinese abt. it. At 2.45 embarked in the tug "Victoria" for Wusung, and Mansfield Consul at Amoy went down with me. Got on board "Talbot" Capt. Stopford before sunset. Extremely cold. The accommodation is very comfortable, as she has been fitted up as a flagship.

20 Novr. Fine morning. Started at 5.45 up river, and at noon passed the Kiangyiu forts, wch. are perched on a group of rocky hills overhanging the r. bank; there were 3 Chinese cruisers lying there, and as they were dressed in honour of the occasion of the Empress-Dowager's birthday, Stopford hoisted Chinese flag at the main and saluted it with 21 guns. The senior Chinese ship semaphored(!) back "Many thanks for salute." Passed Silver Island thro' a narrow channel between two precipitous hills about five p.m. A little further on is

Legation, Peking. At Amoy Fr. have bought an island called Monkey Is. to use for their cable in case they eventually have to turn out of Kulangsu. They will almost certainly connect Kwangchowwan with Macao & Canton. He says they are building a post office at Canton (in the city?) and prob. at Amoy."

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Consulate Bluff, covered with a closely standing set of buildings which form a temple & anchored off the settlement at Chiukiang about half-past. Here Bennett the Consul came off to see me; a swollen, unwholesome countenance with tear-bags under the eyes. Talked to me about the application of the municipal council for authority to raise a loan for bunding the foreshore, as to wch. a despatch has gone to Peking. Is anxious to get telegraphic authority, in order to settle before he leaves for Pakhoi. Has a difficulty with the repres've of the Shell line, who are Amhold Karberg and Co. about a piece of land wch. they have bought, and have encroached on Chinese Govt. property; has not yet reported as he hopes to settle the affair shortly.

Started about 7 and got to Nanking in moonlight at 10.45.

21 Nov. Sundius came off early and we arranged to land at 10 o'clock. Salute from "Talbot" on leaving side, and on landing a salute from the fort & guard of honour furnished by rather ragged soldiers. Tumbledown carriages provided, in which we drove along Chang Chih tung's road to site arranged for consulate next door to Imperial Maritime Customs Commissioner's lot inside the city walls. Road lined with willows trained so as to overhang it. Abt. $\frac{3}{4}$ hr. further got out and climbed hill to 北極閣 Pei-chî-ko where there is a three-storied pagoda the top of which commands a fine view of the city and surrounding hilly country: hills not far off on the opposite side of the river. Thence to [A.J.] Sundius' temporary residence next door to the Viceroy's Yamên [office]. After lunch, two o'clock having previously been agreed upon as the hour for my interview, proceeded about 2.10 to the Yamên in a green chair, others having been provided for Capt. Stopford, Com[mande]r Wemyss, Lt. Bigg, Sundius and Hewlett. All in uniform except Sundius and self, who wore frock coats and chimney pots [top hats]. After waiting two minutes for the gates to be opened, I ordered a return to the Consulate. Wang taotai hurried after us, but I declined to see him, and told Sundius that I wld. not call unless the doors were opened in readiness for my arrival. This being promised, I proceeded again, and found all in order, the Viceroy standing ready to receive me. So we sat down and had some conversation, in the course of wch. he explained Junglu's attitude during the Siege of the Legations. Tung Fuhsiang wanted to blow up the Legation with a mine, but Junglu would not consent. He wld. have been put to death by Tuan, if he had not consented to join the siege in a halfhearted sort of fashion. Tuan, Lan & Tung Fuhsiang ought to have lost their heads. I then proposed a private talk, and we adjourned to another room with Liu Kungyi, Wang taotai, the interpreter and Sundius, to talk about Manchuria. Told him that Russia having an agreement with China to build a railway thro' Manchuria, was entitled to place troops there to protect it. As to mining monopoly and the demand for an indemnity for repairing northern railways, those ought not to be allowed. He said the latter had been left

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out, or had not been in it; Li Hung-chang must have been misinformed. I said [Count] Lamsdorff had admitted it to [Sir Charles] Scott. Liu said Li [Hung-chang] sent home a teleg. from Moscow recommending permission to Russia to construct Northern Manchurian railway, but Liu & Chang were kept in ignorance of this. It was a great loss to China. I told him they could not get out of it. He said both Li and Chang had memorialized against the signature of the present draft, and he had telegd. to both Prince Ch'ing and Wang Wenshao urging them not to negotiate separately. Li's death removed a serious obstacle. I suggested that the Chinese Govt. shld. insist on bringing the Manchurian question before the Powers. He said Russia objected to this. Told him of my reply to the Viceroy of Fuhkien when he expressed fear of Russia's breaking off relations if the de Giers draft were not signed, that Russia would talk big but do nothing. He laughed, and said that he had telegd. the same. We then broke off, and I was conducted to another apartment, laid out just like the one in wch. I had been recd. by him, in order that I might receive his return visit. Here we sat for 5 minutes, he as guest and I as host, till he got tired, and so I said goodbye. He went out first & we followed. Liu accompanied me to my chair.

During the public talk he said that his 3 provinces were called upon to provide 5 out of the annual 18 millions for the indemnity, and that it was hard. I said England had helped them in their difficulty by getting the other PP to accept bonds at 4%, and spreading the payments over a long series of years. What happened in 1896 about the Japanese indemnity. He replied that his provinces had to pay their share of that. Told him the Yangtze Viceroys must prevent the Northern Chinese from plunging into war in that headlong fashion.

Liu is a Hunanese and speaks a vile dialect. Sundius is very deaf and between the two of them the conversation was carried on with much difficulty. Wang Taotai and the interpreter were frequently appealed to.

Got on board again at six exactly, having bought some fine pieces of Nanking brocade.

22 Novr. Changed over to "Britomart" Lt. Comr. Baird, and started up river at 8. Bits of hilly scenery here and there. Reached Wuhu a little before 3, and landed to visit the Kers. The consulate is a comfortable house, on a small rising ground. Close to it are a Jesuit cathedral and clergy house, and on another knoll the houses of the Comr. of Customs and his ass[istan]t. Near the point just below Wuhu on the right bank are some half a dozen houses of American missionaries. The town stretches inland in an oblong form for some distance, a great part of it being owned by the Li family, who belong to the province of Nganhuei. Last summer the river broke its banks and flooded a vast extent of country, principally on the l. bank, and huge stretches of water are still visible. A large number of people were drowned, their houses being destroyed, and some of the refugees are still

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living in huts at Wuhu. The water rose 29 ft. 6 in. above normal low water. Inland from Wuhu on the right bank are several ranges of hills. After tea to which came Mrs. [Henry F.] Merrill the wife of the Comr., we started again at 6. Ker says the Comr. has only nominally taken over the native customs; the old staff has been kept on, and a short time ago there was found a placard on the gate of the Customhouse denouncing direct penalties against any one of them who shld. give any information to the Comr. of Customs. Two men belonging to the staff of the native customs had their houses destroyed; one was nearly beaten to death, the other fled.

23 Nov. Passed Nganking on the l. bank about six before I was up. About ten o'clock lofty ranges of mountains visible on the right bank, some five ? miles inland. Passed a bluff crowned with a temple near Matung in the forenoon, and at half past 12 between the Orphan, a lofty rock standing in the river and a high bluff opposite. Later on passed the picturesque town of Hukou at the entrance to the Poyang Lake, and about five anchored at Kiukiang. Behind this place rises the range of Lushan, on which is situated the summer settlement of Kuling, where foreigners have built about 150 bungalows; the founder was an English missionary named [Edward] Little, who has now gone into business on his own account. The acting consul W.J. Clennell came off; he seems rather a poor creature. We landed, and I was much pleased with the neat concession, wch. boasts of the best laid out bund to be seen anywhere. Mrs. C. was daughter of an engineer in the employment of Butterfield and Swire. We walked into the town to a silversmith's shop to see if we cld. get any of the silverware for wch. the place is noted, but it turns out that there is little to be had, and that it is only made to order. Kingtechên [now Jiangdezhen] the centre of the porcelain industry is about 70 miles off. Left with Clennell a portion of [Johann Justus] Rein's letter asking for Kaolin and other specimens for the commercial museum at Cologne. Told him to send to Mackay a memo. on commercial requirements & to prepare a list of all missionaries in his district. Up anchor and away at seven p.m.

24 Novr. Reached Hankow about noon, & passing the Shell line kerosene tanks, the 'gare fluviale' and the long line of German, French & Russian stone bunding, anchored off the Consulate-general, close to the "Phoenix". Comr. Nicholson & E.H. Fraser came off to call, and I landed to put up at the consulate. At the landing place were De Luca, the acting Com[missione]r of Customs, and Cradock & Ramsay of . After lunch went round the back and looked at the bit wch. the French wish to add at the back of their settlement, so as to bring it up to the railway. Fraser seems rather inclined to think there would be no harm in their having it. The embankment of the railway is being repaired towards the town, and fr. the latter to the 'gare fluviale' there will be only a single line. Dr Grunenwald German Consul and Capt. Wuthmann of the German gunboat Luchs called. In

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the evening there was a big dinner to which most of the English notables came; I sat next to Geddes, chairman of the Municipal Council, a huge fellow, and opposite were Nicholson with his dry humour & an old lady named Henderson, mother of a banker here. Afterwds. talked to a Miss Pym, sister of the Deputy Comr., and a Mrs. Whistler, whose husband represents Evans & Pugh, who had a dispute with the Russians abt. removal of his hide-drying ground fr. their new settlement, and as the compensation demanded fr. the Chinese had not yet been paid, has a grievance abt. wch. he wishes to see me.

25 Novr. In the "Britomart" at ten to see the Viceroy at Wuchang on the opposite bank, arriving there in abt. ½ an hr. after leaving. The Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, aged 67, is a short slender man with a long white beard and an open countenance. I had with me the two commanders, two other naval officers, Fraser & Hewlett. After some general conversation we retired into another room to talk abt. the proposed Manchurian convention and I communicated to him the remarks of H.M.G. in the F.O. teleg. of 14 inst. I found him much brighter and [more] ready to enter into what was said than Liu, but in the latter's case his vile dialect and Sundius's deafness were distinct disadvantages. I urged that if they could not obtain satisfactory terms unaided they should ask the Great Powers to take up the question. As Liu did, he too wanted England and Japan to take the trouble for the Chinese, but I said they must do the best for themselves before asking us to enter the arena on their behalf. He explained that the Court is persuaded that Russia & Russia only is their friend & of the Manchus, & they prefer therefore to trust to the chance of getting some kind of terms. (This explains why the Yangtze Viceroys have always asked us to intervene, while the Court has not, and as the latter are the negotiating Power, it is useless our taking such a course unless asked by them.) He regards Prince Ch'ing & Wang as equally weak, and Junglu not much better. Lu Chuanlin is the only man at Court with any firmness of character, & is the one thro' whom he works. Finally he asked me to teleg. to Prince Ch'ing to delay concluding anything till my return to Peking, and to write himself a private letter of advice, upon wch. he could base a teleg. or letter to the Court embodying the advice of H.M.G. He spoke with a good deal of contempt of Li Hung-chang, who in his belief has an arrangement with the French as well as with the Russians. He smiled gayly when I suggested that Junglu was said to be regarded as the probable heir of Li's 'advantages'. Junglu he says is avaricious, Lu Chuanlin not so. The conversation lasted an hour and ten minutes: he was very voluble and eager, and struck me by his intelligence and the ease with wch. he comprehended one's ideas. We then went off to visit the Govr. (Chang saying 'don't talk confidentially to him, but discuss curios!') Tuanfang, who as gov. of Shensi last year was good to foreigners. Found him a young, courtly and amiable man, great upon antiquities and literature. Returned on board about two, and recd. their

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return visits. With Chang talked about the Peking Syndicate line, wch. he said would not cross that of the Luhan: the latter ought to be finished in a couple of years more, but the Hoangho would not be bridged till later. I was trying to find out whether he opposed the Peking Syndicate, as is reported, but could see no signs of that; yet it may be true. He expressed himself in favour of railways everywhere, and the last thing he did before going ashore was to ask when the Hankow-Canton railway wld. be begun.

We got back to Hankow at 4.10 almost exactly as old Mobsby had predicted. Call from Dr. Griffith John with whom I talked on missionary matters & gave him gently my views about non-interference; he agreed with me that the autonomous missionary was to be avoided. From Chungha the London Missionary Soc[iet]y native agent had written, send us missionaries, but avoid the one-man Society. Then the Belgian Vice consul Villega de St. Pierre came, and afterwds. arrived Foster, who looks an intelligent & ascetic man, my old schoolfellow at Mill Hill. Finally Archibald of the London Mission abt. Kuling extension. Dfted teleg. to F.O. reporting progress & then dined on board "Phoenix": Nicholson very amusing with toys and jokes. Afterwds. got Fraser to dft. the promised letter to the Viceroy for me to sign.

26 Nov. Up anchor at 4.15: passed through fine scenery and off Kiukiang at 8 p.m. where we did not communicate. Passed the Orphan about six o'clock.

27 " Reached Nanking a little after twelve and went at once on board the "Talbot". Started about 1 and got to Kiukiang at 4.30. Here I landed and had a conversation with Allen and Edkins of the Municipal Council about proposed bunding of the foreshore. Bennett started a maresnest [an illusory discovery] about a spit forming on the opposite bank 2½ miles further down throwing the current over against Chiukiang, and undercutting the new bank. So he came on board to see Mobsby who told him there was no danger for the next hundred years; this he admitted modified his pessimistic views, but he thought the danger might arise in from 30 to 50 years.

28 Novr. Started at 7.15 and passed the narrow passage at Silver Island in a few minutes. Off Kiangyiu forts about noon, and reached Wusung about six.

29 [Nov.] General Sharratts the U.S. tariff & Commercial Tariff Com[missione]r, Consul-general Goodnow and Warren came off together. 1° The first has been appted. for the treaty revision conjointly with Conger, and thinks Goodnow will prob. be joined. Thinks I ought to be joined with Mackay, and Warren added thereto, and was urgent that I should suggest this to H.M.G. Told him that having offered to undertake the commercial negotiations, and the F.O. having preferred to send some one out from home, I could not well do this. He then suggested that the U.S. sh[ou]ld advise F.O. to do it, wch. I said was equally impracticable. But I promised him I wld. teleg. home that the U.S. Govt. had made this

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disposition. 2^o he is urgent that the tariff should be settled apart from the general negotiations, wch. will be very difficult, whereas the tariff is easy. He approves entirely of the Chamber of Commerce tariff for textiles. The Fr. Min. has also agreed to teleg. home in support of the local tariff, having satisfied himself that this was the way to dish the separate negotiations by B. of T. and Manchester Ch[amber] of Commerce. In the commercial treaty revision the Viceroy must be consulted, and the result arrived at brought to Peking and finally negotiated there for signature. The U.S. besides textiles are interested in kerosene, tobacco and metals; as to Californian wines they will accept whatever terms may be negotiated by the French, who have some seven articles about wch. they care.

Talking of general politics, he said in reply to a question that he had heard of the Isthmian Treaty being signed, but did not know the particulars. Hay & Pauncefote were in accord the whole time in spite of the newspaper penny-a-liners. The interests of the two countries were coming closer every day, and the time wld. come when the English-speaking people wld. have to combine to resist the encroachments of Russia and Germany. I agreed with him, and remarked that the latter was compact and active, the other large and molluscous. It reminded me of a plant in Japanese gardens that if not constantly grubbed up, eat[s] away the fine leaf of the turf. He thinks Russia will not clear out of Manchuria till she is told to go.

Goodnow said we must not hurry the three consuls-general abt. reform of the Mixed Court. Theoretically the Chinese magistrate is the judge, but in effect he is the assessor. As to Chinese civil judgments, the Chinese do not care for finality in any matter, and it is difficult to get a judgment pronounced and enforced. I replied that this was inherent in the Chinese way of looking at things, and could not easily be got over.

To Warren I showed my telegs. to F.O. recording interviews with the Viceroy, and my private letter to Chang Chihtung. He is to see Shêng in a few days about the overland lines from Taku to Tientsin.

Left the anchorage about eleven with a calm sea and a gentle breeze from the South.

30 [Nov.] About midday the wind changed to E., but the sea was still calm. Shortly before 4 we sighted the land of Shantung promontory, got round the north light about eight and were off Weihaiwei about 10, tried to communicate with the searchlight, but failed to awake their attention. Dined in the wardroom. In honour of St. Andrew's day, there being 3 Scotchmen in the mess, of whom Wemyss the Commander is one, there was a haggis from home, a rather strongly flavoured sort of minced meat cooked in the paunch of a sheep.

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1 Dec. About two the wind got up, and the ship began to labour heavily. In the morning it was thought that the sea looked so rough that there would be no chance of landing at Chin wang tao [island, port on Yellow Sea], but later on it diminished, and before we anchored about noon it was seen that we should encounter no difficulties. We left the ship at 1.30, the sea being calm, and only a slight swell remaining from the storm of the past night. Thence in a steam launch towing the cutter with baggage to the end of the pier, rather less than 15 min. The bay shallows very soon after the pier-head is reached and the launch got aground as we put her alongside the stones, and climbed up. Found here Mr. Hughes of the Engineering & Mining Co. and Major Cooper of the 4 Goorkhas, who undertook to telegraph my request for a 'special' to Tientsin as soon as it could be got. The drawing room car had been sent down, and was awaiting us near the pier. It has been a successful voyage from Shanghai, a fitting termination to a pleasant and, I hope, useful tour.

2 Dec. Left junction at 7.30. Brilliant calm morning: the ground covered with a slight coating of snow, and the light and shade on the deeply wrinkled peaked mountains very distinct. A most exhilarating day. Menzies (Wandering Willie) came on board the train at Tongshan & travelled some distance. Says Franqui is ruling at the mines. Much of the money according to Kinder is Belgian and it comes from Russian Imperial family, Menzies however said 'one grand Duke'. K. also said the rlwy. director had stopped building goods wagons & trucks, and was generally depreciatory in his remarks. Met Col. Keary also at Tongshan. Reached Tientsin about 20 to 6, and put up with the Creaghs. Mr. Jas. R. Bell, formerly engineer of Public Works in India came to see me; he has been sent out to decide disputes betw. Reynolds, the engineer of the port works at Chin-wang-tao, representing Bott & Co. the contractors, and Hughes who represents Sir John Wolf Barry & Co. consulting engineers to the Chinese Engineering and Mining Co. Seems a sensible and agreeable old fellow. Asked him to stop with me when he comes to Peking.

Recd. friendly letter fr. Ernest Beckett, who it seems spoke in flattering terms of me to them, and of my doings, wch. he said were much appreciated at home. Gaselee wrote that the Auth: at home agreed with Creagh & myself as to retention of battery & 3rd Bombay cavalry, wch. were taken away on the account of the expense; that Barrow had nothing to do with it(!). Lord G. Hamilton had said they cld. not give Creagh a C.B., as they were hard up for them. I remarked to Mrs. C. that it wld. have been inadequate and premature. C. says the Germans are sore afraid they will be withdrawn, on acct. of the expense. I said we must all face this. C. says Japse. have already withdrawn Yamané and a number of troops. C. says the Germs. are taking no steps to build permanent barracks at Tientsin. Told

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him our line of policy abt. the Manchurian convention.

3 Dec. Left Tientsin by the 9 a.m. train and reached Peking rather late, 3.15. All the staff to meet me. In the evening a farewell dinner of 16 persons to Tower. I made a little speech, and we sang "For he's a jolly good fellow".

4 Dec. Tower off by 11.30 train fr. Temple of Heaven.

Left cards on Conger & Loudon. Went to see Lessar: as I rose to go away he pulled out the list of claims of Powers, found in a drawer of Mumm's, and talked about 'partage'. We agreed that no addition to the sums mentioned therein cld. be allowed; I said if it were done, I shld. have to put in our unreduced private claims before any proportionate reduction could be accepted. If Italy and U.S. wld. appoint bankers the commission at S'hai might set to work.

On to Uchida. ¹ Spoke abt. Manchurian convention. Prince Ch'ing has half promised to show him the convention before he signs. Is anxious U.S. shld. join us. Told him we cld. not expect any help from the 'Triplice' [Russia, France & Germany], but after all it was Powers who could actually exercise influence out here (in a military or naval way) that really counted.

He talked abt. rule for calculating duty on coast trade, i.e. 1 export duty + ½ import duty; but says that Hart tells him in some treaties ½ import is made ½ export duty. Promised to look into this & said that whatever was most favourable would be taken advantage of by Japan in virtue of m.f.n. clause.

'Partage': he seemed to say that Japan wld. à propos this question revive her claim for extra consideration.

E.G. Hillier came in after lunch. Told him he wld. have to go to Tientsin as soon as the PP. had all appted. their delegates to the commission of bankers, and that the commission wld. not exercise any supervision over the collection of the assigned revenues. It wld. simply report to the Powers whenever the payments proved insufficient. H.M.G. had not paid money out of pocket in the case of the indemnity for private losses exacted in 1860.

5 Dec. After sending off the bag called on Czikann, whom I found careful and troubled about many things.

¹ Uchida Yasuya, also known as Uchida Kōsai (1865-1936). Diplomat and politician. Born in the Higo domain (now Kumamoto prefecture). A graduate of Tokyo University, he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as minister to China (1901-06) and ambassador to Austria and the United States before becoming foreign minister (1911-12). Ambassador to Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution. Foreign minister, 1918-23. President of Manchurian Railway Co. before and after the Manchurian incident of September 18, 1931. Again as foreign minister (1932-34) he called for the international recognition of the puppet state of Manchukuo, and for Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations following the Lytton Commission's censure of Japan's conduct in Manchuria.

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At 9 a.m. Yüan Shihkai came to call, and asked me to put an end to T.P.G. [Tientsin Provisional Government] I said that March next seems earliest possible date, supposing the Court came back first; he seemed chiefly to desire to have a date fixed. He is a clear-minded frank person, only 43 years of age, and is worth conciliating. As to Manchuria Li gave me the idea of thinking China could tire Russia out.

Dance given by R.E. [Royal Engineers] & R.A. [Royal Artillery] in the Legation ground. Saw Col. Clem. Browne & spoke strongly abt. the road outside the Chien-mên with wch. he has been interfering.

6 Dec. Col. Prendergast & Lt. Pearson R.E. have decided not to take Coltman's house, but to improve Everitt's quarters for Bower at cost of \$1000. Agreed they shld. ask Genl. Creagh to advance \$4000 for defence work in anticipation of approval of expenditure of £500 asked for. Agreed to filling up Dickie's countermines.

Spoke of Slaughter house of wch. Chinese have complained as being close to wall of Imperial City, & said Dickie (who Pearson says ordered) was prob. not aware of agreement not to erect anything on the glacis. Prendergast said he wld. go round and see whether there was any other possible site.

To Prince Ch'ing: discussed Manchurian agreement in terms of teg. fr. F.O. satisfactorily. Also Yünnan rlwy. & Peking Syndicate's rlwy. got a slight step in advance. Gave him list of obnoxious individuals given me by Chang Chihtung, without mentioning the source.

7 Dec. Uchida called. Told him the result of my conversation yesterday with Prince Ch'ing. He agreed with me that the latter had not been quite satisfactory abt. the mining concessions given to the Russians in Kirin and Hei-lung-chang [two of the three provinces of Manchuria], but that he was more open than Li, wch. he attributed to China being no longer afraid, and that his promise to keep us au courant [informed, up-to-date] was good.

Yüan had talked to him abt. Tientsin. Uchida told him this was not the time to raise the question. The Court must come back first, and do what was proper, and then we would see. He considers that Yüan is merely pretending when he says the Court will not come back as long as Tientsin is held.

Major Prendergast came to say that he wld. take away the slaughter-house at a moment's notice if necessary, but wld. prefer to leave it where it is temporarily, as there are certain contracts for live stock that he wld. not like to break. Other legations seem to rely on buying meat in the market, and prob. that would do for us. The idea was to have on hand a supply of live stock in case of a siege, but it wld. be for a week at most.

He asked for leave to survey the Hanlin [academy] with a view to building there a house for the Commandant, wch. later on might be utilized for the Military Attaché. I replied that

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I had no objection to the survey, but could not give permission for a house being built there, as the O. of W. [Office of Works] alone cld. do that, & wld. prob[ably] make it a condition that the Surveyor shld. approve the plans, with a view to their use for Legation purposes. He proposes in next year's estimates to ask for £2000 for this house, £1500 for other constructions and alterations, also \$1000 for putting Major Everitt's house in order for the Commandant.

Met Mumm. He told Yüan that it wld. be impossible to fix a date for Tientsin at present. Yüan said to Mumm he understood there were two bad ministers, who put difficulties in the way. Told him I had telegraphed.

Went on to Joostens, whom I met with de Cartier. J. talked abt. the 'partage' and said he had been obliged to add to his claim because of certain claims handed over to him by the Fr. & Germans, who however have made no corresponding deduction. Beau says he is very 'hard up', and can't spare anything. J[ooostens] has reduced by 600,000 Taels wch. gives him enough for interest, wch. he had not previously added.

Loudoun [sic. Loudon], the new Dutch colleague came. Was very convinced Yüan was right about Tientsin; and thought we shld. at once settle the question. I showed him it was not so easy, as we had no power to abolish the T.P.G. created by the Generals, without instructions fr. our Govt., and gave him a sketch of its history by way of confirmation.

8 [Dec.] Mumm came. Says he heard at S[hang]hai that I had two conversations with Sharratts, and arranged with him for the tariff to be fixed up by delegates of the six Powers interested, including Russia. He had telegd. this to Berlin! Replied that there was not any foundation whatever for this, and told him exactly what had passed at the one interview with Sharratts.

He also talked abt. the 'partage', that some of the colls: seemed to be making no reduction, e.g. Beau, Lessar and Joostens, also the U.S. Under circs. that puts us in a difficult position. I said that the question of 'partage' in my opinion came after that of the apptmt. of bankers at S'hai. That I shld. not as far as I could see be able to make any further reductions.

Canton international settle[men]t. He had seen the Gov[erno]r there & told him that he was quite willing to accept the offer of Honan & Fati as an international settlement, but if separate concessions were given to those who demanded them (the Fr. & Americans) of course Germany would ask the same.

In afternoon paid a visit to Yüan Shihkai: he said the other colls: had all given favourable answers & that he had asked Czikann to call a meeting of coll[eague]s to discuss the question of Tientsin. He gathered fr. all of them that they wished the Court to return here without delay, and he intended to advise them to do so. He wanted to hear the

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result of the meeting of Dipl. Body before starting for Paotingfu. We also talked about the railway land at Tientsin, about which T'ang (Yüan's interpreter) knows a great deal, particularly the purchase of Chi-chia-lou. He had not answered Cousins' request for information, as he did not know by what authority he asked for it, but would give it to me.

Bohlen came. Asked him to give our engineers definite written information abt. the defences they want to be built up in the new watergate. He says Portuguese Govt. have bought a hotel at Macao to prevent it falling into French hands; the owner was an Englishman.

9 [Dec.] Sabbione came to me about Liu's claim. He seems to want us to hand it back to the Italian legation, but I declined to reopen that corresp'ce. Then he wanted me to influence H.P. Wilkinson in order to get a total of 30,000 taels, instead of 24,000 offered by H.P.W. I said this wld. lead me too far. Then he suggested that the Italian legation might give the extra 6 000 out of their surplus: I declined to be a party to anything of the kind.

Went to Conger. He read to me Sharratts' instructions, wch. show that the latter misrepresented the facts when he said he was apptd. a plenipo. with Conger to negotiate amendments to the U.S. commercial treaty. They merely tell him that hereafter he may perh. as things develope, be instructed to negotiate. In the meantime he is to keep them informed of what is done by other powers, both by writing & cable, and to furnish full information on certain subjects. He shld. come to Peking & confer with Conger, if he thinks necessary.

Conger has got instructions to warn Chin[ese] Govt. agst. concluding any convention with Russia wch. wld. put it out of their power to fulfil their Treaty engagements with foreign powers and also not to agree to anything diminishing the integrity of the Chinese Empire.

Told him what had passed betw[een]. Sharratts & myself, and how the modus vivendi of the S'hai merchants came to be adopted.

"Vicksburg" has been ordered to Newchwang, but he has not heard whether she arrived; thinks she must have.

To Hart. Has agreed with T.P.G. that at the end of the month they are to pay a certain sum as coming fr. the native customs at Tientsin; when that takes place he will write to Prince Ch'ing & urge him to stir the Russians to do the same at Newchwang. Transit passes stamped by T.P.G. & accompanied by a stamped document issued by the Com[missione]r of Customs will be respected.

The collecting staff of the T.P.G. is German; They do their work well. He has told Detring however in taking them over next March not to promise any one of them an

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engagement for more than 3 years.

[A.T.] Piry has been appted. to the head of the P.O. in the place of van Aalst who had made fool of himself. Beau took the opportunity of calling on him to thank him for so far carrying out the promise made to Gérard, and also wrote to the Prince to that effect. One reason for not joining the International Postal Union is the cost, a second is that it wld. then become necessary to put a Frenchman at the head. Rather than facilitate that he wld. tell all the I.M.C. [Imperial Maritime Customs] employés to return to their duty. As to Fr[ench] P.O. in Canton, he said Chinese were not in a position to resist the establish[men]t of letter boxes in the city of Canton.

Called on Brewsters, Mrs. Wilborn of the U.S. legation guard.

10 [Dec.] Chang Tê-yi, newly appted. Min[iste]r to England called.

Beau came. Conservancy Board; besides objections of wch. Tower & Mumm told me, the Fr[ench] object to being given merely a priority of purchase in case of land created by the Board's operations, as it deprives them of the right to natural accretions.

He has referred the whole thing home; he thinks the objection about tax b) can easily be got over by a declaration of its meaning, and that the others are insignificant. But he felt obliged to let their objections be decided on by Fr. Govt.

'Partage' . His claims, after being examined here by his commission consisting of members of his legation have now gone to Paris, where they will be again considered. He took off 2%, thus bringing them down to 265,000,000 francs. It wld. have been much better to send a lawyer fr. Saigon to China to examine the claimants. Many of the missionary claims cannot be settled quickly on acct. of distance. To his mind it must take months before the definitive total amount can be arrived at.

As we were talking abt. Yüan Shihkai, Czikkann came in. He has recd. a letter fr. him abt. Tientsin wch. he has had translated. We agreed in principle that sooner or later the T.P.G. must come to an end, but that no date cld. be fixed now.

As to T.P.G.'s plan of registering transfers, we all three are against approving it, since that would oblige us later on to insist on the Chinese Govt. ratifying the transfers authorized by T.P.G., wch. we are not desirous of doing.

France approached Germany abt. T.P.G., but cld. not get a favourable response.

As to S'hai he said Fr. had now only 250 men there; the barracks were flimsy, and he had told his people not to spend anything on them. (These 2 subjects before Czikkann came in.)

12 Dec. Campbell went to see Prince Ch'ing abt. Iku, the right hand man of Junglu, whom Chang Chihtung asked me to try to get rid of. Found that Tsêng, who was present, now knew the four names on my list, tho' at first the Prince did not tell him. Prince said he

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could do nothing at present, & begged me not to press it just now. It is not surprising I think that he shld. find it difficult to act, as Iku has recently been included in the list of those rewarded for their share in arranging Chinese affairs.

Natung paid a ceremonial call.

13 [Dec.] Wang Wênshao paid a ceremonial call.

15 [Dec.] Dined at the Casenave's and met Bonnin[Bouvin?] the French traveller, who has been a good deal about Tachienlu and in 1894-5 was in Kansuh when the Mahommedan [i.e. Islamic] rising took place; it was most amusing he said to compare the official reports published in the Peking Gazette and translated by the North China Daily News, with the facts which passed under his very eyes.

16 [Dec.] Returned official calls on Wang-Wenshao, Nat'ung and Chang Teyi. Geo. Jamieson to lunch.

Went to Mumm in the morning. He says that he thinks there is no chance of the colls: agreeing to my being allowed to maintain my figures for indemnity while all the others are reduced proportionally on the ground that they have not revised their claims. He had consulted Lessar who wanted to know why this favour shld. be shown to G.B. So on returning home I burnt a teleg. I had drafted to F.O. He also says there was some hocus-pocus about the Belgian increase; it was partly caused by 600,000 francs taken over from the Fr. & 100,000 fr. Beau. But as B. did not wish to make any reductions, he & Lessar persuaded Joostens to put the increase down to the addition of interest. But afterwards his conscience smote him & he confessed it all to Mumm. M. has heard that the Chinese wish to pay about 9,000,000 taels in January, and is anxious that the 'partage' should take place as soon as possible. I objected the absence of the delegates.

17 Dec. Uchida came. Talked again abt. the duty on coal, wch. he says will operate unfavourably agst. Japan. He asked what were Sir James Mackay's powers, so I told him to negotiate & sign; he produced a letter from the Waiwupu to the effect that Shêng has authority to discuss commercial questions in conjunction with the two Yangtze Viceroy, but it does not call him a plenipo. Manchuria: he believes the Russians have been negotiating for "prior rights" in commercial matters and mining thro' Russo-Chinese Bank, and he has told Prince Ch'ing this will not do, as it amounts to a monopoly.

Lessar came and argued for a long time that I ought to agree to a reduction of 2½% on our revised claim, as owing to our better credit we stand to gain 17,000,000 taels by 1939. I argued as strongly that others ought to do the same as I have done, and then I would consent to a reduction. Finally I said I would ask for instructions when I had the definite figures of everybody fr. Mumm. He thinks Jap[ane]se still will claim a bonus of five million taels, as Uchida says he is instructed. Thinks the commission of bankers might

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get to work. The R. Govt. thinks there shld. be no permanent chairman, but each preside in turn. Chinese he hears will pay in gold. The commission then will have only to inform the Customs Taotai how much he is to pay to each bank, and will also settle about the fractional bonds.

Kowshing Chang Têyi came at my request, and I gave him a note of corresp'ce abt. the Kowshing affair, embodying contents of desp. 184 of 8 Aug. fr. F.O. I impressed on him the desirability of this question being settled before he goes to London.

20 Dec. Hu came accompanied by Mr. Wu 吳 to talk abt. various railway matters including the attaching of a locomotive in front of the Imperial train at Fêngtai. He suggested that as Jadow insisted on his locomotive going the whole way, ours might be attached in front, so wrote to General Creagh suggesting this. Also wrote to Newmarch Hu's wishes as to a branch thro' the N. wall of Chinese city W. of Jung-pien mên to the Taiping granaries.

22 Dec. Got a reply from the General enclosing a Note. Browne insists for technical reasons on the Northern Railways taking charge of the train at Fêngtai.

23 Dec. Cartier brought me a letter wch. he said Jadow was about to send to Col. Browne, asserting that by a formal agreement betw. myself and the Chinese Plenipos. of Octr. last it was agreed that there should be no change of carriages and that the Luhan rlwy. shld. have charge of the train to Machiapu. I said there was no "formal agreement" of the sort, but that I had sent a verbal message to the Chinese that the change of loads was impossible. I did not see what it had to do with him & me; it was a question for the railway people. He insisted the letter would go. I told him equally distinctly that it contained a misrepresentation & that I would warn the General of this. So sent off a teleg. to Genl. Creagh to tell him what was coming and that I had never made any such agreement.

Chang Tê-yi to lunch. He said he had been at the Waiwupu [Chinese F.O.] trying to find documents abt. the Kowshing affair, & had come across a letter of Li's to Ld. Lansdowne of the Chinese 8th month (I have nothing of his so late as that, in fact nothing later than Ld. Lansdowne's desp. of 8 Aug.), and nothing later. He suggested my writing a Note to the Waiwupu. Told him I did not wish to do that until we were agreed, & requested him to put into Chinese the memo. I gave him on the 17th inst. and show it to Prince Ch'ing. If then the Prince agreed, we could exchange letters. He promised to do so.

I then asked abt. Special ambassador & asked if anyone had been mentioned. He said Prince Su had been talked of some time ago, but of late no further mention had been made. I suggested Duke Hsün, and the idea seemed to him not bad, but he wld. not commit himself. We then mentioned the suite & he suggested Liang and Chang-yi. I said I thought they would both do quite well, & that of course they wld. be lodged by the King: he said the Prince must not take as large a suite as Prince Chun did to Berlin, to wch. I

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assented. He promised to see Prince Ch'ing in a few days and to keep it entirely to himself in the meanwhile.

Cartier came in again later & said Jadow was sending off his 'letter', but had informed Col. Browne that he did not wish to be disagreeable to the Br. Rlwy. Administration. I said that I was much surprised at his sending the letter unaltered after hearing from him what I had said as to its containing a misrepresentation, and that I had taken care to warn General Creagh.

Dec. 24 T'ang, Yüan Shihkai's man called. He told me he had written to one Lang formerly in connexion c. the rlwys. & that in a couple of days he would send his written statement to Cousins abt. Chichia lou. I impressed on him the importance of the railways road being vindicated as Chinese property. He ascribed his preference for the Russians to Warren's not having called on him when he passed thro' Shanghai! Talking about the Lu-han line, he said that it ought never to have been called by that name, for Kinder had built the section to Paotingfu for the Chinese govt. with their money. Perh[aps] the Belgians had put ½ million taels worth of rolling stock in it. The Chinese Treasury advanced to Shèng 10 million taels, 7 for the railway and 3 for the Imperial Bank of China; out of that he had expended on the railway some 5 or 6 millions. The claim of Belgium therefore could only be for the earnings, wch. were pledged to them for the payment of interest, but not for the destruction of the line. (It seems therefore that the Belgian claim of over 8 000 000 taels for their private losses must be a swindle.)

[Margin: He asked if I had any message for Yüan. I replied that he might say to him quite confidentially that I heard some of Tung Fuhsiang's troops under the command of Ma Liang a genl. [general] who had attacked the Legations under Tung, were coming to Peking. I thought this inadvisable. He said they were Kansuh troops, but not Tung's, & that Yüan already had resolved to prevent their coming. I warned him that this was to be regarded as a quite private suggestion from me.]

Hu was seen by Jadow this morning & came afterwards to Campbell. He told the latter that he had said to Jadow that the view he took was quite in accordance with Chinese principles, and that the question who shld. haul the trains from Fêngtai was finally settled as I wished.

Start of PRO 30/33 16/5

Christmas Day. A dinner of 25, including Sir Robert Hart, including all lay members of the Legation except Mrs. Mayers who was unwell, the Dr. who is in bed with typhoid, Eastes recovering from an attack of the same, and Capt. Poole. Sir Robt. lent his band. In conversation after dinner he said that Li shortly before his death had asked him why he did

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not go home, to wch. he had replied that nothing wld. please him better than to get a letter fr. the Waiwupu [Chinese F.O.] to say that his services were no longer required. But in fact no one quite realized the difficulty of his going; as soon as he gave up the other PP. wld. try to secure his succession, and he thought it better to put off the evil day as long as possible. I remarked that in fact it was difficult for any one to gather up the threads of the work he directed. We spoke also of Canton & I told him what I had heard fr. Canton that the Fr. Consul now declared that he does not want a separate concession except by way of supporting his American coll: that I had spoken to Morgan & the Viceroy in support of an international concession there, and that separate concessions in my mind were harmful. In reply to a question he said he was taking no steps to secure the Canton native customs, but agreed with my remark that they must eventually be taken over. He told me Ratard had demanded the removal of Customs post boxes in the Fr. concession at Shanghai, wch. he had refused to do, on the ground that the auth: of the international concession wld. then be justified in making a similar demand, whereas he had with difficulty secured permission to put them up. He remarked on this being in accordance with the Fr. having put up boxes in Canton city and in the country round. Liang had been to see the Empress-Dowager at Kai-fêng & found her the man of the situation: the Emperor seemed duller than before. Junglu had been trying to make out thro' a general of his named Sun that he had it was true given orders to fire on the Legations, but coupled with the threat that if they were taken by assault Sun's head shld. answer for it: Junglu until recently had been against the Court returning to Peking, but for the past fortnight the papers pretended that it was he who had advocated the return. He thought Lu Chüanlin wld. be troublesome. The only hope was for China to get stronger & he relied a good deal on Yüan & men like him. He is told that the Empress-D. is very anxious to get back, & will probably arrive before the 7th, say 3rd or 4th January. They are travelling fast.

Campbell went to Pr. Ch'ing & talked abt. Manchurian convention, Yünnan railway & Jamieson's Pukow-Hwaiching line, in a satisfactory tone.

Geo. Jamieson talking this afternoon said his Syndicate had refused the concession he had obtained for water works at Nanking, wch. they did not think good enough. If they cld. not get the Puków line they wld. he thought perh. chuck up all the mining privileges. The line fr. Puków to Hsin-yang was intended to run nearly straight fr. Nanking to Hankow, but he thought it wld. be years before it wld. be made. There was no reason however agst. the construction of the line fr. Shanghai to Nanking wch. runs thro' a quite level country.

27 [Dec.] Conger came & read to me despp. fr. his consul at Newchwang. Russian administrator had also remonstrated agst. U.S. man of war going to winter there, but consul did not report what reply he had made. Also consul had protested agst. Russians assuming sanitary

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control over houses owned by U.S. citizens and inhabited by Chinese. Conger & I were of opinion that Russians were in the right.

Mumm came; asked abt. French pretensions to concession at Chefoo. Promised to inquire (wrote 28 Dec, to Hopkins for information). Hears the H'kg & S'hai Bank have arranged with Shêng to find all the gold for paying interest & sinking fund of the indemnity, & asked me if I knew. Told him I had not heard; had always supposed the bills wld. be put up for tender among the Banks. We discussed the 'partage'. I said Wilkinson wld. perh. in a month's time be able to tell me the total of our private claims. He wishes to be honest & said so. Told him I was convinced the Fr. & Belgians had both claimed for the damage done to the Lu-han line; and perh. they had a right to payt. of interest and value of the rolling stock destroyed; but the line fr. Peking to Paotingfu was constructed with Chinese money.

In the evening recd. "London & China Express" reporting that both Fr. & Belgian Govts. are to give 25 million francs to the Luhan railway Co.

Dec. 28 To Lessar. He spoke abt. desire of the Great Northern & Eastern Extension [Company] to deliver telegs. to the public at Tientsin & Peking. Said I had furnished de Giers with a memo. on the subject, & I supposed he had telegd. home, but I never heard any more from him. Then added what I had said to Beck & Warren when at S'hai. He promised to send similar instructions to G[rea]t. Northern manager & Consul at S'hai. So wrote to inform Warren.

“ 29. Col. C.A.R. Browne came abt. arrangements for Emperor's transit to Peking; says that the breakvan as well as locomotive must be changed at Fêngtai, and all Lu-han officials leave the train. I told him he might make what arrangements he liked with Hu, as I was contented with having frustrated Jadow's attempts to get leave to put down a line to Machiapu and to have his locomotive haul the train to that place over Northern railways. He is going to give Hu what he wants in the way of a branch to the granaries, on the same terms as the Temple of Agriculture station. Also has copies of corrspee. betw. v. Trotha and Genl. Gaselee about compensation for land taken at Ch'ien-mên for the station, and will give me copies. Employment under Chinese; has heard Yüan Shihkai wants a foreign adviser on Public Works, wld. like the billet. Told him I wld. see what cld. be done, but at present Yüan was under the impression that I was not friendly to suppression of T.P.G. Browne says he has spent £140,000 on repairs, and with another £100,000 wld. undertake to make the whole a first rate line. Not necessary to double the track betw. Peking & Tientsin; all that wld. be necessary wld. be to have a few more crossing places.

J.R. Bell came to dinner. Has been suggested to him to give an opinion on present condition of the line, & Peiho river improvement works. The latter might well afford a

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couple of hundred guineas, as they were spending money very freely, without any guarantee of its being properly applied. I approved both ideas. He spoke highly of Kinder as an engineer and for his skill in dealing with Chinese, but remarked on the imprudent strength of his language and his notion of being a great diplomatist. Blamed him for having projected the extramural railways instead of going S. from Paotingfu; thinks his real motive was a personal preference for living at Tongshan. I said that in my opinion the extramural railway was a grave political blunder into wch. the Brit. Govt. had been dragged agst. their will. The old gentleman (retired 5 years ago from India P.W.D. on acct. of age) seemed to think it necessary to blow his own trumpet, as being 'at the head of his profession' in India. C.A.R. Browne one of his pupils.

Dec. 30 Chang Te-yi came. Coronation [of King Edward VII]. Prince Ch'ing averse to sending Duke Hsün, only 17, rather a hobbadehoy; when Pr. Ch'ing went to K'aifêng he accompanied him, and distinguished himself by striking other people's sedan chairs with his whip. Proposes to memorialize throne to send a member of the Imperial Family, one of those with military rank of Chiang-chün. I reminded him of the necessity of selecting some one who will represent China properly, otherwise I had no objection to make. Liang to go, Chiang-yi apparently not.

Kowshing. Has been told by Prince Ch'ing to get the papers from other people in the Waiwupu, but apparently nothing can be done till the Court arrives, either this matter or the coronation.

Mumm came. Hwangpu. Ratard is the man, not Beau. Fr. report his consul-general send him fr. S'hai, R. is making difficulties, and is not sanguine about these being overcome. We discussed the indemnity. Showed him what I had written abt. Liu's claim & corrspce. with Salvago. Spoke also of the Russian 7 or 8 millions being taken as 8, the Fr. & Belgians both claiming 25 millions of francs for the Lu-han railway damages & loss, the U.S. contenting themselves with 7,000,000 gold dollars & the parallel case of the Shimonoseki indemnity.

Col. Bower returned & called.

Loudon came: told him all I had said to Mumm abt. the unrighteous claims of others. Explained to him the reason for demanding the monthly payments of interest &c. fr. the Chinese, 1^o not to disturb exchange 2^o to ensure the money being on the spot, & quoted the precedents.

Successful dinner to Congers, Romanos, Cárcers, Montgelas & Brewsters.

[End of 1901 diary.]

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2 Jany. Calls from Chinese officials. I wore a frock coat. First came Hu Yu-fên, Genls. Chiang Kueiti and Ma Yu-kun, the looks of the last anything but friendly. However, he spoke with approval of Anderson, the ½ caste interpreter with the railway police at T'ung-chow.

Then after lunch came Prince Ch'ing and Nat'ung, K'un-kang the Hanlin [Academy] gentleman who memorialized the throne that we had set the College on fire, and was forced by us to withdraw the accusation; Ch'ing-hsin, P'u-shan, P'u-ku and Chang Yinglin of the Board of Civil Office, Ch'ung-li of the Board of Revenue; Shih-hsü, Hsü Fu and Junghui of the Board of Ceremonies; Yutê Hsü Hui-fêng, Hsü Chih-hsiang and Li Chu-wa of the Board of War; and when they had gone a second batch consisting of Wang Wên-shao and Lien F'ang of the Foreign Board; Kuei-hêng, Chang Po-hsi, Ch'ung-hsien, Ch'ing-fêng and Shên Chia-pên of the Board of Punishments; Sung-kuei, Ko Pao-hua and Liang Chung-hêng of the Board of Works; A-Kó-tan, Shou-chi and Hui-chang of the Mongolian superintendency, and Pu-liang, Juto, Ch'ing-fu and Ch'êng Chang of the Censorate, about ⅓ Chinese, ⅓ Manchu, the rest made up mostly of Imperial Clansmen. Gave them Champagne and Curaçao, wch. they seemed to enjoy. They had already called on all the colls: except Lessar who has a different day, and were going to wind up with Romano.

In the afternoon Genl. Creagh came up on a tour of inspection of the railway posts. I dined with Na-t'ung, only Chang Tê-yi, Lien Fang, Little Tsêng, Campbell and myself. It was an entirely Chinese dinner, the dishes excellent. Shao-hsing chin, really quite drinkable, excellent Champagne. Very cheery party. Na-t'ung told us that last year he had intended to build a European style house in his courtyard, & that it was lucky for him he did not. This I confess sounded to me as an invention, intended to counteract the stories of his being an ex-Boxer.

3 Jany. Swan of the Eastern Extension came at my request, & I asked him to teleg. to Beck to reply that he had referred the demand to hand over the Taku-Tientsin-Peking land lines to me, and was awaiting instructions. I also asked him to let me know if any attempt was made to take possession of the office here. Campbell saw Prince Ch'ing at station before he left for Paotingfu, and told him I wanted to know who is to go to the Coronation, as I was not satisfied with what Chang Tê-yi had told me. Prince replied: "I have a son whom I want Sir Ernest to see!"

Bower brought me plans & elevation of a house for Commandant of the Legation guard to be built in the Hanlin. I explained to him that I had no power to give that site, as

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it belonged to the O. of W. [Office of Works], tho' personally I had no objection, and the only condition on wch. I cld. officially approve was that the plans & site shld. be approved by O. of W. to whom I wld. send them. He replied that Prendergast was not pleased with the elevations, & wanted to alter them, & therefore he wld. take the drawings back again.

4 [Jan.] Swan came again, and showed a teleg. fr. Beck begging that nothing shld. be said abt. the two Companies having agitated the question of their continued control over the land-lines.

Went to Lessar and told him what I had heard. We agreed to write a joint note to Prince Ch'ing, as the best way of broaching the matter.

Later on Swan sent a teleg. that Warren is to see Shêng on Wednesday 8 Jan.

Capt. Wu came on behalf of Hu to show 2 telegs. from Paoting from wch. it appears that Jadow must have been trying to persuade the Court that we intend to have soldiers at Fengtai & they say that if we do this, the Court will come all the way by the Luhan line to the Ch'ien-mên. Hu had telegraphed back to assure them that there was no fear of that, and I told him he might confirm it on my authority, i.e. that no soldiers wld. be in evidence.

Met Lessar at Uchida's at dinner, and told him of Warren's apptmt. but we agreed to go on nevertheless.

With Mumm talked abt. indemnity matters. He professes to be afraid lest the diplomatists at Peking will be blamed for not settling. That Romano assures him Liu's claim was not added to the other Italian claims, and offered to prove it by the production of documents. He also said he was quite willing to take it back from me. I told Mumm that this was out of the question, but of course if the Italian Legn. chose now to say that Salvago's letter to me did not accord with the real fact, he might do so. He then talked a good deal abt. the Luhan line indemnity, professing great wonder that the Belgians shld. claim for repairs to the line, his object being to find out whether we had put in a similar claim for repairs to the Northern rlwys.

5 Jany. Took dft. note to Lessar. Then he began to talk abt. the consuls not having called on the new [Russian] Administrator at Newchwang, and produced a copy of Hosie's letter to Eberhard in reply to his on the subject of the Algerine. He wanted me to instruct Hosie to call on Russian Admin'r, wch. I refused to do; "If he wrote to me on the subject wld. it be any use", he asked. I said that having no instructions I shld. refer the question home. As to the "Algerine" I had no instructions that it was proper to give notice beforehand; the claim seemed to me without foundation. Ad[miral]. Alexeieff had written to him. The Russians objected to being "treated like the Chinese". I objected to the use of this phrase,

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wch. was an insinuation that we were uncivil to Chinese; a parallel to the German press accusing our troops of barbarity and then turning round and abusing Chamberlain for saying that we should be justified in adopting greater severity, after the example of the Germans in France and other modern civilized nations. My opinion was that the Russian Auth: were temporarily administering in the place of the Chinese Auth: like the T.P.G. [Tientsin Provisional Government], and were not entitled to any other precedence. He on the other hand maintained that it shld. follow precedents of Europe; this I could not admit. Finally he said he would write to Ad. Alexeieff and say that he had spoken to me privately, and that I cld. do nothing abt. the calls, unless by instructions. As to the "Algerine" he tried to make out that she was a "stationnaire" & therefore diff[erent] to a ship merely visiting the port, and raised a question whether in Europe men of war visited a foreign port without giving notice. (It is unfortunate that the F.O. gives me no written instructions, & the teleg. ones are too short to be of use.)

Rev. Francis H. Sprent of the North China Mission dined. Has just come out from England viâ Siberia & Manchuria. They detained him at the frontier for six days before they would let him proceed.

6 Jan. Pearson brought a plan of the Legation quarter boundary, wch. I recognized as being the original from wch. the copies attached to the protocol were made.

Mumm called & discussed the Liu claim, also the claims passed over from the French Legation to [Maurice] Joostens, as to wch. there is a discrepancy. Showed him the correspce. betw. Salvago & myself & he admitted that Salvago promised to cut off the sum of his total private claims. Said that I thought H.M.G. seemed unwilling to agree to division on the basis of the figures presented by different legations in the last list. Lent him desp. fr. F.O. sending text of French law, and Liu Kunyi's proposal for the Whangpoo conservancy. Showed him Hopkins' despatch about claim of the French at Chefoo to the ownership of an island.

Conger came. Showed me translation of a letter from the Taotai of Hankow abt. catechists chapels & preaching. Said I wld. teleg. to Fraser for a report.

Lessar had been to him & tried to frighten him into believing there was danger of bloodshed at Newchwang betw. U.S. sailors and Russians. Repeated to him my conversation with Lessar yesterday abt. the calls & notification of intention to send ships. He says that Christie Russian consul at Newchwang freely admitted quite recently that Eberhard was wrong in not calling, and that Lessar himself had previously seemed uncertain on the point. When Christie left Newchwang, the instances of violence on the part of U.S. sailors of wch. Lessar complained had already occurred, & yet he did not mention them. Conger seemed to me to be very doubtful of the truth of what Lessar had

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communicated to him. Wrote a dft. to F.O. recounting my conversation with Lessar & what Conger told me.

9 Jany. Swan to see me. Gave him a note of Warren's teleg. abt. interview with Shêng and of the Red Note sent in by self & Lessar. Also told him in my opinion premature to press the question of doing away with repetition of messages at Taku.

To Uchida. He has heard nothing from Chang Chihtung abt. anxiety as to his position, but agrees that if there were any ground for it, a word to Prince Ch'ing wld. easily put things right; will try to find out whether there is any idea here of removing him. Has not recd. instructions to agree to proportionate reduction. I told him neither had I, but I feared if something were not settled, the respective Powers wld. begin to think of settling the question each separately. Asked him if he had seen Komura's admission that Japan had made betw. 4 & 5 million taels out of bundori; he hadn't. He thinks Yüan will try to reopen question of T.P.G. I said I had already given the ans[wer] of H.M.G., and that I did not wish to be urged again about it.

(I find on looking at the Japan Mail again that it is merely stated to have been a result arrived at in the Budget Committee.)

General 梅東盆 [Mei Dong-pen] came about ¼ to 1 to call. Talked a great about his own merits in helping English missionaries to escape from Tsang-chou, his campaign agst. the Boxers for wch. he was deprived of his apptmt., but now the Empress-Dowager told him at Paoting that she had been completely taken in, and said he had done well. Also family of officer accidentally killed by our people in Oct[ober] 1900 on the expedition to Paoting very poor. So I took a note of the matter & promised to send them some money. He then talked about T.P.G. I told him if it were my exclusive property (like my watch) he should have it at once, but other people had a say in the matter, and all the military people were for it. H.M.G. however were quite willing to take it into consideration, and prob. in a few months it might be arranged. We had always said that as long as the Court kept away, we could not feel any security about the treatment we shld. experience from it on its return. I heard afterwards that he went to Mumm and told him he was the only person now to be persuaded.

Tsêng came after lunch and said Beau refuses to present his credentials until he gets satisfaction on certain points, missions and the Yünnan railway, and Prince Ch'ing had sent him to me to ask my help. I said that it was a very delicate matter for me to speak to him about, especially as we were on different sides as regarded Yünnan; that of course we shld. not think of taking such a line, tho' we have plenty of matters unsettled. Ts. informed me that Mumm, Uchida & Lessar besides myself had asked for audiences. I pointed out necessity of being recd. separately to present my credentials, before the

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general reception of diplomatic body. He told me Pr. Ch'ing thinks of having more of the diplomatic ladies than on the previous occasion, and perh. wives of some of the officers. Also that the Empress-Dowager might perhaps be present at the Emperor's reception of the FRR. Told him the usual custom was for the consorts & dowagers to receive separately. He told me he was sent only to Conger, but later on when I was with Mumm he came there.

To Mumm and told him all this. He agreed that it was strange of Beau, and thought the Chinese shld. leave him to his own devices, & having 10 days to reflect in he will prob. come round. He thinks we shld. agree together to take a certain number of escort to audience, to wch. I agreed, but I said we who were going to present our credentials cld. not allow others who were not in the same case to discuss our affairs.

Poor Dr. Poole, who has been ill of typhoid for abt. 4 weeks died today about 12.30 p.m.

10 Jany. Funeral service for Dr. Poole in our chapel performed by Bishop Scott, and attended by a large concourse, including most of the foreign colleagues. Buried him in the afternoon, Norris reading the service.

Hu came with Capt. Wu. Brought me a message fr. the Empress-Dowager, that she was quite ignorant of the attacks on the Legations, and spent her time burning incense and praying for the safety of the inmates. Then he went on to talk ab[ou]t Junglu, who had made friendly approaches to him, and finally produced a decree apptg. him asst. director to Yüan Shih kai of the Northern rlwys. inside & outside the walls. I waited till he had ended & said I appreciated H.M.'s gracious message, but wondered whether she was ignorant of the deaths of members of the Legn., of an officer & men, and of wounds. I wld. say nothing of the anxiety and terror to wch. the women and children were subjected. It seemed to me that she might perh[aps] think it right under the circs. to send an official person to perform the usual obsequies at their graves. As to Junglu I had seen in a decree that he had 'protected' the legations, whereas I had been under the impression that they had protected themselves, and that his troops had taken part in the attacks. I hinted he might make a round of the legations and explain this.

As to the edict, I told him my desire was to see him reinstated in the position he had formerly occupied, and that he might tell those who gave him the edict that I had read it, but made no remarks.

11 Jan. T'sen Chun ming 岑春蓂 Govr. of Shansi came with an interpreter who stuttered in English & another who spoke French to call. He said everything was satisfactorily settled in his province. I spoke of the magistrate of Shou-yang & said I considered him guilty of the death of the Pigotts; he defended him, & asked if I had seen Allen. I said yes, but he

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was a hired advocate, and the only witness in the magistrate's favour was a renegade Christian. Finally he said the man had gone into exile in Kunonh.

He talked about Manchuria, and said the Russian proposals amounted to its complete acquisition, and if that took place it was felt by the Emperor & Empress-Dowager that they could not safely remain in Peking. I said the Russians were particularly anxious to have the Court here within their grasp. The only thing China cld. do was to bring the matter before the Powers if she could not obtain satisfactory terms. Something she must concede, as the Russians had obtained the right to construct r[ai]lw[a]ys, but she must not give away the Treaty rights of other Powers. On his objecting that Russia refused to allow them to put the matter before the other Powers, I said China need not fear. As in the spring the refusal to sign had not been followed by any of the dire consequences threatened, neither wld. they now. He also talked abt. Tientsin, & asked whether its restoration depended on Manchuria being given up. I said that in my personal opinion Newchuang ought to be given up before Tientsin, there had been much less reason for taking it, in fact none, whereas Tientsin had been used as a base for attacking the foreign settlements, but I did not know that one was connected with the other.

Meeting of colls: at wch. we discussed the list of claims of the various Powers and finally fixed a total; Lessar proposed we shld. take this as a basis of division, but I said I could not agree until the others made the reductions they had spoken of, in the same way that I had cut down my claims. There was a vote later. Beau of course with Lessar, the others except Uchida said they wld. agree if all the others did.

Audiences. We agreed that the audiences for the presentation of credentials shld. take place one day, the general audience a second day and that of the ladies and children a third. We read & agreed to the speech to be made by the Doyen at the general audience.

12 Jany. de Cartier came to talk abt. municipal regulations. I said I wld. be happy to join. We must have a cadastre [land register] signed by the Ministers & agree not to alter roads &c. except by the Municipal Council. He wants Japse. to make a pathway thro' their ground from Canal Street to the Club, to give us easy means of access.

We discussed indemnities question, and I told him my curiosity had been excited by learning that the Luhan people were to get £1,000,000 from Belgium & an equal sum fr. France. He replied that he had no curiosity abt. our claims, wch. I take to mean that he has heard all about it.

13 [Jan.] Yüan Shih kai came with T'ang. He wanted to have Tientsin back & pressed me a good deal. I said that personally I saw no difficulty in giving up the civil administration in say April, but military men prob. thought otherwise. Anyhow I was only an agent of the British Govt. & could do no more. I pointed out that Tientsin is mentioned in Art. IX

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of the Protocol, as one of the places to be occupied, and when he pointed to the article abt. the improvement of the Peiho, I explained to him that the mention of the T.P.G. therein only indicated that it wld. be given up sometime or other, but not simultaneously with the signing of the Protocol. How abt. Manchuria. There the Russians held Newchuang, on flimsy pretexts taken possession of, diverted the Customs revenue to their own purposes, held the railway to Shanhaikwan. If we gave up Tientsin & the rlwy. wch. was sure to be demanded later, there wld. be an empty space betw[een] the Russians & Peking: wld. they like that? He must not suppose we had taken the northern railway for ourselves. We had stepped in, and taken it out of Russian hands for the benefit of the Chinese. I then referred to the Edict abt. railways, and said I was not satisfied with Hu being merely "assistant-adm[inistrato]r". It was not what I had been led to expect when Prince Ch'ing & Li told me 'the person wld. be satisfactory' to me: at that time there was no question of himself, only one person cld. be intended. He asseverated [declared solemnly] that Hu wld. be the real adm[inistrato]r. I responded that *litera scripta manet* [The written word endures]. Assurances given verbally would not content me, for I might go away, and there would be nothing to show what was agreed to. I must be satisfied in writing. He protested that it would be harmful to him and Hu if I insisted, on account of Chang Yenmao, who had been shunted with difficulty. I said I liked Hu well enough but it was not on his account, but for the sake of the promise made to me, on the fulfilment of wch. I must insist. He proposed to call with Hu in a day or two, and then repeat in Hu's presence what he had said to me abt. Hu's being the de facto administrator. I said that wld. not suffice, I must have it in writing. He then returned to the Tientsin question, & said that he was told by people outside that Mumm & I were the only ministers who opposed its restoration. I replied that I could see them doing it with my mind's eye, and was sure they were the very people who were opposed to giving up Manchuria.

As to the latter I cld. not get from him any admission that the Russians had replied they could not abate or modify their terms, as is reported. He assured me China wld. stand firm, and not give up any of our rights. Asked if our giving up the T.P.G. wld. facilitate restoration of Manchuria, he said it wld., but deprecated the one being linked with or made dependent on the other.

Morrison came. He says Liang complained of disclosures in blue book of information communicated thro' Fraser, and that Brennan's telegs. some of them ought not to have been published. Genl. Creagh told him French are going to reduce to permanent force when the river opens; Japanese have practically done so already, & he thought we shld. do the same. M. thinks Count Walderssee in one of his papers included S[hang]hai in the 'transitory' period. I told him S'hai had never been discussed by the Diplomatic Body,

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any more than Manchuria.

McCormick came. He asked whether it was true, as people said outside, that the Manchurian agreement had been signed. Told him I thought not. He asked abt. rows at Newchuang. Told him I had recd. no reports, but Conger had told me of arrest and subsequent release of U.S. sailors. He had heard also of a U.S. sailor having shot a Russian. Advised him not to teleg. what he had 'heard' merely, but only what he knew to be a fact. He says Hart expresses himself in favour of the Russian terms, wch. are no more than what Germany has for Shantung.

Ch'ü Hung-chi called with Lien-fang. He is one of the Grand Council and has been apptd. to the Foreign Board along with Wang Wênshao. Hunanese, 51 years of age, very bright and pleasant. Only a formal call.

14 Jany. Collins of Reuter came. Asked for my speech after presentation of credentials, wch. I promised. Told him the reports of 'friction' at Newchuang were much exaggerated. He had recd. 2 cables fr. his people asking for a report.

Sir Robt. [Hart] came to talk abt. Manchuria. I got out the text of the 4 articles wch. Fraser sent us, & read them. They were he said just what Prince Ch'ing had shown to him thro' Natung. The first abt. the Russo-Chinese bank was the one they most objected to, because it was giving to them treaty sanction for a mere commercial arrange[men]t. The Russians wanted to have all enterprise in Manchuria reserved to them. The Chinese wish to stipulate that they shall do them, if unable they will in each case offer the refusal to the Russo-Chinese bank, wch. has five million taels of Chinese money. Pokotilov has come out hastily to press this. Perh. it is only bluff, & he may have got authority fr. de Witte to push for this clause if he can get it. The Chinese also object to the prohibition agst. cannon. Hart understands the Russians to insist on the limitation of troops in Manchuria, in order to diminish their own military charges on the frontier. I said that I thought as far as H.M. Govt. were concerned, they did not wish to be put in a parliamentary difficulty, as would happen if the Chinese gave a formal promise of monopoly of mines & rlwys. to the Russians. We shld. not help any B.S. [British Subject] wld. [sic. who?] went prospecting for mines in Manchuria, any more than we would in Shantung. The 4th article stipulating for the observance of the Scott agreement and the Hgkg & S'hai B[an]k loan agreement was very satisfactory. I thought perhaps Lessar had suggested to them that they shld. divulge it to us to allay our opposition. If so, why put in the first one abt. the Russo-Chinese bk. wch. could only excite our suspicions. As to the bridging of the Liao river &c. that seemed rather of an academical nature. Hart said he had been told by Lessar early in the month that no ans. had come fr. St. Petersburg, so it is evident they discuss together. The Chinese want to content everybody. I said all we really cared for

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was freedom of commerce, but if the Chinese openly gave away what would conflict with the most favoured nation clause, we shld. ask for compensation.

Chang Têyi came. Said Prince Ch'ing wants his son to go to the Coronation [of Edward VII] so agreed that he shld. call on me. Told him I wished the audiences for presentation of credentials to be put off, as the day mentioned to me was Sunday. (Campbell was told by Yüan later in the day that the proper one to send was Lun Peitze, who is a candidate for succession to the throne, his rival being the prospective offspring of Prince Chun and a dau. of Junglu.)

Genl. Creagh came up and we discussed teleg. fr. F.O. about reduction of troops in the spring. He could send away the greater part of the railway guards, and a battalion or so, leaving only 1600 men, besides the legation guard. T.P.G. he wishes to keep on the whole of the 'permanent' period of occupation, & railway also.

Hu came to persuade me to accept a letter fr. Yüan & himself stating that they were conjoint t'u pan. I told him I stuck to the wording of the letter of Prince Ch'ing & Li, and that not on his personal account, but for the sake of the promise given to me, I should continue to insist on its being literally fulfilled.

Campbell saw Yüan later, who told him exactly the same abt. Manchuria as I had from Hart.

15 [Jan.] Creagh & I to Mumm, who said he had no instructions abt. reduction, but personally agreed that the time had come for it. As to T.P.G. he felt its life could not be prolonged much longer. We agreed however to leave this question to be discussed after the other had been settled. There is to be a conference of generals on the 17th.

Saw the general off at the station.

Loudon came to ask abt. remittance of the Dutch portion to the Hague. I told him that as I read the protocol the Chinese might either give Dutch coin to that amount, or the amount of H.K. taels required for purchase of bills on the Hague. Had heard the Hgkg & Shai Bank had contracted for the whole. He said that was so, & the other banks were furious. I remarked that prob. I shld. be credited with having used my influence, but of course it was merely that the Bank had offered to do it cheaper than any one else, and I did not see how that could be helped. Only I foresaw that there wld. be an outcry against the use of English gold and la perfide Albion!

Mumm came abt. audience ceremonial, & the question whether we shld. alight from our chairs outside the Ta-ts'ing mên or Wumên, and whether the staffs shld. separately enter by the Tunghua mên (he attaches great importance to our entering by the Ta-ts'ing mên, wch. concession he has obtained; Prince Ch'ing sent me a message yesterday thro' Campbell that they wld. certainly accord what the German Minr. had proposed on this

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head). I agreed with him to hold out abt. the staffs & ourselves both alighting at the Wu-mên.

He was rather surprised it seems at the Genl. having as it were brought him a message from Rohrscheidt this morning. I explained that I had set the ball rolling by a teleg. to Creagh, wch. he had recd. before his talk with Rohrscheidt. He thinks we cannot long delay the deace of the T.P.G. tho' he told Yüan that this was not the time to discuss it. I said Yüan only wanted a date fixed and wld. prob. be content with April 1. If our two Govts. were agreed the matter wld. be speedily settled. About the 'partage' I said I had fully explained the position to H.M.G. and had not yet recd. an answer. He asked me the same question abt. remittances as London, to wch. I replied in the same manner, and he expressed his satisfaction, because as he had told me before, the other bankers were afraid that the strong position of the HgKg & S'hai Bank & their energy wld. enable them to get the whole of the remitting business into their hands.

Cousins has again written to him, ignoring Tower's answer to him that he cld. not establish his claim to ½ the lane betw. J. M. [Jardine Matheson] & Co's property & the Germ. Legation, & offering to exchange it for the tinsmith's shop, wch. is a bit of mala fides [bad faith]. He has however written politely to him offering a piece 4000 sq. metres in extent, and 1500 sq. metres more upon liberal terms, in exchange for the present holding of J.M. & Co. wch. is only 3000 sq. metres. I regretted the mala fides, but explained that Cousins was only an agent.

Tug & Lighter Co's claim agst. Germ. military Auth: asked if he could help me to get a reply & promised to send him my dates.

16 [Jan.] Kinder called. Talked abt. arrangements for eventually handing over the rlwy. provided certain arrangements were made wch. suited military requirements and the bondholders' interests, said I wished he wld. draw up heads, and then I could send them home for consideration. That I was insisting on Hu's being appted. Administrator-general as a definite promise had been made to me by Prince Ch'ing. He went away quite happy and I heard later on that he went straight to Hu and blabbed to him.

Little Ts'êng came about the credentials audience. He said Prince Ch'ing had given way about the Tien an mên, but a certain minister now wanted the Wu mên. I told him that it wld. be very inconvenient for me to be separated from my staff, and that the Court outside the Wu mên had lost much of its sanctity in the eyes of all foreigners and prob. many Chinese. I must hear what my colls: had to say on the subject before I could respond to Prince Ching's request to assist him in the matter.

17 [Jan.] Meeting of colls: at wch. we agreed to send in a joint red note, accompanied by a French text signed by us all demanding politely the Wumên and our suites with us.

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Sung-shou the Govr. of Honan called. He was profuse in his expression of friendship, and I thanked him for his civility to the English missionaries who went into his province recently.

Last night I talked with Uchida abt. the desired reduction of troops, and found Jap. Govt. quite willing. He mentioned T.P.G. and said they also were ready.

After lunch to Beau, who said he had reported on both reduction of troops and abolition of T.P.G. to his govt. who approved 'en principe', and that when all were agreed we could give the necessary instructions. The Germans alone held out for T.P.G. and the Chinese were evidently afraid of being left alone with them, for when they heard the other day that Col. Arlabosse was to be transferred to something else, they came to beg he might stay, for that reason.

Then on to Mumm, and told him what I had heard fr. Uchida and Beau. He explained how he had telegd. to Rohrscheidt expressing his surprise at not having been told beforehand, and I said R. had told him that he or v. Falkenhayn having examined the Waldersee 'protocol' had found it was a political question, so could not come to the conference, and that Creagh had postponed it. Mumm said v. F. was afraid for his pay on the T.P.G. wch. depends to a certain extent on the retention of the troops. He had telegd. but got no reply yet. He wld. like to wait a day or two before asking for instructions. Perhaps his govt. were in the midst of discussing the N. China estimates in Parliament and might be discontented at such a proposal arriving just now. Then I asked him abt. Shanghai. He said that he cld. assure me personally tho' not for the F.O. that his people had no intention of staying at Shanghai, but did not want to be pressed. Last autumn the fuss in the press and questions in parliament had looked like pressure, and then the Br. Govt. put a polite question at Berlin. I said either the Undersecretary at Berlin or Lascelles had very little idea of geography, for the reply we got was that Germany having no 'place d'armes' like Hongkong had to keep men at S[hang]hai to meet the eventuality of trouble in the North. They had evidently forgotten the existence of Kiaochou. In the same manner Count Bülow and Lord Lansdowne had both spoken of the Peiho and Yangtze in one breath as if they were both huge rivers. He laughed and said he did not understand the reference to securing equal rights on the Peiho, for he had never heard of their being in question. I did not pursue the question.

Claud Russell arrived via Manchuria.

18 Jan. Chang Têyi brought Prince Ch'ing's son to call, with a view to my approving him for the Coronation [of King Edward VII]. He is 26 years of age, pleasant open countenance, excellent manners, and tho' perh. ignorant, not stupid.

19 Jan. Sir Chentung Liang Chêng came to call. Among other things he said that the German

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Emperor only asked for the route to Kô-tou. They first heard of it at Naples, and were much disconcerted. Went on to Genoa, where he persuaded the Prince to go on to Basle. Here they recd. a plan of the audience, and stayed there eight days, till the point was settled in their favour. They got an indirect hint to come back straight without visiting any other country, and thought it best to comply.

Liang has been asked by Prince Ch'ing to remain here over the winter, instead of going to Tientsin, where he has an offer to join the Engineering & Mining Co. He seems rather a vulgar sort of fellow, a Cantonese and clever.

20 Jan. Casenave came to ask abt. the sous-préfet of Taiyuen-fu, who the Chinese say was wrongly put on the black list. I promised to look up the matter, and try to give him the proper name.

He asked if I had any objection to letting off a man belonging to Yüan-ching hsien who had been accused of anti-missionary proceedings, one 王, by the Jesuit fathers. I said no.

He told me one Fr. missionary had been murdered, and two others seized in Canton province. The Chinese say the former was a case of private vengeance.

I took the opportunity of informing him that I was sending a consular officer to watch the proceedings of the Fr. consular officer fr. Canton who has been sent on board a gunboat to inquire into some disputes betw. Catholic & Presbyterian converts. Deplored the missionaries of different churches taking part in these quarrels, and said I was not one of those who thought mission work shld. be backed up by the arm of the flesh. We also mentioned Monseigneur Reynaud and the Spanish priest in regard to whom Pichon & I had sent instructions to our consuls to warn missionaries not to antagonize each other.

Paid return call on Chü Hung-chi, to whom I said confidentially that I had seen Prince Ch'ing's eldest son Chên, and thought he wld. do well for the Coronation. They shld. announce the apptmt. as soon as possible, in order that I might let our people at home know in time to make the necessary preparations.

From there went on to Sung-chou, whom I alarmed by saying I should ask him to dinner.

Castello Branco came with a mass of papers abt. the Guedes[?] claim, wch. I declined to look at, on the ground that there was no appeal from H.P. Wilkinson to me. I offered however to hand over the whole business to him to deal with. Finally I agreed to ask H.P.W. to send a report of his reasons in each case.

He then sketched out what he wants to get out of the Chinese with regard to the delimitation of Macao, and I fixed the 23rd for him to come to lunch and talk it all over with the maps and papers. His idea is to get 3 islands, Lappa, Don Juan & another, and to abandon the hinterland, wch. is occupied by Chinese peasants, & instead to propose a

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railway to Samshui. In return for Lappa he will offer to Sir Robt. Hart to assist in preventing the smuggling of boiled opium to Canton, wch. wld. be worth a great deal – millions – to the Chinese.

He also talked of having land in the Legation quarter. I told him there was none unappropriated. He has some idea of sharing with the Spanish Legn. or otherwise acquiring land inside by purchase, but if not wld. rely on the m.f.n. clause to obtain a location outside fr. the Chinese Govt. I said I thought he might do that if he cld. not otherwise get accommodation.

He also elaborately excused himself for having gone to stay at the German Leg. wch. was owing to Mumm's insistence, who had been recd. by the Govr. of Macao very hospitably and wished to make some return. I expressed my regret at not having known when to expect him, as I wld. otherwise have placed a room at his disposal.

21 Jan. Prince Kung, grandson of the statesman, came to make a new year's call. He seems a pleasant and intelligent young man, age 22. Would greatly like to visit England.

Conger came to say he was quite ready to hand over to us charge of the American concession at Tientsin. He is not going to accept the other piece offered him by the Chinese.

Yüan & Hu came to say that having been apptd. to administer the Northern railways, the latter wld. act for them both on ordinary occasions & when Yüan was absent.

They then went on to urge restoration of the railway at an early date. I said that I wld. ask for instructions. It wld. be necessary to provide for the military requirements and the safeguarding of the interests of the British & Chinese Corporation, and the settlement of accounts of the military administration. I wld. ask for powers to discuss these questions. But they must not be in a hurry.

They hoped I wld. not ask for anything that wld. lead to demands on the part of Russia respecting the extra-mural portion, especially military control of any kind. Hoped rlwy. would be handed over before, or at least, synchronously with the abolition of the T.P.G.

I mentioned the prob. diminution of the no. of troops. To this Yüan professed indifference.

Lastly he said that "Good friends are coming." On my asking what this meant, he said a decree had come out a couple of days ago summoning Liu Kung-yi & Chang Chih-tung to Court. The former after a stay of 10 days or so wld. go back to Nanking, the latter it was hoped wld. remain to help in the Govt. as a member of the Grand Council.

I said most strongly that this plan shld. be given up, that it would excite great opposition in England, gave him the reasons, and said that if the idea were persisted in it

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wld. be useless for me to ask for instructions abt. T.P.G. or railway. I held firmly to this, in spite of all his arguments, and he went away, I hope, convinced that the scheme wd. have to be given up.

Among other things he urged was that their coming wld. be for the advantage of England. Russia he said had no more influence in Peking since the death of Li. I said on the contrary this plan was the execution of ideas expressed by Lessar before he left London, that he had talked of them as "unruly viceroys" who must be brought to a sense of their bearings, that Russia detested them as the chief agents in frustrating Li's Manchurian convention. It had always been foretold that on the return of the Empress-Dowager she wld. have these men removed and punished for their opposition to the extermination edicts, of wch. opposition they were in the eyes of the world the leaders. It might be true as he said that he was the prompter, but Shantung was out of the world's view, wch. looked to what went on along the Yangtze. I could conceive nothing more disastrous.

(After his assurance to Campbell of a few days ago, to wch. however, I did not allude, as Hu was present, this sudden volte-face is curious. Campbell thinks perh. this is only a try-on. Anyhow he carried off Hu with him to consult, and as he went down the steps to his chair, said he should go and have a talk with Junglu.)

22 Jany. Audience of the Emperor to present credentials, to wch. I took the whole staff, except Hewlett, with Norris, Bower & Browning acting Med. Off. [Medical Officer]. Everything was carried out as stipulated by the protocol, with the addition that our procession passed thro' the Ta-tsing mên, Tien-an-mên, Tuan-mên to outside of Wu-mên, wch. is the real South gate of the Palace. Here I got out of the Imperial Chair sent for me, and the others out of their chairs (legation property & hired), and I was put with a two-bearer open chair, carried thro' the Taiho-mên, and then round the Tai-ho-tien on its E. side, thro' a gate or two, and then to the outside of the Chien-ch'ing-mên thro' the Ch'ing-yün mên; the staff following on foot. The large spaces inside were very impressive, so was the Taiho-tien on its pile of terraces rising one above the other round the vast building. A waiting room had been prepared for us, with tables covered with fruit & sweetmeats and chairs, and it was already crowded with other colleagues who had to present their credentials & their respective staffs.

All the members of the Wai-wu-pu were there fr. Prince Ch'ing downwards. Shortly the German minister was called out with his staff, and after a lapse of about ten minutes we got the signal. We walked up the central causeway and entered the Chien-ch'ing kung [The Palace of Heavenly Purity in the Forbidden City], at the back of wch. the Emperor was seated behind a table draped in black, on a chair, the throne being behind. The carpet

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was a common Brussels. Right & left of him on the dais stood Prince Ch'ing, Prince Su and two others, and a line of princes down each side on the same level as ourselves. I drew out my speech typewritten (by mistake) on a sheet of black edged foolscap and recited it, looking at the Emperor the whole time. Then Campbell read the Chinese translation, after wch. I walked up the steps accompanied by Na-t'ung and placed it in H.M. hands, who just rose to receive it. I retreated backwards down the three steps, Na-t'ung actually coming down them with his back to the Emperor! Then the latter handed a piece of paper to Prince Ch'ing without a word, and walking down, stood at my side. As soon as he had read a portion, Campbell began the translation, wch. he read to the end: then the Prince read the second part, so Campbell had to read that portion of the translation over again.

The Emperor looked emaciated, his eyes large and bright, & with rather a kind look, but very full underneath, what we call tear bags.

We made our three bows, retreating backwards, and walked back down across the courtyard to the waiting room, and shortly afterwards we started homewards. At the Ching-yün-mên I changed into my big chair, but the others had to walk as far as the Tung hun mên. So we got home about one, were photographed in a group by Barr and by a Chinese photographer, and I got my lunch at 1.30.

23 Jan. Visited Dr. Gatrell's hospital in the Chinese city, and went over it with Dr. Gatrell.

Castello-Branco came to lunch, and we talked over his mission wch. is nothing else than to carry out the demarcation of Macao and its dependencies as agreed in 1878. He says he has refused to take up the indemnity question, but thinks Portugal's position as a non-signatory of the Protocol and hence not bound by it is a strong one. He seems moderate. I told him I had general instructions to support him, but it must depend on the extent and manner of Portuguese demands; also that the time is not particularly propitious. He says that up to 1860 Portugal possessed Lapa de facto, but it was then given up he does not know how. In addition there are four other islands on the South of Macao of wch. they possess part, & in all of wch. they exercise jurisdiction. He is disposed to offer help in collection of Chinese revenue fr. boiled opium at Macao, and so do them a good turn, to ask for a lease of Lapa, the recognition of possession of the four islands, and construction of a railway line from Macao to Canton & Samshui. Will prepare a memo. after he has talked with Hart and secured his cooperation. He wants to make a friend of little Tsêng, and I recommended him to try doing business with Na-tung. He professes to be ready to consult with me, and to have said nothing to Mumm. Tattenbach & Rouvier the Germ. & Fr. mins. at Lisbon were furious on hearing of his apptmt. Recounted to him my experience of Tattenbach in the matter of the German claims at Casablanca.

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Capt. Menzies called this morning. Said he had seen Hu and talked to him about raising a force of 2000 men for protection of the railway, wch. Hu desires – only Yüan not to be told! Menzies much aggrieved by an adverse report of him made by Col. A.G.R. Browne.

24 Jany. Uchida came to say that he had heard that the Manchurian convention was to be signed in a few days, and that the Russians were to get preferential rights in mining & so forth, by an agreement to be signed with the Russo-Chinese Bank. I repeated to him that we must not allow anything to be done wch. interfered with our rights, and we agreed to speak to Prince Ch'ing.

I told him I was authorized to agree to a diminution of the troops at Tientsin and was also inclined to cut down one-half the Legation guard when the spring came. He was still with me when Lessar came, but soon retired. Lessar had to talk about the importation of arms. Lord Lansdowne on 16 Nov. had written to M. de Stael that the proclamation agst. exportation to China was still in force. His idea was that the consuls shld. take possn. Of arms smuggled by their countrymen and delivered to them by the customs, to be re-exported & out of the proceeds the 3/10 reward to be given; or else that the ammunition shld. be destroyed & the arms broken up, the material being sold for the payment of the rewards. I said I thought this feasible, & he undertook to write a letter to the Doyen for circulation.

T.P.G. told him my view that Yüan Shihkai wld. be contented with 1 April, & I thought we cld. agree to this.

He [Lessar] argued a good deal agst. the Japse. extra-claim, wch. he thought they wld. give up, but there was the difficulty about the further reduction of 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. I said I had recommended H.M.G. to adopt the plan last proposed of a reduction all round, but had recd. no instructions.

As to Nanpiao coal, he had telegd. to Ad. Alexeieff suggesting that payment should be made, and he had no doubt it would be done.

I remarked that at Newchwang there seemed to be less friction than the papers had reported. Of course as Capt. Eberhard was not writing in his own language, he might accidentally use phrases that were not understood. I understood Ostrovenkof was still there, being desirous not to give up the port, while Eberhard did not care to take it; hence perh. the reason of what had happened. He said that it was quite true imperfect knowledge of a language led to misunderstandings; thus Eberhard was greatly scandalised at the U.S. consul using the expression "your people" in writing to him, wch. he thought derogatory.

Proposed diminution of our suites at the next big audience, on account of the

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restricted space, but he did not like the idea.

楊士驤 Yang, a taotai in the confidence of Yüan Shihkai, and Tsêng 曾廣銓 came. Their mission was to tell me that the Viceroys had been told they need not come up at present. Also Yang told Campbell that Junglu wld. like to call.

McCormick came to ask if it were true that Ch'ên, the son of Prince Ch'ing, had been nominated to the Coronation. I said yes, and praised the young Prince, for Browne had told me Morrison had telegraphed crabbing him. He also said he was told by high officials that the Manchurian convention was on the point of being signed. I said that I had heard the same rumour, but did not know whether it was true.

Morrison came in later, said McCormick had telegd. that it had been signed today. Replied that I did not personally believe this, and told him what I knew to have happened. He complained that he cld. not do his work, and was half inclined to telegraph his resignation. I soothed him, and said he ought to be well satisfied with the useful work he had done, in being able to find out so much about matters of importance.

25 Jany. Mumm came. Said that Castello-Branco had told him all abt. the islands the Portuguese wanted, wch. was a matter of no interest; also that C-B had hinted to him that Portugal wld. refuse to be bound by the stipulation as to the 5%, and wld. use this as a lever with the Chinese. Replied that I understood C-B had no such intention. Hinted that I shld. like to diminish our suites at the general audience, to wch. he showed no friendly disposition. Says that Mrs. Conger has drafted a sort of political speech to be addressed to the Empress-Dowager, and as it will prob. have to be sent to the Chinese thro' the Doyen [Czikann], we shall in a measure become responsible for it. Expressed my opinion agst. ladies mixing in political matters; the speech shld. only be on political topics; perh. I wld. speak to Conger.

Campbell obtained last night draft of the proposed agreement with Russo-Chinese bank wch. I sent to F.O, & Tokio.

Told Campbell I wld. like to recommend him for the Chinese Secretaryship if Cockburn did not return, and that I wld. try to make it as acceptable as possible to him. He replied that he did not hanker after it, but wld. accept, as he had found it very pleasant to work with me; and I expressed my satisfaction with the way he managed things. He saw Yang last night & T'sêng & told them that I wld. receive Junglu's visit. If he made no allusion to his attack on the Legation, neither wld. I, but amongst Europeans silence on the matter wld. seem strange, and that if he said something it would be well-[received?].
[end of page].

26 Jany. Saw Mumm & told him that on the initiative of Genl. Sucillon a meeting was held of generals to wch. Genl. Rohrscheidt declined to go, to discuss question of reduction, and

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that all except Wogack had voted for it. I was rather surprised at the meeting being held under the circs. M said that evidently Creagh or his wife desired to get away in the spring.

To Czikann to talk abt. Mrs. Conger's speech. He does not like the idea, and will put Tsêng on to the Congers to get it from them. I said it seemed to me wrong that diplomatic ladies shld. play a political rôle.

He told me a story abt. Sabbione having bought 6 houses after the relief wch. had to be pulled down to form the Austrian glacis, & that Salvago had included a large sum for them in his indemnity claim! and that when they came to pull them down, they had increased in number to 12.

To Hart, about Chungking harbour, a portion to be set apart for exclusive use of English gunboats. He said he could not do this. The only way wld. be to approach the Waiwupu. This I said was not worth while.

Newchuang customs. The Waiwupu has written to him abt. paying the salaries of certain officials out of the 1/10 allowed for collection, and this will give him an opening for addressing them on the subject of getting the Russians to account for the money recd. He will do this in the course of the week, and if he gets a reply, will let me know. As to Manchuria, Lessar told him two days ago that nothing was being done, and that the Chinese were gone to sleep over it. Pokotilof however is actively pressing it. He, after our talk, had told the Chinese what I had said about not putting anything in the convention that other Powers could object to.

28 Jany. Audience of the whole diplomatic body today at the Chien-ching-kung.¹ The Emperor was seated at a table draped with black & yellow on a slightly elevated dais in the middle of the floor, while the Empress-Dowager occupied the throne on the higher dais behind. After Czikann's speech & the Emperor's reply, we 8 ministers mounted onto the dais & the Emperor spoke some words in Chinese to Prince Ch'ing, who passed them on to Lien-fang, & he translated them into his very poor French, to the effect that he regretted what had happened in 1900 & thanked the foreign powers for having sent troops to put down the troubles & restore order. He trusted that henceforth our friendly relations wld. remain unbroken. We bowed & retired, on wch. the Doyen took up the four Ch. d'Aff. & presented them. Then we filed along the Emperor's left, & mounted the dais where the Empress Dowager was sitting. She appeared to me to be under the influence of strong emotion, but mastered [it] & began to speak, also in Chinese, but in set phrases,

¹ The Palace of Heavenly Purity in the Forbidden City. "This was the first time foreign diplomats had ever entered the Forbidden City with an invitation; previous audiences had all been staged outside its walls." Sterling Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 405. But what about the audience on January 22nd described above? It was also held in the Palace of Heavenly Purity.

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that she had desired to see the F.R.R. Prince Ch'ing pointed us out by name to her, but there was a mistake abt. Mumm H.M. thinking that I, who stood on Conger's right, was the German, and when the Prince indicated him again she looked at him with special attention; then came the turns of myself and Lessar, upon whom she bestowed hardly any recognition. She went on to say she was very sorry &c. and wound up by saying 使臣平安, happiness & health to the Ministers & then dismissed us with a gracious nod. ¹

Mumm came in the afternoon, to urge me further abt. the Russian principle of partage, to wch. I replied that I had as yet no answer, tho' I had pressed H.M.G. to agree. He said he had heard fr. Berlin under the seal of strict secrecy that the F.O. had expressed their dissatisfaction about the indemnities claimed on behalf of the Luhan line & the Shanhaikwan-Newchwang line, but he had thought they wld. eventually give way. I said perh. they were talking at Paris & Brussels abt. the Lu-han line; that the only practical way of dealing with the indemnities wld. have been to ask the Hague tribunal to appt. a commission, but it now seemed too late.

Tientsin-Chinking line. In Berlin they are beginning to desire to start work. He understood that the northern portion was to be done independently by the Germans, the southern by us. I said that I did not remember the conditions very exactly, but fancied it was something of the kind, and wld. look it up.

Jan. 29 Sir Robt. [Hart] came to say that Nat'ung had brought him the only copy of the dft. agreement betw. Pokotiloff &c. abt. industrial enterprises, wch. he repeated to me verbatim (in accordance with what Campbell had given me) with the further addition that the agree. of March with the Tartar-general of Kirin ratified in July was to be construed in accordance with the terms of this agreement, and that all agreements in the 3 [Manchurian] provinces shld. be made by the Tartar generals with the concurrence of the Superintendent of Northern trade. As Prince Ching & Nat'ung are dining with me tonight, they wished me to know it before hand, as Uchida had been to Pr. Ch'ing on the 27th and pressed him so hard that he almost lost his temper; Conger also went and spoke in the same tone as Uchida. Now the Chinese are getting reports fr. Manchuria abt. the treatment wch. the population experiences at the hands of the Russians, and it is necessary to finish the business, or the Russians will remain there permanently. Pr. has telegd. to de Witte, and will expect to get a reply in a day or two. Prince hopes that our

¹ "How could she possibly explain to these assembled diplomats and military men what she could not explain to anyone: That for nearly a decade the palace had been in the grip of a power struggle climaxing first in the crushing of the Hundred Days Reform, then in the Boxer theatrics and the siege of the legations. Since 1893 when Prince Tuan had first begun insinuating himself into her inner circle, she had known no peace." Sterling Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 406.

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objections will be made as light as possible.

I said I cld. not give an answer off the reel, to wch. he said that he did not ask for it.

As to Newchwang Customs he wrote yesterday to Prince Ch'ing abt. the difference of the position there & at Tientsin, at the latter place the revenues were paid to China, at the other to the Russo-Chinese bank. It was for the Chinese to decide what step they would take.

As to recognizing Hongkong dollars as equal to Mexican at Chefoo, he said he could not give instructions to the Comr. of Customs, as desired by Cowan the acting Comr. at Weihaiwei.

Morrison came. Says Conger telegd. direct to the associated press all about his conversation with Prince Ch'ing on the 27th, also all abt. the audience yesterday. Finds that the terms of the Pokotiloff agreement were sent home by the press on 5 Jany. so he wld. not care to send it himself now. Taotai Yang has taken Li Ching-mai's place as a director of the Russo-Chinese bank at 500 taels a month. I told him confidentially that we are not anxious to get rid of the English troops at Shanghai just yet. Also what had happened at Tientsin about the conference of generals. He had seen Mumm this morning, who looked very glum, and wld. not give him any information. Mentioned Prince Ch'ing's son, whom he understood I thought had very good manners and was a nice fellow; replied yes. (Hart told me he had heard fr. Campbell that there was a diatribe in the "Times" about Chang Tê-yi; said that this was most unwise & productive of no possible good []).

Rev. Geo. Owen, Dr. Cochrane and Rev. T. Howard-Smith came as a deputation to inquire how they should get their claims of about 91,000 taels paid. Told them what I had recommended to H.M.G. & suggested that the London Missionary Society shld. try to open negotiations with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

30 Jan. Teleg. fr. F.O. abt. draft agreement betw. Russo-Chinese Bank and Chinese, refusing to sanction. I sent off telegs. to Fraser & Sundius, and then went to tell Hart. He said it was quite true, what F.O. said, but Chinese felt that Russia being in possn. they must give something to get her out.

Mumm came after lunch & said Knappé telegd. that Mackay was trying to get thro' the Mixed Court business alone without properly taking him & Goodnow into account. I explained that my share in the affair was now handed over to Mackay, but I wld. write & suggest to him to bring in the U.S. & Germ. Consuls-general somehow.

The young gentleman who took photographs at the last audience was Pilon[?] of the Fr. Legn.

T.P.G. he does not want it to go till it has finished the Peiho reclamation works; I

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pointed out to him that the Chinese were bound by the protocol to go on contributing, and that if we made the termination of the two simultaneous the natural inference wld. be that the works were finished & no more need be done. Also that we sld. stipulate for such a time as wld. enable the demolition of the forts to be carried out, and also that Tientsin being one of the points occupied by us, no Chinese troops can be stationed there. He said that as a matter of fact the T.P.G. were really carrying out the Peiho improvement, and his Govt. had asked him whether the latter wld. go on as satisfactorily after the termination of the T.P.G. to wch. he was unwilling to take the responsibility of an affirmative reply. I said there was an International Commission, to wch. the T.P.G. only sent one member, and that the T.P.G. was not in charge. But I understood they had written to Ad. Bridge, asking him to have the Bar surveyed: that this had surprised H.M.G. who had inquired of me, and I had replied that it was irregular; also informed Hopkins. He said he cld. see the T.P.G. wanted to take that question up also, in order to prolong their existence.

Asked him abt. reduction of troops. He said he was corresponding with his Govt. abt. it. (Morrison thinks Germans are delaying, in order to get some concession in Shantung, & has telegd. home a ballon d'essai on the subject).

He asked me abt. the 'partage'. Told him I could not fall in with the proposed scheme, & intended to write a letter on the subject.

Last night I had Prince Ch'ing, Nat'ung, Taotai Yang, Chang Tê-yi, Lien fang, Sir Chentung Liang Chêng & young Tsêng to dinner, the hour being two! But it went off well.

Liang Chêng told me that Wêng Tungho had induced the Court in 1894 to order Li to go to war with Japan, tho' the latter knew his army & navy were not ready, in order to pay out an old score. Wêng's brother was Govr. of Hankow when it was captured by the Taipings, and Li being then a secretary of Tsêng Kuo fan drafted the report in wch. all the blame was laid on Wêng's brother!

Tsêng said his house was looted & burned by Jung-lu's troops, and his mother only escaped with her life.

We were sitting in the smoking room, and some one admired the ceiling. I pointed out the spot where a round shot came thro' & fell between two ladies who were sleeping on the floor, but luckily without hurting them. Yang said he was in a house in the British extra-concession at Tientsin when a shell came thro' the roof, and killed his daughter.

To Conger & told him my instructions & that I had acted on them. Prince Ch'ing & Hart had said to him things were getting daily worse in Manchuria, and if they made no concession, the Russians wld. not go out, & China was not strong enough to turn them out. He had advised them to make some concession, if they could do it without giving

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away the rights they had by Treaty accorded to other Powers. He had acted on his previous instructions, wch. were to that effect. As I was going away he said that the Japsee. could easily turn the Russians out of Manchuria by force, and he wondered they did not take advantage of the opportunity to come to some arrangement by wch. they cld. take Corea for themselves. Last year when he went home thro' Japan the trains were crowded with officers, all agog for war. Of course Russia wld. rally, and beat the Japanese in the end, but they could give a great deal of trouble. I said Itō had held them back, as he was by no means disposed to go to war.

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1 Feb. To Uchida and told him what I had done abt. Manchuria thro' Hart and the 2 Viceroys.

Saw Czikkann and told him I could not agree to the provisional division of the indemnity. He says he had made some reduction on his private claims.

Morrison came yesterday to see me and said he thought Germany was holding back abt. Tientsin reduction of troops in order to obtain in Shantung similar concession of mining and other monopolies to what Russians are asking in Manchuria.

Hynd lunched with me, and we discussed the question of cross-rates demanded by the other Bankers wch. wld. give them an advantage over Hgkg & S'hai Bank. We agreed that as F.O. had undertaken to give instructions on this point I should refuse to discuss it with Colls: at meeting on the 3rd.

Audience of ladies [of the legations] of Empress-D. at wch. she seems to have shed tears over their sufferings during the siege. ¹

3 Feb. Meeting of colls: at wch. I had an opportunity of giving reasons why H.M.G. wld. not consent to a division on the basis of unrevised claims of the colls. The Portuguese came to me beforehand to ask whether he shld. raise the question of Portugal and the 5% ad valorem. He wanted me to advise him to ask that four of the Great Powers should communicate the Protocol to the Portuguese Govt., & ask them to adhere to it. I advised that if he gave trouble about the 5% the result might prove to be that H.M.G. would tell me to give him no support abt. his other business. He says his memo. is ready, and that he has been vague about what he wld. be ready to offer in the way of concessions, in

¹ Sarah Conger took the leading role previously played by Lady Ethel MacDonald, while Lady Susan Townley represented Britain. C.W. Campbell mentioned the tears in his report, but that he had not himself seen the dowager weeping. He also noted that "the empress Dowager is reputed for her ability to shed tears appropriately." (F.O. 17/1520, Public Records Office, London. Quoted in Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 546)

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order to induce Hart to make the first approaches. I gather he has not got much out of the I-G.

Junglu came on his round of visits to the Dipl. Body. Man of 66, looked rather ill, and was evidently nervous, but as he said nothing about the part he took in the siege I did not mention it, but made jokes and treated it as an ordinary morning call.

Conger has got instructions in reply to his last teleg. that any such agreement giving to a foreign co. exclusive rights in mining, railways or industrial enterprises as is contemplated by the Russo-Chinese Bank agreement wld. be contrary to Treaties and to the policy of equal rights wch. Russia had assured she wld. adhere to, and the U.S. Govt. intended to put this before China & Russia. He has shown it to Uchida and also to Lessar, who replied that it was not more than Germany had got in Shantung. Conger said that there was no published Treaty, but Lessar replied von Bülow had declared it was not expedient to publish it. He at any rate had nothing to do with the matter, wch. only concerned the bank. C. then asked whether it was not possible to sign the agreement for the evacuation of Manchuria independently, to wch. L. replied that he wld. like to do so, but had no instructions.

I explained to Conger why I had mentioned the U.S. in my memo. because of what Rockhill had told me confidentially of their intentions in case they had a surplus, namely to give it to Japan or China. He said he had been at the State Department when that teleg. was sent off. Mr. Hay did not like the idea of handing it over to the Committee of Bankers to [be] disposed of as the Powers shld. direct. Then lately, tho' he had expected there wld. be a surplus, the U.S. Govt. had informed him that the claim of \$25,000,000 was just & reasonable.

I suspect they said this simply because they did not wish to disclose their hand.

Jan. 5 ¹ To Lessar to talk abt. Chinese ans. to our note identique abt. telegs. betw. Tokio, Tientsin & Peking. He says the Great Northern have a line to Kiachta by wch. telegs. are sent under exclusive control of the Co. That the agreeet. betw. Russia & China as to frontier rates shortly expires and will have to be removed.

He talked abt. claims, & showed me his list, wch. has considerable reductions on it. Will offer to publish this list, so as to prove how much he loses by the proportional reduction & ? the fig. already agreed to. I said that I was ready to do the same and had made the offer to the colleagues, but they wld. not accept.

To Conger, who gave me copy of his teleg. fr. Washington abt. the proposed monopoly agreeet. with the Russo-Chinese bank; he is writing an official note to Prince Ch'ing forwarding it.

¹ This should of course be Feb. 5.

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To Mumm, and gave him copy of O'Sullivan's report on Tang Taotai's visit to the T.P.G. He says his people are telegraphing abt. reduction of troops.

To Prince Ch'ing in the afternoon. Several colls: came to return the call of the young gentleman who is going to the Coronation. Beau, Conger, Czikkann & Uchida came to talk business. He kept Pr. Ch. a long time from me, so when I got hold of him there was not much time left. I reminded him abt. Yünnan rlwy. question and my difficulty in getting any reply, also Peking Syndicate rlwy. Told him that the K. [King] of the Belgians has underwritten $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Canton-Hankow railway. Fr. [French] cable at Amoy. China did not give permission to land. Also reminded him abt. I-ku having not yet been sent away fr. Peking; he said that I wld. leave after the New Year. Manchuria; found that Hart had delivered my message. Pr. Ch' said it was his idea to sign the Manchurian agreement, leaving the Pokotiloff thing to fizzle out. I suggested he shld. leave out the words 'in perpetuity' in Art. 1 wch. has the effect of preventing the Chinese fr. ever getting back the Manchurian railway.

6 Feb. Had a talk with W. Swan of the electric teleg. Co's on Shêng's refusal to leave the landlines in our hands, and showed him the letter fr. the Waiwupu. Thinks a half and half arrangement would prob. not work well, nor be acceptable to Shêng. The Cable Cos. very anxious not to get into his black books, as relations with Chinese Teleg. Administration have always been most satisfactory.

Morrison came. Says he heard at Tientsin fr. young Denby and Amhold Karberg all about the mining areas wch. the Germans are abt. to work in Shantung. There are five, one of them close to Chefoo. In 1900 negotiations were going on, up to the time of the siege, on behalf of a German Syndicate, who now want the original terms altered in their favour; and Pr. Ch' will prob. give it. That is why they are holding back abt. the reduction of troops and abolition of T.P.G. I told him it was quite wrong of Yüan to write to the T.P.G. & send T'ang to interview them. He replied prob. he was advised to do so by some friendly minister. I said the friendly minister wld. prob. turn out to have been a false friend, as he must have been aware of the effect it would produce. He says Tientsin thinks Mrs. Whittall wife of the Reuter correspondent ought certainly to have had the Red Cross, as she did more than any other woman. Told him what I had done in order to get Tientsin people righted, and also what the Treasury offers to do with regard to the private claims. He says Lowrie father and son have applied for a concession to build a railway to Kalgan. This stirred up Pokotiloff who put in an application also.

Hu came. Told me exactly the same stories about the German mines and the Lowries, abt. whose application he & his interpreter Capt. Wu made merry, evidently thnking them a couple of rogues.

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He produced a teleg. fr. Yüan urging me abt. the restoration of the railway and the T.P.G. Telegs. had come from Lo Fêng-luh. Told him that I cld. not give him any precise date, to a month. I had to see General Creagh and confer with him as to the railway. After that I would show him the draft of a letter, and if he agreed to that I wld. then send it signed. He was so persistent abt. both that I got rather angry, and hinted broadly to him that he must know I was not blocking the way. I[t] turned out fr. what he said to Campbell afterwards that all he is anxious about is that T'ang shall not get the credit of either, instead of him. He also spoke abt. Kinder's friend Ho, and suggested we shld. write a strong letter to both Prince Ch'ing and Yüan Shih-kai.

9 Feb. Went to Uchida and told him not to press the Chinese to sign Manchurian convention, as H.M.G. think it still contains some objectionable features. He had recd. no instructions yet to press them, & before doing so wld. let me know. I said there was something up betw. our govts. wch. I expected to hear of in a day or two. He knew Hayashi had been told to urge H.M.G. to talk direct to Russia, as the U.S. have done.

10 Feb. A round of New Year's calls, on Hu Yü-fên, Prince Su, Shih-hsü, Jung-lu, K'un Kang, left a card at Prince Kung and went on to Prince Ch'ing. He said it would not be safe for a mining engineer to go to Nanpiao without an escort of soldiers. Prince Su gave us corked champagne. Shih-hsü was charming, Jung-lu magnificent, the room decorated with dwarf peaches. Said his own house was burnt by the Boxers directly after he quitted it. K'un Kang had nothing European about him, but his house is full of books, coins & pictures. He asked whether we had ducks, pigs, sheep & cattle in England. Shih-hsü gave us excellent German beer, wch. he said was good as a night-cap. At Prince Ch'ing's we were told Junglu had 500,000 taels in his house. When leaving to accompany the Empress-Dowager on her flight from Peking, he told his servants they might have 20%, if they secured the rest for him. He had no sooner got away in his chair than his own soldiers plundered the house & burnt it. Campbell dropped a hint to Prince Ch'ing not to hurry signature of the Manchurian convention, at any rate not for the next few days.

11 Feb. Uchida brought me the English text of the [Anglo-Japanese alliance signed on January 30, 1902 in London] agreement betw. Engl. & Japan, a sort of mutual aid alliance, like the triple alliance treaty [Dreibund]. Genl. Creagh came up. In afternoon went to Liulichang fair with Browne (4th of Chinese first month).

12 Feb. Conger came after lunch. Uchida has given him a copy of the [Anglo-Japanese] agreement, wch. he is very desirous to show to Reuter's agent and the corresp't of the "Sun". I rather discountenanced the idea. He thinks it the most important political event that has occurred for a long time, and that the Japse. cld. if they were so minded turn out the Russians fr. Manchuria. He thinks it a good thing that we have managed to prevent

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the Chinese signing the Manchurian Convention and the agreement with Russo-Chinese Bank, and hopes the U.S. will be able to come into line with us. I said I felt certain it had been communicated at Washington, and that even if the U.S. took no active part, they would show us a benevolent sympathy. Told him that as far as I knew negotiations began in August last.

Spent the morning with General Creagh discussing the railway and how to arrange for handing it over to the Chinese.

Went to Prince Ch'ing intending to give him a [Chinese] translation of the [Anglo-Japanese] Agreement, Uchida having done so this morning. Asked if Uchida had shown it. Pr. said it was very satisfactory, and a proof of the regard of England & Japan for China. I drew his attention to the language I had used in my speech to the Emperor about independence & territorial integrity of China, wch. this agreement was declared to be intended to secure. Then I suggested that under the circs. he might give me one text of the Manchurian agreeet. of wch. I had obtained copies that were perh. not authentic. So he went and fetched his own most recent draft, and we went thro' it together. Afterwards he said we might take it away and return it to him. I told him I cld. not express an opinion until I had submitted it to H.M.G., that we might at any rate safely wait a few days to see what effect the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese agreement made. He replied that he had seen signs quite recently of a desire to sign on the part of Russia. Pokotilof had called the preceding day, but he had excused himself, and sent out Lien-fang to say that he could not discuss the Bank agreement. A very cold wind from N.W. with dust. In the evening most of the commandants and military attachés to dinner.

13 Feb. Meeting of Dipl. Body with members of the Chinese Govt. at the Waiwupu. We all went in frock coats. Made the acquaintance of Lu Chuan-lin, who is very deaf, and looks as if he cld. be very obstinate. Sat opposite to Ch'ung-li 崇禮 and had friendly conversation with him.

14 Feb. Conger came. his Consul-general had written to him abt. the Mixed Court regulations, dissatisfied with Mackay's desire to do it all off his own bat. I explained to him the whole story and how it had come about that this question, on wch. I had acted with him & Mumm [incomplete sentence?]. I said I wld. write to Mackay.

He then spoke abt. the removal of the hulks & said Goodnow had reported to him that Warren had informed them he cld. not support, in consequence of the instructions he had recd. I explained to him my reason was that only B.Ss. were affected, & that I had no reason to think the measure was supported the shipping, the Customs people or the Taotai. Liu Kunyi's counterproposal about the Hwangpoo conservancy. We agreed that the consular body cannot discuss it.

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Dinner to Wang Wên-shao, Ch'u Hung-chi, Jui-liang and . The first is terribly deaf. He talked little, and only became interested when I introduced the subject of Chinese Literature. After the two great men went I kept the other two and Shêng, and there was much talk about the troubles of 1900. Told them the only good & reliable telegrams were from Yüan Shihkai. Mayers says O'Shea's teleg. was doctored in Fleet Street by the Daily Express. The Daily Mail one was as it was sent.

Conger gave me the Russian reply to the U.S. wch. is a fin de non-recevoir ¹ of the usual tenor.

Castello-Branco lunched to talk over his draft. I advised him to be careful in starting his negotiations, not to go too far in the way of asking for Lapa, Don João and Wung-san[sam?], but to confine himself rather to a proposal to delimit the 'dependencies'. He said this was good advice, & as all his Govt. needed at present was to be able to assure the Cortes that negotiations were going on, he wld. adopt it. His govt. had committed several blunders; they might have sent a Represve to the conference, but to send one after the Protocol was signed could not but excite suspicion. Soveral had informed them that G.B. wld. look after their interests. I interjected that it was then for Portugal to state what her interests were, whereas I had solely received [from?] Macao and Shanghai certain private claims, wch. I had put in. He admitted all this, and said it was for Soveral to fight it out in London.

He regards Mumm with the greatest suspicion, and says he lets him run on as he likes. He is convinced that M. knew all about the Manchurian convention, and was surprised to find him running about the day before yesterday communicating the news & trying to find out what people thought of it.

Conger told me that Lessar had been to see him yesterday, and had then only recd. a teleg. fr. Iswolsky giving an account in general terms. So Conger let him read the text, and his countenance fell at seeing what an uncompromising document it was.

16 [Feb.] To Uchida. He says when he saw Pr. Ch'ing on the 12, the latter said the Russian Minister had informed him Russia insisted upon the prohibition of cannon, the fixing of no. of troops & their stations by agreeet. and evacuation being spread over 3 years. That he had so informed his Govt. They were acquainted with Prince Ch'ing's counter-draft, and were quite satisfied with it, but Bertie told Hayashi that Art. 3 of the Russian draft was objectionable, & he (U.) had telegd. that I objected to yung-yuan in Art 1. So he had suggested that it wld. be better not to say anything more to Prince Ch'ing until G.B. &

¹ Fin de non-recevoir: In French law, an exception or plea founded on law, which, without entering into the merits of the action, shows that the plaintiff has no right to bring it, either because the time during which it ought to have been brought has elapsed, or that there has been a compromise, accord and satisfaction, or any other cause which has destroyed the right of action which once subsisted.

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Japan have agreed to the objections they will make. Told him I had telegd. the text of Prince Ch'ing's counterdraft on the 14th and my observations today. We agreed to come together & discuss the whole subject as soon as we got our instructions. Told him Russia has requested France not to withdraw her troops from Tientsin till the autumn, also Hosie reports disturbances in the W. part of Fêngtien. He is going to see Prince Ch'ing this afternoon, & will let me know if there is anything new. Japse. Minister gave Count Lamsdorff copy of the agreement on 12th, who expressed great surprise, and so the idea of the Japanese Govt. that the Russians hearing of it beforehand had abandoned the Russo-Chinese bank agreement & showed readiness to come to an understanding with China on other points was not justified. He had instructions to try and find out.

Mumm came to pump me about Manchuria, but I had nothing to tell him.

17 [Feb.] Dined with Hu. European style of dinner.

18 “ Hynd came at my request, and I gave him the papers relating to the Thames Iron Works and Arrol's Bridge Co. agst. Imperial Chinese railway, to take away and deal with if possible with Hu Yü-fên. Read to him some of my rough draft abt. handing over the railway; he told me that some time ago Hillier & Cousins had drafted some articles, of wch. he wld. try to get me a copy.

Jas. R. Bell came to see me. He is a very long winded old gentleman. 1. Barry's claim of about £3000 as Consulting engineer of the Northern railways. I said that he had better write to Hu Yü-fên; if he was unable to get payt. I shld. require to see the agreement before I took it up. He said young Barry was out here just before the troubles and made a report on the rlwy. Kinder was properly a mechanical engineer, what he had done was marvellous; & the building of the line & so forth was admirably done. Butr he had combined too much in his own person.

2. Botts Co's. claim. I said I had sent on the opinion of Cripps K.C. to H.P. Wilkinson, and did not intend to revise any of the latter's decisions. If I did, there would be no end to the matter, as everyone else would want the same. W. had been sent out on purpose to spare me their labour.

3. In his examination of the railway he wanted a sight of the claim that had been put in by Kinder on behalf of the British & Chinese Corporation. He understood it was made out on a bountiful scale, with the intention that any surplus shld. be restored to the Chinese Govt. Told him that it was an official document, and I could not let him have it except on an official request from General Creagh. He says that prob. a good many of the sleepers between Tonglu and Tientsin, and the wooden bridges wch. were in course of being replaced were old and on their last legs. To ascertain exactly what was the

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condition before the troubles was not practicable. I said that might well be, but theoretically the B. & C. C. were only entitled to have their security placed in the status quo ante.

19 Feb. Took to Uchida a memo. of the observations on the counter-draft wch. I have been told to make to Prince Ch'ing. Later on in the day he told me he quite agreed with them.

To Hart. He says he had a visit from a Chinese a few days ago (? Natung) who said the Anglo-Japse. agree. put China in the disagreeable position of having to take apart and perh. quarrel with the power from whom she had most to fear, namely Russia; and also, did not the agreement leave it in the power of Japan to herself take possession of Manchuria if she succeeded in driving out the Russians.

Met Castello Branco in the street who said he had written to Prince Ch'ing to ask for an interview, and that he had shown the Chinese of his memo. to Hart, who said it was admirably well done.

20 Feb. Audience to present New Year's congratulations. The E-D sat on the throne behind the usual yellow & black table, with the Emperor on a lower sort of throne-chair at her left, his feet on a yellow cushion. After the Doyen had delivered his speech, the Emperor said a few words to Prince Ch'ing, who recd. fr. his hands a document in Chinese, & descending the dais came & read it to us. Lienfang translated it into French. Then Prince Ch'ing took up the Doyen by the l. hand set of steps, who made his bow to the Emperor and then passed on to the Empress-Dowager, expecting she wld. speak to him alone, but she made a signal to Prince Ch'ing, who beckoned the rest up, and we got into a row fronting her & extending away r. and l. so that we overlapped the Emperor. She then said she was glad to receive our new year congratulations, hoped all the sovereigns & presidents were well, and that the F.R.R. enjoyed good health in Peking; to this Czikkann replied, she bowed, we all bowed, and retreated off the dais and filed out of the hall by the eastern door. Instead of crossing the courtyard, we walked down the central platform, wch. I believe was a breach of etiquette. Before the audience however, Prince Ch'ing had told Czikkann that the E-D. wld. speak to each Minister separately. The E-D had a cold, and looked bored, so did the Emperor. There was a smaller crowd of diplomats than on the last occasion. C. Russell was not able to go on account of his broken collar-bone. Bishop Scott was at Tientsin, Capt. Browning M.A.M.C. was off to his duties at Huang-tsun and I cut out the three acting assistants, as they have no uniform. Other legations had done likewise.

In the afternoon went to Prince Ch'ing and gave him the criticisms of H.M.G. on the counter-draft Manchurian Convention. Told him if he had an opportunity in the course of negotiations that he shld. try to whittle the conditions down still more. Lessar says he can

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discuss all the points at issue except period over wch. evacuation is to be opened, wch. he insists on keeping at 3 yrs. Ch' protested that this was an advance upon the 2 yrs. originally proposed, to wch. L's only reply was that his Govt. so wished it. I asked what explanation was given of the necessity of spreading the evacuation over so long a period. Pr. replied that Lessar had said, Betw. you & me the real reason is that the military party want to retain Manchuria, while the Govt. Ct. Lamsdorff and de Witte wish to give it up, and they had hoped that obtaining a few concessions for the Russo-Chinese Bk. wld. enable them to influence the others. But the Pr. was not quite sure that L. was sincere in wishing to give up Manchuria, and at any rate the military men were servants of the Russian Govt. & he did not see why their wishes shld. be consulted. I urged him to stick to his guns, and if he had an opportunity to whittle down Lessar's draft a little more. We discussed the counter-draft very carefully, the Prince at first relying on his memory, but at last he ran out & brought in his own copy, after wch. we made more progress. B) I told him that the Anglo-Japanese agreeet. was not a mere brutum fulmen [empty threat] but meant business. A) He wanted to know what wld. happen if Russia still refused to sign: of course I could not tell him what would happen until that refusal took place.

Mentioned the Peking Syndicate's railway. He said Jamieson shld. consult Shêng. I replied Shêng had said consult Prince Ch'ing, and it was a game of battledoor and shuttlecock; so at last he said he wld. write to Shêng and ask him to appt. an administrator-general to discuss with Geo. Jamieson, and the governors of Anhui and Honan.

Then he asked about Tientsin. I said H.M.G. were quite willing to give it up April 1, but as another power had talked of 1 June, they proposed 1 May as a compromise. Since then another Power was making opposition. He asked if it were Italy and on my replying no, he said "France". So he knows.

On returning home I wrote to Uchida an acct. of what had passed, and suggested that he might possibly be able to give Prince Ch'ing some encouragement.

21 [Feb.] Uchida came, and said that before the agreement was published Jap. Govt. had telegd. that "in case Russia rejects the proposal of China to dissociate the convention from the agreement and to conclude the former without the latter, and delay evacuation, Jap. Govt. will take steps to approach Russia on the subject of fulfilment of her assurances regarding evacuation of Manchuria". As Japan is now in a stronger position, he will send his interpreter to Prince Ch'ing to tell him this, and also to find out whether there is a meeting betw. Ch. & Lessar today. He says the Anglo-Japanese understanding was first mentioned in March of last year, and he thinks MacD. was consulted when he was at home last year. The negotiations were managed thro' Bn. Hayashi, and kept very secret so

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that no one knew anything about it. He sent a copy to Yüan Shih-kai, who did not seem very pleased. Y. in reality cares little about Manchuria, and is only anxious to get back Tientsin, wch. he thinks will be delayed in consequence of the Agreement. Asked him about Junglu's connexion with the Russians: he says there was a story of the Russo-Chinese Bank having given him 100,000 taels, wch. he returned. In any case, he is not so much in their hands as Li was. Prince Ch'ing and Junglu are rivals; the former having foreign affairs, the latter home; the Prince is not allowed to get into the Grand Council, because he wld. become too powerful.

Hynd came. Says that Ross fr. Shanghai is to come up here about the Northern railways being handed over to civil administration. Cordes came to him recently about the Tientsin Chinkiang railway, and said the necessary capital to go on with their portion of the line could easily be found in Germany, wch. he does not believe. I told him I thought the German Legn. was putting this forward merely to cast the onus of not going on with it on the English group, and I did not think they were serious. Told him my idea that the British & Chinese Corporation did not really expect to get Shêng's signature to the draft agreement recently put forward by them, as they had taken no trouble to obtain his consent; nor had Warren. It was merely because Lord Lansdowne had mentioned the matter to Ewen Cameron, as Balfour had done two years ago, and they made a show of wishing to go on, in order to cast the blame on H.M.G., whose inefficient support they said was the cause of the British concessionaries being unable to get on with their railways. Hynd said the real fact is it is extremely difficult just now to make a loan in London, because people keep their money for consols[?] and warloans.

Shih-hsü came to return my New Year's call. He was very courteous, as usual, and asked me if the E-D. had at the audience said anything to the foreign ministers about engaging foreign advisers for the various Boards. Told him she had made make [sic] the usual complimentary inquiries after the heads of sovereigns & rulers, & after that of the F.R.R.

Mumm came abt. Morrison's teleg. on the subject of the German mining concessions in Shantung, and said that M. had evidently learnt a great deal abt. the affair when he was in Tientsin from prob. a Chinaman. But his teleg. gave a wrong impression what Germany was trying to get was for the benefit of everybody. Some other foreigners had accepted the rates of royalty laid down by the Mining Regns., wch. were too high for any cos. who really wished not to make a Stock Exchange speculation, but to work themselves on a business basis. He had got down the royalty on coal to 5% and on gold fr. 25% to 15%, but hoped to get other reductions.

He then went on to talk abt. the apportionment of the indemnity. I told him that as he

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knew I had been willing to divide on the basis proposed, but H.M.G. wld. not hear of it, and I supposed they were talking to the other Govts. abt. it. Russia & U.S. had apparently declared that they had already made reductions on their private claims, but as far as the former was concerned, tho' Lessar said in conversation that he had cut his down to 8,000,000 he had not said anything in reply to my statement quoting de Giers on the possibility of reducing another million.

22 Feb. Child came to see me at my request to give me information abt. the land he claims, wch. the U.S. Legn. have handed over to the Russians in exchange for another piece. He seems to have a good case.

Bower abt. proposed site for rifle-range to be shared with the Japse. We agreed that the range inside Chinese City running parallel with the wall fr. the Tung-pien môn was better than that proposed by C.G.R. Browne outside Eastern wall of Chinese city from the corner down to the gate.

T'ang Shao-yi (唐紹儀) otherwise known as Tang taot'ai brought a letter fr. Yüan to Campbell thanking him for the copy of the Anglo-Japanese agreement and hinting that it would prob. facilitate the handing over of Tientsin city. I took occasion to tell him frankly that it was a mistake of Yüan to write to the T.P.G. on the subject. He said Uchida had advised Yüan to go and establish himself there, but they had concluded that this wd. expose him to humiliation; Tang himself was not in favour even of the letter being written. I told him that after all, we had only listened to Yüan out of regard for him, and the Chinese Govt. was the proper person to negotiate with FRR. I had heard that the Fr. were now adverse to giving up Tientsin, because of Yüan having cashiered a man in whom they took interest; he said it was true, but the man deserved it. Then I told him that H.M.G. were willing as a compromise with the wishes of others to give up on May 1. He might tell this confidentially to Yüan, but otherwise it was not to be mentioned. I also said that the forts must first be destroyed, no Chinese garrison must be placed in Tientsin, nor must the walls be rebuilt. And I said that I was engaged in devising how to meet his Y's wishes in another matter, and that when he comes up at the end of the Chinese month, I shld. like to have a talk with him.

Morrison says Tang and other Chinese are much annoyed at the Anglo-Japanese agreement. I can understand this as to Yüan, who as Uchida says, cares only to get back Tientsin, and fears the agreement will impede this.

24 [Feb.] Capt. Farrow came to see me about a mining concession wch. he says he has obtained near Amoy, and wants a letter to Wang Wênshao. I asked him whether the Provincial officials approved of the transfer fr. the Chinese concessionaries to him, and found him uncertain on this point.

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25 [Feb.] Morrison came to say the Germans seemed to have got hold of their mining areas in Shantung, & the percentage of profits reduced to nothing i.e. 5% in coal, 7% on base metals, 15% on gold & diamonds. Proposed that he shld. send a teleg. to the "Times" urging that these concessions shld. be upset. Rather threw cold water on this idea.

Swan came at my request, and brought a teleg. fr. his people in London to say that Shêng was urging them to hand over the lines at once, & that apparently he suspected machinations of the Companies. Unless I could hold out hopes of getting what they wanted. I read him a recent letter of Warren's, and suggested that Beck shld. see Sonne's letter to Warren, & asked whether he could do anything. I thought Sheng was far too ill to be attending to matters himself and that it was Sonne who had really been urging the people at home. Later on he sent a letter to say that Sonne had been urging as well as Shêng.

Called on Mme. Uchida & the Montgelas with Townley.

26 [Feb.] Uchida came to see me, and I read him my last instructions about the counterdraft of Prince Ch'ing. He promised to ask at Tokio for further instructions. We both thought Prince Ch' could not well introduce further changes in his counterdraft, until it had first been rejected by the Russians.

27 [Feb.] Conger came. I had shown him Reuter's telegs. to "Times" of Jany. 9 & 10 abt. the discord at Newchwang, and he defended them in a way that showed he felt the reproach of exaggeration fell on himself.

We then talked over the Manchurian Agreement, on the basis of the version published in the "Times" of 9 Nov[embe]r. I told him Prince Ch'ing's counterdraft of wch. Hart had acquainted him with the contents cld. only be obtained fr. the Prince. His general instructions are to object to the long period for evacuation stipulated for by the Russians, the limitation of troops & their stations to what Russia approves of, and the retention of Newchuang. He will see Prince Ch'ing on Saturday, and talk to him about the last of these three points. The Russian reply to the U.S. note he considers "no good at all".

28 [Feb.] Went to Mumm & suggested Doyen shld. write to Waiwupu, calling on them to appt. Chinese member to represent shipping. He agreed.

Mixed Court. Told him I heard the Fr. & Port. consuls had objected to draft made by German & U.S. Consuls-general, & I did not understand how it came to be submitted to them. He suggested that Goodnow, angered by Mackay's "high-handed" way of treating a question that belonged to the 3 Consuls-general, had prob. got the consuls to ask them to take it in hand. I said Mackay's action was not highhanded at all. He found the question mentioned in his instructions, & naturally expected to deal with it, but on hearing that the Consuls-general took an interest in it had expressed his willingness to confer with them. I

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had written 30 Jany. as promised to Mumm, and again on the subject after Conger had spoken. If any one was to blame it was Knappe & Goodnow, who wld. not leave the matter in the hands of the 3 assessors, and then when they had got it into their hands did nothing. Of one thing I was certain, that Mackay had not discussed the question with Shêng. In short I gave him as good as he brought.

Division of indemnity. Told him I had a letter on the stocks addressed to the Doyen for circulation, & explained views of H.M.G. He said he agreed with me, but regretted H.M.G. had not fallen in with the views of the colls: he merely wished to secure unanimity. He showed me a cross note of Lessar's on the nomination of Hobson as 'adjoin't to the S'hai Taotai for payt. of indemnity, & remarked that this showed L. to be 'nerveux'. I said I had not noticed the matter & had merely signed.

Manchuria. He asked how things were going on. Told him I believed they were much in the same state. Thought that Itō's return wld. make the Japse. to act prudently.

Cartier came. Said he had told his Delegate to vote with Hillier. Told him I did not know exactly, but fancied H. said they all voted against him. We talked a good deal abt. the Luhan wch. he complained was called a Fr. rlwy., whereas it was Belgian. I replied this was the fault of the Fr. who had said it was their principal political interest in China. C. says China have not yet granted concession at Hankow, tho' the Belgians have bought the land.

Jamieson says Fr. & Belg. have protested to the Waiwupu agst. Huai-pu line. (This comes of our protesting agst. the Paotingfu Tientsin line.)

McCormick came to ask abt. missionaries having to leave Western Kuangu[?] on acct. of mutiny of soldiers. I had not then heard fr. Scott, whose teleg. on the subject came later.

Casenave came abt. the same thing, as he has recd. a letter fr. Waiwupu asking him to recall his missionaries. No teleg. fr. Hardouin, only from the acting consul at Pakhoi.

T.P.G. he has orders to do nothing till Beau returns. [A]s to decrease of troops he has the same instructions as Beau, that it is desirable.

Morrison came. Has been invited to Paotingfu by Yüan. Told him I wanted to help Y abt. T.P.G. & rlwy. if I could. He spoke strongly abt. the B. & C. Corpn's malefic influence out here, securing concessions, and doing nothing; also agst. their desire to be apptd. agents-general of the Northern rlwys. so as to be able to make more money. They got 98 fr. the public for the loan, and gave the Chinese only 90! Shantung mines. He has telegd. to the "Times" pointing out that the Germans get nearly the whole of the mining area in Shantung, if the concessions they now ask for are granted; & has told v.d. Goltz flatly that he will oppose them tooth and nail.

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1 Mar. Buchanan Riddell, son of Sir John Riddell, a Christchurch [Oxford University] man who has just taken a 1st class in history, brought a letter from Boothby, so asked him to dinner, a very nice fellow.

2 Mar. Uchida came to lend me a copy of the Russian draft given to him 9 Dec. by Prince Ch'ing, and to say that as some of the instructions sent to him fr. Tokio required further explanation he had telegd. again. He asked, for Tokio, why Hillier claimed 12%. I told him it was 13½ and that he had recd. his instructions fr. London. Explained fully our views and added that by instructions fr. H.M.G. I had addressed a letter to the Doyen, wch. is now in circulation.

He said Chou-fu came to sound him abt. what wld. happen if Russia declined to move out of Manchuria. He had replied that matters had not advanced far enough to form an opinion, & that Russia had over & over again declared her intention of going out.

To Conger, with whom I discussed the provisional division of the indemnity question, and found him reflecting Mumm's views. He says U.S. receives less than it is entitled to by the scheme adopted for sharing the January instalment.

As to Manchuria Prince Ch'ing has promised him a copy of the counterdraft, and said it was quite understood that Newchwang is included in the area to be first evacuated up to the Liao river. As Prince asserted this and he was not strong on the geogr. he thought it must be all right, and merely suggested to Pr. that it wld. be well to include Newchwang by name; similarly as to an understanding the Pr. said existed that China shld. be allowed to bridge the Liao river at Newchwang. Conger told me the Russians had built a rlwy. line fr. Newchwang along r. bank of the Liao to a point nearly opposite Moukden, their object being to divert the trade of Newchwang to Dalny and Shanhaikwan.

Mar. 3 Riddell came to stay.

“ 4 Dinner at Prince Ch'ing's to diplomatic body and their interpreters, a grand affair. We all went in evening dress and decorations. I sat on l. of Wang Wên-shao and Uchida on my l. The latter drank a good deal, and towards the end of dinner talked in Japanese abt. the shabbiness of the diplomatists who proposed to find funds for keeping up of roads in the quarter and other municipal expenses by building houses and letting them out; he poured ridicule on the von Ketteler monument with its inscription in German, Latin & Chinese; the only result had been that Chinese officials connected with it had made big squeezes, and would be encouraged by the Chinese inscription to murder more foreign RR. to get more money in the same way. He remarked that the Chinese & Russian

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officials only cared for the squeezes they could get out of the Manchurian agreement, and the latter were indifferent to the cost of occupation inflicted on their govt. I said the report went about that the Russians were furious with Itō for listening to them abt. an arrangement respecting Corea & Manchuria [J: Man-Kan kōkan] while all the time he had the Anglo-Japanese agreement in his pocket. He replied that Itō was always ready to come to an understanding with Russia on those subjects, and being a good deal of an opportunist did listen to their proposals. But the negotiations betw. Japan and England had already gone too far, so that the Japse. Govt. wld. not support him, & when he came to London he found out that it was so. Hayashi being a sharp fellow thought it wld. be well to commit Itō, whom he recommended for the G.C.B., and now on his return to Japan he Itō will get a great deal of credit for having suggested the alliance, which he will turn to account to strengthen his own political position.

[March] 5 Uchida brought me a paraphrase of his latest instructions wch. are not to ask for alterations in the counter-draft of Prince Ch'ing, unless the Russians refuse it or there are fresh developments. He said that acting on his instructions he had told Prince Ch'ing that if the Russians unduly delayed reply, Japan wld. make representations at Petersburg.

Castello Branco came to read some remarks of Mumm's on C-B's observation that Portuguese subjects could import drugs free of duty under tariff mentioned in Portuguese treaty of 1887, and his reply; also private letters exchanged between them. Mumm's dictatorial tone annoys him. Concerted with him my addition to the circular, to the effect that I agree with his agreements, & concur with Uchida in recommending that steps shld. be taken in a friendly way to obtain adhesion of non-signatory Powers to the Protocol.

Conger came to explain that the line he supposed Russians to have built to a point near (Hsin-ming-tun) Moukden is the extension of the Northern Railways.

Showed him remarks of Castello Branco & Mumm and told him what I intend saying. His rejoinder is that if the Portuguese have authorized G.B. to claim & obtain for their people indemnities under the protocol, that estopps [i.e. precludes, in the law of equity] them from refusing the additional duties wch. form part of the resources from which the indemnities are to be paid. But it seems to me that if the Portuguese Govt. are to bear the burdens imposed by the protocol, they are equally entitled to all the advantages, and that C.B's argument holds good.

He told me of Mumm's circular about non-receipt of the February instalment of indemnity. I said that Mumm had proposed that 20% shld. be deposited in each of the five Banks, but as he had not put this in his letter, I did not feel disposed to come forward with it myself. Hillier had in fact proposed methods of receiving provisionally until question of division was decided, but his proposals had been rejected. Until I saw what answers

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were made to my letter to the Doyen, I was not disposed to move further in the matter. Conger remarked on the danger of any Power, as Russia for instance, declaring the protocol to be unworkable, and insisting on the indemnity being paid direct to herself. I am however not afraid of this, wch. I feel sure is an idea first put in his head by Mumm.

Swan came, and I read to him a draft of a Note to Waiwupu abt. landlines, of wch. he took a précis to communicate to his people in London.

Conger, I forget how, got on the question of the exceptional severity with wch. everyone in the U.S., except the President, thought China had been treated, and said many people thought himself to be actuated by personal resentment; & he added that apparently MacD. was also regarded in the same light by H.M.G. Perh. it might have been true, & in fact MacD., was more disposed to severity than himself. I said that I had always been struck by the very calm attitude of the whole U.S. legation but as to MacD. his exchange with me had been arranged before the troubles broke out, and I came to replace him in China because he had himself asked to be transferred to Tokio. He seems to have derived his notion on the subject from Lady MacD.

6 March Lienfang came to ask me whether I had any objection to the students of the Eight Banners being examined at Honanfu or Kaifêng, seeing that no exams. can be held at Peking acc. to the Protocol. He seemed also to say that the candidates for places of wch. the names are attached to the protocol wld. be carefully excluded. I said to him that as far as I was concerned, the exams. cld. be transferred to Kaifêng, and that I had no objection to bannermen. As he knew this was a matter that had not originated with me.

He says the Russians have not yet given any reply to Prince Ch'ing's counterdraft.

Kowshing . Spoke to him abt. the terms of reference to arbitration, the exclusion of the question of Japanese responsibility, that I had talked to Chang Tê-yi abt. it for two months past, and must have an ans. otherwise Chang wld. find himself in the blackbooks of the F.O., to whom I shld. report all I had done.

Mumm came & talked at length about the provisional division of the indemnity: I told him I could do nothing in the matter till my letter to the Doyen came back.

As to T.P.G. he has recd. letter of Prince Ch'ing, & must refer to his Govt. The latter will prob. want a military representative on the Peiho commission. Rohrscheidt has also several desiderata. Perh. it wld. [be] well to let the generals confer together, and then that the FRR concerned shld. come together with the Doyen. I said that in my opinion the Doyen had nothing to do with it. He says his govt. is considering T.P.G. & reduction of troops, and he expects instructions shortly, but for the present can say nothing.

Hynd came to say that the Br. & Ch. Corpn. are sending out Brenan, who will arrive at Shanghai on 3 May. He wished to be allowed to tell Hu. I said he cld. do that as from

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himself, but as I had telegd. to F.O. protesting agst. the delay, I cld. not till I got their answer do anything in the way of being a party to it.

He says Poko[tilov] went to Hu, and offered to withdraw the demand for mining concessions & the stipulations about number of troops and cannon, and wld. like to see Prince Ch'ing but wld. prefer the latter shld. send for him.

8 Mar. Sir Robt. [Hart] came to tell me that Germans are hinting to Yüan Shihkai that his aid in getting them a rlwy. fr. Chinanfu to Kaifêng wld. facilitate abolition of T.P.G. [H]e had told the Chinese this wld. be a foolish thing to do, as other PP when they found it out wld. make similar demands.

He talked abt. his audience with the Empress-Dowager that he had said he wanted to go home but she had replied "We want you": that he had never approved MacD's demand that the I-G. [Inspector General] shld. always be an Englishman, wch. fr. a cosmopolitan had turned it into a political institution. That he was getting tired, but at the same time thought he ought to remain as long as possible to put off the evil day when men will strive for his succession.

I mentioned Bredon's having been apptd. to assist Shêng, and that I had told Mackay he need not take any notice of B. unless his apptmt. were officially notified to H.M.G. thro' me. This led to him telling me that Bredon was vexed at Taylor & Hippisley being apptd. Asst. Commissioners & not himself. So I told him abt. Bredon's desire to go to the Coronation, and suggested that he might get him put on that and so appease these jealousies.

Called on Chang Pohsi, who talked abt. the reorganization of the Imperial University, and asked advice. I said that it ought to be a Chinese education as a basis with special studies afterwards grafted on that, and he had better send qualified persons to Oxford & Cambridge to talk with the best educationists and procure a don to organize, not too old (rather the Theodore Beck type of man). Dust storm.

Mumm came abt. provisional partition. I had only just recd. the remarks of the colls: on my letter to the Doyen, wch. seemed to show that every one admitted that it was a provisional thing only. Under the circs. I was disposed to ask H.M.G. to agree to partition on Art. II, provided everyone agreed that it was only provisional and that a definite division shld. be made later on by everyone declaring his fixed amount of reduction, by a date to be agreed upon, say one year. He promised to go to Lessar & try to get his acceptance.

10 Mar. Went to Czikann. He had not yet heard whether the proposal of the bankers to give us 13% on a provisional division had been agreed to by the colls: I complained to him of the tone of Lessar's remarks on my private letter. Then to Mumm, who said Lessar declared

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himself unable to agree except ad referendum, complained of having always to give way to G.B. & said he wld. not telegraph for instructions. I said his remarks on my letter were ill-tempered, to wch. Mumm replied that the Anglo-Japse. agreement had vexed him.

T.P.G. Mumm had answered Chinese that he will refer to his Govt. He wants several things before giving it up, among other things the addition of a military officer to the Peiho improvement commission. I interjected "Von Falkenhayn". No, he wld. even leave the person to be chosen by lot. He asked me if it was true I had told the Chinese that I cld. agree to 1 May. Replied yes. He said that date wld. be too early for him. I also proposed that those of us who had recd. letters fr. Prince Ch'ing should meet and discuss the question. (Now he will go round and prepare them).

12 Mar. Meeting of colls: to discuss provisional partition of the indemnity. We were unable to decide the question, as Casenave could not agree to our having 13%. But we were all of opinion that the best plan for the moment was to accept the Feby. instalment & deposit 1/5 in each of the 5 Banks represented on the Commissions of Bankers.

We also agreed to inform the Delegates that in our opinion they could only have official relations with the Taotai, & not with the Commissioner of Customs.

Kulangsu hung up because Jap. Govt. wants to have clause excluding persons of Chinese race from the franchise struck out.

Free importation of medicines. Conger said he had written to the Waiwupu that he did not support the proposal.

Dft. of a letter to the Waiwupu asking for appt. of a Chinese member of the conservancy board to represent Chinese shipping.

Simpson & Cowan arrived yesterday, and we agreed to ask that portion of the barracks shld. be given up for building new students and assistants' quarters; also that the home of the commandant shld. not be built in the Hanlin.

Capt. Miles 4 P.I. who is going to Kashgar to replace Macartney, going on furlough, to dinner.

Uchida came & told me his most recent instructions were to press Prince Ch'ing to get his counter-draft signed as soon as possible. Japse. Govt. fear Russia may refuse, and merely repeat over again her vague assurances abt. Manchuria. He told Yüan Shihkai that the Prince must stick to his 12 months, and the Russians wld. certainly go [out of Manchuria]. Lamsdorff [unfinished sentence]

13 [Mar.] d'Acevedo came to complain that he had recd. a refusal fr. Prince Ch'ing to enter into any negotiations, but the latter offered to instruct the Govr. of Canton to mark out the limits. I told him this was the usual Chinese way &c. Wrote a private letter to Lord

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Lansdowne reporting our conversation. ¹ In the forenoon a meeting at Mumm's abt. T.P.G.

14 [March] To Prince Ch'ing. Kowshing: found him obstinate. T.P.G. Told him what we shld. require; he said he had talked with Yüan Shihkai abt. it and that soldiers wld. neither be quartered in the city of Tientsin, nor wld. the walls be rebuilt. Manchuria. He sent Lienfang to Lessar a few days ago to press for a reply, but the latter said he had telegd., & no instructions had come. Asked if it were true that Russia had offered evacuation in 18 months; he said "yes", but he wanted to get still more out of them. He wld. be willing to give them a couple of months or so, but wld. not give way on any other point. I went over our principal objections again, so as to let him understand that we don't approve of it as it stands, without however dissuading him from signing. Told him of Hu's message from the Empress-Dowager, and of my reply; he professed never to have heard of it, but if she ever asked him, he would be in a position to understand all about it.

15 " Went to Conger & told him of my talks with Uchida & Prince Ch'ing abt. Manchuria. He seems to be in the same position as I am, he cannot approve of the counter-draft, nor yet press for its amendment.

Romano has an idea about 'partage' that we shld. divide definitively on list 5, each state his losses thereby, and eventually be compensated by any surplus there might be. I don't think his scheme would work.

17 " Lien-fang brought draft Manchurian agreement with Russian amendments. I told him these were all unsatisfactory and ought not to be agreed to. H.M.G. thought Pr. Ch'ing's proposal to evacuate in 12 months quite reasonable, and urged insistence, as Russia was hard up and could not but leave. Personally I thought that if Prince [would] split the difference and offer 15 months it would be wise, if thereby a settlement could be obtained. But it would not do to make evacuation of Newchwang and surrender of the railway dependent on dissolution of T.P.G., for I feared Lessar, who was lukewarm about the latter would help to delay it, in order to keep hold of Newchwang. He must insist on putting 年限 [a limit of years] in Art. II abt. Eastern Chinese railway, or else striking out 永遠 [perpetuity]; also on having a French text as the authoritative one; also on evacuation without reference to tranquillity, as the provinces could be at once reduced to order as soon as the Russian troops retired.

Dinner to Dipl. Body, Sir Robt. Hart, Bishop Favier & Mgr. Jarlin by Junglu, Wang-wen-shao, Chü Hung-chi, Nat'ung & Lienfang at Nat'ung's house. Casenave & Romano not present. Uchida agrees with me abt. the objectionable character of Russian amendments, but thinks to save time they had better accept 18 months.

¹ See PRO 30/33 14/12. Letter books (private), Chinese mission, March 23, 1901 to April 28, 1902.

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18 Mar. Lienfang came again about Russian amendments. Repeated all I had said yesterday, and that I had telegd. "Scolded" the Chinese for weakly giving in on every occasion to Russian demands uttered in a loud voice. Li's idea [which] was to obtain good treatment by making concessions was a false one. It only increased appetite.

19 Mar. Conger came. Told him that Russia wishes to make the surrender of the T.P.G. precede the surrender of Newchwang & of the extra-mural railway. He replied that this threw light upon a voluntary utterance of Lessar's the night we dined at Nat'ung's, to the effect that he hoped very shortly to arrange for Newchwang being returned to the Chinese.

Read him Sir J. Mackay's desp. abt. mixed court, and said I thought Warren had not been consulted. I had always thought the 3 assessors shld. draw up the amended rules. His assessor is arriving at Peking to act as interpreter and will be able to give him information.

Told him also that Lessar had proposed other amendments to the Counter draft, and what they were.

Geo. Jamieson came to say that he had yesterday a satisfactory interview with the Secy. of the Waiwupu Ku and another, who promised to give him their amendments to the Szechuen petroleum concession, and abt. Huai-pû railway. He will tell his people at home not to be in such a hurry. He dined with me night before last when I showed him the recent teleg. fr. F.O. referring me to a teleg. of 1898 fr. MacD. abt. line to Yangtze and my reply.

Sonne [Sonné], Shêng's teleg. man came. He produced M.S. agreement of Oct. 26, 1900 by wch. the Gt. Northern teleg. Co. is to have the control of a land line from Taku to Kiachta with intermediate stations at Peking and Tientsin. He first declared this to be anterior to the troubles, but I pointed out to him that this was incorrect, as the Shanghai-Taku cable mentioned in what he had read to me was subsequent. Asked him for a copy, wch. he was unwilling to give me, but I persisted, and told him that when I had an opportunity of studying it, I wld. talk with him again.

Uchida brought me paraphrase of the instructions he had recd. abt. Lessar's amendments, wch. I telegd. to F.O. Japan makes only 2 objections, viz. that the words "if the country is found to be tranquil" wld. give excuse for further delay, and that the ratification clause was ambiguous. It shld. be made clear that the first period of evacuation began fr. the signature, as stated in Art. II. He is going to Prince Ch'ing this afternoon, but will take care not to say anything that might interfere with what H.M.G. wishes to say.

Loudon brought me the Russo-French declaration of 16 Mar. wch. is to be published today in Paris & Petersburg, and was last night communicated to Chinese Govt. He was

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anxious to know what I thought of it. I said I thought it had been arranged when the Czar went to France last year, and not after the Anglo-Japanese agreement. It did not seem to me very formidable, tho' as he said Lessar is jubilant. Mumm he says seems a bit upset, because he did not believe they would do such a thing.

Mumm came to tell me the same piece of news, but I told him I had a copy. He went on to say that he was not making any progress with his mining agreements, and might perh. drop them for the present. Then he said the German group were negotiating about the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway with the Engl. group, who apparently were not ready to go to work. Told him I had no instructions. He confided to me that the Germans are asking for a line from Chinan through Tê-chou to Chêng-ting, and that they have already a concession for a line fr. Chinan to a point on the W. frontier of Shantung (but he said nothing abt. Kai-fêng). The Tientsin-Chinkiang line goes thro' Chinan not to Yi-chou but to a point short of it, and then proceeds direct to Yi-hsien on the S. frontier. He thought it had been a mistake to include this piece S. of Chinan in the Tientsin-chin kiang line. Referring to the mines he said that he began negotiating in March 1901, but evidently the Chinese were afraid of being asked to lower the taxes on mining produce by everyone else, if they did it for him. He regretted the obstacles that had arisen, as the group interested was a strong one, including members of the nobility, besides the usual financiers and banks. I said I heard the Germans were asking for a mine at Chaoyang in wch. the Peking Syndicate was interested. He replied that if their grant was anterior to his, *cedit quaestio*¹, but they dated from 1899, and the only thing left undecided was the regulations. [Margin: He has got a reply from Rohrscheidt about T.P.G.] The Chinese now claimed the right to apply their general mining regulations. If they were earlier than his grant of areas, there was no help first but to await the commercial negotiations and get them altered.

Hynd came to tell me that Cousin's arrival here is delay[ed] thro' his relief not having got to Tientsin fr. Shanghai. Brennan he thinks is coming out to represent the Br. & Chinese Corpn. generally in other matters besides the Northern railways.

Morrison came in, and I showed him the Franco-Russian declaration. He thinks very little of it. Also the translation of the memorial attributed to Yüan Shihkai on the Anglo-Japanese agreement. Kroupensky² assures him that the Russians are anxious to

¹ Latin: "The matter admits of no further argument." (Often used in a legal context.)

² "Pavel Mikhailovich Lessar had gone to Peking in 1901 after winning diplomatic laurels for serving under de Staal at the London embassy and was regarded as a star of the Russian Foreign Ministry though he was suffering from a fatal disease. Basil Kroupensky was also an accomplished diplomat, though a junior one. He had served in China since 1900. Dmitrii Dmitrievich Pokotilov had come to China as a young man in 1888 and become highly proficient in the Chinese language and adept at handling the Chinese. He had been manager of the Russo-Chinese Bank from 1896 to

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get rid of T.P.G. Casenave can do nothing till Beau arrives.

21 Mar. Rain till four o'clock this morning, when it changed to snow, wch. lasted more or less all day to a depth of over six inches.

Lien-fang came to ask whether I had any reply abt. Manchurian convention. I said no. He then began to tell me that Lessar had said there was a treaty, of wch. neither Prince Ch'ing nor the Empress-D. nor the Grand Council knew anything, concluded by Li at Moscow at the time of the Czar's coronation, that they were much perturbed. It wld. be better to enumerate all the Treaties wch. Lessar wants to have referred to in the ratification clause as not being affected by Manchurian Convention. Then I talked to him abt. the efforts made by G.B. in 1894 to bring about an intervention of the Great Powers so as to prevent war betw. China and Japan, wch. had been bluntly refused by the others, who preferred to see Japan and China exhaust themselves, in order to come in afterwards and pick up things; and we now see as a result Russia in Manchuria, Germany in Shantung and France laying claim to all sorts of exclusive privileges in Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hainan.

Asked about the Russo-French declaration of March 16, he said it was communicated the day before yesterday in a short covering note. The Chinese did not know what to make of it. What was my opinion. I said it looked simply like a retort to the Anglo-Japanese agree[men]t.

Went to Uchida abt. reduction of troops, in consequence of a teleg. fr. Lord Lansdowne referring to a conversation with German Ambassador. U[chida] said their views were unchanged. As to the secret treaty, Prince Ch'ing evidently believed it to exist, but said he was ignorant of its terms. He had suggested to Prince that the safest thing for them was to strike out the reference to Treaties in the ratification clause.

Lessar by the way told Lienfang that the other PP [Powers] did not care at all abt. the two northern provinces of Manchuria, and if Russia only evacuated Newchwang they wld. not object to Russia remaining for a century in the rest of the country. I said to him that if Russia made evacuation of Newchang depend on abolition of T.P.G. other PP. might perh[aps] refuse to give up T.P.G. till Newchwang was evacuated.

Casenave à propos of reduction says that he has had a teleg. fr. Beau that he is still of the same mind as regards reduction. As to T.P.G. he must await Beau's return, he being expected in about a week's time. Does not think other people will agree to military officer being put on Peiho Conservancy Board. Abt. division of indemnity can say nothing.

22 Mar. Edmond Cousins came to discuss clause in rlwy. agreement providing for the B. & C.

1903 and director-general of the Chinese Eastern Railway." (Ian Nish, *Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, p. 166)

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Corpn. having a controlling voice on the Rlwy. Board.

23 Mar. Lien-fang came in response to a summons that I might tell him Lord Lansdowne's views on Lessar's amendments to the counterdraft. After he had taken note & thoroughly understood all I told him, he made some notes for Prince Ch'ing. I made some myself, and after lunch took a copy to Uchida and sent one to Conger, both of whom expressed their entire agreement.

Mumm came. He said Lord Lansdowne had talked with Metternich about reduction, and spoke of 2000 men being the contingent. He himself had sometimes thought that we maintained too many posts. I replied that perh. as the posts were grouped by two for each nationality it did not matter whether each force had 1 or 2, but that was a matter for the soldiers. M. had said to Lord L. that if guarantees could be obtained for the speedy execution of the Peiho works that wld. facilitate Germ. Govt's decision as to reduction, but I did not see how an arrangement betw. the Powers could be made a quid pro quo for the concession of changes in the International Commission, wch. we shld. have to negotiate with the Chinese. He replied that they prob.meant that they desired to get Tientsin made accessible to gunboats before reducing. He also said that he fancied Ct. Waldersee meant T.P.G. to be given up before reduction. I said my memory of it was that the Diplomatic Body had expressed itself in favour of a speedy abolition of T.P.G., to wch. Waldersee had replied that it ought to be maintained as long as the "transitory" period lasted, & even perh. beyond. He said that it was not true, as the papers gave out, that he had been making T.P.G. depend on Chinese granting mining concessions in Shantung, for those he regarded as already obtained, but he was trying to get the rates of royalties reduced, in wch. perh. we might work together. Then he observed how very cold Lessar and the others were on the subject of T.P.G. at our meeting, as soon as they found that he & I, upon whom they had relied to offer opposition, were disposed to give way.

26 " Sonné came again, having sent me yesterday a long letter with copy of the separate agreement made by the Gt. Northern Co. with Shêng 26 Oct. 1900 for control of a wire all the way from Kiachta to Taku, for transmitting international telegs. either by Russia or viâ Shanghai. de Giers must have known of this, when he said that the Gt. N. Co. had not asked him to help in obtaining permanent control of the land lines. Lessar prob. knew of it when we agreed to act together in Jany. last & certainly when he was so ready, after receipt of Pr. Ch'ing's reply, to give up further action. Told S. I had instructions to ask for equality of treatment, and recorded result of my interview in a desp. to F.O. Sent for Swan and told him what had passed.

27 March Geoffrey Drage, who had sent on ahead letters of introduction from Cecil Smith and Lamps [Sanderson], arrived with his brother-in-law James Ismay and Miss Lottie Ismay,

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to stop.

30 March Went to see Mumm. He says the Fr. are now trying to delay the abolition of T.P.G. in order to obtain the payment of certain missionary indemnities in Manchuria; Beau seems vague about the proposed conference of generals. In general he finds B. difficult to extract anything fr., as he always pretends not to know; he spends half an hour with him, and comes away no wiser than he went. Mixed Court: told him Mackay had never submitted his project to the Chinese as Knappe had imagined and reported, and had now left the affair in my hands, expressing himself as being willing to accept either his own draft or whatever the diplomatic body agreed to.

31 Mar. The Ismays & Drage left, expressing themselves very pleased with their visit. ¹

Had Harris, the interpreter who went with Manifold & Hunter to Chungking to lunch. He showed me their explorations on the map, and read some extracts abt. Fr[ench] missionary doings in the interior, the way they terrorize the officials, and exercise authority wch. he considers a great danger.

Went to Beau., talked to him abt. the quarrel betw. Monseigneur Reynaud and Bishop Moule. The former he said was a 'mauvais caractère' & he had expressed a strong desire that he shld. cease to write letters. I said that evidently he had "une plume acérée" [a poisonous pen], but I did not see how we could settle such an affair upon a mass of papers, in wch. he agreed. [Margin: He had a report on Thihmann's explanations to Budget Committee in wch. he said Germany had a surplus of 4,000,000 marks, wch. wld. be required military expenditure & loss on exchange.] As to T.P.G. I gathered that he had authorized Sucillon to agree with general Creagh. As to the apptmt. of a military officer on the Haiho commission, we agreed that this wld. be a difficulty.

T'ang came yesterday. He said Beau or the Fr. Legation had asked Junglu to order Chang Chih-tung to give way abt. the extension of the French concession up to the rlwy. to wch. Junglu replied that it was a local matter; and he afterwards telegraphed Chang to hold out. I spoke of the Fr. assuming jurisdiction over the Taku road, and advised him that Yüan shld. leave the whole question where it is until that of the T.P.G. is settled.

Morrison came just as I was going to dress for dinner. He says Bland has been telegraphing to the "Times" that the B. & C. Corpn. cannot get on with the S'hai-Nanking rlwy. because H.M.G. do not support them, and he intends to contradict this. Told him it certainly was not true, because I had instructions to tell the Chin[ese] that Shêng must not entertain Francqui's application for transfer of the concession to him. M. also said that v.

¹ Drage wrote a complimentary letter of thanks to Satow dated April 7, 1902 which is quoted in B.M. Allen's *The Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Satow G.C.M.G.: A Memoir*, 1933, p. 125 and in Ruxton, *Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, 1998, p. 309.

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der Goltz declares that a preliminary agreement for the Chinan-Chengting line has been signed, but the Chinese deny it.

Tsai-chên ¹ and his suite dined. Chen-tung told me that the Chinese Govt. were in favour of Mackay's likin clause, and that Prince Ch'ing says that the Viceroy and Governors must give way in a matter in wch. the whole of China is interested.

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- 1 April Lien-fang came with the draft agreed to by Lessar, who refuses the wording we had proposed about the no. of troops to be kept in Manchuria after the evacuation. I told him the two objections of H.M.G. but that under the circs. I shld. advise him to sign. Spoke to him abt. Mackay's clause regarding the establish't of an uniform coinage for the whole of China, wch. he says is difficult on acct. of the spread of the dollar, and abt. Francqui's attempt to get the S'hai-Nanking r[ai]lw[a]y wch. of course must not be permitted. He also said he had sent Ku to speak to Campbell abt. the Kowshing affair, with a view to settling it here as a mark of appreciation for our friendship. I said what we wanted was justice according to the arbitrator, and that China must accept the terms of reference proposed by H.M.G.
- 2 April After a meeting at Czikann's to draft a reply regarding members of the imperial family and bannermen being allowed to present themselves for examination at Honanfu, went on to Uchida. He had the corresp'ce betw. Uyeno, Jap. Consul at Amoy and Mansfield about the assault case but had not gone thro' it. I supported Mansfield's suggestion that the case agst. Keay and that agst. the Japanese shld. be held simultaneously.
Kulangsu . He thinks his govt. may perh. modify their view abt. Japese. subjects of Chinese race having the franchise.
Indemnities . Japanese private claims not yet revised, shld. be shortly.
Manchurian conv[entio]n. His govt. wished for his alteration beginning "aura pleine liberté" [will have complete liberty], but under the circs. do not insist on pressing. Lessar telegd. to Petersburg day before yesterday. Chinese expect to sign before 13 April. [Margin: Told him I was arranging for handing over the railway.]
Mumm says Italian greenbook contains very extraordinary things about their indemnity claim, a desp. fr. Salvago suggesting that as other Powers were putting in big claims, Italy shld. demand 17,000,000.

¹ Prince Tsai Chen was a son of Prince Ch'ing. "Prince Tsai Chen is minister of Commerce... a fat jolly fellow... beautifully dressed, does not speak any foreign language, so we could only grin at each other, but we did exchange cigarettes." From a letter by the artist Hubert Vos quoted in Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 415.

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Had Hu (who brought his interpreter Capt. Wu with him) to give him a reading of the two drafts abt. the railway. He expressed himself on the whole satisfied, but we altered the Chin. version of the article referring to the composition of the Board, & he offered some objections to the clause constituting the B. & C. Corp'n. the sole agents of the railway.

Dined with Tsai-chên. Uchida and a number of his staff, Nabekura manager of the Yokohama Specie Bank at Peking and the Police Instructor.

Duststorm all night, covering the ground with a thin coating of yellow dust from the Gobi desert.

3 April Forsythia opposite 1st Sec.'s house has two blossoms completely open. Other plants in diff[erent] parts of the grounds more or less advanced according to position.

4 " All Forsythias except those r. & l. of the causeway betw. the two ting'rh [pavilions] in flower, and one apricot opp. 1st Secretary's house.

Went to Conger & showed him the agree[men]t betw. the Military Gov[ern]or of Kirin and one Luba by wch. none but Russians or Chinese are to mine for gold, silver &c. in that province, & promised to give him copies. Spoke also of the German intrigue to get a military officer put on the Peiho Conservancy Board, wch. I said cld. not be done without the consent of the whole Diplomatic Body; other objections were the difficulty of a military man working with civilians, and if anyone ought to be added it should be a naval man, not a soldier. Also the German suggestion that the rlwy. shld. not be handed over without the consent of the military authorities, whereas it was the consent of the F.R.R. having legation guards that is necessary. He observed that of course we shld. have a right to protect the interests of the bondholders. He is starting for Shanghai tomorrow to begin his commercial negotiations, wch. he thinks will take a very long time, and that the Chinese will offer strenuous opposition to any concessions wch. wld. not be made in other countries, especially the inland water navigation rules.

Went to Azevedo ¹ and got from him more abt. his corresp'ce with Waiwupu. His interpreter went the other day to see Jui-liang, who said to him that they were in great embarrassment about his note asserting right of Portuguese to import goods under tariff of 1858; it had been a great blunder to omit asking Portugal to join the Protocol. China had been obliged to pay large sums to the Powers, but as she could not give Portugal money the compensation must take the form of territory. They wld. propose therefore to enter on revision of the commercial treaty, in the course of wch. these concessions could be brought in.

He showed me also the petition of the Chinese merchants who propose to construct a

¹ José Azevedo Castello Branco. Portuguese minister.

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railway fr. Macao to Canton, and a map of the delta showing the course to be taken by the railway.

To Uchida abt. the Kirin mining agreements. He had some conversation with Prince Ch'ing some time ago, and derived the impression that the agreeet. had been already ratified. Promised him copies of the Chinese text. We agreed to watch closely the Manchurian agreement, lest modifications shld. be introduced by Russia at the last moment. Signature seems to be imminent. Told him abt. discussions betw. military commanders at Tientsin, and my views.

Conger spoke very strongly abt. a decree bestowing honours on Favier, Jarlin, & Norris, & observed that the Chinese licked the hand that struck them. It was his intention to send in a strong note. He had already written denouncing the new mining regulations as calculated to frustrate their object, and to prevent China fr. reaping any benefit fr. the mining industry.

5 April Some blossoms on a couple of dwarf Prunus mme; yesterday ampelopsis ¹ on a warm wall beneath terrace in front of morning room had leaves almost fully developed, but elsewhere no signs.

6 April Some cherry blossoms and my own two forsythia in bloom. Young elms in hedges just breaking.

Mumm came. He talked again about a military officer on Haiho Conservancy Board, so I told him I thought H.M.G. wld. not be willing.

Hopkins and his niece came to stay.

7 “ Beau came. Seems to disbelieve in mines in China; railways are the only good investment for foreign capital. Told him Rocher had been to see me & that I had promised him my support, but I had no instructions and he had not shown me any papers. Beau replied that he too had not seen them, and had merely taken Rocher to the Waiwupu to introduce him. Mumm yesterday had a story that Beau is leaving in a fortnight, & may prob. go to Petersburg, but his conversation today was quite the other way.

Uchida came to say that he thought the Russian mining agreements sent here by Hosie at the beginning of the year were probably included in the agreement wch. Pokotiloff had been trying to obtain, & we agreed to ask Prince Ch'ing definitely whether they had been signed.

9 April Lunch at the Kao Miao given by Tsai-chên & Nat'ung to Uchida and myself. It was a bitterly cold & brilliant day, with clouds of dust. It was in this place that Parkes and Loch

¹ Any plant of the genus Ampelopsis or Parthenocissus, usually a climber supporting itself by twining tendrils, e.g. Virginia creeper. [from Greek *ampelos* – vine and *opsis* – appearance] (Concise Oxford Dictionary)

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were lodged in 1860 after their release from the Hsing-pu, see p. 125 of the 1900 edition of Loch's narrative, tho' he places it near the Anting mên, whereas it is close to the Têh-shêng mên. The priest after lunch showed us the rooms inhabited by them, on the plaster wall of which Parkes had written something in Chinese & English, which had disappeared some years ago thro' the plaster falling down. It was a comfortable place. Farewell dinner this evening to Vaughan.

10 [Apr.] Vaughan and the Hopkins' left.

11 " The embassy to the Coronation went off by special train this morning.

Hu came with his man Wu to discuss the two drafts for transfer of the railways. We came to no final agreement, as several of the alterations suggested as he said, at the wish of Yüan Shihkai or T'ang Shao-yi were unacceptable. But Hu himself seemed to be willing to agree to most, and asked me to speak in favour of the drafts to Prince Ch'ing. He said that T'ang had counselled Yüan not to be in a hurry, as the railway must be given up at the same time as Tientsin. I said the two questions were not associated, and reminded him that it had been owing to Yüan's urgency that I had taken the matter up at all, and I could afford to wait.

12 April Meeting of colls: to discuss Lessar's letter abt. division of indemnity money among 6 banks, at wch. I replied that he seemed to go on a wrong principle that the bankers could lend out the money & gain thereby, whereas the interest earned ought to go to the credit of the Chinese Govt.

14 April Cousins came in the morning, and we had a talk about the B. agreement for the transfer of the railways. He was to teleg. to B. & C. [British & Chinese] Corp'n. that the Chinese objected to the paragraph constituting them the paid agents of the Northern railways in London, and that I did not see my way to supporting it either.

To Prince Ch'ing in the afternoon. We talked [about the] P'ukóu railway, not with much success, the national currency and interport trade in rice clauses of Mackay, as to wch. he said that he saw no great harm in them; the former was however an internal matter and they had it under consideration. He promised to telegraph to Shêng & Lû to expedite matters. I mentioned the Portuguese, their current relations with China, but he evaded the topic, & talked about Mumm & his excursion to Jehol ¹ and the Eastern tombs. I also spoke of the Franco-Belgian Syndicate's application for railways in Canton province, wch. I said interfered with the Kowloong-Canton line given to British capitalists, and was also objected to by the American concessionaries of the Yueh-Han line. He said he had heard nothing abt. it fr. the Viceroy.

Col. Bower came to tell me that Major Collinet of the French legation guard had

¹ The imperial retreat of Jehol, 110 miles north of Peking, beyond the Great Wall.

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written to Doubelt of the Russian guard, who is the senior commandant, to ask him to call a meeting to discuss the present situation, wch. he considers alarming in consequence of the absence of the Court and the large number of Chinese troops recently brought to Peking. B. thought this was absurd; if I had no objection he proposed to start about 20th or 21st for the Great Wall & Ming Tombs with the Cárcers, an engagement of old standing. I replied that I thought there was no ground for anxiety, and that he might go.

Warm day. In front of Townley's house one blossom of purple and several of white lilac open. The large double plums in front of my bedroom window mostly in full bloom. Round the lake near the Hou Mên the willows are in leaf, and a few elms are beginning to flower. Ailantus leaf buds swelling, a few Sophora leaf buds opening. Funkia just shooting above ground.

15 [April] v. der Goltz came to ask whether I had recd. any application from missionaries regarding regulation at Shantung College requiring students to make obeisance before the image of Confucius, wch. prevents Christian students attending. Said no, but in any case I shld. not interfere, as I do not consider this comes under the toleration clause of the Treaties, wch. I think shld. not be construed too widely. He spoke also abt. the mixed Court at Shanghai, and I said that I wld. present my observations on the consular scheme when Conger returned fr. Shanghai. I understood that Mumm also had received some observations fr. Knappe. Asked him if he had recd. report from Tientsin on the meeting of commanding officers abt. T.P.G. & as he said he had not, told him I would circulate what I had got, and propose a meeting to discuss.

Prince Ch'ing came to express gratitude of Chin. Govt. for assistance in recent negotiations. I impressed on him the importance of sending some one to Manchuria to organize police & to generally be ready to take over as the Russians evacuated. He seemed to be quite alive to the importance of this, and said that the protection of the Manchurian railway was incumbent on China. I dwelt on the importance of preserving order in all of the frontier provinces. He said they proposed to reform the administrative system of Manchuria, to have a Viceroy at Kirin with subordinate governors at Tsitsihar & Moukden. Newchwang. Lessar at time of signing the Treaty delivered a verbal note stating that Newchwang wld. be restored as soon as the T.P.G. came to an end, if within 1st period of six months, if not, then in the 1st or 2nd month of the 2nd period. I showed him the agreement made by Luba with the Tartar Govr. of Kirin for mining to be allowed to Russians and Chinese to the exclusion of all other nations, wch. he reluctantly admitted had been ratified, but then vehemently asserted that the recent proposals of the Russo-Chinese bank with regard to Shênking had been definitely rejected. I then brought round the conversation to the P'ukóu railway, and he said that at first Shêng had objected

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on the ground of its interference with the P'ukóu-Sinyang line of the British & Chinese Corporation, but had been told that wld. not do; then he shifted his ground and said it wld. interfere with the Luhan line if it were granted before the Société d'Etudes had issued the balance of their shares. As soon as that happened, Prince Ch'ing said the P'ukóu line wld. be arranged for with the Peking Syndicate. Thereupon I told him that according to a recent despatch from Brussels, the remaining shares had been issued.

Loudon came to ask my opinion as to the exact tenure of legation property. After much discussion we came to the conclusion that the Chinese in giving the legation quarter conceived themselves to be making a concession out & out to the Eleven Powers, and that de facto whatever was within the walls of any particular legation as recognized by the others was its actual property.

18 [April] C.A.R. Browne came to me by app[ointmen]t to urge on me the acquisition of a piece of land at Tientsin outside the mud-wall for a railway junction wch. wld. pass thro' the Italian so-called "concession" and the Japanese concession. He also said Bell's report on the amount wch. wld. be required to put the extra mural rly. into the status quo order will amount to not more than £250,000 altogether, including what has been already spent. Then he wants a letter written to the Chinese Auth: asking them not to close the Chien-mên every evening until half an hour after the arrival of the last train. He wants to get something out of the indemnity or the £600,000 in the hands of the Hkg & S'hai Bank towards improvements. I advised him to pay next time the instalment minus the interest earned by the deposit in London.

Gatrell came; rather an alarming report as to rumours of attacks & massacres, but he feels no personal anxiety himself. But he said that he was often reviled in riding thro' the streets to the hospital and back.

Timothy Richard came this afternoon and spent a long time talking. Strongly recommended him to see Chang Pohsi and to try to carry out his idea of last year of getting the education of China into English hands.

Also Lt. Francis Leake, Comr. of the "Bramble". I asked him to try to bring his ship up to Tientsin if possible, but not to run any risks of failure or damage.

Geo. Jamieson came. Told him I had written a note to Prince Ch'ing recalling his conversation with me of the 15th and undertaking that if the Prince wld. write to Shêng that there was no objection to the Huai P'u railway provided the Luhan shares were all issued, I wld. tell J. to go to S'hai to discuss the terms with Shêng.

Kinder came. Told him I had seen a private letter abt. 4 additional locomotives & that these were only in exchange four passenger engines for 4 goods engines. That Browne in employing Buchheister, Sir S. Baker and Sandberg had simply followed the previous

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arrangements made by himself. As to date of rlwy. being transferred, cld. not possibly predict.

19 [April] To Beau, who thinks we must wait till Mumm's return in order to discuss T.P.G. He said he had been coming to see me abt. the extension of the Fr. concession at Hankow, the Chinese having insisted on a strip 600 mètres wide betw. extension & rlwy., and that Fraser had declared if the extension were given he must ask for the same; he had not objection to a reasonably wide strip being left between the extension & rlwy. I said all we wished for was that there should be a road left free of every body to use, so that there shld. not be a repetition of what occurs elsewhere, notably at Tientsin where the Fr. municipality levy taxes on carts passing along that part of the Taku road wch. they administer. If he liked, Fraser & Marcilly might discuss the proper width of the road and come to an understanding. He said he would write to Marcilly. B. said that the Fr. consul had a difficulty with the Russian consul abt. the extension of a road across a bit of waste land to join a transverse road, and the latter for two years had been making difficulties; even Lessar could not give orders to his consul in this matter. He explained that the reason of their wanting an extension was that the revenue of the present concession did not cover the expenses.

Dined at Japanese Legn. Lessar talked about the Manchurian convention: the sole difference betw. it & the original draft was that the Chinese had gained the difference betw. Oct. & Dec. 1903. They had made a great many absurd verbal alterations in the Fr. draft, so that he was more than inclined to send a telegram advising his Govt. to sign no convention at all. He was very glad to have a French text, and we must try to get the Chinese always to do anything of importance in Fr. What they had desired was to resume normal relations with China, so important to them because of their long common frontier, & this had been accomplished by the convention. But the relations with China wld. never return to a normal condition, by wch. he meant that Peking had now become a post like Constantinople and Persia, full of rivalries and intrigues. The international position of China was now much stronger than before the troubles, as she could always get the support of one Power against another.

T.P.G. he thought it was impossible to do anything before Mumm's return. Personally he had little interest in the question. But among the desiderata of the generals was a proposal to insist upon a military officer being added to the Haiho conservancy board. That introduced a political element to wch. he was most strongly opposed. If it was necessary to have a fourth, in order to make the balance equal betw. the Chinese & foreign factors, he wld. not object to a representative of the foreign commercial element. I agreed with him, & said I had told Mumm all he wanted was to get v. Falkenhayn on it.

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In my opinion a naval man wld. be more suitable than a military man for such matters; also I thought the demand that only one Chinese man of war shld. be allowed to lie at the Taku bar was a question rather for the Admirals.

21 [Apr.] Edgar Pierce Allen came to talk about a request made to him by T'ang Shao-yi to undertake instruction of 25 young Chinese in law, and he proposes to get an English partner to help him. I suggested that the latter should be a barrister, and that they shld. teach jurisprudence and the principles of English common law &c. Promised to give my support if my advice were asked by Yüan.

Hynd came to suggest some additions to railway agreement B and the attachment of plans of the Chien mên station, a goods station near the T'ung pien mên and station land at T'ung-chou, sent him by Hillier. I told him I thought this impracticable now, and that the draft as it stood gave us all we could expect to get. I had written to him in the morning that I wld. not insist upon the agency for the B. & C. Corporation.

Hu came about four.30 and stopped till six discussing A & B. Yüan evidently does not like either agreement, and wants to make further alterations. I said that I could not consent to go any further in the way of concessions, and that if the agreements were not accepted, I wld. write to General Creagh, and say that the negotiation was off. He begged me not to do so; he wld. see Yüan tomorrow, and come again on the 23rd.

Went to Hart abt. refusal of drawbacks on bunker coal and ships' stores. He says he thinks the strict wording of the protocol prevents any allowance being made. But he wld. send the question to the Doyen.

22 April Wistaria in flower. Plums nearly over. The lilacs past their prime. Ailantus breaking. Sophora just beginning. Elms well advanced.

23 “ Rain from noon onwards, and temperature necessitating a fire. Plum trees that were planted last year in full leaf. Albizzia putting out its leaf buds.

24 “ Hu came in the forenoon, and we agreed to the texts of the two agreements abt. transfer of the rlwys. He told a long story abt. his audiences of the Empress-Dowager & Empress, conversations with Jung-lu and Prince Ch'ing. The latter had said to the Empress-Dowager that Yüan was giving himself airs like another Li Hung-chang, who had 30 yrs. in office up here, was well known to foreigners and could say and do what he liked. He said he would send the texts as agreed upon down to the Court, to be submitted thro' the Grand Council, and that then the two agreements wld. be signed by himself and Yüan; I made a slight concession to humour the latter defining the duties of the Genl. Manager & the Representative of the B. & C. Corporation.

Azevedo came to give me an account of an interview he had yesterday with Nat'ung & Lienfang. Juiliang & Ku were present also and two or three more. He presented his

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memo. containing the concessions he was prepared to make to China, in return for wch. he asked for a rlwy. to Canton, and the marking out of a certain zone in wch. without interfering with Chinese jurisdiction Portugal should have the right of constructing wharves and building warehouses. While he was there Beau came in and sat quite a long time. As to the indemnity he told me that acc[ording] to the telegs. he had recd. France had agreed that we shld. have 13% on a provisional division of the indemnity. As to a subsequent decrease, he said his own wld. not be more than 800,000 francs. The commission sitting in Paris wld. simply decide what amount shld. be deducted from the sums payable to each claimant to find pensions and gratuities for families of killed & wounded in securing the indemnities! He talked as usual a great deal about the impossibility of working mines in China to pay, and the difficulty of carrying coal by the 600 kilometres of metre guage from Yünnanfu to Haiphong, where it wld. be laid down at 40 fr. a ton, whereas the Japse. coal cld. be bought there at 30. The trade of Yünnan could never be of great value. That of Mingtze at the outside wld. be 600,000 taels. A Fr. limited Co. is established there but it makes no profits. He had been reading Gerard's energetic despp. about the Engl. demand for opening Nanning, wch. wld. carry off this precious trade thro' Engl[ish] channels. I said the only advantage of ports on the W. river was to get rid of likin , but that no Engl. firms established themselves there, we had taken our consul away fr[om] Samshui and retained one solely at Wuchou for information on the general condition of the country. Told him I had written to E.H. Fraser abt. the road betw. the railway and Fr. concession extension. As to Tientsin his instructions are to give it up as soon as the others are willing.

Went to Conger. He says U.S. Govt. wld. agree to England's 11¼% being deducted before the pro ratâ diminution is applied, & he has instructions to that effect. Also his people are adverse to Mackay's proposals for a 13% tariff in return for the abolition of all internal taxation of trade. He does not think we ought to interfere in the internal affairs of China to that extent. Besides Shêng who is in favour of doing away with likin is not likely to be satisfied with 15%. The U.S. therefore wld. be satisfied with abolition of likin on imports in return for an extension of the transit pass system, goods being made up in recognizable packets just as opium is, and the application of the Chinkiang rules to the whole of China. On all the other points asked for by Mackay he was able to agree, and the things wch. the U.S. specially asked for (he did not say what they were) Mackay concurred. All the same he thinks the negotiations are going to take a very long time.

25 [April] To Uchida. Manchurian Russian mining privileges. Told him result of my conversation with Prince Ch'ing & that the Waiwupu had denied to Bainbridge that any such had been conceded. He said he wld. ask for an interview as soon as the Prince returned. Some

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months ago, he had inquired of him, & he had promised to find out, but never said anything more on the subject.

Sent for Geo. Jamieson, and showed him recent correspondence abt. Huai-pú rlyw., and abt. opening mines and constructing a railway line in S.E. Shanti [Shanli?].

26 [April] Col. Browne went off to Shanghai.

Mumm came back today from his journey to Jehol. Says he has no instructions abt. T.P.G. i.e. that he will have to insist upon the military officer on conservancy board. I responded that he already knew what my instructions are. He had telegd. afresh; had not yet carefully examined the proposals of the generals. Indemnity: told him that I hoped in a day or two to arrange our proposals.

27 “ Liébert who called explains that 272,500,000 was the fig. at wch. the commission consisting of d'Anthouard, Kahn & Pilon had estimated their indemnity. The Min. of Finance inquired what was the minimum, to wch. they answered 265,000,000; he did not wish to ask the Chambers for more than was absolutely necessary; they now find that their military expenses were underestimated. He offered to show me the annexes presented to the Committee of the Budget.

28 “ Cousins came: told him of the telegs. exchanged betw. Ld. Lansdowne & myself abt. B. & C. Corp's. desire to be apptd. agent & read them to him, saying that I thought they ought to be satisfied. He said he wld. teleg. to Inglis that F.O. has all the particulars & he considers the conditions satisfactory. As to the Corpn. being repres'ves of the bondholders we agreed that only H.M.G. cld. make them that.

Lessar came. Told him H.M.G. agrees to Hillier receiving 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ %, and unfolded to him my plan for converting the provisional partition on list 5 into definitive: he did not agree. Says he has recd. copies of papers recording conversations betw. Lord Lansdowne, the Russian ambassador, Cambon &c. from wch. he concluded none of them at all understood the question.

He showed a letter fr. Conger abt. the crowding of Legn. street by Chinese carts: I suggested telling C. to wait until the road on the W. side of the glacis is finished, and then we would turn all the Chinese traffic onto that.

Railway Land at Tientsin. Told him abt. Laftiew and Hopkins being apptd. to a commission. He has another idea, to let Kon [Kow?] of the Russo-Chinese bank and the Railway people arrange a compromise. I said that I cld. not well propose this to H.M.G. who had another way of settling the question on hand, that the Military Director was only temporary, and not empowered to represent the persons interested. The proper person to discuss it with Kon was Kinder, but then I knew he was obnoxious to the Russians. However if they liked to let these two talk together, Kinder could be found at Fêngtao or

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Tongshan. As for myself I had held my tongue abt. the question as much as possible, not wishing to be affected by the spirit of quarrelsomeness wch. animated the soldiers. If I had been consulted abt. the siding question I shld. have put a stop to it at once, but they did not come to me until all the fat was in the fire.

Lessar in everything wants to have his own way too much, and it is most difficult to come to an agreement with him.

Hynd came with prospectus of issue of the remaining bonds of the Luhan rlwy. repeated to him my conversation with Cousins, and told him the agreements are to be signed tomorrow.

Sent for Kinder and told him my conversation with Lessar, but begged him to remain quiet until they approached him. If they did, he was to speak to Genl. Creagh. In my opinion any agreement betw. him & Kon wld. have to be ratified by H.M.G.

Conger came: will ask Prince Ch'ing definitely whether the Kirin mining agreement has been signed & ratified. He talked abt. crowding of Legn. street by Chinese carts, was not aware of the municipal rules adopted by Squiers, Knobel & de Giers, so I showed them to him. He wished me to stop carts coming past the Legation. I said I wld. not agree to that so long as I was left outside the two confederacies. If they wld. all agree to turn Chinese traffic along the viale d'Italia, the Stewart road and even Gaselee road when finished, I wld. then help him. He almost lost his temper. He then referred to the Mixed Court rules, said that Mackay had treated Goodnow & Knappe in a very overbearing manner wch. I denied. They had never consulted Warren abt. the amendments adopted by the Consular body, & W. had consequently sent me his criticisms. Mackay had written that he was quite willing to leave the whole matter in my hands, otherwise I wld. not touch it. I had merely sent him my criticisms privately. At last he recovered his good temper.

29 April Rosa parvifolia the double yellow, in flower this morning sparsely.

Signed agreements about railway this afternoon with Yüan and Hu.

H.P. Wilkinson arrived.

30 [Apr.] Mumm came to ask abt. rlwy. agreement having been signed. Told him it was based on the convention betw. Waldersee and Gaselee, and that the Chinese had to ask the consent of the F.R.R. to the transfer to civil administration. We also talked abt. the indemnity, as to wch. nothing has recently come from F.O.

Morrison also came. He showed me his teleg. to "Times", and on my explaining reasons for not wishing to publish any details abt. B. agreement, he said he wld. send another, asking them to keep back that part of the teleg.

Worked with Wilkinson at the results of the claims commission.

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Dined at Mumms and met Dr. Fischer, director of railways in Shantung. Has found a place for crossing the Yellow River by a bridge about 1000 metres long.

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1 May Lienfang came abt. Kowshing. He said Ku had understood fr. Campbell that we insisted on arbitration. Told him Ku had misunderstood. What Campbell said was that if the Chinese had made up their mind to pay, the only point to leave to the arbitrator was the amount. I found L-F. had an idea of instructing Chang To-yi on his arrival in London to discuss the whole question with Lord Lansdowne, and to ask Mr. Choate whether Japan ought not to be brought in. I told him my instructions were to inform the Chinese Govt. that H.M.G. wld. withdraw fr. the arbitration unless China gave up insisting on the conduct of the Japanese men of war being considered, & that Chang Têyi cld. not consult Mr. Choate abt. the terms of reference: he had only to decide upon the reference when agreed upon betw. the two govts. He said that his idea was to give up arbitration, and to settle the am[oun]t of indemnity in a friendly manner. I asked did he authorize me to tell that to H.M.G. and ask for fresh instructions. I had not acted on my first instructions, therefore I must report that fact & ask for leave; I therefore needed an assurance fr. him that China recognized her liability. He urged me to say how much it would be. I told him I had no knowledge of the am[oun]t claimed, having never inquired into that point, wch. was not in my instructions; therefore I must get an assurance fr. him of the kind described. He said he wld. see Prince Ch'ing today or tomorrow, and bring me an answer before the end of the week. I told him that at the same time to clear the ground I wld. send in the Note wch. I had already prepared.

Mr. Edward S. Little, ex-missionary, came as representative of Brunner Mond & Co. to ask whether there was any difficulty in the way of doing business in Peking. He merely proposed to put a quantity of wholesale goods in the care of Chinese warehousemen in Peking. I told him what had occurred with respect to foreigners trading in Peking, & said I thought he wld. have no difficulty. He says he has coal & iron mines in Anhui, 20 miles fr. the Yangtze, besides others, & that he has bought up Saddle-Island with a view to creating a sanatorium for foreigners in the S. of China.

2 May Sir Robt. came to talk about proposed increase in taxation of foreign opium, and asked me to study the additional article regulating the duty & likin. He held & had advised Waiwupu that no additional taxation could be put on until native opium was taxed up to 110 taels a picul. I promised to look into the matter and ask the people at home what their view is.

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He talked abt. Inland Navigation and said that separate sets of rules were necessary for each port, since there was inland navigation from Swatow & Foochow. The opening of Kongmoon as a treaty port wld. not have the effect expected from it, as steamers enter the West river by a channel between that & the Bogue. He has advised the Chinese to open any number of ports, the more the better, not in an expensive manner.

In the afternoon went to see Conger about mixed Court rules. He is not yet quite ready to discuss. Lent him a copy of railway agreement A.

On to Mumm; told him my readiness to accept a partition wch. gave us 11½%, coupled with the undertaking of all to proceed to a definite division within a year on the presentation by each of his definitive figures. He said he wld. agree to this if others would, simply in order to arrive at a solution. Rlwy agreement A. Told him of its contents. He said Rohrscheidt had suggested to him that he shld. insist on Chinese accepting our conditions abt. T.P.G. before we agreed to give over the rlwy. I said the two questions did not seem to me to be connected; I had arranged for the transfer to Chinese because the latter had urged me, and that I did not particularly care one way or the other, except as it was a return towards a normal condition of things. As to T.P.G. he said he had recd. a teleg. fr. home, but it was not quite clear, & he had telegd. again, so that he was not ready to discuss. When he was, we six shld. come to an understanding & then confer with the other colls.

3 May Went to Lessar 1st abt. 11½%, agst. wch. he is firm on the ground that Russian Legn. had reduced from 20,000,000 taels to something betw. 7 and 8; also abt. Tientsing railway land. He has recd. instructions to instruct Laptiew. I suggested that we shld. frame a reference containing authority to do 3 things: 1° ascertain what was railway land 2° rectify boundaries 3° make any arrangements for mutual convenience desired by both parties. I promised to send him a copy of agreement A privately, after saying to him that it could only be carried out simultaneously with their handing over the portion of Shanhaikwan railway station wch. they still possess. He said that if I sent it to him he wld. be able to teleg. to Petersburg.

Lien-fang had been to talk abt. Kowshing. He said he understood the indemnity claimed was \$400,000. In order to settle the affair without noise and avoid annoyance to Japan & G.B. – two friendly countries – he had recommended to Prince Ch'ing to offer to compromise for one half. If I consented they wld. write me a red note. I replied that I cld. not promise anything, but if they made this offer wld. submit it to H.M.G. He said they were very hard up for money, but understood we had a surplus out of our indemnity! (Incautious of us to have told them this.) Then he went on in ans[wer] to a question abt. the financial condition in general and a remark that v. Ketteler's murder had cost China

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£13,000,000 sterling, to talk abt. the troubles of 1900: the Empress-Dowager told Jui-liang a few days ago that during those troubles she was powerless; the Princes had come round her & said this was their affair and she could not settle alone. So she was obliged to do what they told her. He himself had excited the hatred of Lan, who was present at a meeting of the Tsungli Yamên when Lien fang went back with a proposition of Sir Claude to send a Chinese govt. courier to hasten up the relief force. Lan was altogether opposed to this. Lien Fang it seems assured the Yamên that the foreign soldiers wld. be kept within the legations and would not go out into the town or give any provocation. (If so, then the proceedings of some of the foreign guards in killing boxers must have had the effect of provoking hostility.) L. did not know that this person was Duke Lan, from whom he incurred afterwards the greatest danger. He said that the Foreign Ministers had made the mistake of asking for the punishment of innocent persons. I asked who, and went thro' the list. Ying-mên? Well he could not help himself being in a subordinate position. Chao Shu chiao? No, for he had cause[d] 200 innocent women & children to be killed, contrary to the feelings of all the people under him in the Board of Punishments. Prince Chuang? He was a stupid [man]. Yü Hsien? No, certainly not innocent. The Empress Dowager had said to Jui-liang how much she regretted the death of Kang-yi by suicide; he ought to have had his head cut off. Chi-hsü and Hsu Ch'êng-yü? These were concerned in the murder of the Ministers of the Yamên, Yuan-chang & others, without any decree; no they were not innocent. If the siege had continued a little longer there would have been more of such political murders, and he was himself in the greatest danger all the time. His house was in the neighbourhood of the Observatory and he did not dare to go outside, the streets were quite deserted in that quarter. It was difficult to get provisions. When the foreign troops entered he made his way to our Legations where he saw the MacDonalds & Lady M. gave him 4 biscuits & a glass of claret & water for wch. he was very grateful. He saw also de Giers & Pichon & said the only thing was to bring back the Court & Prince Ch'ing: the latter had fallen ill at a place called Huai-lai, on this side of the Suenhua, 2 or 3 days fr. Peking. So they sent (the Chinese officials) couriers imploring him to return and [he] was brought back under an escort of Japanese cavalry. I asked abt. looting. First of all the Russians had the quarter where he was, and the Germans afterwards. First there was the danger from the Boxers, and afterwards from the foreign troops. The Russians, Germans, Italians & French were the worst looters. Our people and the Americans behaved well. The Japanese for two or three days were engaged in carrying off sycee [Chinese coins] on numerous (I think he said a couple of hundred) horses from the Board of Revenue.

At Tientsin there were carried off 6000,000 dollars worth of sycee from the

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government buildings. All these misfortunes had come on China from the folly of a few princes and officials. All praise to men like Liu Kunyi who had said to the foreigners that if they kept quiet he wld. ensure there should be no uprising. In ans[wer] to a remark that the attack on Blagovestchensk, orders for wch. were sent from Peking, had cost China 170,000,000 of roubles, he said orders were not sent from here; it was the hot-headed folly of Ch'êng-hsün the 2nd in command at Kirin, who began the row and gave the Russians the pretext to invade Manchuria.

Loudon came in the afternoon. Told him my proposal for the 'provisional division' of the indemnity.

5 May Went to Czikkann and told him I wished to make a proposal abt. division of the indemnity, & arranged for a meeting to be called on the 7th. Also found that he had on the 2nd recd. fr. the Waiwupu the letter asking the colls: whether they had any objection to the civil administration of the railway being handed over.

Went on to Uchida and asked him abt. 11½% for us, & undertaking to give definite figures later on. He said he wld. telegraph. As to their definite figures he thought they were possibly ready. Told him abt. transfer of railway, & sent him afterwards a copy of agreement to read.

Azevedo came afterwards. At request of the Chinese he went to Waiwupu and saw Nat'ung, Lienfang & Juiliang, who asked him to state what he required in return for his offers. He told them & they then asked him to frame a draft convention, wch. begins by stating that Portugal adheres to the Protocol, allows China to establish a Custom house at Macao for all goods, offers to assist in policing mouth of the W. river and to assist in putting down contraband trade in opium. In return China to grant a railway from Macao to Canton, to remove all restrictions on the trade up the W. river, and to allow Portugal to carry out all works required for the improvement of the port and navigation of Macao, until the delimitation is effected, within zone marked on the accompanying map. I said I thought he had got round the difficulty very neatly.

Morrison says de Cartier & Kroupensky told him we had got valuable railway concessions in return for giving up the railway; he told them it was not so.

6 May Mumm came. Said he had not as far as he cld. see any objection to the railway being handed over, but it was difficult for him to agree what he had not seen. I said that as a matter of fact he had, for I had lent him a copy, but if the Chinese at his request chose to give him one, I wld. not tell them to refuse it. He had compared it with the Waldersee-Gaselee agreement, and found it all right; the only article in that wch. he was not certain abt. was no. 9, wch. referred to establishment of civil administration before the evacuation of the province. I said that in my opinion the province was already

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evacuated, to wch. he cld. not reply. Told him also of my conversation with Lessar about 11¼ or 11½%. Hynd came. Asked him to teleg. to Kinder to come & see me (abt. station across the river at Tientsin).

Went for a walk on the wall and met Conger to whom I showed Agreement B, prefacing it by saying that I understood some U.S. citizens were applying for the Kalgan railway concession, & if he were supporting that it wld. make a good [deal] of difference. He said he knew an application had been made, but was not backing it up in any way. He never did that until his countrymen obtained a concession.

Canton concession. His consul had instructions not to press for a separate concession if an international one cld. be obtained; but failing that and if U.S. citizens desired it, he might ask for one for them. Told him what Hardouin is doing in the matter.

He has telegd. the murder of Père Lomüller & that serious trouble has broken out in S. Chihli, not because he attaches much importance, but in order to be on record.

Tientsin former U.S. concession; asked what I was doing. Told him had left it to Hopkins.

7 May Meeting of colls: at wch. I put for[war]d proposal of H.M.G. that we shld. receive 11½% out of monthly instalments of indemnity. Opposed by Lessar. If the other colls: had dissented I shld. have given way. Last of all Czikkann produced letter of Chinese abt. transfer of railway & asked what reply he shld. give. Lessar suggested an accusé de réception [acknowledgement of receipt], saying that he had communicated it to his colls: who wld. each reply separately. He muttered sotto voce to Beau that the Chinese had done this rather stupidly! He is evidently in a bad temper. Poko: has been to Hu and told him he must not let Kinder have anything to do with the Kalgan line or borrow money fr. any foreign syndicate for its construction. De Cartier is said to have gone to Waiwupu and protested against the provision in B. about Tientsin-Paotingfu line, for wch. he pretended to have a concession fr. Li.

G. Jamieson came to say he would go to S'hai for a fortnight or so on private business. Recommended him to tell the Waiwupu, but not to give them idea he was going acc. to their wish to discuss with Shêng.

Morrison came. A coll: had shown him the Note abt. Rlwy. & it is a stupid one: they ought to have quoted the last article and asked them whether they agreed to it or not! He hears they are now going to write another, forwarding copy of the agreement.

Townleys & Cockburn arr[ive]d. also Mr. & Mrs. Hunt & Mrs. Robertson wife of the doctor at Tientsin.

9 May Kinder came at my request, and I showed him C.A.R. Browne's plan for a big station behind the Japse. concession on r. bank of the river. He does not approve of it, because it

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wld. cost a million taels without any advantage to the railway, and a better site for a goods station is in what the Italians have marked out for themselves as a concession, nearly opposite the Chinese city of Tientsin.

10 May Hunts and Mrs. Robertson went off to Tientsin. Last day of races. Tycoon won Lesdain's prize and Phillips won the steeplechase cup I gave.

11 " Mumm came: gave me to understand that Germany will not insist on a military officer being added to Peiho Conservancy Board. Told him my last instructions about provisional division of indemnity, and what Ad. Bridge said about Chinese men-of-war at Taku bar.

Hu in the afternoon abt. Belgian assertion that they have a promise from Li Hung-chang to 'discuss' with them the Paotingfu-Tientsin line whenever it is to be made, and consequent protest agst. stipulation in clause 5 of agreement with me. Also that Beau has protested. He says Conger & Uchida have answered them they have no objection to rlyw. being handed over: Goltz said something similar on behalf of Mumm. At Uchida's suggestion the Waiwupu have sent Lessar the last clause but one of A agreement. Has yet to see Lessar, Beau, Czikkann and Gallina. Told him not to mind the Belgian, and to send me copy of the letter to him fr. Waiwupu enclosing memorial of the latter to the throne. It seems de Cartier has nobbled one Shin Tun-ho a former manager of Shêng, and a henchman of his, who got for the Belgians the transfer of the Lukochiao-Paoting railway, when Prince Kung, who was opposed to this, happened to be absent from the Grand Council. Wêng Tung ho & Prince Li did it.

12 " Meeting at Czikkann's of the drafting committee at wch. we drafted 1. to Hart abt. application of tariff to certain classes of articles that used to be admitted free, 2. to Do. as to railway materials, & drawbacks on bunker coal & ships' stores, 3. letter proposing preparation of an official plan of legation quarter, showing properties of legations and private persons, 4. letter to T.P.G. about their refusal to allow lead to be transported to the interior, 5. letter to Hynd & Pokotiloff asking them to calculate percentages for provisional division of the indemnity.

Czikkann showed me the *accusé de réception* [acknowledgment of receipt] of the Waiwupu's letter abt. the railway. He said confidentially that Lessar will object to the apptmt. of a British Co-Director.

Conger came: says that his Govt. has authorized him to offer a reduction on their claim, if that wld. facilitate a settlement of the division of the indemnity; he had telegd. to them that their proposal of a pro ratâ reduction, leaving us out, had no chance of being accepted. He did not tell me the amount. As I have announced that we shall make no further reduction, he thinks no one will, & he will teleg. that back. Told him F.O. had told

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me to accept provisional partition on basis of list 5 on condition that our private claims were left out, but I had said nothing abt. it, knowing such a condition wld. not be accepted. That Germany might have reduced 2,000,000 taels and Italy 1,500,000.

Rlwy. He says Lessar will object to the agreement unless the rlwy. is handed over entirely. I said I expected opposition fr. him & Beau, but that if they refused we shld. go on as we were. G.B. had acted most moderately in not foreclosing, when we were entitled to do so; we had on the contrary urged the Chinese to provide funds to pay the interest, and when they failed to do so, we had paid it out of rlwy. revenue, even at the cost of crippling the administration in repairing the line and rolling stock.

13 May Meeting at Germ. Legn. to discuss proposals of the generals with respect to the restoration of Tientsin to the Chinese. Hu it seems has shown B agreement to Mumm. Uchida he says has advised him to ask for a meeting of Dipl. Body to decide on handing back the Railway! Both Lessar and Beau have pitched into him violently, the latter uttering all sorts of threats abt. Newchwang and the railway outside the wall.

14 May Went to Uchida, who showed me a teleg. fr. his Military Attaché at Tientsin reporting that the Germans were going to reduce their troops. He admitted having advised Hu to communicate A agreement to Min. who have Legation guards, asking them to agree.

15 “ In consequence of a note fr. Conger, to whom I had lent B agreement to copy, saying in reply to an observation of mine in sending it to him, that he regretted to say he was afraid his govt. wld. hardly agree with me that it concerned only the private interests of the bondholders & those of the Chinese govt. He argued that Paotingfu-Tientsin was not a branch line. Told him that H.M.G. held that it was, and had so informed Baron Whetnall. If his people wanted to build a rlwy. (he mentioned Kalgan to Peking or lines fr. possible gold mines to Peking) I had no doubt we cld. arrange matters. Our object was to prevent the Russians & Belgians. The latter had thrown every possible obstacle in the way of the Peking Syndicate's line fr. the mines to a port, and we had therefore no option but to oppose them. Besides we had been very moderate in not foreclosing on the railway when the Chinese neglected or refused to pay the interest. He says that Lessar is particularly vexed that no provision has been made for a Russian co-director; that his Govt. will never consent to send requests for transport thro' a British army officer, as that wld. be making Russia a vassal of Gt. Britain.

Lienfang came at my request. I reproached him with having had a hand in memorializing the throne on behalf of the Belgians, and H.M.G. wld. regard that as a very unfriendly proceeding: moreover the Belgians had not a leg to stand on in the matter, as the T-P line was barred by our agreement of 10 Oct. 1898. What did the Russian want? He said “a military co-director and an undertaking that the Peking to Gt. Wall &

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Paoting-Tientsin lines shld. not be built except with Chinese money was what he claimed. I said he must not memorialize the Throne on this, or it wld. make matters more difficult still. We then spoke of T.P.G. and I reassured him abt. the idea that a foreign adviser for the Viceroy wld. be insisted on, that Uchida's proposal abt. bodyguard wld. no doubt be accepted, and that the distance at wch. Chinese troops shld. be kept wld. be less than stated; also that the Mins. had struck out the proviso abt. limiting no. of Chinese men-of-war at Tientsin.

Met Mumm on the wall, who had with him his Rear-Admiral Ahlefeld and A.D.C. M. said that some thought the Waldensee-Gaselee convention ceased to have any effect immediately on the evacuation of Chihli. This must be a notion of his own that he has been industriously propagating.

Genl. Creagh arr[ive]d by 1 p.m. from the Western Tombs.

May 16 Genl. Creagh left.

To Lessar with draft terms of reference, & left them c. him to look over. Spoke abt. laying down metal on the road, and obstructing a gate. He said he understood the metalling was done every month, & of course could not affect the eventual decision. He would write to Poppé abt. the gate. Talked to him abt. T.P.G. & expressed opinion that 30 kilometres need not be maintained, & in genl. that we shld. make it easy for the Chinese, that this concession for a tramway should not be confirmed, as no money had been raised, and it was a job in favour of an employé. He mentioned land transfers, of wch. he asserted a great many had been irregularly recorded. Told him I believe our Consulate-general had registered two or three simply as documents, and I thought this wld. be right in bonâ fide cases of sale fr. a Chinese. He said they only recognized red deeds duly sealed by the Chinese Auth: Indemnity: he is afraid the delegates will refuse to accept our instructions for a provisional division, and go on dividing among the recognized banks. I expressed a confident opinion that they wld. divide all accumulations in accordance with the new list as soon as communicated to them.

Hu came to see Campbell. It seems Waiwupu have denounced Yüan and Hu in a secret memorial and that they have been handed over to the Board for determination of a penalty. But it was explained to Hu that this was done only to quicken their zeal as negotiators with me for a revision of the agreement.

Campbell to Lien-fang to make a row abt. the treatment of Yüan & Hu, and to ask for a meeting with Prince Ch'ing.

May 17 Uchida came just before lunch to show me Chinese version of Lessar's letter, and to offer to help in any way to save Hu and Yüan.

Went to Pr. Ch'ing with Campbell & Cockburn and made a row, very gently, about

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the manner in wch. the Waiwupu had proceeded in sending memorials to the Palace, instead of first coming to me. Prince said he had been absent, and found the 2nd memorial ready on his return, could not refuse to join in sending it in; the order to hand Y & H over to Board of Civil Office was merely intended to stimulate them to exert themselves; they knew I was a friend of Hu, and hope[d] I wld. assist him. I said it was an affront, they were trying to play on my feelings, and yet they cld. not tell me what wld. satisfy these Russians. They ought not to send Hu to discuss with the colls: but do it themselves, and then tell me what was wanted. I had been shown a translation of the Russian note by a coll: wch. I considered a ridiculous document. The demand for a Russian director was absurd; every one else wld. have the same right, and then where wld. they be? As to the Kalgan railway we did not want to build it, but simply to prevent the rlwy. system of N. China falling into the hands of Russia. The Prince said that was precisely what they wished also, and so they had told Pokotiloff they wld. build it themselves. Now the Russians complained that the said railway had been promised to us. Would I not do what I could to help arrange the matter. I said a condition of that wld. be that the decree shld. have no effect, be practically quashed; then I wld. be disposed to inquire whether H.M.G. wld. consent to some other arrangement instead of the military co-director, and to a declaration that the Paoting-Tientsin & Peking-Great Wall lines shld. be built with China's own money. Lien fang promised to bring me Lessar's original French note confidentially.

We then read a memo. based upon the recent telegs. fr. home & Shanghai about dilatory proceedings of Chinese negotiators. Prince Ch'ing said the fault lay with Liu & Chang, but Cockburn did not agree with him. He then asked me to send him my observations in form of a Note, and he would expedite matters.

18 [May] Lien fang did not come after all.

Took to Mumm confidentially Sir J. Mackay's draft Mining Regulations, and said that if he and other colls: interested desired to negotiate with the Waiwupu on this subject, I could act with them up to a certain point, but was not authorized to undertake that I cld. come to a final agreement, as the question was one of those Mackay was instructed to negotiate; however, during the course of our talks here, possibly M. & I might arrange that we shld. do it up here.

Indemnity. He gave me to understand that he could reduce his private claims considerably, & in his opinion the Italians ought to also. Then with the U.S. reduction, we shld. not lose so much.

Rlwy. He said that he was inclined to think that as far as Germany was concerned the agreeet. betw. Schwarzhoff & Barrow abt. transfer of the rlwy. to us ceased to have any

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force after 22 Sept., when the Province was evacuated, so that they had no longer any right to a deputy-director. Told him I thought Lessar's demand impracticable, but that I was willing to consider any reasonable arrangement to be substituted for the Military Co-directors. M. observed however that the R. & Fr. wld. not like the A agreement to be so modified that they must accept it, because then B. wch. is the real difficulty wld. come into force. I did not tell him that I was prepared to make a compromise there also.

T.P.G. He wants to accept military proposals en bloc, so as to throw the whole responsibility on the Generals, hence would not care to pick out the electric tramway concession & water works to reject them & let the others in; there was also one for electric lighting. I said they were all tainted by jobbery, & Lessar to whom I had spoken did not support them. Conf[idential]ly I said Wozack & young Denby were said to be the real concessionaries.

Hu Yü-fên came with draft of an addition wch. he desired me to make to my reply to the Adm[inistrato]rs on subject of Rlwy. agreements. Told him what I had said to Prince Ch'ing on the subject of the decree, and what I was ready to advise H.M.G. to make in the way of concessions but that I wld. do nothing unless assured 1° that no effect wld. be given to the decree 2° that the Waiwupu shld. ascertain that the Russians, Belgians & Fr[ench] wld. be content with these concessions before I declared myself ready to make them. He said Yüan at first had been disposed to blame him, but afterw[ar]ds said he wld. fight the question, provided I enabled them to announce these concessions; he wld. then denounce the Waiwupu, and begged me to go for them also. I said I wld. do so with the greatest pleasure, as I thought they had behaved very badly towards me.

19 [May] Hu and Lienfang came. The former had an alteration to make in their letter to me. The latter produced the original Fr[ench] of Lessar's note. He had been kept by de Cartier yesterday, who wants a promise that Belgian engineers should be employed in the construction of the Tientsin-Paotingfu line. I said they must give no such promise, nor promise that it shld. ever be constructed. de Cartier is to see Prince Ch'ing tomorrow. I also told them both that my conditions 1° & 2° remained unchanged. Lienfang assured me that the decree wld. have no consequences, that Hu and Yüan wld. be pardoned. I said to him, you must get the Russian, Belgian & Fr. consent to the proposed concessions before I will announce them, as otherwise they will always be asking for more. I also asked Lien-fang to arrange for an interview with the Waiwupu ministers, to whom I desired to express my opinion.

20 [May] Meeting of colls: to fix the percentage of the provisional partition of the indemnity, & send instructions to the Commission of Bankers at Shanghai.

Czikann says he has a copy in German of Agreement A wch. his military repres've at

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Tientsin sent him, and another fr. the Waiwupu, who have written asking the colls: to state whether they agree or not. He is quite ready to state to them that he approves.

Went to Waiwupu to meet Wang wen Shao and Chü Hung-chi by apptmt. Had previously sent in a strong Note abt. Lessar's representations; began by relating the whole history of our having possession of the line, & showing our moderation in never seeking to take advantage of the clause in the loan agreeet. of '98 entitling the B. & C. Corporation to take possession in case of default; our object being to keep the railway for China. Other railways built were not their's, such as the Manchurian line, the Luhan line. A 2nd object was to secure good administration of the line, and turn it into a profitable revenue-producing public dept., also raising Chinese credit. Yüan, Hu & I had negotiated with this object in view, and now they were denounced for having done it and the blame attached to them rebounded on me. They protested agst. my interpretation of their proceedings. I asked had they memorialized the Court after receiving my first Note? No, they did not consider it necessary. I remarked that this was a very striking diff[erence] in their manner of treating Lessar's communications and mine. Chü protested that he had told the E-D the contents of my letter verbally, wch. amounted to the same thing. Then I asked to see the memorial (we had it fr. Hu) and Campbell having read it, I asked what had been the result. Nat'ung had come in then, and said there was more than could be said, but Chü declared the only consequence was a fresh decree ordering Yüan & Hu to renew negotiations. I said I did not know how my Govt. wld. take all this; they protested they meant no harm. None wld. happen to Yüan or Hu; hereafter they wld. have to do much for us; begged me to help them and the two negotiators. So I dropped the subject, and conversed a little on other topics. Wang the whole time smoked a pipe and said nothing, excusing himself fr. hearing anything by an allusion to his deafness.

The general opinion today is that the troubles in South Chihli are not of as great importance as has been represented.

22 [May] Mumm came. Is going off for a week to the Tung-ling & Shanhaikwan. If during his absence either T.P.G. or Mixed Court is discussed Bohlen can attend. He does not see the good of his writing to accept transfer of railways, while things are in their present condition: he looks on A as a still born child and beati possidentes [Latin: "Blessed are the possessors"]. I refrained fr. hinting that B. was independent of A. He has an officer at Paoting who sends him news, and his idea is that Yüan has got the better of his insurgents, & the damage done to Luhan railway property is insignificant.

Lessar came. Says he approves my draft terms of reference & has telegd. to Petersburg. Laptiew will be here in a few days.

Azevedo was here yesterday. Thinks Germany has her eye on Chihli, hence the

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constant study of the province by Mumm and his legation.

23 [May] Lienfang came. Told him I had consulted Genl. Creagh abt. military deputy-directors & H.M.G. abt. construction of 2 rlwys. with Chinese money; but had no definite reply yet. He said he had seen Lessar, who had promised to teleg. to Petersburg abt. the latter point and let him know the result. On the military directorship L. was firm. L. tried to make out that I had given a definite promise to Prince Ch'ing, but I reminded him that I had expressly said it was conditional on consent of H.M.G. & the possibility of finding a substitutable arrangement for the military co-director.

26 May Chiang Kuei-ti came to return thanks for the attentions shown to the body of Marshall Sung.

v. Bohlen to tell me what he had heard fr. Genl. v. Rohrscheidt abt. result of our letter to the G.O. Co. at Tientsin; he had heard that they had written & suggested I shld. call a meeting, as Mumm had left him authority to agree with us.

Uchida came to show me his instructions abt. mining agreements of the Russians in Kirin, and to tell me he was instructed to protest. I said I cld. do the same.

Told him what I had done abt. the two memorials of Waiwupu on rlwy. matters. He said it perh. did not matter to me if he did not reply that he agreed to the rlwy. being handed over. I replied that the more of my colls: that replied to the Chin[ese] that they & their military people had no objection to the rlwy. being handed over in principle, the better it suited me.

27 May To Conger. Told him of the instructions abt. Manchurian mining agreements wch. Uchida has recd., & that I proposed myself to present a protest. He said he was to see Prince Ch'ing on the 29th & wld. talk to him on the subject.

Expulsion of Christian students fr. Shantung college for not bowing down before Confucius. He read me his note to Prince Ch'ing: the reply to it was that instructions wld. be sent to the Govr. of the province to confer with Dr. Hayes, who has announced his resignation if the obnoxious regulation is not withdrawn.

Rlwy: he asked me how matters were getting on. Told him my idea as to Military Co-Director, but as to the other pt. construction of rlwys. with Chinese money only. I would not say anything as instructions had not come.

Bohlen came abt. stoppage of tariff negotiations at S'hai. Had seen Hart, who told him he had advised Waiwupu that the values calculated upon average of 1897-9 ought to be taken in gold, and converted into taels at the present rate of exchange.

Also he suggested that the commission of bankers shld. be instructed to settle the exchange for all that they receive up to 31 May. I agreed on this principle, and said I wld. advise Hillier.

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Hu came. The Empress Dowager made a great row this morning abt. the delay in the negotiation having been got at by some one, wch. Junglu had tried to calm down. Junglu sent for Hu, & told him to come to me. I said that I wld. write him a letter in reply to his last to me wch. he could show to Junglu, and explain that the delay was necessary in order to consult my Govt. When I got the answer I would consult with either him or the Waiwupu as to what could be arranged to meet the objections.

28 [May] Hu, T'ang Shao-yi and Yang Shih-siang. They said it was necessary to make the Waiwupu responsible for the railway embroglio. There was an intrigue agst. Yüan, in wch. some of the WWP were engaged, notably the two ministers who belong to the Grand Council. They hinted that Nat'ung was really responsible for the memorial based on the letter of Lessar. The Empress-Dowager had been got at by some one, & worked into a rage yesterday morning (prob. it seems the Chief Eunuch & Chang-yi). We must go for them. My letter of last night had been shown to Jung-lu & it wld. be very useful. I explained thro' Tang that I cld. not alter a word of the agreements, and the concessions I was disposed to make wld. take the form of explanations of the meaning of the articles objected to, recorded in an exchange of notes. To this Hu agreed, on its being explained to him. I said that I was not ready, having already telegd. to London but not yet got a reply. Showed them my letter to WWP on Lessar's note, wch. none of them had seen, so let them take it away to copy & show to Junglu; they highly approved of its tone. Said I wld. demand an interview with Wang, Chü, Na-t'ung & Lienfang for tomorrow. They said that de Cartier went to Prince Ch'ing yesterday & demanded the Tientsin-Paoting line, to wch. he replied that the Belgians shld. never have it. de C. alleged Li's letter to him; Pr. Ch. replied that Li being junior Plenip. to himself, who was also head of Tsungli Yamên, had no authority to write such a letter; moreover he had already agreed with me that China shld. construct it. I said not only that, but the loan agreement of 1898 was long anterior.

29 [May] Meeting of six ministers here to discuss reply of Generals to our letter on conditions of restoration of T.P.G. Mumm being away. So I got Townley to do Secy. We also exchanged views abt. desirability of fixing the exchange on 31 May, but I found most of the colls: could give no instruction. Also as to Hart's idea that the average values of '97-9 shld. be converted into Sterling, at the then rates, and reconverted into H.K. taels at present rates, wch. is preposterous. L. [Lessar] however did not seem to think so.

Waiwupu in the afternoon: 1st Chü and Lienfang together, then Wang, afterwards Na. I first talked of the interruption of the tariff negotiations by orders fr. Peking, wch. the 3 of them stoutly denied had ever been given. [Margin: & in acc. c. instructions "protested".] (It seems possible that it is owing to Hart having given advice or instructions to

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Hippesley & Taylor.) I complained of general obstruction. Shêng & Lü said it was the fault of Peking, Peking said it was the fault of Shêng & Lü. Chü asked whose fault I thought it was. I replied that judging fr. telegrams of wch. copies had been shown to Mackay, the fault lay with Peking. He said he wld. like to see them, because none such had been sent; on the contrary the Emperor had sent them a telegraphic decree reprimanding them for the delay, and telling them to hurry.

Rlwy. I asked them whether they had shown to the Empress-D my Note commenting on the Russian Min's note, & they replied no. I observed that this was very unfair. They presented only one side of the question to the Throne. They denied this; they wld. do it afterwards. [Margin: They showed me letters fr. Conger, Gallina, Uchida, Beau, Czikan.] Chü again asseverated [declared solemnly] that there was no decree agst. Yüan & Hu. I said finally that he shld. [have] explained to exalted personages who displayed impatience that foreign mins. had to consult their govts. prob. two or three times before they cld. clear things up and this took time, but I was doing my best to arrange matters.

Lienfang came afterwards. From what he said I conclude that pressure was put on the WWP. to send up the second memorial by Changyi & the eunuch, acting together. It was pressed on them he said by some influential person outside the Pu. Showed him drafts of proposed exchange of notes. To the one about Kalgan line he proposed to add a reference to the Tientsin-Paoting line. I said that cld. be done, but I had distinct orders from home not to give way on that point for two reasons, that the letter of Li was not authoritative, and 2ndly it was long after the agreement with the B. & C. Corporation. He said Cartier went to Prince Ch'ing yesterday, who flatly refused to let the Belgians have the line.

Beau wrote a long & poor rigmarole to the WWP. abt. the railway, complaining that he had only recd. part of the agreement, and setting forth the large subscription of the Fr. 50,000,000 francs for completing the line, and the recent damage! by insurgents as reasons why the Tientsin-Paoting chao[chow?] line shld. be given to them. This I saw at the Waiwupu.

30 [May] Conger saw Pr. Ch'ing yesterday, who asserted to him that the Kirin mining agree[men]t had never been ratified, and that orders wld. be sent there not to act on it. Consequently he does not intend to present a protest. I suggested that he might send in a Note, so as to get an official disclaimer, but I don't think he will do it. He is mentally afraid of the Russians pretending to find a pretext for not evacuating Manchuria in perh. T.P.G., railway or anything else, as an obstacle created by the action of other Powers, wch. wld. enable them to get out of the Convention. He also does not care abt. being invited to discuss the T.P.G. I told him my reason for wishing it was that I might have another opportunity of declaring that the 30 kilometres of the Generals covered too large a space.

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Morrison says that the decree sanctioning the proposed opium monopoly was on the point of being issued, when protests were recd. Everyone in the Chinese Govt. can be got at fr. money, but such bribes were never talked of before. The scheme being impracticable, the failure wch. must have followed wld. have given Germany grounds for claiming compensation elsewhere.

31 [May] Went with staff to Li's house to pay a valedictory visit to the coffin, wch. leaves tomorrow.

Hu, T'ang Shao-yi and Lien-fang came abt. rlwy. question. Showed them draft of exchange of notes, wch. Hu entirely approved of. Lien-fang said he wld. see Lessar and tell him that this was what the Waiwupu proposed, and not say anything abt. my being ready to accept them, the first thing being to get Lessar's agreement. There was evidently a strong desire on the part of Hu & T'ang to make the Waiwupu step into the breach & assume the responsibility, while Lienfang wishes to avoid that as much as possible. Lien went off to breakfast with the Fr. Min. (to discuss missionary indemnities in Fêng-tien province, said T'ang) and then we recast the English of both drafts and put them into Chinese, wch. took us nearly to 2 o'clock.

At 3 to Waiwupu to talk abt. commercial negotiations with Nat'ung. Lienfang came in for a short time; both evidently strongly opposed to the mixed residence clause. We also talked abt. the hitch in the specific tariff negotiations; it is clear that Hart telegd. to Taylor & Hippley to delay until they recd. his memo. thro' the Waiwupu; the latter denied having anything to do with it, they had merely acted as channels for forwarding it.

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1 June Loudon came for information abt. Railway dispute. So I explained the whole story and lent him the white-book abt. negotiations with Russia regarding the manchurian railways. It appears that some people are going about & stating that agreement B. is in violation of what we had agreed to with the Russians.

2 June Campbell dined last night with Hu, and brought back the Chinese draft of exchange of notes, wch. had been seen by Prince Ch'ing, and approved by him with a slight alteration. I agreed to this. He struck out the clause relating to the Kalgan line declaring that it shld. not be constructed with foreign capital.

Uchida came. Gave him copy of my Note to Prince Ch'ing about Kirin mining agreement. He sent his in, much in the same terms, on 29 May. He had told Conger exactly what Prince Ch'ing had said to him, & was surprised at the contradiction.

C.A.R. Browne came to urge that he should have £100,000 out of the railway

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indemnity to carry on with. I said that I had not the money at my disposal. He also urged me to let him buy land behind Japanese settlement for central station, but I told him we ought not to do this, as Kinder was not in favour of the plan, & I thought we had no right. He objected that the land wld. otherwise be snapped up, but I said neither a consulate nor T.P.G. could register a transfer. He then gave up the idea. Also told him my reasons for not agreeing to get railway men fr. India, as the intra- & extra-mural rlwys. wld. be handed over simultaneously, & the Chinese must make their own arrangements.

Portug. coll. showed me Hongkong newspapers and read a desp. fr. Govr. of Macao abt. purchase of land at Canton for a French naval hospital. The Chinese Auth. it said had refused to allow the boundary-stones to be set up. They bore inscription 大法国天主堂山地界. Also some despp. betw. the Govr. Genl. of the Liang Kwang to Govr. of Macao in wch. the latter was described as 'of Macao & its dependencies', & displayed some excitement because the Chinese here refused to recognize the 'dependencies' as existing. Also letter fr. Govr. Genl. thanking Govr. for capturing brigands at San-cian, wch. the Waiwupu tried to make out was only a case of extradition fr. Macao. I advised him not to be drawn away into a discussion on this point, wch. was a mere red herring drawn across the trail.

3 June Mumm came. Says that Lessar has told Czikann that he will take off 1,300,000 taels to facilitate a settlement. He then went off to see Lessar, and came back saying that Lessar's idea was that the other Great Powers shld. also reduce in a similar manner, and that he is working out a scheme. His Govt. (i.e. Mumm's) is very anxious to get hold of the money. He agrees with me that the provisional shares are at the disposition of the Govts. at once, and not to be held any longer in the joint name of the commission.

Li Shêng-têh, formerly Chinese Min. at Tokio came to call, with an interpreter named 黃 who has just returned fr. America. Li has been apptd. Vice-Govr. of Shuntien-fu.

Hu came. Said Lien-fang had learnt from Lessar that he has got an answer fr. his Govt. abt. rlwy. matters, and he is to go today to hear what it is. Lienfang told Lessar he wld. show him certain proposals they wished to make to me, but he wld. not guarantee that I should accept them. The Fr. are trying to make use of the opportunity to obtain the Yunnan railway concession. He asked whether if the transmission of requests to the Chinese Board direct were arranged it would be necessary to ask the Ministers again to agree. I said I thought not, but they had to get the consent of the generals. C.A.R. Browne had been to him to obtain some of the £600,000 deposited in the Bank; what did I think of this. I replied that Browne had not told me he was going to ask this of Hu, and gave him to understand that I did not care much abt. his doing it, in view of the prob[ability] of our being able to hand over the northern rlwy. shortly, after wch. I shld.

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wash my hands of the whole business.

4 [June] Geo. Jamieson came. Showed him last note fr. Prince Ch'ing abt. Shansi mines, also two abt. Szechuan concessions. He saw Shêng and found him strongly opposed to Huaipu rlwy. being granted until Luhan line was completed & they knew whether it wld. pay 5%. J. gave him a memo. setting forth the whole question, but got no answer, and expects none.

Capt. Menzies came to say that Ducat & he were agreed as to necessity of military attaché having an assistant. I told him that these matters were settled by W.O. [War Office] independently of F.O. & that I had no voice in the matter.

Chang Chih-tung . Cockburn went yesterday to Prince Ch'ing, told him H.M.G. had heard there was an idea of sending Chang to S'hai to take Shêng's place as a negotiator. Pr. admitted there had been some talk of it, and he had told Junglu it was not advisable. He asked C. to see Chü Hungchi today and tell him the views of H.M.G. as he being on the Grand Council could work the oracle.

Lessar came to propose we shld. have Laptew & Hopkins up here on the 13th to discuss the terms of reference with them, and see whether any modifications of detail are required. He also explained his system for cutting down the totals of list no 5 to 455 millions. I said I personally agreed, and wld. ask permission to abate half a million taels. Then I went to Uchida, explained to him: he promised to teleg. to his Govt.

Cartier came to propose dinner at the Club to Czikann. Also had I heard Chang Chih-tung had engaged an Englishman to make a road 40 Ch. feet wide along rlwy. to gare fluvial. I had not. He said this road must pass thro' land bought by the Belgians to make a settlement, wch. Chang refused to grant. Ch. wants 600 feet wide all along the rlwy. wch. Cartier says wld. drive Belgians into the river. He is very discontented with Chang, & threatens the direst things.

Gallina came, to whom I briefly mentioned Lessar's indemnity scheme. He told me he could take off 800,000 taels.

Dined at Russian Legation to meet Grand Duke Cyril. All colls: Wozack, Hart, 30 people. Bad dinner, poor wine and great heat. We all stood abt. afterwards for hours. Conger carried off his wife before the G.D. retired, wch. horrified the Protocol. Beau tried to chaff me abt. the railway agreements wch. he said prevented his going on leave. I said nothing was easier, he had only to accept. But you make the price too high. I replied that I had insisted on colls: being invited to express their opinion, to wch. he rejoined that it was an irony. Not at all, I replied, you can make what conditions you like!

5 [June] Lienfang & Hu came. The former said Lessar wishes to add that the revenues of Kalgan rlwy. shall not be hypothecated for a foreign loan. I told him I cld. not agree to

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this, as the words were not in the paper he had given me. I could not teleg. again & he must explain to Lessar. He also wanted to add something similar abt. Tientsin-Paotingfu line, but I replied that this was contrary to my instructions. He was very persistent on both points, but I said I cld. make no more concessions, and I also impressed upon him the necessity of getting Lessar to undertake that on my signing the exchange of notes, he wld. write & agree to the transfer of the rlwy. We also mentioned T.P.G. and I think fr. the way he spoke of the 30 kilometres that the Chinese will agree. Both he & Hu seemed to think that if Yüan has a bodyguard of 300 men and can have a camp at Hsiao tan, wch. is 54 miles fr. Tientsin that would suffice to preserve order.

Revd. D.S. Murray of the L.M.S. [London Missionary Society] came to talk abt. Genl. Mei Tung-i and the district magistrate of Ts'ang-chou having fallen into disgrace, for their good conduct in favour of foreigners in 1900. So I had a red note drafted to send to Yüan Shihkai.

Gave Arthur Guise a letter for Sir C. MacD.

6 [June] Went to Uchida. He thinks the reply abt. Manchurian Mining Agreement not altogether satisfactory. Kulangsu. Pressed him to give up their view as to Chinese voters; he said he wld. write. Has as yet no reply abt. Lessar's indemnity partition scheme.

Mumm. Indemnity. I find he wld. prefer division on list 5 being made definitive & that in that case we need not take advantage of U.S. offer to abate a million gold \$. He spoke spontaneously abt. opium monopoly, said he was not trying to support it & thought it wld. fail.

[Margin: Gatrell thinks possibility of general rebellion serious.]

7 June Meeting at Congers with Mumm at wch. we agreed on Mixed Court rules amendments. Lienfang came. Told him that the exchange of notes must say nothing abt. Tientsin-Paotingfu line; that provided he got a promise, if possible in writing, fr. Lessar to agree to transfer of the railway, I wld. insert the words 'northern revenues' in the part referring to Kalgan lines.

8 “ Dinner at Fr. Legation in honour of G[ran]d Duke Cyril. Afternoon Hillier came & we discussed form of notice to private claimants with Wilkinson & Townley.

9 [June] Meeting of Indemnities Committee to draft note identic to Chinese maintaining that the indemnity is payable in gold.

Hillier to lunch, and discussed various questions connected with indemnity.

H.P. Wilkinson left by 5.50 train.

Dinner to Grand Duke Cyril, his aide-de-camp, members of Russian Legn. & our staff. Chinese jugglers afterwards.

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10 [June] Hillier says de Cartier offered to Hu to withdraw opposition if he & Yüan wld. give a verbal promise to compromise by combining their interests. So it shows that they are weakening.

Teleg. fr. Lord Lansdowne informing me that I am to have G.C.M.G. on Coronation Day. "in recognition of your valuable services in China." ¹

11 " Meeting of colls: abt. indemnity division. I announced my readiness to accept pro ratâ reduction on list no. 5. Uchida alone had no instructions. As to Chinese Govt.'s letter respecting payt. of indemnity in gold or silver I said before sending in the note identique I would await result of a teleg. to F.O. Lessar was for import duties on a gold basis.

Rear-Ad. Grenfell, his flag-lieut. Carruthers & Secy. Pollard came up to stay.

12 [June] Lunch given by Nat'ung at his place in the middle of lotus-swamps near Haitien, to wch. Ad. & I went. Mumm & Conger also there. A cool day wch. turned to rain in the afternoon, and we had a rough time of it coming back in the tonga. Hopkins came up.

13 " With Hopkins & Lessar to settle terms of reference, accepted according to my draft & put into Fr. by him. He had Laptew up too.

Afternoon with Townley to Prince Ch'ing, & talked abt. Coronation Day. Lady Susan on the 10th at the Palace had given the E-D an invitation from me to come to Legation on that Day, and I touched upon it again. Evidently they had made up their mind not to let her come, but to send some special personage to convey a message of congratulation. Mentioned Peking Syndicate's Pukôu railway, to wch. he replied that man-man'sh koi Shangliang.

14 " Meeting this afternoon at wch. we all agreed to the division of the indemnity, and signed a protocol declaring the amounts.

16 [June] Lienfang to say their Ch. d'Aff. at Petersburg telegd. that the Russian Govt. refused to ratify the Manchurian convention until the railway question here was settled. Might he send Hu to me with the dft. of exchange of notes & get the dft. of my reply. I said yes. He also told me the Russians want to keep their part of the Shanhaikwan station until they can build one outside the wall, for the passengers to change trains; they wld. however give up the bridge works. I said this looked as if they intended to keep the Yingkow line. L. replied that Lessar promised it shld. certainly be given up by 15 Sept.

Azevedo came. His negotiations go on badly. He is going to S'hai on 21st, and will tell Souza[Sonza?] a Portuguese merchant to insist on importing goods under the 1858 tariff; he will try to get a Br. S. & an American to do the same; then Mansfield will refer to me.

¹ King Edward VII invested Satow with the G.C.M.G. on January 17, 1903. (See diary for that day below.) Edward ascended the throne on Queen Victoria's death on January 22, 1901. Edward VII and Queen Alexandra were crowned at Westminster Abbey on August 9, 1902.

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I said I was authorized as he knew to support Portugal in her claim to import under the old tariff, but if a B.S. demanded the same right, I shld. refer home. He said that now was the time, if it did not interfere with my own affairs, to give Portugal real support. He suspects Beau of doing him a bad turn with the Chinese. As to Mumm he cannot say; the latter has no doubt been very offensive, and the Govr. of Macao has spoken agst. him at Lisbon, so the Sécoli a republican paper has gone for him. Tattenbach addressed a copy of the article to Mumm, with marginal notes, wch. came into his hands, and he sent it home to his Govt. with a recommendation to make representations at Berlin. Beau expects papers abt. the recent purchase of land at Cathay, and on their arrival the two of them are to discuss.

Morrison told Townley that Conger has instructions to protest strongly against any new conditions being imposed by the F.R.R. as to restitution of Tientsin. The proposals of the generals are v. Falkenhayn's work. Mumm is in a great state of distress because all his plans have gone astray. He is much vexed with Morrison for telegraphing home that he had gone on an excursion just at the moment the generals were discussing the conditions at Tientsin.

Hu & Wu came with draft of exchange of notes, in wch. I made some changes, and we drafted my reply accepting. He is quite satisfied that Lessar will accept, and seems quite happy. He confirmed what Lienfang told me abt. Russian offer to surrender the bridge works. I said we must hand over on the same day as the Russians. Hu replied that we must first get the Manchurian convention ratified & then return to the charge. I told him Lessar wants greatly to have the intramural line handed over, he might rely on that.

Thunderstorm & heavy rain.

17 [June] Gallina came to say Ch[inese] Ch. d'Aff. [in] Rome had represented that China ought to be allowed to pay indemnity in silver, but was told the protocol is quite explicit. He had instructions fr. Rome to find out what his colls: were disposed to do to meet the difficulty. I said I had as yet no instructions. After he had gone I got teleg. fr. F.O. authorizing my signing identic note, so wrote and told him.

Uchida came. He thinks the reply of Pr. Ch'ing is a blind, and that the Kirin mining agreement has been ratified, for he finds an advt. in a Shanghai Chinese newspaper of a Co. calling itself the "Universal Mining Company of Kirin" advertising for capital. He will question the prince again.

Tea duty. Japse. Govt's view, wch. I telegd. Indemnity, payment of. Will write fully to his Govt. T.P.G. Yüan will object to the 30 kilometres & the list of concessions.

Hu and T'ang Shao-yi came. Acc. to the former Lessar is quite satisfied, and on the note being signed will teleg. to his Govt. for ratification of Manchurian convention. They

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wanted to know abt. Cartier. I said they must settle him & Beau afterwards. T'ang said Yüan had been visited by Ko Tao-t'ai of the Luhan [line], and had told him he wld. not recognize the validity of his undertaking, as he had no authority to give it. I made sarcastic remarks about Li's fondness for "stealing tranquillity", by giving in to all sorts of demands. But the real object of their visit was to obtain my consent to the exchange of notes being signed by Yüan & Hu, after wch. they wld. inform WWP who wld. then memorialize the throne that the penalties recorded ought to be removed & write to me expressing their satisfaction. I agreed, after making it quite clear that my object was to prevent the WWP playing us a trick again. They seemed quite satisfied, and that Lessar will withdraw his objection to line being handed over. But he says he could not do it for another three weeks.

Recd. teleg. authorizing identic note being sent in. Wrote to Conger, Mumm & Gallina. Afterwds. went to Conger: he thinks the Chinese must at any rate pay the whole that is due on June 30, and then we might make some arrangements for giving them time.

Dined with Hart and talked over the situation; he suggests giving them time to look abt. them, say three years, and let the arrears be paid later. He had been consulted by the Chinese & had told them they wld. only excite suspicion if they began to cry out now. Nevertheless the situation is likely to lead to trouble. I said there was not time enough before June 30 to arrange about deferring full payment, so they must make up their minds to pay up on that date and then we wld. see what cld. be done. Certainly G.B., U.S. & Japan wld. help, but the German Shylock will insist on having his pound of flesh. As to tariff on imports Hart says commission are proceeding without reference to basis; he thinks a gold tariff wld. be very troublesome to work, but that if values were calculated acc. to the average of the tael during 1897-99, and turned into taels at rate of day of signature there cld. be no objection. We shld. still have to get the other PP. to agree, even if the 5 were in accord.

18 June Continued tour of colls: Uchida, Beau & Gallina quite disposed to agree to a partial moratorium after the Chinese have made payment in full on the 30 June. But Lessar does not think Witte wld. agree, as their recent loan is based on the payments stipulated for by the protocol. He holds out however for calculating the import duties on the gold value of the tael in 1897-99, wch. he thinks wld. give a million taels. I pointed out that even with that the Chinese wld. prob. not have enough to pay even the old debts out of Customs revenue and likin.

He says he has recd. instructions to have nothing to do with negotiations abt. restoration of Tientsin. Wozack having left, he is not to be replaced. Why should not each minister write separately to the Chinese giving his views. Or if only the Germans &

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French wish for these conditions & insist on the T.P.G. continuing, let them stop in; they will eventually get tired. This is a bolt fr. the blue with a vengeance.

19 [June] Note fr. Waiwupu [Foreign Office] having come in yesterday, sent for Hu and settled with him the text in Chinese of my note in reply. He and T'ang had gone away with the impression that I preferred a Note fr. the Waiwupu to one from Yüan & Hu. Clearly they did not understand that I gave way on this point. The text of the Chinese note is so badly drawn up as to be ambiguous, but I have made it to clear myself in my reply.

Visit fr. Capt. Smyth of the "Rambler" and Leake of "Bramble".

v. Bohlen came abt. T.P.G. circular and other matters, so I said I wld. call in the afternoon. Took to Mumm Shêng's dft. abt. missionaries. He wants now not to consult the other colls: abt. T.P.G., but I said that in our note to the Chinese we had said we shld. do this, and I did not see how we cld. get out of it. He then proposed we shld. present them merely by way of information, in order to prevent de Cartier or anyone else from raising objections. To this I replied that as regarded military precautions considered necessary for the safety of the troops, evidently only those who had troops were entitled to have a deciding voice, but in regard to the T.P.G. its past actions and the means of securing recognition of the validity of their proceedings, all those who took part in the establisht. of the T.P.G. were equally concerned, certainly the Americans and Russians. I for my own part was not disposed to insist on the 30 kilometre limit nor the list of concessions being approved if there was opposition on the part of Chinese or colleagues. We agreed to have a meeting of the Six on the 24th wch. wld. give me time to get instructions. Also told him abt. the attitude of the Chinese with regard to indemnity and tariff basis, as far as I knew today, from Hart.

23 [June] Lien-fang came. Said the dfts. of an exchange of notes betw. Lessar and Prince Ch'ing had been prepared, recording the arrangemt. made with me on 18/19 and Lessar's declaration that he was satisfied, & that Lessar had insisted on a statement that the Co-Directors were done away with. I told him the latter was not the case. He said Hu had told him it was so. I showed him the Chinese text of their note to me and my reply, & explained why I could not agree to such a statement. He affected to be very perturbed, & that Lessar wld. insist. He also wished me to promise that the Deputy Co-Directors shld. not be appted. by Jap. & Germs. I said that I might possibly arrange with the Japse. but Germ. was difficult. He said he wld. go & tell Lessar that there wld. be no Co-Director; I replied I cld. not promise. [Margin: gave him a note of the amount claimed on acct. of Kowshing as telegd. fr. home.] I suspect Lienfang of bluffing.

Hu and Wu came after he had left. Told me quite a diff. story acc. to wch. Lessar was quite satisfied. He also produced a dft. letter abt. the Tientsin-Paoting line, undertaking

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that if the line were ever built the 2 Companies might negotiate abt. their interests. Told him I cld. not do this. That I regarded the letter of Li Hung-chang as of no value, that we went on the agreeet. of 1898, and I cld. make no promises. After the rlwy. was handed back I wld. leave it to the B. & C. Corpn. to make what agreements they liked, but I wld. not write anything to fetter them.

E. Rocher came with his concession signed & countersigned by Beau. I put my signature on it at his request.

To Uchida, and told him my instructions as to T.P.G. He promised to support me.

As to mentions of an engagement taken by Russia in 1896 to protect China, Prince Ch'ing told him recently that acc. to Li Ching-mai, Li Hung-chang did sign a document when he was in Russia, wch. he had a copy of. Pr[ince] had not seen it, & was ignorant of its contents. Uchida told him he ought to ask for a copy thro' his Ch. d'Aff. in Petersburg and fr. the Li family.

Kirin. The general result of the conversation was the same as before, that the agreement we protested agst. had in fact been ratified & that the action described in the Pr's. note to us was really subsequent to our letters to him. U. observed that it now remained to be seen what the Russians wld. say to the order to revise that had been sent to the Tartar Governor.

24 [June] Meeting of 6 Mins. interested in the T.P.G. at wch. my amendments were adopted to draft note to the Chinese Govt. and draft letter to the Doyen, and it was agreed to refer the whole subject to the general diplomatic body.

25 “ Teleg. fr. F.O. that Coronation put off indefinitely, owing to King having been operated on for perityphlitis. ¹ So put off everybody for tomorrow.

Mumm came to say that Hu had called to inform him that Uchida & I had promised not to appt. a military co-director, and wld. he do the same. I replied, as I have informed him before, that I have not made any such promise, and that all I had agreed to was that those who objected to asking for transport thro' a British officer might go direct to the railway administration. I could not without consulting him & Uchida have agreed to the abolition of the Co-director & deputies. We talked further abt. the agreeets. He said that he shld. ask for instructions before agreeing to the transfer of the railways; of course it might be alleged that the 80 m. on either side of the existing line might interfere with branches from the Chinkiang-Tientsin line, but he did not think that serious. He did not attach much importance to apptmt. of a German Deputy Military Co-Director. I said that my object had been to keep as closely as possible to the Waldersee arrangements for military transport, & the right of apptg. one was in any case secured to him.

¹ Perityphlytis: inflammation of the connective tissue about the caecum.

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Chou-Fu came, said the Fr. missionary indemnities in the province were 8000,000 of taels wch. he had got together by hook or by crook before leaving Paotingfu. The indemnities for Peking were 3,700,000 taels. Then he talked abt. dissolution of T.P.G. and the conditions of wch. two were objected to by Chinese 1°. the zone of 30 kilometres and the electric lighting & railway concessions. On the 1st he had conversed with Beau, and proposed about 25 Chinese li and that if they wanted to come nearer they shld. inform the consuls; as a matter of fact the troops wld. be kept outside the 30 kilometres; as to the concessions mentioned they were ready to start electric lighting & trams, but wanted to do it themselves. He did not see the good of putting these into the conditions. I said if he wld. keep it to himself I did not mind saying that I was of the same opinion as himself. At this point Beau came in, and we talked abt. these subjects; B. told Choufu that the FRR. had to work in unison, and that all they were doing was to forward the proposals of the generals: if the Chinese did not like them, it was for them to make objections! After he went, the conversation continued, and Ch. said the Chinese were willing to do all these things, but did not like their being made conditions. So I suggested that they shld. come before us with an offer on their own part, and then we need make no demands. This idea he thought a capital one, and he wld. suggest it to the WWP.

He also tried to engage me in conversation abt. the railway, but I told him that was being discussed by others. Acc. to his own account he is a relation of Hu Yü-fên.

Dined at Lessar's, farewell to Beau who goes on leave.

26 [June] De Cartier, Cárcer, Mumm abt. the new Note of the Chinese on the subject of the indemnity. Liu Kunyi (said Uchida who also came in) had telegd. that Wutingfang had been told by the President that U.S. wld. accept silver taels at rate specified in the Protocol, as if they represented that amount of gold. I had not seen a translation of the Note, but I told Mumm I shld. feel authorized to reply to it in the same sense as before, & wld. draft a reply to show to him. After Mumm went I told Uchida of my teleg. fr. Chang Chih-tung & my reply. He says his Govt. wld. not be averse to the Engl. proposal to lengthen out the period of amortization, but must insist on punctual payment of the interest. Evidently the U.S. are ready to dissociate themselves fr. the rest of the Powers in this matter.

Rlwy. Hu had been to him & said I was willing to give up Military Co-directors, & wld. he do the same. His reply was that he wld. ask me abt. it, & then consult his commmandant at Tientsin. I showed him the exchange of notes in Chinese of 18/19 & demonstrated that I had not made the agree. Hu pretended.

Lt. T.S. Cox R.S.O. Peking to give me result of his inquiries abt. rumoured Russian purchase of land at Tungchou, wch. was that the land buyer had been down there and was

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told the land was still owned by Chinese. Tewkesbury had made inquiries also, but could get no confirmation. But various suspicious people have been down there, Willfahrt of Russo-Chinese bank, to see Andersen (but that may have been abt. the sale of a pony). Andersen is a Dane. Another Dane, Basse fr. Paotingfu had been there abt. the purchase of land, but he could not get out of Anderson [Andersen?] where it lay.

Teleg. fr. F.O. scolding me for having agreed to accept lines N. of Peking as well as Kalgan line.

Hu came with a Chinese version of Lessar's reply to Note sent by the Waiwupu, in wch. he seems to say he is much pleased to hear that no Military Co-Directors are to be apptd. to the rlwy. inside the wall; if any were, he wld. insist on having one also. I said this was no use; he must show me what the W.W.P. had written and Lessar's French text in reply. I said he must be perfectly well aware that I had never promised any such thing, that I had gone to the limit of possible concessions, and wld. not go an inch further. I wld. not discuss the subject with him any more. If they wanted to explain anything to me let Lienfang come. The old fellow said that if any further difficulties were made he wld. get into a row, for not having managed the negotiation better, but I told him I had heard this so often I did not mind what happened. Also he said Lessar had telegraphed last night urging that the Manchurian convention shld. be ratified, and if I now said that I insisted on the apptmt. of a Military Co-director, the ratification wld. again be put off. I said that had they not come to bother me abt. the affair, I shld. never have opened my mouth.

He said that Pr. Ch'ing had at the outset told him I wld. do away with the Military Co-Directors, but he learnt afterwards fr. Campbell that this was a mistake of Pr. Ch'ing's; then he sent Hynd to find out my mind on the subject, & he had understood fr. him that I wld. not insist. To this I replied that I did not use Hynd as a channel for conveying my ideas. Then he went back on the statement abt. H's information. I told him the first thing Lienfang told me the day before yesterday that Hu had said I consented. Which of them was telling the truth. He, Hu, must know very well that I had always said I wld. not change the A & B agreements. Yes, he said, but the effect of the exchange of Notes was to render their apptmt. otiose. I said not, for the Co-Director also had a voice as to works. He admitted that. Finally they went away saying that it was better to keep the thing quiet till the Manchurian convention was ratified. I said that was their affair. I wld. say no more, having found by experience how they twisted my language.

My private opinion is that Kinder & Hynd, who object to C.A.R. Browne are at the bottom of all this, and the Chinese themselves have been acting in collusion; in this last thing they have tried to confront me with a fait accompli, hoping that I wld. not like to make a row. But I hope I have now made it plain that I am not to be diddled in that way.

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28 [sic. 27?] [June] To Mumm to sound him abt. arrangements for procès verbal of meetings of Dipl. Body & Secy. He suggested that had he been in Conger's place he wld. have resigned Decanat to some one who could speak French, but that being next in seniority delicacy precluded his saying this, & he begged me not to repeat it! The Russians & Fr. wld. insist on Fr. notes being kept. As to a Secy. he wld. suggest nothing.

He will take my draft of note to the Chinese abt. indemnity.

Portugal. Complained bitterly of Azevedo's having written to Lisbon that he had opposed Portuguese negotiations abt. Macao; Germ. Govt. had written to inquire, adding that in this as in all other matters they had perfect confidence in him. I said I understood fr. Azevedo that he had not complained to his Govt. but that the Govr. of Macao had been interviewed by a man on the staff of the *Secoli* a Republican journal. I was careful not to repeat anything I had heard fr. A. [Document inserted here, Latin inscription: Saluti]

To Conger, who showed me a letter fr. the Department of State to Fearon to the effect that China has only to pay the indemnity in silver! He is not in a position to address another identic note ¹ to the Chinese, until he gets further instructions. He read me a desp. to Washington of 29 May in wch. he explained very clearly that the Haikwan tael of the Protocol is a fictitious gold money worth the amounts named opposite to it in the Protocol.

Told him what Mumm had said abt. the procès-verbaux being in French, & suggested his asking for Bohlen to take notes at the meeting tomorrow.

Beau came. He had dined with Hu the night before, who had given him to understand that I had no objection to the 'Companies' interested in the Tientsin-Paoting line coming to an understanding; did my instructions enable me to agree to this. I said that I had no objection to their coming to an understanding after the rlwy. was restored to China, but I cld. not officially declare this. I had explicit instructions to oppose grant of the line to the Belgians, and had acted accordingly. It turned out that what he wanted was that we shld. consent to the Belgians having the concession to construct, upon condition that the Luhan & Northern railways shld. make an arrangement abt. traffic wch. wld. protect their mutual interests, & he hinted that in that case the Peking Syndicates line might be facilitated. I said that was not possible, and he seemed greatly disappointed. Told him Joostens action in securing a concession for Belgium at the moment he was obtaining a big indemnity by united support of all the Powers was a queer proceeding, & he admitted that it was not correct.

28 [June] Meeting of colls: discussed an identic note to Pr. Ch'ing abt. indemnity being payable

¹ Identic (noun) [< L *identicus*] In diplomacy, applied to action or language in which two or more governments agree to use precisely the same form in relation to some other power esp. identic note.

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in gold. Lessar said he wld. not send it in as he had already written, and also told the Chinese that his Govt. agreed to a gold tariff. Beau said Fr. govt. also agreed to a gold tariff. Conger said he had no instructions.

T.P.G. Lessar declared he cld. take no part. Sent a teleg. to F.O. relating what was said. Kulangsu. Japan agrees to the article excluding naturalized Chinese.

Mixed Court. Amendments of consuls as amended by us. Beau had not yet heard fr. his Consul-general, so could not agree. Modus vivendi as to jurisdiction of Courts agreed to.

Lessar asked me afterwards if I had the intention of insisting on a Military Co-director. I said yes. He said he wld. have one also. Told him we shld. protest.

Walked home with Mumm who thinks the T.P.G. will after all have to be settled by the Powers still represented on it, and that we cannot count on Conger taking any part, perh[aps] not on Beau either.

Afternoon. Edgar Pierce Allen and Cousins abt. railway land arbitration. They asked if there was any understanding that the Russians shld. have road along bund to repair & police. I said no! They must go by the words of the reference, wch. implied a right of way. Had I any objection to rlwy. crossing E. of station road along that side and railway crossing back. I said that I had none, but it must be left to the parties. They had better hear Kinder. Promised them that they should have maps and papers.

Lienfang came with Chinese text of their note to Lessar and of his reply, wch. had been sent in Russian. He tried to insist that I had agreed to their sending it in with a statement that the Military Co-Directors wld. be done away with, but I refused to admit this. Lessar had told me he had seen the notes exchanged betw. Prince Ch'ing & myself, and Lienfang had quoted their language. Also besides agreeing that the rlwys. N. & E. of Peking & Kalgan line shld. be treated as in our exchange of notes they added that they adhered to the engagement given to de Giers abt. lines to N. & E. of Peking being built, if ever, by agree[men]t with Russia or a Russian Co. Pointed out the discrepancy wch. I shld. have to remark on to WWP. Asked for the Russian text, wch. he promised to send thro' Hu, but I don't think he will do it. He said that he believed what Lessar said that H.M.G. did not wish to give back the railway. I said this was a dangerous thing to say to me, and he must be aware of the meaning it wld. bear. I wld. not discuss any more with him or Hu.

Shên Tun-ho the English-speaking Taotai came to talk abt. the question of compensation to Kueihuachêng Christians, who are hungering and will prob. rise in rebellion, and then our missionaries will be in danger. Told him he had better go to see de Cartier.

29 [June] de Cartier came to talk abt. the electric lighting & tramways wch. are being financed by

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the Cie. d'Orient. I told him my opinion was dead agst. them and that my instructions were not to back them beyond a joint note to Ch. Plenipos.; especially as generals refused to let me see them.

He talked in the same sense as Beau abt. the Tientsin-Paotingfu line, & said he had not been informed of the conversations betw. Lord Lansdowne & Baron Whetnall. Told him my instructions were quite explicit on the point, and that I cld. not modify what was said abt. that line in Agree[men]t B. It was in the hands of the two govts. and I cld. do nothing here.

Hu came to tell Mayers that he was in danger of being handed over to the Hsing-fu unless I gave way abt. Military Co-Director. Refused to see him, but promised through Mayers to intervene with Prince Ch'ing and threaten not to give back the railway if they touched him. I am inclined to think it is a huge bluff to get rid of C.A.R. Browne and the repres've of the B. & C. Corpn. on the Board.

30 June [Satow's 59th birthday, not mentioned] Hu brought us the Russian text of Lessar's last note ab[ou]t the railway. He said Prince Ch'ing was so alarmed that he had not gone to the Palace this morning. Lienfang also turned up just as I was starting, and I saw neither of them. Wrote a dft. letter to Conger as Doyen stating the F.O. offer abt. the Indemnity.

Started by 11.30 train for Tientsin with Russell & Phillips for Tientsin ["for Tientsin" repeated], and met at the Station there by Hopkins, Creagh & Admiral Bridge. Went afterwds. to talk over the situation with Creagh, who entirely agrees with me abt. T.P.G. He has not been able to get the electric lighting & tramway concessions, wch. the T.P.G. refuse to give unless ordered by all the generals.

Admiral [Bridge] has come to the conclusion fr. what the Japse. have said to him that they expect a row before the end of the year. Also that they fear we intend to diminish our naval forces out here. As far back as Nov[ember 1901] he knew that the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance was nearly concluded, & has seen the notes exchanged in connexion with the alliance, providing for the use of each others dockyards. He is much impressed with Japse. naval efficiency. Thinks the Admiralty does not attach enough importance to the "understanding".

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1 July By 7 o'clock train with Admiral [Bridge] & his flag Lieut. Hamilton to Suchi, and embarked on "Bramble", wch. brought us on board the "Alacrity". The Ad. very obligingly gave up his own desire to visit Chin wang tao, and started straight for Wei hai wei. Quite smooth at the bar, and at sea, with a gentle S.E. breeze.

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- 2 [July] Arrd. Wei hai wei about 9. Visits from Wintz, Carter, White, Hardy[Hendy?] of the Hart, Claud Hamilton of the "Rosario", and later fr. Ad. Grenfell, also Henderson of the "Blenheim". We went over to Matsu to call on [J.H. Stewart] Lockhart, and came back to lunch. After lunch landed and walked with Ad. Bridge and Russell to the signal station at the top of the island. A beautiful day, quite cool. Dined on board "Alacrity", and the Ad. moved over to the flagship when the company left.
- 3 [July] Started in "Alacrity", Comr. Erskine for Chefoo at nine, and got there at one. Brady came off to the ship, and we landed with him. Went up to the Consulate, a comfortable bungalow with a fine view over the eastern bay, and surrounded by a large garden. Had tea with Mrs. Brady, then went for a walk down to the church, where we met Bishop Scott and the chaplain Mr. Burn, visited the Club and back to tea. Then to the opening of a new tennis ground provided by Père Marivelle S.J. where I met the new French admiral , who was in China as a midshipman in 1860. Walked round the hill past the rest of the consulates. Lenz the late German consul was the only opponent of an international settle[men]t. Now he has gone there is perh. more chance. Re-embarked and started again at 7.
- 4 [July] Reached Chin-wang-tao at 1, having gone as far as Shanhaikwan, where the demolition of the forts is going on busily. Disembarked at 2. "Alacrity" anchored a couple of hundred yards off the pier head in 22 feet of water, but at low water only 16. So Erskine who had brought us on shore, immediately returned on board and put to sea. Hughes took us round to the breakwater pier, wch. has another 1000 yards to complete it. They advance 10 feet a day, driving 13 piles. The saloon was waiting for us, so we got in and were brought to Tangho, to await the passing of the train from Peking, and thence to Shanhaikwan. Dined with the Kells. There were at dinner C.A.R. Browne and his cousin Miss Fabriz, a Mrs, Hewston, and Capt. of the Goorkhas.
- 5 [July] Returned to Peking. Met Genl. Creagh en route and had a talk ab[ou]t T.P.G. conditions.
- 6 [July] Went to see Mumm abt. T.P.G. wall road, indemnity & rlwy. directors. He will give up his if we do, after reporting to his govt.
Uchida. Agreed with him to act together abt. T.P.G.
Met Hu just inside the gate. He says the Manchurian ratifications have been exchanged.
- 7 [July] Meeting at Mumm's, at wch. I put forward draft note to Prince Ch'ing abt. T.P.G. drawn up after conversation with Casenave yesterday. Casenave & I to put it into Fr. with some modifications, in the afternoon, altogether six hours work. The heat today excessive, 104° in the shade outside. Returning fr. Mumm's I thought that I shld. not get safely to the

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house, for the sun seemed to strike down right thro' umbrella & hat into my brain.

8 “ Meeting of Plenum. Discussed Lessar's proposal to ask Chinese Govt. to appt. delegates to sign fractional bonds, my circular inviting the Powers to accept silver payments during 9 yrs. fr. 1902 to 1910; no one in favour. Handed in general Creagh's letter asking Dipl. Body to take over Water gate.

Lessar spoke again abt. Military Co-Director. Told him I cld. not at present say anything. He says he has instructions to demand apptmt. of a Russian Co-director, on the ground that Russia took part in obtaining possn. of the line, but he cld. put it off for a few days. Asked him the meaning of his writing to the Chinese that he objected to the apptmt. of either military or civil co-director; he said it meant apptmt. by the Br. Govt. not the appointment by the Chinese or by the B. & C. Corpn. Told him there never had been any question of a civil co-director being appointed by the Br. Govt.

He asked me if it were not possible to apply the principle of arbitration in connexion with Jardine's land in the Russian concession at Hankow. Told him that it was difficult for us to force a Br. subject to sell, and that it was so long since there had been any talk on the subject that I had forgotten the dossier, but wld. look it up: anyhow there was no hurry, & that I was very busy. It wld. be necessary to teleg. for instructions. He said he wld. do so.

E.P. Allen came abt. rlwy. street at Tientsin. He says Russians intend to maintain that by 'dedication to the Public' it had ceased to be rlwy. property. I said there was no such thing in China as 'formal dedication'. Also that they claim road along bank of river to be in place of an ancient 'right of way' thro' Chin-chia-lou; I said I doubted the existence of 'rights of way' in China.

Hu wrote me a letter in wch. he quoted a statement of Lord Cranborne abt. English policy in China being that of the open door, & hence G.B. cannot desire any exclusive privilege such as a Military Co-Director. He wanted greatly to see me, so I gave him an interview. Chü Hungchi he said was bullying him & Jung-lu because he did not get an answer. Told him I had telegd. just before going away and again on the 6th. Cld. tell him nothing, as my mouth was stopped. He begged me to say what I thought the ans. of H.M.G. wld. be, but I refused to give the slightest indication. He said they had heard thro' the Russian Legn. that on the 2 July de Staal & Cambon had both seen Lord Lansdowne on the rlwy. question. I said I had no information as to this. Questioned as to Manchurian convention, Hu said the ratifications had been exchanged & the Ch. d'Aff. had telegd. that he was sending the Chinese copy thro' the Russian F.O. On that they sent a teleg. fr. here instructing him to get it back again & ford. it himself, & they did not yet know whether he had done so.

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Azevedo came. Hart has advised him to add a clause to the effect that if within 4 mos. of the signature of the Treaty China does not appt. commrs. to demarcate the boundaries, then the collaboration in suppression of piracy will come to an end. The Viceroy of Canton has said that demarcation of boundaries wld. be more dangerous to China than the proposed zone. In this way he hopes to overcome the Chinese reluctance to sign a Treaty by Sept. next. He wld. then go home and defend the Treaty before the Chambers.

He has recd. a teleg. saying that Germany has undertaken to support Portuguese policy independently of the question of tariff, and another asking him to be "flexible" with Mumm. Tells me Lessar was furious with Beau for not taking a stronger line abt. the rlwy. agreements. Beau was very lukewarm and only gave a languid sort of support to Cartier. I said that of course we had no such reason for trying to play a strong game in N. China, as our interests lay further S. A. thinks Germany has designs on Chihli, and that her barracks at Yangstun & Langfang are far larger than necessary for 300 men each, also that she has very substantial barracks at S'hai.

9 [July] Mumm came round with dft. note on T.P.G. prepared by Casenave & myself, and tried to induce me to make some alterations in order to let in the 'concessions' and right of general officers to correspond directly with the Viceroy. As to the former I referred to a form of words wch. wld. render the Govts. responsible for the acts of the T.P.G., as it was established by the generals & enlarged by them without consulting the Dipl. Body, and as to the 2nd I said that the Chinese wld. only be too ready to correspond with the generals behind our backs, and that I felt sure H.M.G. wld. not consent, even if I telegd. to refer the matter to them. He made a note abt. *res judicata*¹, (wch. Conger had suggested to me). Also he wanted the clause abt. 30 kilometres on either side of the rlwy. no augmentation of troops, but I cld. not see my way to including that.

Hynd came in afternoon to ask me to fix an hour on the 11th. for seeing Brenan. Hu had been to see him, and said the E-D. had given him 3 days grace to settle the Co-Director.

10 " To Uchida & repeated conversation of yesterday with Mumm abt. the T.P.G. note. He thinks the Viceroy will have complete liberty with regard to police, organized as at Peking, with side arms, and that we need not say anything more.

As to Chin. delegates to sign bonds, I told him that in our opinion the Protocol did not limit us to any particular persons or places, and that as the bonds had to be manufactured in London, they shld. be signed there, on acct. of the great delay & risk involved in sending them out to China to be signed.

¹ *res judicata*: n. Latin for "the thing has been judged," meaning the issue before the court has already been decided by another court, between the same parties. Therefore, the court will dismiss the case before it as being useless.

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Hu had been to see him to ask his intervention with me in regard to the co-directors. He told him he cld. do nothing.

Bohlen came fr. Mumm to say that he had telegd. to Berlin to inquire whether he cld. give up their deputy co-director. They wished to obtain promise that the Chinese railway administration wld. convey their mail matter free of charge. I told him the Japanese had made this a condition of consenting to the restoration of the rlwy., just as Czikann had stipulated for recognition of a lease of land at Tongku. I had already seen a teleg. fr. Lord Lansdowne saying that we shld. withdraw fr. the exchange of notes, and continue to hold the railway, but I did not dare to tell him that there was no hurry.

He also left with me letter fr. the Deutsche Vereinigung to Tientsin Chamber of Commerce of 1 Mar. suggesting that an endeavour shld. be made to get the tariff reduced before the rlwy. was handed over. I said I wld. make inquiries at Tientsin.

11 [July] Mumm came to say goodbye. He says the teleg. giving him leave also said he was to return here. When he came out here in 1900 he got a promise that after two years he shld. have Tokio, but he thinks that wld. be no promotion. He would like either Munich or Dresden, but they are both out of his reach. Of Embassies Washington is the only possible one.

Promised to use my influence with General Creagh to get railway tariff moderated.

Told him that the transfer of the railway was hung up for the present owing to the way the Chinese have acted.

Dined with Congers. Sharratts the U.S. tariff comm[issione]r and Keary of the Hankow-Canton rlwy. were there. Told Conger rlwy. transfer hung up in consequence of the trick the Chinese had played me in assuring the Russians that there wld. be no Military Co-Director and renewing the promise given to de Giers in 1899 abt. rlwys. to N. & N.E. of Peking. Asked him abt. the concession said to have been given to Dr. Lowry. He said the latter had signed an agreement with a Chinese to find the money for a rlwy. if the latter cld. obtain a concession, but he did not know the contents & did not believe any concession had been obtained.

15 [July] Went to Conger & asked him abt. Note sent in regarding T.P.G. He said his instructions were such that he did not think necessary to oppose, & had recommended the Chinese to accept & so finish the business. Still he thinks the 20 li too large an area to exclude Chinese troops fr. I replied that it was quite possible to keep order with police carrying swords, as in Peking. [Margin: He reiterated that in his opinion Germany & France desire that China shall make default, & as to Russia she has got her claws into Manchuria & will not let go.]

Keary has got decree authorizing Hankow-Canton contract.

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Asked him abt. duty on dock materials & stores for repair & use of ships. He thinks 5% ought to be charged.

Went on to Hart, & left Dock Co.'s letter with him; he thinks their argument is good, & will address WWP. The last note fr. China abt. indemnity was contrary to his advice; he had given them a draft in wch. they acknowledged that it was payable in gold, & asked for time or some other relaxation, such as fixing tariff on a gold basis. Natung told him the teleg. quoted in their note referring to one of mine to F.O. came not fr. Wutingfang, but fr. Rockhill.

Brenan came, having heard that the Chinese are talking of paying off the Northern Rlwy. loan, wch. wld. be a blow for the B. & C. Corporation, as people wld. say that had been too hard on them. I said that in fact the Chinese had objected very strongly to what the Corporation had asked for. He wanted to know who wld. have charge of the £800,000 of the rlwy. indemnity. Told him I had advised agst. it being handed over to the B. & C. Corporation.

Nat'ung and Hu came by apptmt. the former to apologize for Pr. Ch'ing, who was 'suffering from summer complaint', for their recent proceedings. They admitted that they ought not to have written to Lessar what was not in the exchange of notes effected with me, and that they ought to have submitted the draft to me before sending it. But Pr. Ch. considered that the confirmation of the letter to de Giers wch. they gave to Lessar did not contradict the agreement with me about the rlwys N. of Peking, as they fully intend never to build them, and he was ready to give me an assurance to that effect. I said that to the mind of H.M.G. the two agreements were absolutely contradictory; I had signed the exchange of Notes in the full assurance that nothing more was required, in fact a great part of the text had come fr. Lessar himself. I was given to understand that my agreement was a compromise, but I found that while I had made a concession, Lessar made none. However, I was quite willing to accept the Prince's apology, and to resume our former friendly relations, allowing bygones to be bygones. They said it wld. be a tedious process to negotiate with Lessar for the cancelling of the letter to de Giers, and asked me to help them in reopening negotiations. After some beating abt. the bush, they agreed to take the A. & B. agreements, and present a new draft, on wch. I told them I wld. express no opinion to them, before consulting H.M.G. The less alteration they made, the better. Hu says that if we don't give up the military co-Director, the Russians will insist on one for the rlwy. without [outside] the wall. It was Yüan he said, in reply to an inquiry whether Hu and Kinder were not the objectors from the beginning. I told them military people were kittle-cattle [ticklish, tricky] to deal with and had to be smoothed down the right way. My object in leaving a military co-Director on was to save trouble to the civil

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administration.

Nat'ung put the pointed question did I really wish to return the rlwy. to them!

Hu says Lessar has written to say that he will restore the rlwy. outside the wall on Tientsin being handed over, & has asked to have railway guards sent 5 days in advance. He told Mayers that the Chinese Govt. wld. accept the Note abt. Tientsin.

16 [July] Nat'ung & Hu came at three, not with modifications of the A & B agreements, but with a draft referring to the exchange of notes. I told them this wld. not do, as the notes were cancelled, and nothing remained but the agreements. After much trouble, I got them to strike out reference to the notes, and said I wld. teleg. their proposals to F.O. but cld. not undertake that they wld. be accepted. Possibly H.M.G. might wish for further additions. I firmly refused to recommend their proposed new Note. Fr. something that dropped it seems that Chú Hung-chi had a hand in drafting what they brought. I am more than ever convinced that they are not playing fair.

Bohlen came to ask whether the tariff wld. be signed by Mackay or myself. Told him the former has plenipotentiary power, but I did not know whether the tariff wld. be appended to the new treaty or not.

18 [July] Went to Casenave and asked him to try to arrange that he & I shld. examine the Ningpho road affair à l'aimable: he promised to telegraph to Ratard & suggest this course.

We talked abt. T.P.G. He said he had privately read the draft of our Note identique to Lienfang the day before it was sent in, & that he put his finger on the passage relating to jurisdiction of the commandants of posts: wch. was explained to him. I said I shld. have no objection to stating that it referred only to the commission of offences agst. railway &c.

M. Haas, consul-general in partibus recently arrived fr. Chêngtu came to talk to me abt. mining enterprises there, particularly applications for tramway concessions and petroleum. I let him understand that I looked upon Jamieson as the proper person for him to speak to with a view to combining their interests.

Went with Norris to the Cottage, wch. is fast approaching completion. It was deliciously cool. ¹

22 July Went to Azevedo and told him of my recent instructions to support the Portuguese

¹ See PRO 30/33 17/16, which contains the diaries of Satow's lakeside villa at Chūzenji north of Tokyo while Satow was minister there 1895-1900 (reproduced in Ruxton ed., *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow in Tokyo 1895-1900*, pub. 2003) and still in use by the Tokyo embassy now; and of Ku-miao-tsun, the location of the cottage referred to here. The "Cottage" was completed in August 1902 and used by Satow until April 1906. Satow slept there for the first time on August 22, 1902 – see diary below. He was careful to ensure that he secured a place to escape from the capital and its pressures in both China and Japan.

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claim to import under the old tariff, & asked whether he wished me to take any action at present. He said he had quite recently addressed a letter to the Chinese Plenipos (? Natung & Juiliang) explaining vaguely what works he wishes to undertake in the "zone" round Macao; & is awaiting their reply. He does not wish me to put on any pressure at present, but wld. let Hart know the instructions I had recd. in order that he might drop a hint to the Chinese.

Visit fr. Yang the newly apptd. Minister to Brussels.

Nat'ung, Hu & Wu abt. railway from 4 to 7. We made considerable progress & I drafted a long teleg. to F.O. afterwds.

July 23 Hynd came to ask me abt. rlwy as Hu's yamên told the Bank Comprador that everything was settled. I replied that this was premature, as the whole matter had been referred to the F.O. But I was quite content that the Peking community should remain under the impression that we were making no progress. He repeated a statement he had fr. McCormick that in consequence of the Chinese having given assurances to Lessar in excess of what they had obtained fr. me, we had reverted to the agreements of 29 April (this is exactly what I said to McCormick the other day). H. has no instructions from the B. & C. [British & Chinese] Corporation, but is anxious to have early information when things are settled. I made him a half promise.

Showed him a despatch from Hopkins and enclosures about the proposed bridge between French & Russian concessions.

July 24 Went out to Hsiang-chieh-soŭ to stay with the Townleys.

July 29 Returned to Peking. There had been a great deal of rain during the last three days, and the country was flooded. I had to pass thro' floods of considerable extent three feet deep in order to get on the railway line. Passing "the cottage" I saw that the kitchen had fallen in.

" 30 Kinder came to show me a paper of reasons for agreeing to a compromise betw. the Russian concession & rlwy. He has no objection to the bridge being placed where the French & Russians wish to put it, but does not want the siding C.G.R. Browne is negotiating for with the Italians, preferring one in the A-H. concession. I wrote to Gen[era]l. Creagh abt. this.

Nat'ung alone about railway matters. After a two hours struggle got him to write a letter promising that they wld. hereafter sign a Note undertaking not to exercise their right of redemption under clause 11 of the Rlwy. Loan agreement of 1898 & we arranged to sign the new exchange of notes tomorrow. He said that if we wld. agree to let the secret notes be signed after the rlwy. is handed over, it shld. be done the very next day. He wld. on their side put on the Waiwupu seal, and the note signed by me shld. be given to Prince Ch'ing to

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keep among his private archives. I said I wld. teleg. to the F.O. recommending them to agree to this.

To Uchida and told him; he promised he wld. undertake to agree to the non-appointment of a deputy military co-director for Japan and to the handing over on behalf of his general.

31 July. Went to Waiwupu in the afternoon, where the notes were exchanged in the presence of Pr. Ch'ing, Wang Wên-shao, Ch'ü Hung-chi, Nat'ung and Lienfang. I promised I wld. try to have 14 Aug. fixed for the day to hand over.

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1 Aug. v.d. Goltz came abt. Hillier refusing to convert monthly payt. into Sterling: promised to teleg. my view. At my request he promised to write to the Chinese that Genl. Rohrscheidt had no objection to the rlwy. being handed over.

Nat'ung came at my request, and I told him the secret notes must be exchanged before the railway is handed over. He discussed various modes of doing this, and promised to let me know in the morning.

2 Aug. Menzies, G.F. Capt. came to say that he was prob. staying on with Yüan Shihkai after the T.P.G. is dissolved.

3 “ Went to Prince Ch'ing by apptmt. and found Na[‘tung] had explained everything to him. In fact he had Ku there with him, apparently quite ready. He said he had no objection to exchanging the Notes before the rlwy. was given up, but wld. not put them on record till afterwds. Told him he need not be in a hurry abt. that. There were two small boys in the room, and several servants outside, inquisitive. When we handed him the dft. of my Note in Chinese, the two youngsters peered over to see it, standing abt. two yds. away. Agreed that the exchange shld. be effected tomorrow betw. Mayers & Ku.

His son left Paris for America 3 days ago, having learnt fr. Chang Tê-yi that the special ambassadors wld. not be asked to the Coronation on 9 August.

Asked him abt. commercial negotiations. He said they were still going on at Shanghai, that much depended on the concurrence of Liu and Chang. But he did not speak at all discouragingly, as I had [been] led to expect fr. F.O. teleg. of yesterday.

4 [Aug.] Azevedo came to say that the Chinese negotiators tell him Canton is opposed to the zone, but that they wld. be able to allege the raison d'état [national interest] if A. wld. go to Shanghai & talk to Shêng. This he refused to do, and told them so on Saturday. Hart has however telegd. to Bredon to tell Shêng that Portugal cannot be forced to agree to tariff unless some concession is made to her, and that she has the support of other PP. I offered to send Mayers to tell Na, but he declined that, preferring that I shld. tell Mackay to say so.

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I explained that I cannot give instructions to Mackay, but wld. tell him what my instructions are in case Shêng asked him abt. the matter, and to teleg. to F.O. explaining the situation. That he said was quite sufficient, and he wld. teleg. to the "Portuguese Monkey" to ask Ld. Lansdowne to do the same. v.d. Goltz says Mumm's instructions were to support him if the other colls: did. I told him what M. had said to me abt. his having complained of me in London, wch. I did not believe, as our relations had been so intimate. He declared he had not, nor even of M. but he had reported what M. had said the first time A. appeared in the conference. I remarked that this was prob. what M. meant by a 'complaint'.

5 Aug. Casenave came with a draft of terms of reference of the Ningpo road dispute betw. Monr. Reynaud and the Ningpo foreign community, wch. we discussed: he took it away to reflect on some omissions wch. I suggested.

As to the Tientsin Land Improvement Co. he had written to his general asking him to protect agst. the action of the T.P.G. council.

Only the German and Italian members had objected to the auditing of the accounts. Genl. Lefevre found that it was a natural thing for people handing over charge of a "caisse" to desire that their accts. shld. [be] looked into.

Fractional bonds. He has recd. instructions wch. enable him to agree to my proposal for counter signature in London. I asked him to wait until my letter to Conger came to him in course of circulation.

Tientsin-Paoting rlwy. He told me what a disagreeable position he was placed in by the Belgian's having obtained a promise fr. Li Hung-chang. They got it in order to strengthen the hands of the Belgian directors in a dispute they had with the Fr. directors as to the management of the line, and had kept it a secret fr. Pichon. They had behaved very badly, and yet the Fr. Govt. found itself obliged to back them up. He being only Ch. d'Aff. was obliged to stick to the literal instructions he had recd., but perh. Beau who by this time had got to Paris will be able to put things in a proper light to the Dept. of F.A. He finds himself isolated as the only objector to the handing over. The Belgians have become obnoxious to everyone, and they will have to pay sooner or later for having played this trick. I suggested that they might agree to the handing over of the railway without prejudice to the point in dispute. And I said many other things wch. I have put into a most confl. desp. to the F.O.

Hu came in the afternoon. He says he hopes the Fr. will give way. Everyone else agrees.

Wei Chia-chi. Told him of this man's good deeds and that we had written to T'ang Tao-tai about him. He promised to speak to Yüan Shih-kai when he comes here on the 8th.

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It appears that Monseigneur Favier's Chinese paper accuses Hu of being in the pay of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank at the rate of 5000 taels a month; and adds that he is such a low person that the Br. Min. has refused to have anything more to do with him. He has sent the paper, he told Mayers, to E.P. Allen with directions to commence proceedings.

He also told Mayers that the Russian interpreter asked him & Lienfang whether we had not obtained something besides the stipulations in the public exchange of Notes, wch. they both denied. Hu does not seem to know that the secret notes have been exchanged.

9 [Aug.] Coronation Day. 8.30 open air service in front of Military Hospital for the Guard, conducted by the Bishop; then Royal Standard hoisted and saluted with a feu de joie; 3 cheers for the King; march past, I taking the salute. 9.30 service in the Chapel, colls: & ourselves. Princes Ch'ing, Su, Lun Peitze, Nat'ung, Lienfang, Li Shêngtê. Afterwards visits of Wang Wênshao, Ch'ü Hung-chi, Junglu, Prince Ch'un with a message from the Emperor and Empress-Dowager, Hu Yü-fên & Chang Pohsi: just as Lady Susan [Townley] & I were sitting down to lunch Yüan Shih-kai came in in his yellow jacket, straight fr. the rlwy. station, to thank me for assistance in recovering Tientsin. Told him I had just recd. teleg. agreeing to 14 Aug. for rlwy. being handed back, provided the other consents were given. Genl. Ch'iang Kueiti after lunch, whom I took over to the gymnasium for the boxing & gymnastics. At 5.30 sports on the parade ground. At 7.30 dinner to 38 including the whole legation, soldiers and chief English people at present in Peking. 9.30 evening party to see illuminations. We had 4500 lanterns disposed abt. the grounds, red, white, green and various, and they looked very beautiful. Everyone in Peking almost came, diplomats, officers of guards and civilians, also Chinese including Prince Su and Lun Peitze. Sir Robt. Hart lent his band for dinner, and we had a Sihak band from Tongshan for after dinner. At midnight they played "God Save the King" without abridgement.

10 [Aug.] Went out with Townley to the cottage & took tea there.

11 " Dft. letter fr. Dipl. Body to Prince Ch'ing abt. Chinese Govt. apptg. a delegate for the signature of the fractional bonds. Having made this, I took it to Casenave to correct the French, & also to v. Bohlen & Lessar who approved of it. C. told me he was authorized to agree to handing over of rlwy. with a reserve as to Paoting.

12 " Casenave came with a letter fr. Leduc to say the consuls were much excited by the idea of Yüan visiting the G.O.C.s some of whom are of lower rank than Consuls-general, & suggesting that the rule that prevailed before 1900 of consuls paying the first visit shld. be done away with. We agreed that it was not a matter of importance, and that the old rule ought to be reserved.

His reserves in regard to the rlwy. are not likely to be answered by the Chinese, at least he does not expect nor require it.

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Hu came with Kinder; the object being to induce me to hand over the rlwy. in spite of Lessar saying he was not ready to give up Shanhaikwan Station on the 14th. I flatly refused. Hu spent an hour and a half jawing, but had to go away empty, his cajolery having completely failed. His parting shot, uttered to Mayers, was that Na & Yüan are seriously thinking of inviting European arbitration and of disclosing the secret notes, to wch. Mayers replied that they wld. then never get back the rlwy. at all. He also said that Na if I gave way on this point was prepared to be my best friend for ever, but in the opposite case my undying foe!

13 [Aug.] Mayers went to W.W.P. to ask for a sight of the answers of the colls: about rlwy., but they refused to show them to him, without orders fr. Wang & Ch'ü.

Hu came to M. and made various absurd proposals with the object of getting the rlwy. more or less ostensibly handed over to him, but was told that wld. be useless.

Lienfang said he had been to Lessar, who told him that reply of the Russian Govt. as to Shanhaikwan station might come tomorrow, or might come six weeks hence. Prob. seems to be that Russians will hold on till 8 Octr. at least.

14 [Aug.] 許珪 Hsü Chüeh the min. to Rome called, an oldish man with a grizzled moustache. He talked abt. the missionary question. I said China ought to recognize 2 things: 1° that before she had diplomatic & foreign engagements she misused her liberty of action by carrying on sanguinary persecutions, 2° that since she began to make treaties she had negotiated on the question in the most inept manner, especially in recognizing the power of the Pope to grant to France a protectorate over the missions, in according relative rank to missionaries & in allowing that missionaries might settle cases on the spot.

In reply to a question he said he wld. not have letters to the Pope, but I recommended him to get into unofficial relations with the Vatican, and promised to send him a letter of introduction to Lord Currie.

Afternoon to return Yüan Shih-kai's [call]. He was very friendly, but talked abt. the rlwy. in rather annoyed fashion. If he had known that the Chinese had to get the consent of the colleagues, he wld. never have signed the agreements of 29 April. Hu persuaded him I had undertaken to do that & now he says Campbell told him! He pressed me to give up in spite of the Russian refusing to hand over Shanhaikwan station, but I told him this was impossible, as Lessar knew it fr. me three months ago, and had given out to Chinese that he was ready to hand over whenever I was. He then put me a 'poser' abt. Chinese troops being allowed to go by train say from Yangtsun to any place where there were disturbances, as at Tsin-an, where the other day brigands from the Jêhol district came over a pass, and disguising themselves as mandarins, played a trick upon the district military magistrate. I said that I thought there was nothing to prevent this, but perh. Yangtsun wld.

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be a bad choice of places for entraining; he had better consult General Creagh.

Went on to Waiwupu [Foreign Office] and saw Wang Wên-shao, Ch'ü Hung-chi, Nat'ung and Lienfang: the two latter particularly sulky. Lienfang looked quite haggard. After expressing satisfaction at the administration of Tientsin and the Land lines being handed back tomorrow, said I regretted a hitch had occurred to prevent my giving up the rlwy. today, as I had told them I hoped to do when I saw them on the 31st. Reminded Ch'ü that I had expressly directed his attention to clause 9 by wch. we gave up on the same day as the Russians surrendered Shanhaikwan station. That I heard at the last moment the Russian wld. not give up, tho' he had 3 months before him, I having drawn his attention to it in May last; that I could not do this without express instructions from home.

After that I asked to be shown the letters fr. the Legations consenting to transfer, & after immense difficulty they showed them. The Russian is a Chinese translation, no mention of the military men agreeing, the Frenchman ditto, with reservation in favour of Société d'Etudes, of German only a letter agreeing to give up military co-Director. They said there was another agreeing to the rlwy. being transferred, and containing German military consent, but did not show it.

16 to 21 At Hsiangchiehssü with the Townleys.

22 [Aug.] Went to W.W.P. [Wai Wu Pu, Foreign Office] with Mayers to talk abt. murder of missionaries at Chen-chou-fu in Hunan. Agreed with them that Giles shld. proceed to Changsha in "Snipe", take on board a taotai as Gov's delegate, and landing at Changte, proceed to the spot to investigate. Ch'ü Hung-chi was not present, & discussion was carried on with Wang Wenshao, Nat'ung & Lienfang.

Mentioned that I wished to call on Prince Chun on Monday to convey message from the King in reply to Their Majesties' congratulations on Coronation.

Went out to my cottage & slept there for the first time. Russell came out to stop. The whole place finished, even the wall rebuilt.

23 [Aug.] E.P. Allen called. Says only two meetings of Commission have been held. The Russian Consul acts as Agent, besides being Comr. wch. I observed was quite irregular.

T.P.G. Council pretend that Viceroy by signing the procès-verbal accepted all the concessions granted by them. Genl. Creagh is said to have allowed his delegate to declare that the T.P.G. council were acting within their powers in granting land to Tientsin Land Improvement Co. & that Col. Arlabosse did not make the protest wch. he had been instructed by Genl. Lefevre to make. I told Allen that I had disagreed with Genl. Creagh as to the powers of the T.P.G. & had written so to him; also that if Viceroy refused to ratify the concessions, H.M.G. wld. certainly back him up. He says T'ang talks of Denby having offered him a bribe of 20,000 taels, & hopes he is impervious to corruption.

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25 [Aug.] Called on Prince Chun to convey message of thanks fr. the King to the Emperor & Empress-Dowager for their congratulations on his Coronation. Went out afterwards to the Cottage.

28 [Aug.] Came in from the Cottage.

Fr. 3 to 5 Nat'ung & Hu abt. restoration of the railway without waiting for the Russians. They said that the two conditions I proposed were impossible – and I think it really is so. They urged that we shld. waive clause 9 merely as a mark of friendship. Told them I wld. teleg. all they said to Lord Lansdowne, but wld. not undertake that he wld. consent. Na[t'ung] declares his belief that the Russians will evacuate SW. Manchuria by 8 Octr. If they did not a mere intimation fr. Engl. & Japan wld. drive them out.

Went to Casenave. Mission property at Tientsin. Leduc tells me that if they insert in the agreement to come into the Fr. concession the words agreed on by him with me, the Americans wld. demand the same. I said the reply was that there cld. not be reciprocity betw. U.S. & France, as the former has no settlement. This struck him, & he said he wld. write that to Leduc.

Genl. Lefevre & Railway: explained that consent of the generals was necessary, as proof that the arrangements for military transport satisfied them. He replied that he had been in corresp'ce with the Genl. & expected to receive his consent tomorrow, wch. he wld. at once communicate to the Chinese.

Ningpo: he had not yet read the papers I sent him.

29 “ Went to see Conger, & told him I thought the Chinese ought not to write direct to the Doyen abt. complaints agst. soldiers of particular nationalities, but address the ministers concerned.

To Uchida. He said he had been told by Komura to ask whether I could say something to editor of North China Herald abt. the rude remarks that recently appeared respecting Prince Komatsu. Said I wld. write to Bob Little.

Russian rwly. fr. Khailar; he has sent a party to explore secretly. He thinks Russians intend to clear out by 8 Octr. Yüan up to the present had not seemed to take much interest in Manchuria, but now he is established at Tientsin, he will naturally become more alive to its importance.

31 [Aug.] With Cockburn & Mayers to Pr. Ch'ing to talk abt. decree abolishing likin. Nat'ung was there, also little Tsêng, who had just returned fr. Shanghai. I showed them Shêng & Lü's memorial, and Na admitted having seen it, but they pretended that it had not yet reached the W.W.P. Neither Prince nor Na seemed to make any objection, but they said that the Comrs. ought to ask for a rescript approving of it, and not a decree. Further, if the Throne was to be asked to order that the whole shld. be communicated to Mackay, the

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request shld. be inserted in the memorial. They had not yet recd. any teleg. fr. the Commissioners stating that the decree issued on the 29th was insufficient, and cld. not report to the Throne until the Commrs. declared so themselves.

I also at Azevedo's request (made to me yesterday) spoke abt. right of Portugal to import goods under the old tariff, and recommended that China shld. come to an understanding with Portugal. Na took up his para. & said they were willing to let P. build a railroad fr. Macao to Canton, & have a Custom house in Macao, but beyond that they could not go, as local feeling was so strong agst. giving up any portion of territory. Portugal wanted the whole of Hsiangshan Hsien &c. That I replied was not the case, it was merely a question of some barren uninhabited islands. But A. had told me he had offered to arbitrate the delimitation question, & I advised them to agree. Na said there was no necessity for arbitration, & that as the Treaty mentioned no time for apptg. commissioners to delimit, Portugal had nothing to complain of. He begged me to urge A. to be content with the 2 concessions they offered him. I replied that I cld. not undertake to negotiate on behalf of Portugal, that I was anxious, as a friend of both parties, to see them come to an agree., and had nothing else to say. Of course, if Portugal refused to adhere to the Protocol, her merchants cld. go on importing under tariff of 1858, and the merchants of other nationalities wld. do the same.

September 1902

1 Sept. Went to Goltz, who had called yesterday. He said U[chida]. had asked him to act on his instructions, & give support in his demand for delimitation subject to arbitration. His instructions were not to act alone, and he asked whether I was authorized. I said I was, & had yesterday offered my advice to the Chinese. Replied that he shld. ask for instructions.

Tariff he says is to come into force 31 Octr. Germ. merchants quite in favour of higher customs duties in return for abolition of likin, but they doubted whether the latter wld. ever carry out. Neither Fr. nor Russians have signed new tariff.

Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. He says that in the spring of last year shipping Cos. at Tientsin were asked abt. the bridge over Peiho [river], and had all approved, B. & S. [Butterfield & Swire], J.M. [Jardine Matheson] & Co. &c. It was to be a swing-bridge: he wld. look up the papers & let me know.

Likin abolition decrees of 29 & 30, the 2nd correcting the first; he had telegd. both home. In reply to an inquiry, I said that Mackay had not signed his treaty, because decree was insufficient, as it did not provide for revenue in place of likin pledged for

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Anglo-German loan [to China] of 1898; & there was one other point.

- 3 [Sept.] Hart says he does not know where [he?] can have obtained information abt. alleged Russo-Chinese agree[men]t as to Thibet: he thinks it is a fact, on the same lines as the "Cassini convention", wch. even if not reduced to writing & signed, nevertheless contained what had been agreed on betw. China & Russia.

Indemnity. Chinese still hope that the American view of the indemnity being payable in silver will prevail; but Na said to him not long ago that he need not be so anxious abt. pay[men]t of the indemnity; it wld. be done by "our" not pocketing so much, "our" being the official class.

Portugal. He mentioned Azevedo's negotiations, & said he had told the Chinese that A's proposals were very reasonable.

- 8 [Sept.] Field-day at Wai-wu-pu to deliver a message fr. H.M.G. abt. Thibet, and to explain our action on Thibetan frontier of [the Indian state of] Sikkim.

- 9 " Loudon tells me Lessar made a row at the W.W.P. abt. the arrangement we have concluded giving the Eastern Extension a wire, & threatened not to evacuate Manchuria. Also he protested agst. our commercial treaty on the ground that art. 8 constituted (likin) a control over the internal revenue of China to be exercised by the Imperial Maritime Customs and by G.B. thro' them.

- 11 " Hu came to say that the Russian Genl. & Administrator of rlwys. were up here & Chinese had been informed that the rlwy. wld. be handed over on Oct. 8. Also they were to see Lienfang abt. (1) transport of troops for Legn. guard (2) gratuitous transport of military mails (3) payt. of rlwy. expenses, 1,200,000 of wch. wld. be taken out of the Customs revenue lying at Newchwang. In reply to a question, he said Lessar had promised to write in a few days and fix the date. He then asked if I could not now fix a date a little before. I said that now they had got a promise of a letter fr. Lessar that wld. enable them to comply with one of the conditions laid down in the d[ra]ft shown to them by Mayers; and the only thing now remaining was the other point. He used the usual arguments abt. difficulty with the Fr. I suggested a secret note fr. them, wch. wld. enable me to take out of my draft the part relating to obtaining capital fr. the B.& C. Corp'n. He said they none of them wld. hear any more abt. secret notes, besides Kinder said the line shld. never be built & there was the loan agreement of 1898. I said my instructions were explicit, & it was no use asking H.M.G. to change them. However, when they brought me Lessar's note, I might use that as a peg. My date of course wld. be the same as his.

Asked him abt. Shên Tun-ho and the Kalgan rlwy., abt. wch. he gave explanations rather wide of the truth. He said however that Shên had been sent for to the W.W.P. and they had pitched into him for talking abt. a railway that neither G.Br. nor Russia wanted. Shên had

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been sent to Kalgan partly to inquire abt. the rlwy. wch. the Russians were said to be building southwds. fr. Dalainor, of wch. nothing could be heard & on his way back he conceived the notion of the Kalgan rlwy. wch. he had not been asked to concern himself about. Some of this I believe to be quite untrue.

12 [Sept.] Hu came again, and argued on the same lines as yesterday, what a splendid thing it wld. be for me if Prince Ch'ing were in telling the Empress-Dowager that the Russians were handing over on the 8th to be able to add that I was handing over a few days earlier, that he was informed by Chang Têyi that my representations to F.O. had induced the latter to give up the Military Co-Directors, and he was sure I cld. do this if I liked. I adhered to my previous declaration that there were only two conditions on wch. I could hand over earlier, and that I must insist on seeing the Russian letter before telegraphing again to the F.O. He had better ask Nat'ung or Lienfang to bring it to me. He replied that Lienfang was so sick of the railway business that he wld. not come to me abt. it, and as to Na, he could not say. I told him my seeing the Russian letter with my own eyes was a sine quâ non.

Genl. Creagh came up to stop. We discussed the question of sentries standing to attention when members of the Legation pass the Gate, and he promised to arrange this next month when the Derbyshires replace the R.W.F. [Royal Welch Fusiliers] Also trial in Wu's case to be held by Barton, his decision to be carried out by the Railway authorities. We talked over the possibility of perh. moving the troops now on lines of communication next year to W.H.W. barracks, and perh. cutting down the legation guard by one company. The 25 artillery are not to be removed. He says H.M.G. are trying to arrange 1 Nov. for the evacuation of Shanghai, but he has been told to keep this date to himself. I told him abt. the secret note, with injunctions not to mention it to any one. Showed him the letter fr. Col. O'Sullivan in wch. he offered Dr. Dudgeon percentage on loot secured thro' information given by him, date 8 Novr. 1901.

13 [Sept.] Recd. teleg. granting leave of absence.

15 [Sept.] To Hart. He says Lessar has demanded fr. the Chinese that they shall not extend their postal system in Manchuria, & withdraw what they have already established, under pain of the evacuation not being carried out. He is disposed to tell the W.W.P. to yield rather than run any risk, but it perh. is only bluff. Lessar has said it wld. be all right if Hart wld. place a Russian at the head of the P.O. Some time ago great efforts were made to get him [to] appt. a Russian Comr. of Customs at Newchwang, but he has avoided that by keeping Bowra there.

Showed him Scott's desp. no. 74 abt. the Engl. school at Canton; he says he has nothing to do with the allocation of funds arising fr. the Maritime Customs.

16 [Sept.] Went to Casenave. Says that he has not answered yet abt. Ningpo land dispute, because

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Ratard is away on sick leave in Japan.

He has had news fr. Chêngtu of fighting in the streets.

Told him that Lessar had asked for certain things in connexion with extra-mural rlwy. & that I was not opposing them. His general he says has given his consent, and he is only waiting to be asked (? by the Chinese) in order to announce it to them.

22 “ Casenave came to talk abt. likin stations on Luhan rlwy. to wch. he has a strong objection. He is informed by the engineer-in-chief that the transport of goods fr. Manchuria by the Luhan has greatly decreased since the establisht. of a likin station at Fêngtai. I observed that it cld. only be goods coming over the passes fr. Shansi to Paoting or Chêngting; however the effect no doubt wld. be to incline countries interested in rlwy. development towards Mackay's scheme for abolition of likin. He referred to the Russian opposition to the scheme on the ground that their trade with Manchuria wld. suffer fr. the 10½% duty in place of likin.

Hu came at 4. Showed various telegs. fr. Yüan abt. Russians having urged the Govr. Genl. of Moukden to take over the railway on 21. Yüan had sent officials to Shanhaikwan & was proceeding there himself, as he was the proper person to take over. He said Lessar was to sign agreement in 7 articles about transfer of the rlwys. this afternoon, & they were preparing a note to inform me of this immediately on receipt of a teleg. fr. Yang stating that Shanhaikwan had been taken over. I reminded him that the consent of the Fr. Genl. had not yet been obtained by the W.W.P. If they wrote to me that this consent had been given, & that the Russians had fixed a date for handing over the rlwy. I wld. teleg. to Genl. Creagh to do the same, subject to clause 9 of our agreement of 29 April.

Met Hynd in the street, & told him what Hu said abt. handing over Shanhaikwan & that as soon as I recd. definite information I was going to do the same.

23 [Sept.] Note came last night, & I recd. translation this morning. It says nothing abt. French genl. & merely asks me to fix a date for transfer, enclosing copy of the agreement. Hu yesterday said Pr. Ch'ing was anxious that I shld. have the credit of handing over first. Telegd. to F.O. also to Genl. to ask whether it was true the Russians were handing over today at S.H.K.

25 [Sept.] Last night genl. telegd. recommending that we hand over S'haikwan at same time as the Russians, also a teleg. fr. Yüan to same effect & a visit fr. Hu, who insisted that I was bound by my promise of the day before yesterday to hand over rlwy., as soon as Russians. Told him the Waiwupu's note had greatly altered matters, as it obliged me to teleg. again to F.O., not had the W.W.P. obtained the Fr. general's consent in writing. He got very excited. I said I had again telegd. to F.O. this morning to urge for an answer. It was true that I had promised to hand over, but a certain amount of notice was required. Finally I agreed to

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tell Genl. Creagh to hand over S'haikwan, but as to the rest to await instructions, & he said he wld. be contented with that.

Afternoon Azevedo came and told me the result of his negotiations, & that he has abandoned delimitation for the present. He stayed an hour & a half, & after he was gone I put the whole story into a desp. to F.O.

26 [Sept.] To Tientsin with Phillips by the 7 o'clock train for the Coronation Ball. Put up at Genl. Creagh's. A guard of honour at the station. In the afternoon to the Sports, and to the ball in the evening.

27 " Called on Yüan. He says he has asked Conger to help him with a banking expert, and another man for a mint. Talked a great deal abt. the rlwy. with no result, as he expected me to give it back without waiting for instructions. I asked him to have the cases at Chichou of men detained at the Yamên on the charge of slaughtering Christians, wound up, and mentioned Pêng who [had] done good service in settling missionary cases, expressing hope that some employt. cld. be found for him. Also Col. Wei Chia-chi. He replied that he had denounced this man for receiving bribes fr. the brigands near Jêhol, and could not memorialize in his favour. But if the missionaries interested in his case were to address the W.W.P. & get me to forward a statement of his services in rescuing foreigners in 1900, the WWP wld. refer it to him, & he cld. then act.

In the afternoon in Genl. Creagh's launch with him & Hopkins to visit the cuts in the river wch. have straightened its course & enabled large steamers to come up to Tientsin.

28 " Yüan returned my call. We were talking abt. the handing over of Shanhaikwan station, wch. they said had not been done on our part, when Hu arrived, and began arguing with me that I was bound to hand it over. We were getting rather warm when a teleg. arrd. fr. F.O. authorizing my proceeding as I had proposed. I brought it down fr. my room where I had gone to decipher it, & said to Hu: You may cut short your arguments, & have the railway in 5 minutes. So that restored tranquillity & we agreed to hand it over tomorrow. After they had departed I sent off a teleg. to the Waiwupu to inform them, and that I wld. send official reply on my return to Peking.

29 [Sept.] Went down to Hopkins and endeavoured to spur him on to resist Laptew and to get hold of the promised U.S. concession.

He says he wants to have six months leave next spring, and talks about retiring. I protested, & told him the Treasury wld. object.

Dined with the Viceroy, and met a number of his officials. Genl. Creagh, Hopkins, C.A.R. Browne, Dunsterville, Drake-Brockman, Ed. Cousins, Mackintosh of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank, Wingate. Kinder had been invited but did not come, excusing himself on the ground of bad eyes.

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Mayers reminded Viceroy of the U.S. concession, & I mentioned it to Ad. Yeh.

30 [Sept.] Returned to Peking by early train.

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1 Oct. Monsignor Vay de Vaya, who had letters fr. Geo. Wyndham and [Buchanan?] Riddell came to stop. He is a youngish man, an ex-soldier, a sort of Fr. Abbé mondain, speaks English very well.

(contd.) Azevedo came to say that the W.W.P. now say they cannot sign his treaty with the concession clause in it, because Japanese tariff commissioners and U.S. Consul-genl. have objected. He showed me translations of telegrams Shêng had sent to W.W.P. So I promised to see Conger & Uchida to find out what this meant. C. said he had never known anything of Azevedo's negotiations, & imagined that he was trying to get something out of the Chinese wch. they were unwilling to concede; that all along he had aimed at forcing the colls: to help him by intimating that the 5% ad valorem cld. not be levied without Portugal's consent. (I seemed to hear the voice of Mumm.) As far as he knew the U.S. had no objection to Portugal having a rlwy. fr. Macao to Canton, but they were under the impression at Washington that the Port: were to get this in return for signing the tariff schedule, and as that was a mere consequence of the Protocol, it ought not to be made a means of bargaining for other things. He promised to teleg. to his Govt. but wld. like first to know exactly the contents of A's treaty, so as to be able to explain to his Govt.

Then to Uchida, to whom I told the main points of A's treaty. He said he knew nothing of the step taken by the Japse. Comr., & that if it had been taken under instructions fr. Tokio he wld. have been informed. He wld. teleg. at once to find out.

I went on to A. but he was out. Later he came to me & I told him the result. He asked me to write him a note to that effect, wch. I did in time for him to send a translation to the W.W.P. by the hands of his interpreter. I also telegd. to F.O. what had been done at S'hai in the way of interference.

2 Octr. A. wrote to tell me what an effect had been produced by my note to him. He said he wld. got to see Conger & explain to him.

Before this I had recd. a visit fr. Conger, who read to me the instruction sent to Goodnow. G. he said, relying on excellent information, had telegd. to Washington that Azevedo had demanded a rlwy. concession in return for adhering to the schedule of duties framed by the commissioners. I pointed out that this was incorrect. He asked me to get A. to show him his draft Treaty.

contd. Prince Tsai-chên and Sir Chentung Liang-ching came to call. The former talked with

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great volubility of his visit to England. What had struck him most was the goodness of the street pavement in London. He asked me to report that he had carried away lively feelings of gratitude for the kind reception he had recd. fr. the King & Queen. Abt. the row betw. the Chinese Minister & students at Tokio he was rather reticent; but he said that Japan was a good country for young Chinese students, as the cost was so much less than in Europe, and they had the advantage of knowing character in wch. books were written. Altogether there are some 600 or 700 Chinese in Japan, and more than half of these at Tokio.

Genl. & Mrs. Creagh and Lt. St. John A.D.C. arrived by the 2nd train to stop.

3 [Oct.] Hu came to see me abt. a teleg. fr. Yüan that the Chinese were being told by the Russians that unless they agreed to employ no Engl. on the line outside the wall, they wld. not restore the whole line, & he wanted my advice. I told him this was contrary to the Scott convention, & that he had better obtain the dft. proposed by the Russians wch. wld. enable me to make a row. I did not say where, but I shld. write to the Chinese Govt. & teleg. to F.O.

Ladies to Summer Palace for an audience of the E-D [Empress-Dowager]. Only Mrs. Mayers went fr. this Legation & Mrs. Creagh. Neither of the other three nor Mme. Casenave went, but there were 6 damsels fr. Tientsin who are stopping with Sir Robt. Mrs. Conger & her two spinster guests, Mme. Pokotiloff. Mme. v. Rosthorn did not go. E-D. was very gracious to Mrs. Creagh, asked her abt. the King's health, said she was delighted that the Coronation had gone off so well. Then she turned to Mayers & asked him how his wife was, and also where Campbell was. She was very cheerful & looked quite well.

4 “ In bed all day with a liver attack. T.R. Wynne came up to stay.

5 “ Swan came to show me a report fr. Beck that they had heard fr. F.O. that I had recd. instructions to tell Mansfield to complete the landline negotiations. I said I had nothing fr. F.O. & afterwards sent for Barr to produce my teleg. to F.O. in order to dun [pester] for a reply. As he did not come back, I went into Chancery & found that instructions had come fr. F.O. on Octr. 1. So at once telegd. to Mansfield to act & to inform Shêng. A piece of gross carelessness on the part of some one in the chancery.

Oct. 6. Creaghs & Wynne went off by the 11.30 train.

Oct. 7 Went to Lessar abt. Jardine's land at Hankow and made to him the proposal contained in the desp. fr. Fraser no. 56 of Sept. 20. Explained that Molchanof's land in the same predicament. He said he wld. like 24 hrs. to consider. I told him that if he approved of it, I wld. teleg. for instructions.

We talked abt. diplomatic audiences. I agreed with his view that we ought not to go with a rabble of non-diplomatic people and that the invitation shld. be extended to each Minister separately, not through the Doyen; that at the new year's audience each minister

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shld. be accompanied by his Secretary of Legation, a 2nd Secretary and his first or second interpreter; not a crowd of juniors.

As to the issue of bonds he thinks the Chinese will prob. delay until the end of the year, when the question of amortization arises, and will then dispute again the question of silver v. gold.

I remarked that possibly the death of the Viceroy might influence this question, as well as that of the Hwangpoo conservancy, as to both of wch. Liu Kunyi was particularly obstinate.

Incidentally I told him of the difficulties Hopkins had told me of Laptew refusing to admit a certain legal doctrine, or to agree even to its being considered by the arbitrator. He had heard of this, & of Laptew's desiring to submit it to a Chinese legal expert; but he promised to tell Laptew that it ought like everything else in dispute [to] be left to the arbitrator. As to Kou not behaving as agent, but leaving that work to L. instead, he thinks the agreement does not make it obligatory to have an agent but is only permissive.

Hillier came. We discussed the necessity of the FRR. agreeing together here with the Chinese on the form of the fractional bonds, wch. will bring the question of gold v. silver to a head, and to decide this it is necessary to have resort to arbitration.

Oct. 8 Went to Conger. On the question of submitting the question of gold v. silver as basis of the indemnity to arbitration. He agreed with my views, and said he wld. telegraph to Washington in the same sense. But as to the form of the bonds being agreed to here, his Govt. has always held and maintained that it must be done by the Commission of bankers as provided by the Protocol. At any rate we must wait to see the effect of the note I had drafted, wch. went in yesterday; if the Commission cannot come to a conclusion with the taotai, then the FRR may perh. have to do it.

It appears that after all Azevedo did not go to see him abt. his treaty, but all the same he telegraphed to Washington, as he did not wish that Goodnow's action shld. have the effect of hindering the Chinese from obtaining the adhesion of Portugal to the Protocol.

Hu came. Told him that Cousins was to be the repres've of the B. & C. Corpn. on railway board, & promised to send him a red note to that effect. Explained to him what they want as remuneration for their repres've & also for acting as agents in London, & he said he wld. tell Yüan that he had agreed to this.

Goltz came to say that he had yesterday by instruction of his govt. informed China that the German troops at Shanghai wld. evacuate on 1 Novr., provided all the other P.P. did the same, reserving their right to return if anyone else did there or anywhere else on the Yangtze. Casenave had done, or was doing the same. Uchida has no instructions as yet.

Hu told Mayers that Yüan has memorialized agst. the building of either

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Tientsin-Paotingfu or Peking-Kalgan line, as unnecessary.

9 Oct. Went to ask Uchida what instructions he had abt. S'hai evacuation, and repeated what I had been told by v.d. Goltz. He said the only thing he had was a teleg. fr. Tokio that Arco-valley had given a Note verbale to Komura mentioning the reserves & that no Power cld. be permitted to obtain any political or other concessions along the Yangtze in return for agreeing to evacuation. I said we had simply informed Chinese of our readiness to evacuate, without making any reservs [reservations] or imposing any conditions.

In ans. to his inquiry, I said that I had mentioned Bredon to Nat'ung as a nominee for the Chinese shipping representative on the Hwangpu Conservancy Board.

contd. To [E.G.] Hillier & told him result of my conversation with Conger of yesterday abt. the bonds & that the Note had already gone in; that U.S. were particular abt. carrying out the strict wording of the Protocol, & that consequently we cld. not discuss the fractional bonds here until it was shown that the Banker's commission and Taotai could not agree.

Told him of my talk with Hu yesterday and of my letter to Cousins repeating it & enclosing the exchange of Notes on 31 July.

As to interest on the bal'ce of the railway loan in London he strongly holds that it is available to pay the debts of the railway. He volunteered this.

He has recd. a summons to attend a meeting at wch. a member of the eastern municipal council is to be elected. I told him how things at present stand with respect to the project for a general municipality for the whole quarter, and stated my opinion that any part he might take in the doings of the meeting was entirely voluntary.

Casenave. Showed me draft of a Note he was addressing to Pr. Ch'ing abt. likin on the Luhan railway, proposing that instead of likin to be collected by customs officials, to wch. he objects, the rlwy. administration shld. be entrusted with the collection of a surtax on all goods forwarded by rail, so much percent on the freight. I told him I had merely reported home, and did not propose to ans. Prince Ch'ing's note at present.

S'hai evacuation. He disclosed confidentially that in addition to the reserves of wch. Goltz had told me, he had been instructed to act in conjunction with G. in declaring that no political or economic concessions in the Yangtze ought to be given to any Power in return for evacuation. This he did not like especially the word economic, & he had asked for fresh instructions. He reminded me of the rumours that had been spread as to Sir J. Mackay's visit to Nanking being for the purpose of getting permission to occupy Kiangyin[?] forts if necessary, wch. had been adopted by Knappe and the Germ. Legn., and had been communicated by the Germ. Embassy to the Fr. F.O. He thought it foolish that Goltz had not told me all. I replied by telling him what I had learnt from Uchida, and added that the discredit and dishonour of such insinuations wld. fall upon the authors.

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H.M.G. would pass them over in silence, as beneath their dignity.

Asked him abt. Ningpo and told him of my instructions to report on what I had done, and that Lord L. had informed Monson that he wld. leave the matter to be arranged at Peking. On this he said he wld. teleg. for an authority to settle with me over the head of Ratard, whom he wld. then not have to consult.

Mixed Court no instructions as yet from Paris. Azevedo came after lunch. I told him what Conger said yesterday. It appears that on his interpreter producing to Juiliang the Chinese translation of my private note of 1 Oct, J. seemed inclined to regard it as a forgery, but he then brought out the original, and Lienfang after reading it declared it to be authentic. They were then much relieved & said they wld. teleg. to Shêng not to mind. At the same time for various reasons he preferred to take out of his treaty the rlwy. concession article, and turn it into an exchange of notes, stipulating therein that the final contract shall be made with Shêng, who he says has promised indirectly to give him all he wants in regard to Lapa and the other islands. For Shêng is very anxious to have his treaty with Mackay adopted by other powers, & will gladly do anything for Portugal to obtain her adhesion. A. has told the Chinese that in March next some one will be on the spot to sign a commercial treaty. His own he says is to be signed on the 14th when he will give me a copy, and also of an agreement he is to make with Hart in regard to the admission of supplies of all sorts into Macao free of export duty, for wch. authority has been given to H. With the signature of his treaty and the other he will consider that he has achieved a great deal; wch. he certainly cld. not have done if he had acted on the absurd instructions with wch. he started, namely to obtain 1° war indemnity for a war not carried on by Portugal 2° the withdrawal of the customs cordon without giving a quid pro quo 3° the cession of Lapa the islands and a portion of Heung-shan.

吳重意 Wu Chunghsi, Futai of the province came to call.

Gaiffier later on; he said he shld. be glad [Margin: contd.] if Belgium wld. adhere to the Mackay treaty, but she cld. not afford to take the first step.

10 Oct. Had Cowie here to ask him confidentially abt. rumours affecting little Cox, and made a note of what he said. This was in consequence of a letter fr. the general wch. he suggested I might show to Cowie.

阮添疇 Wee Theam Tew a Chinese fr. Singapore who says he and his father were born there was introduced by Cowie, to talk abt. the Kalgan line. He says Chang Yen mao and Wang Wen-shao sent for him to ask whether he cld. raise money in Singapore for a railway to Kalgan. They said China had not the money, and the Russians who were pressing them wd. certainly insist on doing it themselves if they did not. But there was an agreement that it must be built by China herself, with her own money. Now he could easily get the money

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in Singapore, and Chang Yen mao said the Govt. would give a guarantee of 5%. If he got the concession wd. he be supported? For otherwise the Singapore Chinese wd. simply lose their money.

I said I wd. think over it, and if I had anything to tell him, wd. send to him thro' Cowie. Teleg'd to Fr[ank]. Swettenham to ask about him.

13 Oct. E. Cousins called. He had seen Hu who pretended to him that tho' out of pocket expenses wld. be payable, the rlwy. agreement of 29 April precluded anything else, and that he had not promised to do this. I said this was a lie, for Nat'ung & Hu had agreed with me that they wld. do this after the rlwy. was handed over. He says Hu has reverted to the clause, inserted by us & struck out by him, providing for his receiving 4000 taels a month; H. says he wld. have to divide with Yuan whatever he gets. Told Cousins the contents of my letter to him of the other day, wch. he had not yet recd. & of Kinder's teleg. abt. necessity of reappointing foreign staff outside the Wall. C. says Hu has telegd. for Kinder to come here.

Wen[t] to Conger. Indemnity. He telegd. the same to Washington as I did abt. the necessity of deciding the question of silver v. gold, but had no reply.

Mixed Court Rules. Told him France was blocking the way.

To Prince Ch'ing.

Manchuria. He said that as far as Chinchou had been handed over, but not all the territory they had expected to receive. They had written to Lessar & sent Lien-fang to him, but he said he was too ill to attend to business & referred to them to Mirsky. They had not yet telegd. to their Ch. d'Aff. at Petersburg. Asked abt. Newchwang he said the Russians had promised to surrender it at the same time as Tientsin, but when recently applied to again, replied that the plague must be stamped out first. Evidently the military did not pull with Lessar.

Yangtze viceroys. I could not get anything definite abt. succession to Liu and Chang, but spoke strongly in favour of Tuan-fang.

Shanghai evacuation. Prince said Germ. Fr. Ch. d'Aff. & Jap. Minr. had written saying they were ready to evacuate. Some had mentioned 1 Novr. None had made any conditions. Asked if none had said anything abt. re-evacuation, he replied in the negative!

Hwangpoo conservancy. He said they had asked the last Viceroy to nominate, and he had expressed doubts whether the foreign merchants wld. pay the taxes. I said that of course the Govt. could consult Liu abt. the choice, but they must make the appointment acc. to the Protocol. We had not taken any notice of the teleg. fr. Liu wch. the W.W.P. had forwarded to us, for some of my colls: were rather annoyed by the language he had used, intimating that the F.R.R were using 'empty words' when they said enforcing payt. of the

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taxes was their affair. Prince finally said that when Chang Chihtung got there, they would telegraph to him again on the subject.

I spoke also of the fractional bonds, & said that acc. to the Protocol, the exact language of wch. some colls: held ought to be adhered to, the details were to be arranged betw. the Bankers' commission and the Chinese delegates. Hence the FRR could not furnish the information asked for. As soon as the WWP informed us that they had instructed the Taot'ai to confer with the Bankers' Commission the For. Govts. wld. send instructions to their delegates.

Kalgan rlwy. I had heard rumours that Chang-yi & Wang Wênshao had taken up this question & were looking for money, some said in Tientsin others at Singapore. I did not think this was wise, fr. a political point of view. Pr. replied that the W.W.P. had put their veto on this, as on many other proposed rlwys. China intended in future to construct her own rlwys. for commercial purposes. It was said that a line to Kalgan wld. benefit Russian commerce, wch. wld. come that way. I said that other things wld. come besides goods. It was merely a private spec. [speculation] of Chang-yi, he rejoined. I asked abt. rlwy. fr. Amoy to join the Yüeh-han, but could get nothing out of him. As to the Tonqing-Yünnan rlwy. he said the final contract was not yet signed.

Peking Syndicate's rlwy. He had recd. my Note, & sent a teleg. to Shêng, reminding him that the bonds for the Luhan having been issued there cld. be no further objection.

Garden Party at the Summer Palace. I told him, in ans. to his inquiry whether I should go there, that I could not in any case start before 8 o'clock; that he said wld. be time enough if one drove. The question of uniform or plain dress he said must be decided by the FRR.

13 contd. To Uchida & told him what Pr. Ch'ing had said abt. evacuation & Manchuria. On the latter he said the Prince had given him a different acct.

14 [Oct.] Cockburn to WWP. Lienfang admitted that they had no letter fr. Uchida abt. evacuation, but maintained that Casenave & v.d. Goltz had not added anything beyond a mere intimation of their willingness to do this in Nov.

15 [Oct.] To v. d. Goltz, who admitted everything. He cld. not conceive why Pr. Ch'ing shld. not have told me the truth (evidently he had suggested that I shld. not be informed[]). It seems certain that the Germans sounded the Chinese before Eckardstein wrote to Lord Lansdowne on 7 Oct. & got their acceptance.

Azevedo came to say that he is to sign this afternoon, the WWP not being ready yesterday with the comparison of the texts. He is jubilant, and thanked me for the good advice and assistance I had given him. He intends to start homewards tomorrow morning. He says Beau suggested to him his little objection! & the draft amendments to mixed Ct.

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rules of 28 June.

To Casenave, who said he had sent in his Note, but to his surprise had not recd. a reply accepting the conditions. He was not instructed to teleg. to Viceroy & did not do so, as he objects to treating direct with provincial officials, and so favouring decentralisation. He repeated that abt. 2 months ago the Germ. govt. informed his own so officially that they cld. not doubt it that we were trying to get right of occupying Chinkiang & Kiangyiu forts. This was started by Knappe, & he was writing to his Govt. pretty strongly on the question. I said I had regard[ed] the story as of such an absurd nature that I had not even told Lord L. in a private letter. Goltz had confessed to me abt. the evacuation conditions, I said, & had told me he was not allowed at first to tell me of No. 3.

He says his Govt. has sent him instructions abt. the tariff agst. wch. he is protesting vehemently. Ratard without instruction agreed to duties on Fr. wines with wch. the people of Bordeaux are highly dissatisfied. I told him abt. morphia duty. That I supposed every merchant cld. pay acc. to the tariff or at 5% as pleased him, so long as any one Power has not signed.

He has got permission for young Rothschild to go to the Imperial garden party. I said I wld. not do this for anyone.

He also said he was agst. demanding indemnities for the murder of missionaries & his Govt. had refused altogether to claim them. I said that was entirely my own opinion, except where the murdered missionary was a soutien de famille [breadwinner].

Chên-tung Liang-chên came yesterday. He said [Prince] Tsai-chên had presented a memorial to the throne of observations on his journey [to England]. He had tried to interest Junglu in education abroad, but the latter replied that the students who came back from foreign countries were 無父無君 ! [fatherless and leaderless] Chên-tung says it is currently reported that Kuei-chun of Ssü chuan is to get Wuchang Viceroyalty. I talked to him abt. the absurdity of the Waiwupu quoting to us the opinions of the Viceroy and opium syndicates, when what we wanted was the views of the Chinese Govt. He replied that no one in the Waiwupu wld. take any responsibility on his shoulders, & lamented the attacks on Ch'ü Hung-chi, and the slip he had made abt. the likin proclamation. He is very glad to get away for three years from the Foreign Board.

17 [Oct.] Went to Conger before dinner and told him my reason for not going to the Summer Palace tomorrow, the note fr. Prince Ch'ing saying that China had done all she could in the Chên-chou affair. He cordially agreed.

At 9 o'clock Tsêng came with a message from Prince Ch'ing to beg me either to go, or to put it on the ground of illness. I said I could do neither. I had already informed H.M.G. of my intention, so it was on record. He wanted to withdraw Pr. Ch'ing's letter. I said that

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could not be done, but I wld. not refer to it again in conversation or correspondence. The best thing for him to do, since he must know the terms Fraser had proposed in the name & with the authority of H.M.G. was to get a decree ordering the Govr. of Hunan to comply. In truth Pr. Ch'ing ought to have shown him his letter to me & mine to him, before sending him on such an errand. If it had been possible, I wld. have been glad to let him carry back a favourable reply. He said Pr. Ch'ing wld. have a mauvais quart d'heure tomorrow. I remarked that I regretted it, because until quite recently our relations had been of a most friendly & confidential kind, but on this affair & another I shld. have to speak very seriously to him in a few days. I asked who of the Ministers were at the S.P. [Summer Palace] Ans. All but Lien-fang, also the others of the Grand Council. I said it wld. have been easy today to get a decree out in conformity with the wishes of H.M.G. I offered him another cigarette, wch. he declined, & then went off, saying he shld. telephone to the Palace. He talked a great deal abt. the necessity of helping the E-D. in her endeavours to cultivate friendly relations with the Dipl. Body, to wch. I assented, observing that we had done all that was possible in that line, entirely shutting our eyes to all that was said by Chinese as well as foreigners regarding the part H.M. [Her Majesty] took in the troubles of 1900. He also urged that this was not an official reception, & that disagreement with the Chinese Govt. abt. business affairs ought not to make it impossible for me to go. For the reasons stated above, I did not agree with this.

He had been sent for in a great hurry to the Summer Palace to receive his instructions, & had been delayed an hour on his return before he cld. obtain admittance.

PRO 30/33 16/6 starts here.

18 Oct. Morrison came at my request, and I told him the reasons why I had refused to go to the Summer Palace today, not of course for publication, but that he might be correctly informed.

Liang Chên came to say that Ts'ai-chên was sorry for the reason that necessitated his dinner being postponed, but hoped the clouds wld. soon clear off. L.C. had gone to Sir R. Hart to ask what was the reason, thinking that it might be either the Portuguese Treaty, by wch. they got a rlwy. fr. Macao to Canton, wch. perh. might be considered a rival to the Canton-Kowloon line, or Thibet, but Sir R. told him it was neither of these, and he then came to the conclusion that it was Chênchou murders. So I told him what had happened in regard to the whole matter, the negligence of the military officers sent there specially to protect the missionaries, and the apparent apathy of the Govr. He remarked that Wang had told him what I had said to the Ministers on 28 Aug. abt. the Govr. in my usual mild way, & they seemed not to have been impressed by it.

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Kinder came. He took away with him the papers abt. E. Statham's claims for salary unpaid. He says C.A.R. Browne has retained a sum of \$300,000 of rlwy. funds, necessary for settling up various things. The Chinese, Hu, refused to appt. an accountant to audit the accounts; they cannot get the documents fr. Browne. Bernacchi is still kept on. I advised him to move Ed. Cousins to take these matters up.

Loudon came to say goodbye before leaving for a visit to Japan. We talked abt. my reasons for not going to the Palace today. I told him we should insist on our terms, and the Chinese wld. have to give way.

20 [Oct.] Swan brought the text of Gt. Northern new agree[men]t wch. contains a great deal in excess of what is being given to the Eastern Extension. With help of Townley, I telegd. to Mansfield that I thought we ought to have a sort of m.f.n. clause in the shape of my revised clause providing for equal treatment, & saying that he need not be in a cast-iron hurry because *beati possidentes* ["blessed are the possessors"].

To Prince Ch'ing, with whom were Na-t'ung and Lien fang to tease him abt. the lie he told me on the 13th as to contents of Germ. & Fr. notes on evacuation of S'hai, and to insist on our terms as to Chênchou murders. What passed I have recorded in desp. [despatches] to F.O.

21 [Oct.] Kahn came abt. budget commission for legn. quarter. I said I cld. not join in person, but wld. delegate Townley à titre d'information, because we cannot join until the two conditions I have laid down are accepted 1° cadastral plan authenticated by signatories of the protocol 2° recognition of the glacis as being common property, as proposed by me in a letter I wrote last year.

Uchida came to ask whether I knew anything abt. loan of 14,000,000 taels fr. Russo-Chinese bank to China for the purposes of constructing Peking-Kalgan rlwy. I told him I had heard fr. S'hai of a loan of 40,000,000 fr. for the construction of the line from Taiyuan-fu to Cheng-ting-fu by the R.C. bank wch. had a concession for it since 1898, and this was corroborated by a letter fr. Shêng to a friend of mine interested in rlwy. matters (Geo. Jamieson) saying that the arrangements had been made. Told him also of the projects of Wei and Shêntunho, & added that I did not think the Chinese wld. do it at present. My conversation with Prince Ch'ing of 13 Octr. repeated to him. Uchida said he did not think the private teleg. his Govt. had recd. was authentic, nor did they.

He asked me abt. my observations to Ch'ing on the subject of his duplicity, as to wch. he had recd. copy of a Teleg. given to Hayashi by Bertie, so I told him what passed yesterday. Also abt. my not going to the Summer Palace on the 18th on acct. of Chênchou affair remaining unsettled, so I told him exactly how things stand.

Liang-chêng came to me on the part of Prince Ch'ing, after having been shown all the

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corresp'ce by Nat'ung & Lien-fang, about the evacuation of Shanghai, to say that it really was a slip of his memory when he told me that the notes [were] fr. Goltz and Casenave. The way things are done is this; a sort of précis is prepared, & that is all the heads look at. Of course Prince ought to have read the whole of the notes, but if he did he forgot their contents. He had only seen the Chinese translations accompanying the Fr. & Germ. notes, wch. languages he is not conversant with, and they speak of military, navigation & commerce 軍政、船政、商政. The reply merely declared that such things belonged to an independent nation. What the Prince had charged him was to get a suggestion fr. me as to the sort of ans. he might write, wch. wld. give satisfaction to the Br. Govt.

I replied that as I had said to the Prince yesterday I was only charged by H.M.G. to deliver a note to the Prince, not to prescribe the form of reply. Of course when the Prince assured me it was only a slip of his memory, I must accept it, but it was remarkable that Lienfang was troubled with the same defective memory. It was difficult to explain to a business-like man like Lord Lansdowne how the responsible minister could possibly forget the contents of such an important document, and moreover the fact that the Vice-minister forgot it also. It wld. appear to him quite incredible.

He said he had asked Lienfang, who said he was quite aware that the Prince was wrong but in his position he did not dare to set him right.

I replied that nothing was easier [than] for Lien-fang to set the Prince right, if he knew this, and I could not understand how he failed to tell him. Instead of doing so, he repeated the Prince's statement.

Chên-tung replied that of course Lien fang was wrong, but he wld. prob. allege that he did not dare to disclose the contents of notes received from other Legations. Perh. his real motive was that he had got an idea that if the Fr. & Germ. asked for assurances, we might also demand something. But he could assure me that the answer of the W.W.P. was of a most innocent nature, and could not injure us. He was aware that some years ago China undertook to us to not grant anything on the Yangtze to another Power, and now the others had obtained similar assurances. But could I not help Prince Ch'ing to frame such a reply as wld. satisfy H.M.G.

I said that it was impossible for me to say what they wld. be satisfied with. In the first place there had been concealment from us of the language used by the other 2 Powers in relation to a matter that affected us also. (He suggested that I had seen the letters of Goltz and Casenave, to wch. I replied in the negative.) Germany and France respectively pretended to exclusive privileges in Shantung, Yhuangtung[?] & Kwangsi. I did not see how H.M.G. cld. possibly be satisfied with less than the annulment of the notes exchanged, or the extension of the same provisions to the whole of China. But I cld. not

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say.

He suggested that they might show me their ans. to the Notes, to wch. I said that perh. if China communicated everything quite frankly, that might do away with the impression that had been created of want of frankness. The reply of China wld. not be enough. We shld. want to see the actual Fr. & Germ. text wch. wld. be published by these govts. if need arose, not the Chinese translations.

After some more talk he said he must go to the Summer Palace tomorrow to see Prince Ch'ing, and tell him the result of the conversation. This other conversation was abt. Chênchou. It appears that Nat'ung told him I had scarcely mentioned the subject yesterday, and affected to treat it with nonchalance. But he had warned them it was more serious than they thought, and he felt so himself after his last talk with me. I rejoined that it was indeed serious, and they must not suppose because my manner was quiet that I meant nothing when I said so.

He told me a story he had from a nephew of Chang Yinhwan ¹ who accompanied his uncle to Kashgaria. Yinhwan told his nephew that at the time of the lease of Port Arthur, Li Hung-chang, Wêng Tung-ho and Pi Shia li each recd. 500, 000 taels. Pokotiloff came to Yinhwan and offered him the same sum, wch. he refused, and threatened to turn him out of the house. But now said he to his nephew you see to what a pass I have come in serving the Emperor. I might have taken that money and then I shld. have been much better off. He prefaced the whole story by telling his nephew that he had often been accused of corruption. MacDonald said Chentung had spoken to him abt. Li being bribed, but he wld. never have suspected it of Wêng Tung-ho. Of course they never got the money, of wch. only interest was paid to them, and that came out of the pockets of the Chinese Govt. wch. had contributed a large amount of capital to the Russo-Chinese bank. He also said the Prince had sent him rather than Tsêng to me, as he wished the nature of his errand to be kept confidential.

A new orderly named Joseph Pike of 2nd Derbyshires came on duty, and David Evans was taken off yesterday. I gave him and John Mole the other R.W.F. orderly each \$50, and I heard today that Evans had been drunk and disorderly.

22 [Oct.] Bourne the C.J. [Chief Justice] arrived on a visit to the Townleys fr. Tientsin, where he has come on circuit.

Morrison came to ask whether I could tell him what were the objections to the German conditions wch. I was said to have objected to. He had a teleg. fr. [J.O.P.] Bland asking for information. Told him it was still betw. the Govts. & I cld. not disclose the conditions. He says my staying away fr. the Summer Palace has been highly approved of by the

¹ The diplomat Chang Yinhuan was the first Chinese to be knighted by Great Britain.

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correspondents, by Conger & Casenave.

Hillier came abt. some claims, the authority to receive wch. is not in order. Agreed that he shld. ask Hopkins to undertake sitting upon Agassiz, who represents himself as Director of the Belgian Co. Ltd. He says Yüan & Hu want to send 2000 men to put down brigands at Kupantze, & the Manchurian agreement forced them to apply to Lessar for permission, wch. has been delayed. Told Morrison this, & said it was the fault of the Chinese for giving way in negotiating the Convention, & afterwds. for not arranging no. of soldiers and police in anticipation of the evacuation.

Casenave came. He asked how abt. S'hai. I told him of the reply to Germany by Lord Lansdowne, wch. I thought had caused it to be hung up. But acc. to N.C.D.N. the Germans had recd. a teleg. postponing it on acct. of Liu's death. He remarked that it was rather difficult for the Germs. as they had got the Chinese Govt. & Viceroy's consent to conditions. I said it was their fault, for having spoken to Chinese & got their consent before addressing us. He said that it all lay at Knappe's door. I observed that perh. the Germans did not want to go, as a year ago Mumm had told me they were much annoyed by what had been said in parliament and the press abt. Germany having no right to put troops there. He said he supposed my difficulties with Prince Ch'ing referred not to that but to Hunan missionary murders. [Margin. Note. He had seen teleg. of 21 fr. London that I had protested to Prince Ch'ing. I suppose so, at least, for it was in a S'hai paper of 22 & must have telegd. to him. 31/10.] I replied that the Chinese were delaying acceptance of our terms, & I had to protest to the Prince, & then on his speaking of the audience of the 18th, I told him what had led to the refusal, how the Chinese had gone out of the way to say they could do nothing more &c. He agreed c. me that the fault of these murders lay with the officials & gentry. In Ssuchuan the leader of the Boxers was the son of the Yiehtai[?], who with another official had welcomed there a provincial official of Kiangsu exiled for his conduct in 1900. The Ssuchuan boxers came originally fr. Shantung whence they had been expelled by Yüan. After crossing Shansi & Shensi, whence they were successively expelled, they got to Chêngtu. The governor Kueichun was an old and feeble man, incapable of controlling those round him.

Ningpo told him I had to report on the efforts I had made to get this local question settled here, so he promised to teleg. again to Paris. He agreed that the real question was whether the Chinese who sold the land to B[isho]p Reynaud was the legal owner or not.

23 [Oct.] Goltz came to give me a para[graph] fr. the draft final agreement for the German portion of the Tientsin[-]Chinkiang line, wch. protects the interests of the B[ritish] & C[hinese] Corp[oratio]n.

He asked abt. S'hai. I told him I had no news except of Ld. L[ansdowne]'s reply to

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Eckardstein of the 14th, & gave him the contents.

Chênchou; he discussed. I told him that the provincial authorities objected to the punish[men]t of officials we had demanded. He expressed the opinion that it might happen to any Legn. to have its friendly relations interrupted at any moment by a similar event, but he thought the Chinese wld. give way.

24 [Oct.] McCormick came. Told him the real facts abt. our not going to the Summer Palace. He said that every one approved of my action.

Lunched with Gallina, supposed to be farewell.

25 “ The spy who calls himself Count Suchekonneltz Mednezyński with a close cut beard, pointed nose and a bad left eye, who offered information about Siam to Sir H. Blake, Tower, Wingate & finally sold his so-called secrets to Fenton the Reuter correspondent at Tientsin in Feb. last, called on Townley and said he could give us a great deal abt. Russian plans agst. Japan and England. So I had him in, and he seemed to me a fraud. His object he said was to get a passage to England, where he could put his information before the Auth: I came to the conclusion that he is a great liar. Townley and Cockburn were present. Told Ducat in the evening that I had seen him.

26 [Oct.] Natung came on behalf of Prince Ch'ing. He had on the 20th asked me to delay sending in a Note abt. Chênchou till he shd. have time to teleg. to Chang Chih-tung and get an answer fr[om] him. As several days had elapsed the Prince thought courtesy required that he shld. come and tell me the result. Chang now asks them to get me to instruct the consul to give a slight reduction on the terms. Had I heard from Fraser. Would I tell him whether the case was to be settled here or at Hankow.

I replied that the terms were those of H.M.G. and were put forward thro' Mr. Fraser, not by him. I then read to him Lord Lansdowne's teleg. No. 275, wch. I had been instructed to repeat to Fraser, wch. left no doubt as to the views of H.M.G. If the Viceroy found himself unable to agree to these, the case wld. prob. be removed to Peking, and the Note of wch. I had delayed the sending wld. be the opening of the case here. In that case H.M.G. wld. say the same things thro' me as I had just told him they had said through Fraser.

He asked whether there had been any discussion betw. the Viceroy & Fraser, to wch. I ans[were]d that they had not seen each other, but in reply to Fraser's communication of the teleg. already read, the V-R had sent his secretary Liang with a message, wch. had been telegraphed to London. He asked whether I had expressed any opinion to H.M.G. I said not, for any opinion of mine was unlikely to change the view of H.M.G., and besides it wld. merely cross the reply wch. was prob. already on its way. Chang Chih-tung's message had already been answered in advance by the teleg. I had read to him.

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Na. inquired whether the message sent thro' Fraser wld. receive a reply. I said yes, but H.M.G. had already heard the same arguments several times from both Govr. & Viceroy, and the reply wld. prob. be rather of a peremptory nature.

Na again inquired whether I was to deal with the case, to wch. I answered that I shld. prob. receive instructions to settle it here, and on their receipt I shld. address myself in writing to the Prince without delay.

He asked whether I wld. not teleg. my opinion on Chang Chih-tung's reply to Fraser. I said that I had already sent to F.O. Prince Ch'ing's remarks of the 20th, so they were already in possession of them.

Na wished to know whether I could not ask H.M.G. to give way, but I said that they knew Chinese affairs much better than I did, being conversant with all that had happened for the last 40 years, while I had only 2 yrs. of China. They necessarily had a much wider outlook on affairs, and if I presumed to offer advice to them, they might possibly regard it as out of place.

He asked about Expectant Taot'ai Ts'ai. I said I had communicated with Mr. Fraser, and thought that the requirements of his case would be met by a reprimand and the deprivation of his button.

I understood him to assent to this. Na said he was returning to the Summer Palace tomorrow morning, and hopes that if I see signs of H.M.G. yielding, I will help in that direction.

I replied that I would communicate the words and tone of H.M.G.'s reply to them, but I must ask the Prince not to be surprised if H.M.G. held to their previous declaration.

He then talked a good deal abt. the S'hai evacuation question, and I took notes wch. I afterwards turned into a desp. to F.O.

I gathered fr. subsequent talk that Chang Chih-tung is almost certain to be confirmed at Nanking, and that they have not yet made up their minds as to his successor at Wuchang. I hinted that Tuan-fang was a good man, young & energetic, and that Kuei-chun ought to be shelved for good. Tsên he says reports that the Ssuchuan troops are useless, and that the rebels are a badly armed rabble, of whom he hopes to get the better with about 1000 men whom he has got from Shansi. I told him I had heard the son of the Mehtai [Mihtai?] was the ringleader of the so-called Boxers.

27 [Oct.] Conger came. Cannot tell me any news abt. Newchwang – whether it is likely to be evacuated before the winter.

Casenave to say rumour reports we have made a naval demonstration at Hankow abt. the Chênchou affair. Replied the thing is impossible because of want of water on the way, but evidently public opinion demanded it of us!

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The WWP [Wai Wu Pu] secretary Ku [Chao-hsin] brought us the original Germ. & Fr. notes and copies of the replies. We transcribed the first two and gave them back.

Casenave also complained that Kinder had not behaved nicely to the Luhan people abt. a line wch. the Court propose to make to the Western tombs from Jung ling tien. He had gone there without mentioning his errand, which was to make a survey of the proposed line, & wrote fr[om] there saying 'as I have already informed you'. They are furious, because they had offered to make the survey, to wch. the Chinese had replied that they wld. do it themselves with their own engineers. I replied that I had heard something abt. this proposed line a few days ago, and that Kinder had been stopped at Tientsin on his way back to Tongshan by the Viceroy, but nothing further, & had thought no more abt. it. To me it seemed a waste of money. I also told him what Goltz had said abt. Germ. prolongation from Têchou to Cheng-ting-fu being granted, and also that acc[ording] to another report Yüan Shih-kai talked of building a line to Paoting fr. Têchou. What with the no. of people who assumed to have auth[ority] in rlwy. matters, it seemed difficult to know who can give valid concessions. Dined with Uchidas. He brought Matsui Keishirō, who comes fr. London, and is to take charge during U's absence, a young man of 29.

30 [Oct.] Morrison came. He evidently knows a good deal abt. the Fr. & Germ. notes. I corrected some of his information and confirmed others, but wld. not tell him what I had said to Pr. Ch'ing. He believed the story of the demonstration at Hankow, till I informed him it was untrue. [J.O.P.] Bland has telegd. home the Russo-Chinese bank agreement for the Taiynan-fu line. He told me that Cazenave came to see him on his return, & told him that on receiving the Kiang-yin story from Goltz, he telegd. it to Paris. I said "but I contradicted it to him". Yes, replied M. He was very sorry that he did not ask you before telegraphing.

31 [Oct.] Natung came to ask whether I had any answer from the F.O. abt. S'hai, told him there had been scarcely time to get a reply as the telegs. were very long, and only left here on the morning of the 29th. Asked ab[ou]t omission of a sentence in their first reply to Germany, and he said Ku had made the copies, wch. were prob. correct. The intention at least had been to send the same reply to both Fr[ance] & Germ[any]. He said that Chang Chih tung had sent a written letter to the German consul-general, in wch. he pointed out the undesirability of giving an engagement abt. the Yangtze provinces alone, as that wld. enable the inference to be drawn that in other parts of the empire such exclusive privileges could be granted or asked. I said I shld. like to have a copy of this. The last telegs. fr. Chang & notes to the two Ch. d'Aff. were dated he thought 25 Oct. He supposed I had repeated to Fraser what I said to the Prince on the 20th, and that Fr[aser]

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had talked to the V-R. I said I had in fact instructed F. to do this.

He then talked abt. Chênchou. They were not yet ready to answer my note, wch. they had telegd. to Chang. If I wld. agree to diminish the punishment of the military officer whose gates were shut fr. decapitation to Chan chien hou the matter could be settled at once. I said that my reiterated instructions fr. Lord L[ansdowne] were not to agree to that. He then said what they wished to do was to instruct the govr. to memorialize the list of punishments instead of memorializing on my Note, & that then a decree wld. issue. I observed that my Note left it to the Chinese Govt. to award the punishments voluntarily. I had not made a demand not asked for a reply in a fixed no. of days. It was free to act. If the Govt. memorialized & the decree came out according to my note, then I shld. be satisfied. It was made quite clear that the memorial was to come from the govr. & not fr. Chang, but I understood the instructions wld. go thro' Chang to the Govr. I said it was certain that Chang had been informed by Fraser that I had taken the matter up and that he had nothing more to do with it. Na[t'ung] also said he had consulted a foreign friend, who said the punish[men]ts were well deserved, & recommended compliance. I said it would be found in the end that severity on the present occasion wld. be a blessing to all those that came after us, and expressed my regret that similar severity had not been exercised forty years ago, wch. wld. have saved many lives.

I think that the Admiral's visit to Shanghai has done good, and that the Chinese have prob. taken the alarm.

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3 Novr. Nat'ung came to ask that [?] if I heard anything abt. S'hai. I said that Lord L[ansdowne] was prob. away fr. town on Sunday, and that no answer had come. But the Germ. Min[ister] had on the 30 Oct. told Japse. minister that Germany having got satisfactory assurances fr. China was ready to withdraw as soon as she cld. make preparations for moving her troops.

Chênchou, he said the last phrase of the edict meant the indemnity of £10,000 and the erection of the stone tablet. I forgot to say anything abt. Ts'ai Taot'ai. We agreed that the Chênchou case was now settled. Na said he had found some difficulty in persuading the higher Powers that this measure of severity was necessary. Telegd. to F.O., Fraser & Admiral. In the whole of this business I have never shouted nor used strong language, nor even hinted at coercion. Other people have obliged us by doing this, as e.g. Uchida, who acc[ording] to Matsui was consulted by Nat'ung, & told him the punish[ments] were well deserved & advised compliance. Genl. Yamane was present.

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When Na excused the military official by saying that his own life was in danger, Yamane retorted that soldiers were bound to run risks in doing their duty, wch. seemed quite a new light to Na!

4 [Nov.] [British consul at Tientsin L.C.] Hopkins came.

5 [Nov.] Hu came. Said he had been all the way to Yingkow and 70 li beyond Chinchou on the extramural rlwy., and found the track is [in] as good order as before the troubles, but the workshops at Chinchou and Yingkow had been almost denuded of machinery, whether by Boxers or Russians he could not say. I admitted that these losses shld. be made good out of the extra-mural indemnity. The Russians have not yet fixed the amount they are to receive for restoring & maintaining the line, but they now talk of 2 000 000 rubles. They have an accumulation of customs duties at Newchwang, and will pay themselves out of that. As to giving up Newchwang, he thought a suggestion of mine that they would stick to it at least till they got all the money they require very likely to turn out true.

As to intramural line, he wanted to know what wld. be done. I said that there was a letter fr. Cousins to wch. I had replied that only the restoration of the line to the status quo ante could be allowed for, not the arrears of pay due, wch. the Administration had to pay. He understood this. I also said we had not received cash from China, and therefore could not pay cash; if we got bonds we could pay bonds.

He talked abt. Cox, and explained that he could only give him a letter, not a written contract, if he was in the employ of the octroi. I said that if he wrote me such a letter, Cox could get leave to remain on.

Tientsin-Paoting line. Showed him the last note fr. the Waiwupu, and said I cld. easily answer it, that the Chin. Govt. had agreed to carry out Agreement B and that meant such a line would not be allowed, like the Lu-ko-chiao, Paoting line, [to] pass into other hands. He said Na was 'most anxious' that I shld. let the matter rest where it is, as he had got into disfavour abt. Chênchou and was afraid he might suffer on this account if I continued to ans[wer]. I told him my idea was to send copies of the corresp'ce to Yüan & himself, & answer the W.W.P.'s letter that way. Hu says Kinder is agst. this line, and that there is no danger of its being made, but I do not trust this.

Line to Western tombs. Kinder is surveying it. The Fr. & Belgians are protesting that they ought to make it, as it is a branch of the Lu-han. I said that the Chinese cld. reply that by their agreement with us, as it is within 80 miles of a portion of the Pek[in]g S.L.K. line, it has to be made by China & remain in the hands of the Administration.

Asked him abt. Germ. promise of a line fr. Tê-chou to Chengtingfu. After shuffling a good deal he said it was given by the W.W.P. I remarked on this that Germans, Fr., Belgians & Russians could get lines anywhere, while we were still refused the Hwai-pu

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line. He laughed & said that after our success in Hunan we cld. get anything. He also said he had heard at Tientsin when dining with Yüan that I had refused to go to the Summer Palace, & they were much pleased.

8 [Nov.] Bohlen came. After talking abt. the indemnity & the likelihood there wld. be a shortage of taels at the end of the year, he asked abt. S'hai. I said I had no news, except that Germany had informed F.O. that having obtained general assurances fr. China, they were ready to evacuate. He replied that Goltz had heard fr. Berlin that they were quite willing to accept the extension to the whole of China mentioned in the 2nd note fr. the W. W. P. I said we had not got any such assurance fr. Berlin. He observed that it was much to be regretted that G.B. & Germany wch. had worked so well together during the last 2 years shld. not see eye to eye in this matter, to wch. I responded that the Chinese had been applied to for these assurances without our being told; also there was a Berlin teleg. insinuating that the reason of our holding back now was that we wished to get something for ourselves, and that sort of language was calculated to produce a bad effect. He replied that this was a press teleg. to wch. I [said] that no doubt the writer of the teleg. went abt. asking for information, & telegraphed the sense of what he heard said.

Hillier came. As to intramural indemnity he thinks the easiest way is to take the valuation of the line before the outbreak & present valuation, allowing for depreciation, & say that was the amount. This wld. be much simpler than going into minute calculations as to what had been done in the way of repairs &c. by the B.R.A. I asked whether such a valuation existed, & tho' he replied prob. there was one, I greatly doubt it. I also said H.M.G. cld. of course not give anything but what it received, i.e. bonds at par.

9 [Nov.] Dubail called. Talked about the House-tax arbitration. Br. Ss. [British subjects] tried to bring in the income tax, and MacD. was disposed to back them, but as this was evidently wrong, D. proposed a formula wch. restricted the arbitration.

S'hai. He says the Fr. Govt. heard fr. here that Mackay had proposed permanent stationnaire at Chinkiang mouth of the Grand Canal as well as the occupation of the Kiang-yu forts. Liu Kunyi gave a flat refusal, but Chang Chih-tung did not answer. What he told MacD. was not that the Chinese Govt. had actually confirmed the story, but he had said that anything known at the Waiwupu leaked out to all the Foreign Legations in Peking. He evidently holds that Mackay did make the proposal, & remarked that commercial negotiations often encroached on the domain of diplomacy. I told him there was absolutely no foundation for the story.

Gallina came. Asked him abt. Chinese officials at Tientsin rehearing cases decided by T.P.G. He said Ch. Denby was up here recently and proposed to him & Goltz that the T.P.G. archives shld. be handed over to the Viceroy's yamên [office], on acct. of the

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disorder in wch. they are, & the difficulty of consulting them in senior consul's hands. Goltz saw no objection, but he regarded the proposal as quite inadmissible. I concurred.

10 Nov. Went to Lessar, who to my surprise told me he had telegd. to Yalta (not Hankow) abt. Jardine's Hankow land. But he wld. like evidently to settle, as he is ordered home by the doctors, much against his will, and may have to leave in a fortnight.

Tientsin rlwy. land. He says that Laptew & Hopkins have agreed abt. the points they are to submit to Detring, and that Laptew is to come to him abt. it in a few days. I suspect H. has given way to his more cunning and persistent colleague.

Dubail. Went to return his call. He was still full of his success when in charge here before in obtaining the lease of Kwangchouwan in wch. he overcame the opposition of Wang Wênshao by an appearance of getting angry. He got out of me that I mean to visit Chang Chih-tung on my way home. He seems a cunning little man, rather vain of his knowledge of Chinese affairs and skill in diplomacy, and in the little Jew Kahn he has an able second.

Met Bohlen at dinner, who told me that the U.S. at the request of China have proposed arbitration by the Hague tribunal on the question whether the indemnity is to be paid in gold or silver. Germany has replied that she consents, provided no other question is introduced.

Matsui [Keishirō, Secretary, Japanese legation] says Japse. Govt. wishes to get a bond for the whole amount of their indemnity, to be converted later on into negotiable bonds. This for the purpose of balancing their budget. Told him what I had just learnt from Bohlen.

15 [Nov.] Went to Goltz. He says that the Germ. Ambassador at Washington telegd. that Wu Ting-fang had asked the U.S. Govt. to get the indemnity question arbitrated, but he did not seem to think that the U.S. Govt. had done it.

16 [Nov.] Dined at Casenave's. After dinner talked to Dubail. Found him averse to exacting money for the murder of missionaries. He wld. rather get a memorial stone, hospital or orphanage erected.

As to indemnity, he wld. be much opposed to allowing arbitration on any portion of the Protocol, as that wld. enable Chinese to go on nibbling.

I mentioned the Ningpo Road dispute and the excellent letter of Bishop Moule about the "Rice case". He professed his desire to arrange all such matters amicably.

17 [Nov.] To Prince Ch'ing with Townley, Cockburn, Russell & Mayers to say goodbye. Lienfang alone was there, and he shortly went out.

Pr. said he had recd. a note from Japse. Ch. d'Aff. On the subject of evacuation of S'hai, stating that Japan wld. be ready on 30 Nov. I said I was aware of its contents.

Talked at length to him abt. the necessity of paying the indemnity in gold. The only

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noteworthy observation he made was that fixing the tariff in gold would steady exchange. I said that the monthly conversion of sums paid by China wld. have a greater effect, but we had been unable to arrange this because the Taotai said he cld. take no notice of gold calculations. As the total of China's foreign obligations is over 42 millions, and the import duties (the only ones that could be touched) amount at present to about 7, the effect wld. not be great. I think he was not quite so firm in his own view at the end of the conversation.

The Montagu Beauchamps , who came on Friday last to stay left this afternoon. She is a Barclay & grand dau. of Francis Fry. He is a younger bro. of Sir Reginald Beauchamp.

All the staff, and wives & Norris to a last dinner.

18 [Nov.] Prince Ch'ing returned my call. Called to [ask?] abt. necessity of paying indemnity in gold, and Thibet. Desp. & teleg. to F.O.

Tsêng brought a draft contract for employt. of an Englishman at the proposed Peking University.

19 Nov. Natung called. Discussed with him Kowshing & agreed to accept half, if Prince Ch'ing wld. pay that amount. Otherwise negotiation off. Indemnity told him the same thing as to Prince Ch'ing. Peking Syndicates. Pukóu rlwy. W.W.P. have instructed Shêng to treat. My note of 15 abt. Paotingfu-Tientsin rlwy: explained to him its object, & said I did not require a reply.

Tsai-chên & Chentung Liang came to say goodbye, also Li Shêng-tî former Chin. Minr. at Tokio.

Matsui came. Says Dubail has no instructions abt. evacuating S'hai. Teleg. fr. F.O. saying they are going to publish papers. I imagine H.M.G. will not pronounce themselves till they see result of debate in Parliament.

[Satow leaves Peking for home leave.]

20 Nov. Jules Lecomte, a young Belgian, brought me papers from [T.R.] Wynne Agent & Genl. Manager of the Engineering & Mining Co. reporting that ex-Director Yang had brought 40 Chinese soldiers & hoisted Chinese flag at Tongshan. This man has also put forward a manifesto explanatory of his conduct. So after consulting with Townley, I asked Bower officially to order the O.C. [Officer Commanding:] at Tongshan to turn them out, to lower the flag & protect the mines agst. further aggression. Also telegd. to F.O. what I had done.

Left Peking for home by 11.35 train, with Claud Russell & S.F. Mayers who go with me to Nanking & S'hai. All the colls: at the station but v. Rosthorn and Almeida, and the English community in general.

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At Tientsin learnt fr. [T.R.] Wynne that the Chinese troops he believes have left. Hopkins wrote a letter to acting Viceroy asking him to have the troops at once withdrawn and the flag lowered, but even if they have already retired it will not matter.

Yang hun[hus?] also hoisted Chinese flag at Linsi[Liusi?] but as soon as it is hauled down at Tongshan he will teleg. to his people to do the same at Linsi. Wynne, to whom I said that I had no intention of pronouncing an opinion on the question as [at?] issue, says the sale to Hoover in July 1900 was not intended to be acted on, but only to protect the property fr. seizure. H. then went home & acted on this deed & floated the company. It was an out & out sale, but not for consideration, just as in the case of the steamers and land of the China merchants' Co. I said that as he was acting as agent for the Co. it was his duty to stand by them, & not act like a lawyer throwing up his brief. He told me that he had offered to Detring to accept me as arbitrator, & D. was willing. I replied that I shld. have been very reluctant to accept. The questions at issue must be fought out in a Court of law, and I wished to have nothing to do with them.

Major Menzies came to say Chinese under Yüan want him to be the responsible editor of a reform newspaper in Chinese. I warned him agst. this, & also agst. getting out Engl. officers to drill Yüan's troops. He thinks in 6 or 8 months time there will be a movement for the purpose of upsetting the E[mpress]-Dowager's clique. Also that a Russian princess the other day at the Summer Palace says she had an important conversation with the E-D, wch. was telegraphed to Petersburg, the result being that when she goes home she is to be recd. by the Emperor Nicolas. I expressed my doubts as to this.

Sir Chêntung was at station. I asked him if he remembered his conversation with [Sir Nicholas R.] O'Conor. Yes, perfectly. I said that joint action by the F.M. wld. be impossible, & that whatever was done must be kept very secret beforehand. He replied that the matter was of such a nature that none of his friends cld. speak abt. it to me beforehand, but when the time came the right people wld. come to us & give a warning. I told him that if any one took refuge in the Legation we wld. defend him to the last drop of our blood.

21 [Nov.] Left Tientsin at 9 by special train, and at Tongshan saw Capt. Kay, who said there were no Chinese troops there, but the yellow flag with the Dragon was still flying. I explained the situation to him, and he promised to call on ex-Director Yang and write him to haul it down. If he did not consent, then he wld. act.

Reached Tangho at 3.53, and went on to Chin wang-tao, by 4.15, where from the pier we could see the masts and smoke of the "Eclipse" on the horizon coming towards us. But she did not get in nearer than abt. 5 miles, and after waiting till 5.30, I accepted the offer of Hughes to go back to his house to stop the night. He told us about his experiences in 1900. For a week before the taking of the Taku forts his servant had been urging him to move

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away, and on the 16th he got a teleg. telling him it was urgent. So putting a portmanteau into a Chinese cart, he drove to Tangho station and took the last train that went down the line. His house was looted shortly after he left, and completely wrecked. When he got to Tangku the bombardment was still going on. Finding he could not obtain a berth on any steamer leaving for the South he went on to Tientsin in the relief train which carried 500 bluejackets. In the train from Shanhaikwan were 17 Chinese fr. Canton, students of the railway college. The Russians shot most of them. As fast as they moved on to Tientsin the enemy tore up the line behind them. During the siege he sustained a narrow escape. He was sitting with his chair leaning against the door of the Astor House Hotel, when the base of a 4 in. Chinese shell came through the panel within a foot of his leg. He witnessed the capture of the E. arsenal fr. the Gordon Hall tower, and saw how Capt. Burke's Orlandos came up to the rescue of the Russians who were not strong enough to take the place, and charged across the open. Fr. where they were he & his companions could see the Chinese streaming out at the back of the arsenal. There was a gun placed near the railway station wh. after a few shots placed a shell in the guncotton store, which blew up with fine effect, carrying beams of wood and fragments of masonry into the sky to a great height, and ascending apparently slowly with no prospect of descending again. He has been in Chile and Canada: four years since he came to China for this Chin wang tao harbour job.

22 [Nov.] After breakfast a middy came off in the cutter. He said the ship was 5 miles out and the sea so rough that he could only take passengers, not any baggage. So I decided to wait till the wind and sea went down. Hughes gave him a tracing of the chart and away he went. We had just finished luncheon when Saburō put his head in and said they had come to fetch us. We started at once; there was a steam cutter and two boats for baggage. It now took us only 15 minutes to get on board fr. the pier, the ship having moved further in. Then the steamcutter went in again to tow out the other two boats, and we started for Nanking at 5 minutes to 4. I find that I met Capt. Stokes last year at Nanking when there in the "Talbot".

24 [Nov.] About 5 p.m. anchored S. of the Pelham rocks at the entrance to the Yangtze.

25 [Nov.] Began to get up anchor about 5.30 a.m. but one of the anchors got entangled with the ram, and ½hr. was lost in getting it up. Anchored off Wusung, at 9.50, and left again about 4, after taking Mobsby the pilot on board. We went on for a couple of hours and then anchored.

26 [Nov.] Anchored at Nanking about 9 pm.

27 [Nov.] Landed at ¼ to nine with Stokes, Lt. Preston, Russell & Mayers and drove to see Chang Chih-tung. At first the conversation was usual complimentary style, and the only thing of note was that C. said he had written the letter required of him when we met at Wuchang

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last Nov. I was at first unable to remember the allusion, but recollected afterwards that it was abt. Manchuria, to tell Prince Ch'ing to hold out. I then said I wanted to talk business, so he and I with Liang his interpreter, Russell and Mayers adjourned to another room. I began by the necessity of paying the indemnity in gold and repeated the warning I had given to Prince Ch'ing & Na[tung]. He argued that the pro. [protocol] and the table of amortization attached only spoke of silver taels. I expounded to him our contention that the actual wording of the Protocol is that for every Haikwan tael 3/- [shillings] or a corresponding amount in francs, marks, roubles, yen and so on is to be paid; that at a meeting between the Committee for the Payment of the Indemnity (of wch. I was one) and Li Hung chang, Natung and Hsu Shou pêng in July 1901 it was distinctly stated by us and admitted by Li that the indemnity was to be paid in gold. I reminded him that in the Treaty of Shimonoseki [of April 17, 1895] the Japse. indemnity was stated at so many Kuping taels, the rate of exchange into gold being fixed afterwards, so that the indemnity, tho' stated in taels, was paid in gold. He responded finally with the argument that China was put to great difficulties to pay in silver, that she had to borrow for the purpose, and could not find any more to pay in gold. It wld. be necessary to tax the people still further, and riots wld. be the consequence. We had promised to take silver for nine years, could we not persuade the other Powers to do the same. Otherwise China wld. be impoverished and trade in wch. we were so interested would suffer. I replied that we had not 'promised'. We had only 'proposed' to the other Powers, and they had unanimously refused. The three Powers that took the largest part of the indemnity wld. never consent to anything but gold. To speak to them of the bad effect in trade was useless: they cared much more for something else, territory. If China declined to pay in gold, they would simply credit her with the gold value of the silver received every six months. From time to time they would present the bill for arrears, and demand something as a consideration for granting a delay. It wld. not be merely railway or mining concessions but something far more disastrous for China. As a friend, about to absent myself fr. China for six mos. I gave him this warning, exactly as if I were on my death bed. I had given it to Prince Ch'ing on the eve of my departure from Peking. I did not expect him to reply, he must take time to think it over.

He said why could we not speak to the other Powers and bring them round to our side. I told him that Conger and I, seeing the danger that threatened, had telegd. to our Govts. suggesting that the question shld. be settled by reference to the Hague tribunal. But the U.S. Govt. had replied that while adhering to their own view of the Protocol, they would take no step to obtain its adoption by other Powers. We had tried also and failed to persuade the Powers to accept silver for nine years. There was no help for it but to pay in gold.

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He asked if I had any plan by which China might be enabled to do this. She could not borrow the money, for that would merely get her further into debt.

I said that there were two impediments. One was the immediate conversion into gold of the monthly payments, wch. wld. have the effect of steadying the exchange, wch. otherwise must be abnormally depressed every six months when the payments were made, and the other was economy of expenditure in high places. I instanced the loss of 400 000 taels in the Peking octroi since Pr. Ch'ing & Junglu had it to collect, and the useless expenditure of 700,000 or 800,000 taels on the rlwy. to the Western Tombs. These sums added together would suffice to make up the sum due at the end of the year for the gold payment. Economy was what was needed.

I then passed to the subject of Russian territorial ambitions and expressed the opinion that she wld. hold on to the other $\frac{2}{3}$ of Manchuria if the indemnity was not paid. I said that Junglu was said to have made an agreeet. with the Russo-Chinese Bank that he shld. be maintained in power when the E-D dies, in return for their getting a free hand in Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Thibet. Had he heard any news with regard to these questions. I could not find out whether he had recently been telegraphing for information, and he wld. not admit knowing anything. (Townley had telegd. that acc. to our secret informant C. had telegd. on the 7th for information. As he arrived at Nanking 5 Nov. and took charge on the 8th, it seems unlikely to us that he shld. have sent the alleged telegram.) He said he quite understood that Thibet interested G.B. in a high degree.

Talked to him also abt. the Hwangpu conservancy and the necessity of nominating a Chinese member of the Board to represent shipping. He said he was anxious to see the waterways improved, but the Board constituted an encroachment on Chinese sovereignty. I combatted this, instancing the Danube commission, on wch. G.B. & France, wch. were not riverside powers, were represented. I did not consider that the sovereignty of China was interfered with. She wld. have three members on the Board. He said she ought to have a Chinese nominee as chairman without election. I said I understood that if the Chinese Govt. nominee were added to the Board he wld. prob. be chosen as Chairman. The constit[ut]ion of course could not be altered at present, as it was a part of the Protocol. But after 3 years it was capable of amendment. His proposal to do so now was an additional attempt to upset the Protocol. The late Viceroy had said he could not nominate a delegate until he was assured that the taxes would be paid by foreigners. C. asked whether if the work took 20 yrs. to carry out the Board would then cease to exist. I replied that I cld. not predict what might happen 20 yrs. hence, but this & the late viceroy's demand for information about the payment of taxes were all putting the cart before the horse. First the Board must be completed, they would then decide what works are to be undertaken, what the cost will be,

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& then the taxes will be levied. How long the works wld. take I knew no more than he did, for until the Board began to work, we could not learn what the character of the works would be. C. said that as Liu had considered the matter for a whole year, he could not be expected to come to a decision in three weeks. I retorted that I did not require an answer, but wished him to understand the view I took of it, as I was just going on leave.

He referred to the letter he had written to Fraser suggesting that he should put off taking his leave for another year, and Fraser's reply that he wld. so if he could be of use and he got my permission. In the question of the road betw. the railway and the proposed Fr. settlement extension Fraser had been very helpful to him. I answered that it was necessary for Fraser's health that he should go on leave, and that I had chosen a good man, who would be specially instructed to inform himself on the question and to take the same attitude as Fraser.

We then took our leave and the Viceroy followed us on board. I took advantage of this to urge him to take off the prohibition against the export of wheat to other Chinese ports, but without effect, C. maintaining that if he did so, the people wld. complain that the price was enhanced to their disadvantage. I was continuing the subject, when the photographer was announced as being ready to take our photographs in a group, so we adjourned, and after that operation was over he said goodbye. I wrote a short account of this conversation to Townley.



Group photograph of 11 persons, including Satow and Chang Chih-tung in the front row, on board the cruiser H.M.S. *Eclipse*

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Went after a late lunch to call on Yüan Shih-kai who had just arrived from Wichu in a river steamer. Nothing passed, but he said he would return my call at Shanghai.

28 [Nov.] Left at noon. Told F.E. Wilkinson that he might use his discretion as to the expenditure of S.S. He says that about a month ago the Foreign Affairs Taotai Wang came to him and asked whether he knew anything of Admiral Seymour in 1900 asking for permission to occupy the Kiangyiu forts. They had told the Germans, who had put the question that there was nothing in it, but the Germans refused to believe it. I told W. what had really occurred. That the Acting Viceroy had lied to him when he said the Germans had not communicated him the 3rd condition for the evacuation of Shanghai, that Prince Ch'ing had lied to me, and that the German Govt. had lied to the Fr. Govt. abt. Mackay. Said he might leave the Germans and Japanese to fight the question of port limits in which they are engaged.

As to the Hwangpu conservancy and export of wheat he might maintain our view whenever an opportunity presents itself, and as to the bund-road wch. the Chinese wish Butterfield & Swire to give them, he shld. support the firm in conceding it only if their ownership and the control were recognized in their favour.

29 [Nov.] On arriving at Woosung transferred to the river gunboat "Teal", and proceeded to Shanghai, arriving about ¼ to 12. Guard of honour of the Jāts in red uniform commanded by Lt. M. Kenna. Bayne, Bredon, Bob Little [editor of the "North China Herald" based in Shanghai] & the whole consular staff to meet me. Before lunch came Major Maxwell to tell me he has orders to embark on 20th in the Govt. transport "Clive" that he knows all abt. what the Germans & French, who say they cannot get away by that date, propose to do, but he gave a promise not to tell any one unless he was allowed to discuss with them the 'details' of the evacuation, among wch. apparently is to be an agreement that the troops withdrawn are not to go to any other part of China. I said he ought not to keep a secret fr. Genl. Creagh what might be very important for H.M.G. to know, but he cld. not be brought to see this. He showed to me his teleg. but exacted no similar promise. An honest soldier, anxious to keep his word. In the afternoon at my suggestion he sent a teleg. to Genl. Creagh asking for authority to discuss details wch. wld. enable him to reveal the secret, & saying that in any case Fr. & Germs. wld. not be ready by 20th.

F. Anderson called. Talked abt. the Treaty wch. he says wld. do very well if the four amendments accepted by the meeting were adopted. I said that even without that the Treaty seemed to me worth ratifying, and that I shld. recommend H.M.G. to take that step in any case. He argued as to gold duties that it wld. render trade very uncertain. I pointed out to him that the U.S. Russia & Argentina all did it, with much higher duties than those of China. But the tariff having been agreed to in silver I supposed it could not now be altered.

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Bevis brought copy of the English fractional Bond, wch. I approved; also the Russian Bond, wch. provided that the quotas shld. be paid direct to the Russo-Chinese Bank. But on his pointing out that this was a violation of the Protocol, his colls: on the commission supported him, and the Russian delegate had telegd. for fresh instructions. As it is the commission that agrees to the fractional bonds, and forwards them to the Chinese taotai there can be no trickery practised by the Russian.

Dudgeon came. He admits that the four amendments wld. be useful, but he is a thoroughgoing supporter of the Treaty. He says only 3 of the minority at the meeting were merchants, these being R. Inglis and two firms. Told him I shld. recommend its ratification. He maintains that the Chinese are anxious to carry it out.

R. Inglis called. Spoke to him abt. the opium hulks and showed him my letter, wch. I wld. send later. He said that in consultation with Mansfield he wld. see what could be done, but I gathered he was not particularly anxious to give way. As to the Tientsin-Chinkiang rlwy. the Germans are anxious to go ahead with their section, while the B. & C. Corp'n. Do not wish to begin for a couple of years more. I said provided the Germans did not get their final contract signed separately, I saw no objection to the delay. I told him Yüan is not desirous of seeing the Germans get to Tientsin, and that he wld. do all he can to block them. S'hai-Nanking rlwy. agreement nearly settled with Shêng: it will be submitted to Chang Chih-tung, and if he agrees the throne will be memorialized.

Hippesley [sic. Hippisley] also called.

At dinner Mrs. Lenox-Simpson & her dau. (of Amoy) who are staying in the house, the Brenans, the Pitzipios', Bournes, Inglis', Hippesleys.

30 [Nov.] Yüan Shih-kai came. We talked about the Chinese engineering & mining Co. and I told him confidentially what Wynne had said about the contract for transfer of the mines being intended merely to protect them fr. seizure by the Russians, and that the nominal vendors had taken advantage of the deed to float a company in England. He was under the impression that it was an Anglo-Chinese Co., but I explained that this was a mistake, the Co. being registered under English law, irrespective of the nationality of the shareholders. I said any disputes betw. the vendors & the Co. must be settled in a Court of law. I promised that Townley & Hopkins shld. give him copies of any documents we possessed in our archives. Nothing was said about hauling down the Chinese flag at Tongshan.

Lunched with the Bournes.

a Germ. representing a telephon[e] Co. came to see me. I said that unless he could square Shêng it was no use trying to get a concession fr. the Chinese Govt. for extension of telephones abt. China. He talked of telephonic communication with Chungking.

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Alger, an architect, of Alger & Beazley came to talk abt. building university at Peking, at my request. Told him what Chang Pohsi wants, and asked him to write fully to Townley.

F. Anderson & Dudgeon came about certain mining concessions in Manchuria in which they are interested along with the Russo-Chinese Bank. The latter have more than half the shares, and are unwilling to part. Japanese have offered to buy 800 shares wch. would reduce the Russians to one-half. I said I could not say whether H.M.G. wld. strongly support them in case of difficulty, & rather hinted that they had better try to get out of it.

Tea with Mrs. Bob Little. Told Little what I am trying to do about removal of opium-husks, under strict secrecy.

Dined at Baynes. Their grand daughter Cynthia Pakenham aged 12 staying with them. Other people Ayscough & his wife (she plays violin), a Miss Derby fr. America, Mrs. Hippeley, Countess Butler, Taylor of the customs, Mansfield, a Jāt officer.

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1 Dec. Ferguson the American who is with Shêng & Chang Chih-tung called & talked about carriage. Yüan wants to start tael (Kuping) with subsidiary carriage of same finances, until the coin is made legal tender in payment of taxes.

Discussed Nanking Consulate, enlarged Consulate General at S'hai and estimates with Cowan: all of these have already gone home.

Ratard. We talked abt. the Ningpo land dispute, and I told him that the only difficulty between Casenave & myself was the importation of Fr. law proposed by the former, it being in my opinion only a question of whether the Chinese vendor was entitled. If he were not I felt sure that Bishop Reynaud wld. surrender it. The Fr. case is there never was a road at all. He complained strongly of W.H. Wilkinson and his getting up a public meeting instead of treating the case amicably. As to the Taichou rice case, he promises to have that settled shortly. I said confidentially that I was not satisfied with W.H.W. [‘s] way of treating these matters, & I hoped harmony would be restored when he went away.

d'Anethans arrived by the "Bayern" fr. Europe & came to call. Mansfield had them to lunch. They wanted me to dine on board.

Hioki came, & told me the objections of Japan to the 8th article of the Mackay treaty, wch. I telegd. home.

Taotai Chu and Bullard for confirming the two agreements with the Eastern Extension for Peking land lines & Foochow-Sharp Peak line; signed 12 copies. Chu brought message fr. Shêng that if G.B. wld. induce Japan & America to sign commercial treaty the others must follow, hoped we shld. use our influence. I said there were certain

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amendments desired by S'hai folk, & if we cld. get those I wld. advise H.M.G. to ratify, but I cld. not say how far they wld. be induced to influence other govts.

W.H. Wilkinson came to see me yesterday, and I told him what he wld. have to do in Yünnan, but avoided discussing Ningpo parochial matters.

Bredon came. Says the Chinese will not pay an indemnity in gold. I told him that the Russians will then keep Manchuria. He talked a great deal abt. his own anomalous position, his right to succeed Hart, promise of Bertie on behalf of H.M.G., Sir Claude MacD's belief that Hart had undertaken to resign, and hinted that H.M.G. ought to do something for him. I suppose he wants a decoration. I twitted him with his pamphlet on the Hwangpoo conservancy and said that [commercial attaché] J.W.J.[J.W. Jamieson] had no business to put him up to the writing of it. Had J.W.J.'s neck been within reach I shld. have wrung it. He said without himself Mackay's treaty wld. never have come to anything, & that J.W.J. had done a great deal of good work in connexion w. it.

[Margin: Treaty . Art. 8. both Hioki and Bredon advocated a Conference of Powers. I told them H.M.G. wld. never agree to this, after our experience of the Peking Protocol. Bredon said intrigues were going on to oust him fr. his position as Hart's heir apparent. Taylor gave me some papers, wch. included one that justifies this assertion, & Hippisley spoke in the same sense. I told H. that in my opinion Hart will leave his bones in Peking.]

Embarked at 4 in a special tug lent by P. & O. & went down to Woosung with Russell & Hewlett. Mayers went off this morning with Yüan in the Haichi[Huichi?]. Told him en route to inform Yüan that we give him the Pootingfu Treasure & Rice funds, amounting to \$153,000 , & also to repeat my talk to Yüan.

Reached the "Par[r]amatta" Capt. Fox, abt. six.

2 Nov. [should be December] Having lost tide, we did not get away till 8 o'clock. Very few passengers, not more than a dozen.

5 [Dec.] Anchored at Hongkong before breakfast, and went ashore with Russell to Govt. House at 9. Admiral Bridge came to lunch. He says that the first thing the Japse. will do on the outbreak of war will be to seize Masanpho, and perh. also Amoy, but he dissuaded them from that as not being strategically necessary. He has recently had a conference with Yamamoto the Japse. Min. of Marine, the Minister of War & MacDonald. The subjects discussed were chiefly technical.

Admiral Evans U.S.N. who has recently been at Vladivostok reports a conversation with a Russian officer, who said that when the time came they wld. march 300,000 men into Corea after shutting up their ships in Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and wld. defy the Japanese to do their worst. Ad. Evans thinks the Japanese navy inferior to the Russian, and Sir H. Blake tells me that Ad. Seymour expressed the same opinion. Ad. Bridge says

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Yamamoto and his colleague took great pains to emphasize their desire for peace.

Jas. Scott, who had come over from Canton at my request, was confined to his room by fever. He told me he had sent a teleg. to me abt. the settle[men]t of the Evans murder case; he gets \$20,000 for the widow & children, besides promise to arrest & punish the murderer and to put two gunboats commanded by Europeans under the direction of the Customs to patrol the Delta. Also \$12000 for three Hongkong junks robbed somewhere in the Delta. Morgan the Comr. at Canton, who is in the hands of an anti-Engl. Swede, is making difficulties about opening the new passenger station to wch. the Waiwupu and the acting Viceroy Têshou have agreed.

Playfair of the Chartered Bank, Chairman of the China Association, and Sharp chairman of the Chamber of [Commerce? – word missing] called to read me a short address appreciating what I had done for commerce, and my general proceedings. I said that Scott really deserved all the merit. They said he was the best consul-general they had had at Canton for a long time.

Hewitt of the P. & O. called. Talked about his 'bairn' [Scottish 'child'] the Hwangpu Conservancy. I told him what efforts we had made at Peking, my talk with Chang Chihtung and how I had sat on Bredon for the obstacles he had created by his pamphlet.

Went up to the Peak with Russell in the tram. It was a cool, cloudy day.

Blake has a young man, Sir John Keane as P.C. and a man named Arbuthnot as A.D.C. The latter is a friend of Gore, Bishop of Worcester.

Mem. Scott wants private leave about May next say till October, to fetch his wife and little boy, and if possible to get cured of his tendency to malarial fever.

Mem. To suggest that China print shld. be sent to Govr. of Hongkong.

Macao. Told Blake all about Azevedo's Treaty: he does not think that the Macao-Canton rlwy., nor any port works there can injure the trade of Hongkong.

6 [Dec.] Sir Wm. Goodman, the new chief justice formerly Attorney-general (since 1900) came to call. He is a younger brother of Alfred Goodman, and son of a former Chief Clerk to the Lord Mayor, who used to live in Warwick Road; both were at Newcombe's with me; W[illia]m from 1855 only; he was 6 when he went there.

Ad. Bridge came on board to say goodbye to me. The Parramatta left about 1.30. A cold, rainy day. Here we took on board a number of Americans, and there are now about 50 passengers.

11 Dec. Arr. Singapore 6 a.m.. Capt. F.D. Barry A.D.C. came to fetch me to Govt. House, where Sir Frank Swettenham put me up.

Mem. If we should ever give back to China any portion of the indemnity, the question wld. arise whether we shld. give it to the Peking Govt. or to the provinces fr. wch. it is levied.

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Swettenham tells me that Suchekomatz Misczinsky [see October 25th, p. 290] was here lately, and told pretty much the same story as us, with the addition that Dobeniski said he had obtained thro' Graham, brother of the 2nd Assistant at Newchwang the particulars of the secret article betw. G.B. & Japan, also that he (S.M.) spoke of our cypher K. as of something of wch. he knew the existence. But I do not think it possible that G. can have known of any such secret article, and certainly cannot know what it refers to. S.M. went off to Batavia. All he wanted was a passage: he did not ask for money.

Bosanquet is the Priv. Sec.

Swettenham thinks the secret treaty of 1897 with Siam was a mistake. He and Lucas had prepared a draft together wch. the F.O. completely changed. The Siamese thereby got certain rights in Kelantan and Tringanu recognized, wch. they did not possess before, as the treaty of 1826 makes those two independent (I agree with him that the language of the article really means this, it is badly worded, but the intention was to guarantee them against interference by either party). They are however quite contented with what has been recently arranged. The Rajah of Tringanu however refuses to sign, declaring he is quite independent.

Mem. I think the Siam print ought to be sent to him, and China print to Govr. of Hongkong.

We discussed Chinese matters. He thinks that the Anglo-German agreement of 1900 was signed by Ld. Salisbury in return for the German Emperor refusing to receive Krüger. Acc. to the Prince of Wales the Emperor did not wish Krüger to come to Berlin, because the result would have been a popular demonstration before the British Embassy, broken windows and the necessity of shooting some of the mob. Also he thinks we connived at the Germans taking Kiaouchou [in 1897]. He is as loud in condemning the landing of troops at S'hai in Aug. 1900 as I am myself. He was at Tientsin just before the Seymour expedition left, and when the Belgian refugees fr. Paotingfu arrived. In his opinion the foreigners in China were divided betw. those who completely lost their nerve, and those who saw or thought they saw an opportunity of giving the Chinese a nasty knock. I found we agreed as to the rashness of summoning the Taku forts. W.V. Drummond of S'hai wrote to O'Conor before the China-Japan war of 1895 and told him what was coming but got no credit. He has therefore regarded himself as an ill-used person.

Went in the afternoon to the Botanical Gardens and was taken round by Machado, a man who has been exploring and prospecting for several years past, and has just come into them temporarily during the absence of Ridley. He knows a good deal abt. plants, but he took round with us a Malay attendant who has a wonderful memory for scientific botanical names. The common bamboo of the hedges in Singapore is *Bambusa nana*, which M. said

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came fr. Japan, but I don't think it can be the same species. Gutta percha and different kinds of rubber producing plants are grown for sale in the economic portion of the garden.

Miss Clarke, dau. of the late Sir Andrew Clarke, a young lady of diminutive fairy-like figure, staying in the house, is going back to Colombo by the Parramatta.

12 [Dec.] Left shortly after 8.

13 [Dec.] Arrived Penang about 5.30 p.m. and left again betw. 2 & 3 in the morning.

18 [Dec.] Arr. Colombo about six. Dick Ponsonby, Sir West Ridgeway's private secretary, came off to meet me, and took me to Queen's House, after I had carried my cabin luggage over to "Australia". Among the American passengers from Hongkong the pleasantest were a couple named Chatard from Washington; he seems to have been a mining engineer at one period. Nearly all of these leave the P. & O. here. In the afternoon I went for a drive with Ridgeway who talked politics a good deal. He has no opinion of Lord Rosebery, and not much of Chamberlain, who he says is no administrator. But perh. his conservative views make him severe. He talks about Lessar, and of the tricks he tried to play at the time of the Afghan boundary commission, when L. & the other Russians intrigued to get the Afghans to rise agst. R. & his party, and make them prisoners, the Russians then to come to the rescue! But he learnt it all from a man in the employ of the Afghan who had made the arrangements with L. and then one day he repeated to L. the whole of a secret conversation betw. L. and the Afghan. Afterwards he was sent to Petersburg to negotiate the convention direct with the Russians, independently of Morier, whom the F.O. had neglected to inform of this. However, he persuaded M. to suggest to de Giers that he on his part shld. appt. some one to negotiate on his part, and this was Zinovieff, who did all he could to frustrate the negotiation; the F.O. in their usual way telegd. petty verbal changes, wch. wld. have had the effect of upsetting the coach. So one day he went to the Russians and initialled the draft, and the F.O. were afterwards very grateful to him for having done it. I said this was exactly the way they had treated me when they sent out Mackay for the commercial treaty, and omitted to send me officially a copy of his instructions or to ask me to assist him.

Everard ImThurn the Lt. Govr. and his wife and Genl. Sir Hector Macdonald came to dinner: the latter is in command of the troops. Im Thurn was 20 years in Guyana and was afterwards in Paris for the Venezuelan arbitration. He has only been about a year in Ceylon.

Went on board after dinner with Ponsonby, who sat for an hour telling me of his travels in Japan, where he enjoyed greatly living in Japanese fashion.

19 [Dec.] Started at 7 o'clock.

25 [Dec.] Arrd. Aden about 4 a.m. and started again at 10.30.

29 [Dec.] Arrd. Suez in the night and entered the Canal, reaching Port Said about 4 p.m. the

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following day. Started about 10 p.m. and got to Marseilles early morning of Jany. 3, 1903. Caught the 10 a.m. train to San Remo ¹ & arrived there a little after 7, having had to wait 1½ hrs. at Ventimiglia. Henry [Tozer] met me at the station, and took me to the Hotel Bristol, where I found Augusta looking very well.

During the voyage chiefly consorted with Buch & his wife of Straits service, Lt. McNeile of the navy, Mrs. Ellis the wife of doctor at Singapore, H. Mason supposed to be in the oil trade, and Chas. Edwards a professor of music attached to the Royal College of Music. There was a young Australian girl named Mackay on board, who plays the violin extremely well, accompanied by an elder sister. She is going to be a great artist.

[End of 1902]

¹ Thus from January 3rd to January 14, 1903 Satow was at San Remo on the Italian Riviera. He then travelled again to Italy from January 30th to March 25, 1903.

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- 5 Jan. Met Sir Saml. Montagu & his wife on the parade [at San Remo] & dined with them and a young son & dau. at the Belle Vue. He gave it as his opinion that silver may yet recover & regain its old relative value, thro' the opening up of Africa, where the natives will require it for coin. As to China he thinks the Powers will have to accept silver, and several of them, as Germany & Russia, could utilize it for coinage of subsidiary coins. We did not pursue the subject, but I could have told him that it is not merely a financial question with those Powers.
- 10 [Jan.] Lunched with General A. de Gorloff and Mme., she was one of the Greatorex's who lived on Spring Hill and whose grounds extended past the bottom of our garden. There were also Genl. & Mrs. Michael, late of India, she is aunt to Grinston[?] who was on Genl. Richardson's & afterwards Genl. Creagh's staff, a Miss Ogle dau. of Sir Henry and a Mme. de Ruka of Austria, besides Henry and myself.
- 14 [Jan.] Left San Remo at 3.30 p.m. to catch the train de luxe at Ventimiglia [on the Italian side of the Franco-Italian border], wch. involved a wait there of 1½ hrs. Lord & Lady Southall, two young people, she a dau. of Sir John Walrond in the train, and we dined at the same table.
- 15 [Jan.] [Satow reaches England]. Arrd. at Victoria a little after 7, met there by Sam, and put up at the Westminster Palace Hotel.
- 16 [Jan.] Saw Sir H. Weber & Lady W. and got a prescription from him. He finds me all right, except that the liver is slightly enlarged.
- 17 [Jan.] Went down to Sandringham. The other guests were Lord Hardwicke, Major Hon. John Fortescue, "Monty" Guest, Canon Fleming and the Marquis d'Hautepoule. Before dinner the King invested me with the G.C.M.G. I sat next to the Prince of Wales, who was on the Queen's left. After dinner we went into the smoking room, & the King having made me sit down opposite to him at a small table conversed abt. Chinese affairs, in wch. he seemed to take a great deal of interest, and I told him all abt. it, just what I had said to Lord Lansdowne. The Queen also talked to me a great deal after we proceeded to the Hall to listen to the music. All of them seemed to distrust the Germans very deeply. Had a good talk also with Sir Dighton Probyn, who was in China in the campaign of 1860, leader of Probyn's horse. He says they did destroy Wanshoushan.
- 18 " Guests & staff breakfasted together. At noon the King took us to church. We arrived just before the Litany, and stayed for the sermon, Canon F's elocution very clear. At lunch two small tables. I sat on Queen's right. Afternoon the King took us through the hothouses, one of wch. was filled from end to end with pink begonias, a beautiful sight. Also the dairy,

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school of art and the Stables, where we saw the famous horses Persimmon & Diamond Jubilee, wch. won respectively £34,000 & £27,000 in prizes. At dinner I took in Miss Knollys and sat on the r[ight] hand of Princess Victoria. Had myself presented to Princess Maud & Prince Charles of Denmark. He spoke strongly about Mouravieff. Nothing could have been more enjoyable than this visit.

19 [Jan.] Returned to town by an early train. In the afternoon went to F.O. saw Villiers & Cockerell & to O. of W. [Office of Works] to see Schomberg [&] MacDonnell abt. the estimates. At St. James' club met Cheetham. Dined with Lamps [the nickname of Sir Thomas Sanderson], Lord & Lady Amherst, a Miss Bidwell, Miss Manners & others. Had a talk with Lamps, fr. wch. I gather that he is not sorry to lose Bertie fr. F.O. [to become ambassador in Rome, 1903-5] tho' he did not say so.

20 [Jan.] Lunched with [former Japan resident W.M.] Kirkwood at Junior Carlton. Met Longford & Trevithick. The former to whom I nodded passed on, & left me talking with dear old Trev. Went to see C.W. Campbell, & told him Scott wants to leave in May and possibly Hopkins may go in the spring. Went to Chislehurst to sleep.

21 [Jan.] Returned from Chislehurst. Hugh Satow came to tea. Called on Lucy & Ellis. Dined with R. Tower at Traveller's. His doctor says absolutely necessary for him not to go back to Bangkok.

21 [should be 22 January?] Lunched with G. Drage. Says Curzon is sure to be Foreign Secretary, and suggests my going back by way of India to see him, also to Burma. Promised to ask Sanderson to give me young [Edmund] Backhouse as a private secretary for Chinese and Russian work. Attributes much of the improvement of my position at Peking to his letters from China, one arrived just in time to back up Lord Lansdowne in a dispute with Lord Salisbury over some proposal of mine, about April last.

Henry Satow came; says his vacuum company is flourishing.

Called on Dowager Countess of Albemarle, who said all sorts of pleasant things. Her son Derek Keppel, equerry to the Prince of Wales, had apparently smoothed my way at Sandringham.

Hewlett's father came to thank me for kindness shown to his son.

Alexander Harvey, formerly of the China consular service also called, quite old & grey.

Dined at the Saddler's Co., Master Dr. Satchell, who after being in China for 4 years, came over to Japan in 1865 with Capt. Courtenay of the "Scylla", and crossed to Frisco in a 140 ton brig, taking 7 weeks. Sat betw. Alban Gibbs & Capt. Percy Scott. Did not speak. Good dinner and good music.

23 [Jan.] Capt. Crocker R.M.L.I. [Royal Marines Light Infantry] called to inquire if a billet could be got for him in China, or if he could be helped to go to Japan for language study. I

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strongly recommended him to stick to Chinese & to get himself apptd. to a ship on the China station.

[John Harington] Gubbins to lunch. Talks of going back for five years. Comforted him with the idea that perhaps [John Newell] Jordan might succeed [Reginald] Tower at Bangkok, and then there might be an opening for him in Corea.

Called on Mrs. Sewell and Mary Wells. Afterwards on Emma Sturges and stayed talking with her till 7.30. Charlie to dinner; he talked about the Vacuum Cleaning Co. from wch. he hopes for great things for himself and Henry.

Eva Allen and Barbara came to see me.

24 [Jan.] Rev. Mr. Woodroffe and his dau. who is engaged to Alick Shaw came to see me. I said my advice was to wait until Alick's position was well-assured and above all that they shld. be certain of Geo. Jamieson's consent.

Ad. [Admiral] Sir Ed. Seymour called. He is to go to Plymouth in April, where he will have two years till he has to retire in 1905 in virtue of the age limit. He was offered his choice of that or Portsmouth, but the latter will not be vacant so soon.

Lunched with Winstanley at the Thatched House [club]. R.A. Wylie, Tom Foster, A.A. Shand. Foster is losing his eyesight poor fellow.

C.W. Campbell dined. Read him Townley's teleg. from Peking Nov. 23 abt. Kowshing & my answer. He fully confirmed what I said in the latter. Long talk about things in general, rlwy. Chênchou & Urga. Promised a note abt. a Russian Buriat ¹ who spent 3 years in Lhlassa. Says v. Groth told him it was he who interpreted for Li at Moscow, & resigned on his return rather than tell Robt. Hart all abt. it. Also that he got the 5 000 000 taels for Russo-Chinese Bk.

25 [Jan.] To Rev. Mr. Trevelyan's church St. Matthews' St Peter St. Litany chanted then Communion service with sermon, music very appropriate, just the kind of service one desires.

Lunch with W.A. Cockerells. Two daus. a Mrs. Chapin of U.S., Rd. [Ronald?] Maxwell and one or two others. Then called on Sir J.W. Bonser & his wife. He is very deaf and seems much older. Then on Mrs. Curry at 118 Cambridge St. Warwick Square. Dined with Sir Edward Seymour at Wellington Club; Ad. Tracey my old friend and a M. Bruce, a friend of Sir E. Seymour, who talked of having met some fellow on his way out to Gib. [Gibraltar] in summer of 1895, who said my successor must be told to reverse all I had done there. Man seemed a Pole. I could not recognize him from the description.

26 [Jan.] Boyce to lunch.

To Cartwright with memo. abt. number of First Assistants, & talked abt. Chancery

¹ The Buriat region is East of Lake Baikal in Siberia, and borders on Mongolia.

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servant also. He said he wld. look the latter up, but thought it had been decided that Sanderson shld. do it out of SS.

Saw Langley & helped him to draft a teleg. to Townley abt. speaking to Chinese & Hart about the latter's successor.

Called on Lady Hannen, and left card at the Thurbys.

Dined with the Trowers and met the Moberley Bells. He fancies he met me at Alexandria in 1882 dining with Charles Cookson.

Sir Walter Murton [Munton?] called to ask abt. travelling in Japan.

27 [Jan.] Ad. Henry St. John called and we went off to the Senior [Service Club] to lunch. I had not seen him since 1863, or possibly when he commanded the "Sylvia" in 1877. Met Jellicoe there. Went to Queen Anne's mansions, and engaged a flat for 16 March or thereabouts. As I was going out Trower's brother in law Capt. M. Swiney 12 Dragoon Guards called, & we drove some way together. He wants either consulate at Scutari or military attachéship. Told him to write me a line. Left a card at Mrs. Ker's request on Dowager Duchess of St. Albans, and went on to see the Reverend Mother (Miss Mason) at 97 West Cromwell Rd. They are prospering & have taken in the house next door: seven professed and six protestants; children slowly increasing.

Dined with S. Leckie at the Oriental Club. We had not met since his marriage in 1888, tho' we had kept up a constant correspondence.

Sir Jas. Mackay was dining there also, and we had a talk afterwards. He says Curzon is very unpopular in India with the Civil Service, and has been kicking over the traces in India, so that he has been sat on by India Office and the Cabinet. Thinks it very unlikely that he will be admitted to the Cabinet when he returns, certainly not to the F.O. Said he found [H.] Cockburn very difficult to get on with, critical & destructive, & working only by fits and starts. Was therefore glad when I proposed to have him at Peking; after that his prospects of concluding the Treaty began to improve. Has said nothing agst. C. to Lord Lansdowne or to anyone else. He remarked that Bertie wld. be a loss to the F.O. & seemed surprised when I said that many people were of a different opinion. Afterwards he told me Bertie had never written a line to him all the time he was in China, and complained of the way in wch. F.O. telegraphed instructions without explaining their motives.

28 [Jan.] Leslie Ward caricaturist of "Vanity Fair", having asked me for a sitting, came about eleven and work[ed] at a sketch for a couple of hours. ¹ [Professor William] Gowland came in during the sitting. William de Barre, formerly Richard, R.N. whom I last met at Paysandru also called; he is over here for a couple of months. Oddly enough I was talking

¹ The colour portrait appeared in the April 23, 1903 edition of Vanity Fair, with a brief biographical sketch by "Jehu Junior" (apparently R.K. Douglas, see diary for April 22, 1903 below).

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of him yesterday to Ad. St. John. Mary and Ethel to lunch. Afterwards Herbert Goffe, consul at Têng-yüeh called. Went to tea at 12 Montagu Square. Dined with Redesdale [A. B. Mitford] at Travellers: introduced by him to a Mr. Mowbray Morris.

29 Jan. Capt. Stuart Russell, father of young Russell of the Consular service in China called. Chief Constable of West Riding, Yorks. Advised him that for his son to go in for the law course during his next leave wld. be better than taking his degree.

Wrote name at Buckingham Palace & York House. Left card on G.P. Ness at Junior Carlton & then lunched with Sam, whom I dug up out of his chambers at the Royal Courts of Justice.

A.G. Angier of the London & China Express called. Gave him an acct. of the political situation at Peking, but not for publication.

Frederick Yates called. His wife & little daughter are at Ambleside, where he visits them every four or five weeks, and he has a studio near Holland Park.

Dined with Mr. Justice and Lady Kekewich, whose eldest dau. Emma I met in Japan and recently at Peking. Another dau. is married to Mackintosh of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank at Tientsin, and one to W.E.P. Onson, M.P. The Master of the Rolls, Sir Henn Collins¹ and R.B. Haldane MP were also there; the latter a stout clean-shaven man with a massive head, radical but very sensible, good political head. Told him as a secret the real reason why we did not join Russia & Co. in 1895 agst. the Japanese. He thinks the chief aim of our policy ought to be to avoid a war with the U.S. wch. wld. mean the loss of Canada; in fact even without it, Canada finding us unwilling to adopt a protectionist policy may go in for reciprocity with the U.S. and throw her lot in with them. I objected the improbability of the Canadian politicians being willing to merge their own political importance in that of U.S. politicians, but he did not think much of that. He says that what the Americans wld. dislike wld. be the addition of such a huge territory. I remarked that in any case B. Columbia wld. prob. set up for itself rather than be annexed, but on reconsideration I think that is wrong, Exclusion of yellow people being a U.S. idea that suits them. Lady K. says Haldane is the future radical Chancellor.

30 [Jan.] After finishing packing, spent an hour in the Abbey, looking at the monuments. Lord Russell poked away in a corner of the N. aisle where no one is likely to look for him. Fine statue of Sir Stamford Raffles.

Left Charing Cross by 2.20 for Folkestone. Mrs. Hamilton Currey & Sam to see me off. Telegd. for a private cabin, wch. was a comfort as the sea was rough. Crossing 1 hr. & ½.

31 Jan. Before dawn started from Basel, having slept in the train. A good deal of mist, but at Lucerne the sun shining. [Mount] Pilatus magnificent. Some mist along the lake, but

¹ Sir Richard Henn Collins, Master of the Rolls, October 24, 1901 – March 6, 1907.

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beyond Arth-Goldau quite clear, and the Lake beautifully blue. On the other side of the tunnel also fine, saw Monte Generoso quite clear. Fr. Chiasso on the sky clouded, Milan full of raw damp. Put up at Hotel Cavour, and went off to see the inside of the Cathedral; windows like jewels & one in the West gable casting a bright orange light tho' the afternoon was dull (4 p.m.). Bought Chiala's "Ancora un pó piu di luce sugli eventi di 1866", Carducci's 2 vols. on the Risurgimento and d'Annunzio's Francesca di Rimini. At dinner talked to an old American who for the past 30 years has done little but travel round the world, 2ce in Japan, in S. America, Jerusalem, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Morocco, Spain, Italy: he carried a pocket book showing where [he] had been on every day for the last eighteen years and a list of all the steamers he had sailed in since 1858.

February 1903

- 1 Feb. Snow. Left Milan at 8.30, about 1 hr. at Genoa in the pouring rain, at San Remo 5 p.m. Snow and mist prevented the scenery of the Serivia being seen, and from Ronco[Rouco?] down to Sampiudamma[?] rain spoilt the view.
- 2 Feb. Walked up to San Bartollommeo by the mule path and back thro' the olive groves, two hours. Dull chilly day.
- 3 Feb. Afternoon walked up to San Lorenzo and up the rather bare hill 15 min. further from wch. there is a fine view.
- 4 " Morning: to Colla and the chapel of San Bernardo on the ridge S. looking over Ospedaletti. Colours in the sea in front of this latter place deep purple, pale opal near the shore; a long curved streak of pale blue stretching out from the mouth of the Nervia into the sea. Wind fr. N.W., swell crossing it fr. E. Top of Bignone quite a conspicuous object fr. the chapel. Called on de Gorloffs; not at home.
- Prof. Amoretti came after dinner, and I arranged with him to give me Italian lessons Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday from 3.45 to 5 at six lire: talked a great deal abt. Dante, Petrarch & Boccaccio. On Beatrice, Biscioni the first to repudiate the idea of identification with Beatrice Portinari; Villari & Bartoli discussion. S. Pellico wrote a drama on Francesca di Rimini. [Ernest] Renan's Etudes religieuses.
- 5 Feb. Amoretti, 1st lesson this afternoon. Read 3 sonnets of Petrarch against the Popes of Avignon. He left with me Bocaccio's Life of Dante, a vol. of Bocaccio printed in London 1789 containing the story of Abraam Guideo who went to Rome and was converted to Christianity thro' seeing the wickedness of the priests & a vol. of the Proceedings of the Dante Soc. of Milan.
- 6 " Drove in 1¾ hrs. to La Mortoli to lunch with the Hanburys: his son Cecil & dau. Mrs.

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Sydney Buxton & a Miss Grenfell. Sir Wallace and his wife, a quiet man named Rolls. After lunch Sir Thomas took Wallace & myself into his seed-rooms and nurseries, and then the two old people showed me over part of the garden. Agave fr. America and Aloes from Africa; an arboreal Banksia with heads of flowers like a bottle brush; bamboos aurea, mitis, nigra, yadake and an Indian species. Splendid day; the coast scenery especially from Ventimiglia onward magnificent.

9 [Feb.] Started at 10.30 for San Michele, but on getting to the parting of the roads changed my mind and continued on to San Romolo, wch. I reached by uninterrupted walking at 12.40. Sat down in the open air & had my lunch, consisting of bread & butter, cheese, black olives, an apple and a 'quinto' of light Perinaldo wine. The keeper of the tiny osteria said it cost 80 centimes the litre and transport 4 fr. [francs] the hectolitre. Clouds overhung the mountains and it was very chilly. Starting again at 1.10 I ascended a little & where the bridle path forked went to the left, thro' the pine woods along a rugged path. In one or two places fine plant of hellebore in flower, an ugly green thing. Two species of pines (bi-foliati), one c. long and the other c. short needles, also a dwarf juniper and crica arborea (?). Fr[om] time to time glimpses of San Remo, Poggio, new Bussana & prob. Pompeiana. Where the path began to descend to Colla, two kinds of broom. Reached Colla at 3.5 and Hotel Bristol at 3.55.

Sir Wm. Walrond had called while I was out, & Genl.de Gorloff came to ask me to see his moon photographs on Friday.

Henry has been laid up for a week with boils on the left part of his upper lip close to the nostril, and now seems much pulled down by them.

10 [Feb.] Called on Col. Treherne & Countess Waldstein, and met there a Mme. Thuyll, related to the Milbankes.

3rd lesson. Read some old Italian poetry, of 'dolce stil nuovo' showing how closely they followed each other, Guido Cabalcomti, Guido Guinizelli, Cirio da Pistoia, Dante and Fazio degli Uberti; then the more artificial style of Petrarch.

12 " Returned visit of Sir Wm. Walrond.

13 " Walked to the Madonna della Guardia in 1 hr. to the top. Rested there 10 min. and back by way of Poggio in 1 hr. 10 min. doing some shopping on the way. The view entirely rewards one, little towns such as Pompeiana, Castellaro, Madonna di Lampedusa, Old Bussana on the opposite sides of the Taggia and Ceriana valleys: summit of Bignone quite clear, and another summit with what looks like a white wall on it above the Ceriana (Ceppo) valley. Level road to Poggio including behind Montecalvo, and looking down into the Ceriana valley far below. Fine day, east wind. A most delightful excursion.

In the afternoon went to see Genl. Gorloff's collection of maps of the moon printed in

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Paris. It wld. seem that big craters like that of Aso-san [Mount Aso, Kyushu] are of similar character to the walled plains on the surface of the moon. Count Montgelas, formerly of Austrian Dipl[omatic] Service cousin of the Montgelas at Peking came in to tea. He told me afterwards walking home that he had been one of the original founders of the North Borneo Co. wch. wld. prob. have been made an Austrian colony, but for the events of 1888 wch. gave Austria the Herzegovinia & Bosnia. Overbeck got the concession, could not work it. He Redesdale[?] & Alfred Dent then took it up. M. got ab[ou]t £4000 out of it, but Dent a good deal more, perh. £15000 or £16.

14 Feb. Walked up to San Bartolommeo Chapel in 40 min. & then beyond as far as the end of the paved mule track, then went to l. round the 'Apse' & descended to the stream where it first begins to be alive. A peasant guided me a bit further into a path which goes round to San Lorenzo. But I plunged down after going a mile or so, or perh. left & got on to the l. bank of the Forca stream by a bridge, & so on to the Berigo road close by Neck's villa, back to Hotel by 12.45.

Afternoon drove c. Augusta [Tozer] to Verezzo up a valley the existence of wch. wld. hardly be suspected by anyone passing along the seashore. 1¾ hrs. there and back. Very picturesque. Chapels of San Donato & San Antonio high up the hillside W. & E. of the scattered hamlet wch. is called Verezzo.

Read a canzone of Petrarch, address to the Virgin, and 2 sonnets No 12 Movea 'l vecchierel canuto e bianco in Vita &c. & Sonnetto XLII Zefiro torna, il bel tempo rimena. The heathenism of Petrarch, his religious devotion. Dante's religion or piety. P. takes a good deal of earth into Paradise. Opinion of Carducci at pp. 247 & 248 of *Discorsi letterari et slorici* [storici?], that Petrarch betrayed medievalism. He was the first to catch the influence of the renaissance, Dante the last of medievalists. A. Bartoli's two vols. on the *Divina Commedia* in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*.

15 " Lunched at the Waldrons. Princess Salm, a Miss Taylor who is staying there, and Turton the vice-consul.

Went with Genl. de Gorloff to call on old Vlanzali who was Russian Min. at Peking 62 to 73. The poor old man is a cripple, having been run into by a man on a bicycle four years ago, and his spine badly injured.

Lisinka arrived at 11.32 p.m. having left Dresden at 11 a.m. the day before yesterday and rested 26 hours at Zurich.

18 Returned Lord Heath's call. Walked with Henry [Tozer] to a place in the olive groves to find Iris tuberosa; two blossoms. This is a green flower with the outer edges or petals say, of a velvety black. Returning we found some of the blue anemone coronaria.

19 Feb. To ascend [Monte] Bignone [in Tuscany]. Left Hotel Bristol at 9.5, and round by San

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Romolo valley to the Madonna del Borgo, and then up thro' the olive groves to the old aquaduct on the main road to San Romolo by 9.30. At ten reached the point where the road leaves the San Michele valley and crosses the ridge into the San Romolo valley. Reached the bridge below San Romolo at 10.45. Here I went astray by taking what looked like a path immediately rising fr. the l. bank of the stream, and got a great way up the flank of the wooded mountain in front of [Monte] Bignone, and recognizing that I was in fault, descended to a stream and followed a path to the left, then up to where I met two men, who told me to go straight up. I followed their advice and came across another man gathering pine cones, who said it was all right if I continued. Somewhere near here in a dry gully found a single blue hepatica[?]. Very hard climbing up a steep spur over pine needles and dry leaves till at last I got within sight of the bare-grassy summit, and a few minutes more enabled me to reach it. Here I found a quantity of striped crocus, and continuing up the slope reached the summit at 12.45. Splendid view N. of the snow-covered [Ligurian] Maritime Alps, the little town of Bajardo immediately below, Aprilale in a valley far down on the l. and Pernialdo on a hill about .70 to the W. Mentone, and Cap Martin, La Mortola on this side. South and east a curtain of mist, that to the east brownish black, to the south like satin gauze illuminated by the sun, with clouds floating in it like fish in an aquarium tank, and above the upper edge the mountain tops of Corsica look like the Heavenly Jerusalem. At one began the descent along the grassy top southwards, intending to go to the Croce di Pana, but missed my way and finally came out on the San Romolo road a few hundred yards below the bridge at 2.15. At 3 crossed from the San Romolo valley into that of San Michele, descended from the old aquaduct where I had ascended in the morning, and reached the Hotel at 3.52, almost dead beat.

20 [Feb.] Drove with Lisinka in the forenoon to the Madonna della Guardia. Very fine view as on the previous occasion. Walked along to Poggio and got back in 1 hr. 50 min. in all.

Went to the annual meeting of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen, presided over by Bishop Sandford of Gibraltar, & after Lord Meath had spoken, I told some of my experiences at Montevideo, & mentioned that the pay & kit of the deserters was retained by the master instead of being delivered to the Consul as in my opinion it shld. be. Promised on my return to London to furnish Lord Meath with a memo. & project of amendment to the merchant shipping act.

Read la Gisconda of d'Annunzio and part of the Sogno d'un Tramonto d'Autumno by the same; a lascivious play the latter, prob. cld. not be acted.

21 [Feb.] Walked to San Pietro & back in 1³/₄ hrs.

22 [Feb.] To La Mortola, arriving late for lunch. There were stopping in the house Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Maxwell, Lothair de Bunsen, Hon. Gilbert Rolls, Miss Hildegarde de Bunsen &

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Father Adrian.

- 23 [Feb.] Dull day. Walked to E. end of Mentone, past the gorge wch. forms the boundary betw. France and Italy, then to a Prehistoric museum at the mouth of a cave established by Hanbury and fr. wch. four human skeletons have been extracted, besides bones of elephant, deer and other animals, shells and flint implements.
- 24 [Feb.] Visited with Hanbury, Rolls & de Bunsen the school at Latte, the town called Porta Cananda and the library, all of wch. are H's works. In the library was a Hore beatae virginis of 1485 printed on vellum with admirable woodcuts on every page, a Blackletter vulgate of 1480 and a book printed in Roman type dated 1470, besides many other interesting volumes. The municipality refuses to pay a curator. Prof. Rossi, author of a history of San Remo & Ventimiglia, made the catalogue, a learned old Italian. Returned to San Remo. Dined at Miss Lockharts & took in Lady Meath. Besides the M's there were Genl. & Mrs. Cox, Sir Samuel & Lady Hoare, and a Mr. Astley, brother of Sir John Astley(?).
- 26 “ Walked viâ San Pietro to Croce di Pará, wch. looks over the Verezzo valley on to San Donato and San Antonio, and back along the ridge down to the road that passes the electric lighting station in two hours.
- 27 [Feb.] With Lisinka on a donkey in two hours up to San Romolo and in half an hour more to the Termini di Bajardo; thence along the path to the base of Monte Bignone, from which there is a fine view of Bajardo valley and Apricale at the bottom of it. Clouds covered Monte Bignone, so we gave up our intention of climbing it; the Alps also were invisible. We returned to the termini, and along the crest of the ridge to the Termini di Perinaldo, lunching on the way at an open place which commanded a perfect view of Bajardo and the valley below; then down fr[om] the Termini to the junction of the Colla path wch. we followed, having now & then glimpses of San Remo, Poggio, Bussana Vecchia, the Madonna di Lampedusa and Pompeiana. Had some refreshment at Colla and got in by 4.15.

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- 1 Mar. To Grasse to stay with the Webers at the Grand Hotel, arriving there at 12.30. In the afternoon went to see the gardens of Miss Alice de Rothschild, who recd. us very kindly. She is a stout old lady of 56, very imperious and allows no one to walk about her grounds unaccompanied. Met Sir Lauder Brunton his wife & dau. staying at the Hotel.
- 2 Mar. Sir Hermann, Lady W. & Edith Weber & I in a carriage up to the tiny town of Gourdan above the Loup river, and then down to the hotel at the mouth of the gorge, where we

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lunched, and then walked some way up as far as a cascade on the l. bank. The limestone cliffs are very imposing every where. Luckily the weather was fine. Coming back found some grape hyacinth and blue anemones.

3 Mar. Left by 8.3 train and reached San Remo by 1.20. Splendid day, in spite of the rain last night.

4 [Mar.] By train with Henry to Arma di Taggia and then to Taggia by omnibus, where we lunched on the opposite side of the stream, crossing it by the long stone bridge. Then we walked back, turning up about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the way to a spot under the olive trees, to look for *Narcissus incomparabilis*, a pale yellow flower with a deeper yellow cup. Only two growing wild in blossom, but many more planted by the peasants, from whom we bought a dozen more.

5 “ Lunched with Princess Salm-Dyck at the Londres. Mr. & Mrs. Walter Lethbridge, Sir Henry Min[?] and Col. Ogle, a Mrs. Wilkinson American & her husband an Englishman: she writes novels; and a lady who used to edit the Yellow Book. A very noisy and cheerful party.

6 [Mar.] We took our lunch and drove to Bassana Nuova, then walked in $\frac{3}{4}$ hr. or so to Bassana Vecchia, wch. was much damaged by the earthquake of 1887. Out of a population of abt. 800, 50 or so were killed. The roof of the principal church, wch. was merely a stone vault fell in; there were 50 people in it, of whom 3 were killed and 2 hurt. Bussana stands on the N. end of a long knoll, surrounded by more or less deep valleys on all sides, admirably adapted to defence in olden times.

Returned calls of Genl. Marshall and Mr. H. Dale.

7 “ Started by the old path behind Madonna del Borgo at 10.25 up the valley, and finally climbed up by a path wch. ascended over a denuded stratum of rock to a point a few min. above the place where the S. Romolo road crosses the ridge from r. to left, in one hour fr. hotel. Here took the path to San Michele wch. follows the old aqueduct round the head of the Francia valley, and crossing the gorge by the old aqueduct bridge got to the church by 11.40 sat down to converse for a few minutes with a very nice priest, who lives there. The quiet of the place is very attractive, and the view down towards S. Remo a pleasant one. Got back in just one hour at the top of my speed.

9 [Mar.] Took 9.47 to Bordighera, & walked thence to Vallebuona along the road past the upper end of Borghetto. Station 10.20; Borghetto 11; Valleb[u]ona 11.15. Walked thro' the old town & back again in 5 min. Descended to the stream and crossing it climbed up again to Sasso by 11.47. Seborga looks about an hour's walk further up the ridge on wch. Sasso stands. Left at 11.50, and had a delightful walk down to Bordighera old town by 12.30. Shortly after leaving Sasso saw thro' a depression on the opposite side of the valley some

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mountain tops streaked with snow, beyond the W. point of the Bordighera valley Mentone, Cap Martin, Eze & in the dim blue distance the irregular outline of the Esterelles. Above Mentone a long straggling village some way inland. At the station by 12.50 and lunched at the restaurant opposite. Caught 1.47 train, in which I found H. Clarke-Jervoise his wife and dau. on their way from Bordighera to Genoa, Florence and Rome.

Dined at the Necks, and took in Miss Lethbridge. There were two Italians.

Afterwards went to the Treherne's to an evening party, where there was some amateur singing and a little girl of 15½ played Chopin.

11 [Mar.] Went over to Cap Martin and lunched with Baron v. Schröder, who is now 78. He had with him his private secretary, wife of the latter, 2 girls & a governess, and a relation of the late Baroness. The view from the hotel terrace is magnificent towards Mentone, La Mortola & Bordighera. Henry & Augusta & Lisinka went to Mentone to shop and walk about.

13 & 14 Paid p.p.c. calls and saw old Vlanzaly once more.

[Mar.] 15 Left San Remo in rain, after six weeks of uninterrupted fine weather, by 7.10 train for Rome, and

[Mar.] 16 arrd. there at 10.20, where Dr. Nevin hospitably took me in. ¹ Went to see Bliss, who took me to see Mgr. Merry del Var the head of the Accademia for young nobles entering the church, who has given me a letter for Monsignor. J. Tampieri, who is at the Propaganda, and has also arranged for me to see Cardinal Gotti, who is the head of all, to talk abt. missions in China. B. thinks the R.C. auth: wld. not be sorry to annoy the Fr. a little, so I shall avoid any appearance of political motives. Then went to Treves' in the Corso to order Italian books, and afterwards to tea with Ethel Satow, Miss Lancaster & Amy Tyrell at 88 Capo Le Case, thence to the Palazzo Castani to see Lady Kennedy, who is here alone for a few days. Left a card for old Mr. Cartwright at the Inghilterra. At dinner young Mrs. Story (a Miss Broadwood) whom I took in and talked to a great deal. The widow of Count de Renzis late Ambassador in England & her dau. (she has the title of Countess of Montanare) a Miss Burns sister of J.P. Morgan, Hubbard the new Times correspondent, Wurtz and his wife.

17 [Mar.] Went to the Propaganda and after waiting about an hour had an interview with Monsignor Sante Tampieri, to whom I presented a note obtained by Bliss from Merry del Var. It proved to state that it was given to Bliss to present me, and after he found out that it was not Bliss but myself he was talking to he became more interested. I told him of the difference betw. China & Japan; in the former we had Treaty stipulations in favour of

¹ The Rev. Dr. Nevin was Satow's host until he left Rome. He resided at 58 Via Napoli. (Satow to Dickins, PRO 30/33 11/6, 9 March 1903).

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missions & converts, in the latter none – result outrages, hatred & persecution, in the other complete toleration. As the note said I wanted to see Card[inal] Gotti, he said he wld. arrange an interview & let me know; I informed him that I was leaving Rome on the morning of the 23rd & took my leave. Then to Cook's to arrange for tickets to London, & walked along the embankment 1st on l. bank then on r. to Ponte San Angelo. The roadway on the r. bank not yet completed. Thence by the Corso Vittorio Emanuele & Via Nazionale back to Via Napoli, & went to lunch with the Bilbroughs at the Hotel Continental. On returning found Camporeale had been to call. Went to Embassy and left cards. Bertie not back yet. Old Mr. Cartwright of Aynhoe Park returned my call. He had known Cavour and the other great men who made modern Italy. Afterwards with Nevin to the Colonna Palace, where the Gianotti's live. She is half American, he is Prefect of the Palace and Grand Master of Ceremonies or something of that sort at the Quirinale. Met there an old Count Greppi formerly in diplomacy, and Saint-James who was Genl. Voyron's aide-de-camp in 1900. At dinner Countess Gianotti, Mrs. Lee whose dau. is married to Ernest Beckett, a Miss Bronson who having been recently left a million dollars is much sought after and Westenberg the Dutch Minister a very fat short old gentleman.

18 [Mar.] Called on Camporeale, whom I had not seen since he left Japan in 1875: found him quite white, hair and beard. We discussed the difference in character betw. Chinese & Japanese. He says that the Italian F.O. is going to be reorganized, the personnel to be only consular & diplomatic, and the F.O. to be run by men taken fr. them who will get no promotion unless they have served a certain time abroad. He quitted diplomacy in 1882 when he was elected deputy. Says Prinetti can hardly resume active direction of F.O. but the doctors & his colleagues were afraid of telling him this, lest it shld. bring on another fit. Meantime the Min. of Marine desires to be relieved of the duties of acting Min., & the premier won't take the work, because he knows nothing abt. it & cares less.

Lunched with Bliss & his wife.

With Nevin to call at the American Embassy & to leave cards on Countess Montanare and Mrs. Lee.

Then to Propaganda to see Cardinal Gotti, the Prefect, to whom I said that in Japan no treaty stipulation in China with treaty article of 1858 persecution & murder of missionaries contrasted with perfect tolerance in Japan. Intervention of missionaries, consuls & ministers worked badly, created hostile feeling agst. the converts. It wld. have been better if we had not had the article, but having it we were diplomatically bound to maintain. Unfortunately the intervention of missionaries on behalf of their converts frequently produced disputes betw. the R.C. & Prot. missionaries themselves, greatly to the scandal of the people and to the damage of religious progress. Wld. it not be possible to give such

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instructions to the missionaries in China as wld. prevent this. I explained that if on both sides the missionaries refrained fr. interfering in these disputes & contented themselves with reporting to consuls & ministers it would be easy to arrange things entre collègues, & for my own part I wld. undertake that this shld. be so.

He said that he wld. see whether anything cld. be done in the way of giving instructions, but it must be thought out & he could not give an immediate answer.

I replied that I did not expect this. I had only desired to take advantage of being in Rome to state the case and give my ideas to him. I said that while the Prot. missionaries had no locus standi with the lower officials, the decree of a few years back conferred on the R.C. missionaries the right of addressing themselves to the local officials.

He said he was acquainted with this decree wch. he supposed was genuine. Some years ago there was a project for establishing a representative of the Holy See in China to whom all questions wld. be referred. It wld. have had the advantage of concentrating all these questions in one hand and of greatly simplifying them. But it encountered opposition & so was dropped. He understood the Chinese Govt. had been favourable to it.

I observed that I had heard of this & that it had appeared to me an ideal project. There were R.C. missionaries of several nationalities, Spanish, Italian, Fr. & German, and it wld. be much easier to put an end to these conflicts if there were one person to whom they cld. be referred, instead of discussing them with a number of colls: who might not be all of one mind.

He said that he was quite disposed, if on consideration it seemed feasible, to give instructions of a conciliatory character.

I thanked him and took my leave, after explaining that I had come to him as a private individual, without any mission from H.M.G. only actuated by my interest in the work of the missions.

He said he quite understood that it was a confidential communication & that he entirely appreciated my motives and character.

Looking back on the conversation I think it must be regarded as satisfactory, and his allusion to the mission of John Dunn some years ago struck me as a great piece of frankness on his part. He has a fine face, and looks about fifty, but was born in 1834. He said nothing abt. desiring to have English R.C. missionaries in Japan, wch. Bliss told me they might prob. wish to speak of, in order to get my help.

There dined here Sidney Sonnino the late Finance Minister, Meyer the American Ambassador, Van Loo the Belgian, Oyama the Japanese. Kroupensy a brother of the man lately at Peking, Marquis Guicioli Cav. d'honore to the Queen mother & Rodd. Went afterwards to the Wurtz's reception with the Rodds, and met there S. Leech's pretty young

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wife, and Princess Camporeale, an astonishing woman with red hair. The rooms crammed with fine curios in profusion, and with people invited to hear a Russian woman sing. Sat & talked with Mrs. Story and then went away as it was so hot & stuffy.

19 [Mar.] With the Bilbroughs to Castel-Gandolfo by train and walked along the Galleria di Sopra under the evergreen oaks to Albano, where I had walked 15 years ago with Bliss one sunshiny day. Today it was rather cloudy. After lunching at the Salustri Trattoria, we took a carriage & pair & drove at a slow pace to Genzano thro' Arrècia, over the fine viaducts, and looked at the little lake of Nemi from a terrace in the Villa Cesarini; then back to Albano and along the Gulleria di Sotto, where there are primeval evergreen oaks, supported some of them from falling over by huge pillars of masonry. We saw quantities of blue & mauve Anemone stellata, periwinkle & in the Cesarini villa sweet smelling violets. Back to Albano and so to Rome (9.48 to 4.25).

At dinner Mrs. Story & her sister Miss Broadwood, a clever well-read woman, with the remains of good looks.

Esmé Howard came to call.

20 [Mar.] Went to the archives under Bliss' auspices ¹ and paid my respects to Father Ehrle. Pastor whose 4th vol. is not yet out, is here as head of the Austrian School. Went to Trevis and looked at some of my books, very satisfactory. Lunched with Mrs. Story & sat betw. her & her daughter. A Miss Caster, young, good looking, bright, dau. of Govr. of the Bahamas. Waited in for Norton of the American school who never came, & then went round with Nevin; we left cards on Bertie & dropped into the Nazional museum for a few minutes: bronze full sized fig[ure] of tired gladiator recently found in excavating. Dined at Ōyamas. His wife speaks French fluently & is really a clever little woman. Ichiku a nephew of Saigo 1st Secy. & military attaché Harada, a gloomy man who complained to me that he cld. get nothing out of the Itals. in W.O. The Camporeales & Leeches.

21 [Mar.] With the Bilbroughs to Tivoli, by the 9.30 steam train fr. the Porta San Lorenzo. A perfectly cloudless day. Arrived there about 10.45, we walked as far as the Castle with its four machicollated massive round towers, and then took a carriage that had followed us to view the cascades from the road opposite the town, then back to the Villa d'Este, which we explored thoroughly. Then to the Sibilla to lunch. About 2.15 we took another carriage and drove up the valley, past Polo di Cavalieri and Castel-Madama halfway to Vico-Varo, then back to the rlwy. station to take the 4.30 train to Rome. On the l. before reaching Tivoli are the hill towns of Santangelo in Capoccia, Poggislesi and Monticelli, in the distance

¹ William Henry Bliss (1835-1909), B.C.L., D.D. Bliss was a great Victorian scholar, who represented the Public Records Office for many years in the Vatican Archives, Rome. Satow knew Bliss "intimately for over twenty years". (Satow to Dickins, PRO 30/33 11/7, March 20, 1909.)

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situated also high up Palombara. A more delightful excursion can hardly be imagined, and the day was quite perfect. Going there, not far from Bagni, we saw a field full of large pale blue anemones. Almost the only other wild flowers we saw were pale blue periwinkles.

Dined at the Rodds. Lord Grenfell, eldest Miss Broadwood, a Marchesa Teoduli, Otto Ritter councillor of the Bavarian legation & Nevin.

22 [Mar.] Went to Bliss and said goodbye to his wife, but missed him. Left Rime di Petrarca & Vita Nuova in the Florence diamond edition for a special binding. Left a quantity of cards, one on [] Pasta, Author of the History of the Popes. Tea with Ethel & her friends. Dined with the Herrimans', American friends of Nevin's, very pleasant people, he over 70 she over 60, but tall, straight & good looking. Old Mr. Cartwright, R. Lanciani & his wife, a Mr. & Mrs. Abbott & one other lady. H. has a quantity of curios including Chinese & Japanese of a good sort.

23 [Mar.] Left Rome by the 9.30 train viâ Florence & Bologna for Milan; a magnificent day, and the scenery as far as Bologna, where sun set, was entrancing. Oh! If only one had the time to dawdle about these places. Put up again at the Hotel Cavour.

24 “ Walked about the Castello Sforzatesco [Sforzesco], and looked at it from outside and from the Courtyard, a very fine old relic of medievalism, and then went inside the Duomo while Mass was being said. It is truly a magnificent building seen from within: outside it is like a huge and glorious Twelfth cake. By the 12.30 train to Basle. Forsythia in flower in the public garden near Hotel Cavour, lilacs putting forth leaves & buds. Eurya Japonica with new leaves. It was quite warm in the open air. Found myself in the omnibus with a General John Martin & his wife, who had met Sam [Satow] somewhere; went with [them] as far as Luzern. Quantities of primroses on the Italian side, and at Faido a tiny yellow heartscue even at the railway station. At Luzern got in a man with his wife, who said his name was Foster, and that he had called on me in Tangier, one of those pushing people who make acquaintance with everybody willy nilly, and talked of his knowing Euan Smith, as if that were a recommendation. I uttered some words expressing my doubts as to the good judgment & courage of W.B. Harris, the present “Times” correspondent in Morocco.

25 [Mar.] Leaving Basle by 11.40 p.m. last night got to London at four and took possession of my rooms at Queen Anne's Mansions: met Chirol going out just as I came in. The crossing from Boulogne was delightful, a southerly breeze and consequently warm enough to do without an overcoat.

Dined at Travellers' with Tower, & played pyramids c. him & Deo Graz.[?]

26 March [Professor] H.A. Giles [of Cambridge University] called to ask for help in getting a Govt. grant to help in the republication of his Dictionary. Asked him to write a letter on the

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subject that I could show. Told him my arrangements for rendering interpretorial exams more of a proof of real knowledge, and found he approved.

To H.T. Butlin ab[ou]t my hands. Says it is a rather unusual case of Dupuytren's contractions (arranged for operation to be performed April 1).

To City, made the acquaintance of Carnegie, [A.A.] Shand's successor at [Parr's Bank] 77 Lombard St. and then went on to see Shand.

To F.O., saw F.A. Campbell and told him ab[ou]t my conversation with Cardinal Gotti. Talked over app[oin]tm[en]t of consul-general at Moukden & recommended postponement till after the complete evacuation. Also question of the glacis, told him my view that we shld. hold out for the completion of the cadastral survey and agreement of the Govts. to the glacis being held in common.

Saw Sanderson, who gave me papers abt. unrest in Russia to look at and papers abt. Thibet. Backhouse, cannot well ask Treasury to give an app[oin]tm[en]t but c[ou]ld get Ld. Lansdowne's consent to expenditure of £300 a year on him as newswriter. Spoke of my idea of sending him to Urga, which seemed to him not bad. Chancery servt. at Peking cannot come out of S.S. must speak to Chief Clerk. My suggestion that I shld. go to see Lord Curzon on my way out seemed to him to present advantages in regard to both Thibet and Burma, but I had better mention it to Ld. Lansdowne.

Saw Synge's group of Japanese who came over for Coronation.

Called on Wm. Lowthers and met Sir Horace Rumbold there. Mrs. Lowther wanted me to dine on 2nd April but told her my operation wld. prevent.

Dined with the old Churchills in Grosvenor St. Judge Bacon, Sir Vincent Kennett, Barrington & wife, Col. Dawkins who is to marry the youngest Miss Churchill, Sanderson & his sister. Barrington & I renewed acquaintance dating from my second term at Montevideo.

27 [March] To Cockerell. Discussed outfit to consuls, leave to seniors and summer uniform. The latter questions still under consideration, & King has to be consulted abt. uniform. Leave of seniors nothing done. I brought away a series of minutes on outfit question & adding one of my own sent it back to C. with suggestion that Peking should be informed how far F.O. had got with other 2 questions.

Tried to see W.C. Cartwright but unsuccessfully, so wrote him a note abt. Engl. Chancery Servant for Peking.

To W. E. Davidson. Says that 2 members of the S'hai bar have informed him the C.J. [Chief Justice] is very slow & hope when he retires that a young & vigorous man from England will be appointed. I said that the objection to this would be his ignorance of local questions, but he cld. be coached by Bourne; gave my reasons for not thinking H.P.

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Wilkinson wld. be a good apptmt., confidentially of course.

H.S.W. asked him abt. a K.C.M.G. to wch. he gave vague ans[wer]; so told him what had passed betw. myself, Eric Barrington & H.S.W. on the subject.

Called on E. Sturges & afterwds. dined at the Oriental Club. Not a soul there that I knew, except Wheeler, a man I met there in 1900 & who now reintroduced himself.

28-30 [March] At Berkhamsted with Sam.

30 Lunched with Chirol. He says that towards the end of 1901 the Germ. Govt. made a formal proposition of alliance w[hi]ch was declined by Ld. Lansdowne, and a couple of days after the campaign ag[ain]st Chamberlain broke out in reference to a speech of his. He was shown at Berlin a long indictment of England, setting forth the bad turns she had done to Germany for many years past, and v. Bülow & Holstein both hinted to him that the announcement of an alliance w[ou]ld allay German Anglo-phobia! But they wanted us to agree to the exclusion of Asia from the scope of the alliance. Ch[amberlain] told them that it was quite out of the question that we shld. ever agree to do anything that might cause a quarrel betw[een] us & the U.S.

I said that in spite of all I thought it was useless to attempt to come to an understanding with Russia, and that as Germany needed our alliance, it was better to work with her, while keeping a strict watch over her doings. Tho' I knew no secrets I conjectured that there was some sort of understanding betw[een] us and Germany, w[hi]ch caused us to overlook, e.g. in the case of Shanghai, many of their crooked ways. Of course Lord L. w[ou]ld not sign anything, for fear of the use to w[hi]ch it might be put; just as in 1866 Italy & Germany both hesitated ab[ou]t signing an alliance because each suspected the other of wanting a document to make use of in order to obtain separate terms fr[om] Austria. What were the 120,000 men asked for by the Broderick scheme for? Ch[irol] agreed with me that they could not be wanted for India. Kitchener he says in favour of having an available body of troops in Australia or S. Africa for use in certain contingencies in India.

He says Curzon has done exceedingly well in India, but unluckily has made himself most unpopular with the military men: he is overworked & strained. If he remains beyond his term, he ought to come home for a rest.

He told me an amusing story of a conversation betw. the Emperor William & J. Chamberlain in which the former recd. a retort he did not quite like.

Dined at Lansdowne House, & took out Lady Barrington, wife of Eric. Lady Londonderry on my left, who talked about books, especially Fortescue's History of the British Army. Other people there Geo. Wyndham & Countess Grosvenor, W.H. Grenfell of Taplow Court, Lord & Lady Roberts, Count Metternich, Sir E. Cassel, Lady Blandford,

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Lady Waterford.

- 31 [March] R. Masujima called. Has been in England six weeks and goes back next week. Dickins came, discussed the Chinese terms for engagement of a professor of physics &c. & he went off to see J.D. Campbell & leave the matter in his hands. ¹ Coming back fr. lunch met C.W. Campbell at the door & brought him in. To tea with Mrs. Hamilton Curry.

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- 1 April Operation on middle & fourth fingers of right hand performed by H.T. Butlin at 17 Upper Wimpole St, a nursing home kept by Mrs. Capel, widow of a barrister named Capel and grand dau. of Dr. Waugh, a Presbyterian minister. She lent me Stopford Brooke's volumes on Tennyson & Browning, which I read with much pleasure. Nurse Helen waited on me. I knew nothing of what had happened till I awoke from the anaesthetic to find myself in bed with a huge splint on my hand, so big that I could not get my arm thro' a sleeve. Agneta came up several times to see me and write my letters, also Sam [Satow], Louis, W.G. Howell & Col. Manifold, I.M.S.
- 6 [April] Splint changed, so that I could dress. Went to Brighton and stopped at aunt's with Emma Sturges. Poor old aunt quite off her head, does not recognize anyone, and babbles nonsense. Perhaps she understands a little of what is said to her.
- 7 [April] Emma went home & Agneta came down.
- 13 [April] Went to town early and down to Worcester to stop with Gore. His brother Francis and wife and a younger son there. The chaplain Loader-Smith had been a curate of Wilfred Gore-Browne at Darlington.
- 17 [April] P.G. Hamiton Cavill M.P. called abt. his son in Consulate Gen. Tientsin. Meeting with delegates of missionary societies at Bible Societies House, all except J.P.G. being represented. Called on Bishop Montgomery in the morning & told him confidentially abt. possible denunciation of Concordat & the consequences to be hoped for.
- 18 [April] To Chislehurst to stop at Salcombe. One day we drove to Downs, not far from Orpington, and found out the house inhabited by Charles Darwin; it stands close to the road and looks comfortably large.
- 20 [April] Came to town and had splint taken off, since which event I have been able to write a

¹ See Satow to his old friend F.V. Dickins from San Remo, March 9, 1903: "What a pity you cannot come to Rome. I go there on the 15 for the inside of a week and expect to get home about the 25th. When I arrive I am going to ask you for a youngish professor of physics to go out to China for the new Peking University, but cannot write more precisely at present as I have left the paper of terms & conditions in London." See also Satow to Dickins, 27 March, 1903 from Queen Anne's Mansions. (PRO 30/33 11/6).

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little. The three fingers very stiff and the middle one very numb.

21 [April] Rev. Mr. Dawson the new Rector dined, a pleasant man of about 50.

22 [April] Returned to town and lunched with [R.K.] Douglas at Frascati's. It was he who wrote the notice appended to the caricature of me in this week's Vanity Fair; a good deal of what he had written was excised.

Went to F.O. and saw Francis Campbell; gave him my opinion abt. the dispute betw. Chinese & the Lu-Han railway management as to the levying of likin on Chinese goods sent by train; also a message to be sent thro' Townley for Tseng abt. impossibility of procuring a professor for the new university at Peking for less than £600.

Called on Sir J. & Lady Bruce: met there a young cousin of hers, son of the late Conway Thornton.

23 [April] Called on Hayashi who told me Isvolski was recalled because a deep[-]laid plan, worked thro' Poklevski & Tsudzuki Keizō for bringing about an understanding between Japan and Russia fell to pieces on Itō's visit to Petersburg. So now they have sent Rosen to Tokio to try and prevent renewal of Anglo-Japanese alliance after the first five years. He regards Manchuria as gone; to turn Russia out wld. be no good, for China could not govern it properly, and no one else could afford the expense.

Left a card on Poklewski, who at 1 p.m. was not down.

Called on Chang Tê-yi, who remarked that the death of Junglu was a good thing. He has heard from Chang Pohsi [Chancellor of Peking University] abt. the professor I was asked to procure & has recd. 3000 taels for passage-money and other expenses. So told him I had sent a message to Peking that a proper man could not be found for less than £600.

Called on Kekewich's and Miss Sanderson.

Dined at the Travellers [club] with Tower. There were also C.A. Spring-Rice, Condie Stephen, Louis Mallet and Chirol.

24[April] Lunched with Emma Sturges and talked with Lucy Bennett abt. a nephew of hers who wants to get into the China Consular service. Afterwards with E. to the Wallace Collection to look again at the Meissoniers, the very varied style of the Bowingtons (1801 to 1828), a few Turner water-colours (in particular, Mowbray Lodge) and Copley Fieldings. Dined with Wm. Howell at the Royal Literary Fund and sat opposite Col. Harry Cooper, a retired soldier. Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton in the chair made a good speech, so did Mr. Justice Kennedy in proposing literature, Justice Bigham not so good in proposing the Forces and Genl. Sir A.P. Palmer good in reply. Major Martin Hume in replying for Literature very dull, tedious and querulous.

25-27 At Highfield Park, Withyham, nr. Ashurst, with the Kirkwoods and his brother Townsend, a retired Indian official. It rained all Sunday. The church at Withyham is a fine

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building, destroyed by fire in 1663 and restored again about 1840. Banners of the Sackville family hanging in their chapel. The rector Sutton to tea & Presbyterian minister to tea.

27 Lunched at Travellers, where I met Sir Henry Yorke, Redesdale, A. Fitzroy and Lt. Claud Hamilton. Left cards on Mrs. Lyte, Lady Mackay, the old Chas. Churchills, Mrs. J.K. Studd, Mrs. Ted Hannen, and Mr. Ness, none of who were in, also called on Mrs. Bishop, with whom I talked of Morocco.

28 Ordered a cup for the money I won at the last Peking Club races and a silver ring for my godchild, Kenneth Gaselee Ker, the baby of Mr. & Mrs. W.P. Ker at Lamberts. Augusta came to lunch. Called on Mrs. Ernest Schuster, and went with her to the Webers. W.J.S. Shand came about his candidature for the professorship of Japanese at King's College London. I tested him with a piece of Chinese and found he knew most of the characters; so wrote for him to Lord Cranborne and also a testimonial addressed to himself.

29 To Lord Lansdowne at his request at 10 to talk ab[ou]t Manchuria. It appears that the versions do not agree as to the exact nature of the Russian demands. He asked what our real interests were. I said British imports into Manchuria were estimated at abt. £2,000,000, and there was a considerable export of beancake wch. benefited the Br[itish] shipping trade. Mukden & Kirin were valuable, but Hei-lung-chiang sparsely populated that might go. I suggested that an additional gunboat at Newchwang might be useful as a warning, especially if the Japanese did the same, and of course a joint naval demonstration w[ou]ld have a powerful effect. Naturally the possession of the railways gave Russia practical dominion. I cited Germ[an] action as to post offices along their line in Shantung, w[hi]ch they w[ou]ld eventually prolong to Chêngting, and the Franco-Belgian refusal to allow likin-stations on the Luhan line. I said in reply to a question that we had better wait till our r[ai]lw[a]y concessions were ratified by the Chinese Govt. before we claimed similar rights & powers. Suggested that some day we might have to fight Russia, and that she was not as strong as she looked. To the former he replied "Perhaps" with a smile, to the latter nothing. But [Lansdowne] added that judging by their attitude in other parts of the world they had no desire for war. We also discussed Thibet and I suggested my going out by way of Simla to see Ld. Curzon, on wch. he said he wld. consult Ld. Geo. Hamilton who was staying in the house. He approved of my idea of sending young Backhouse to Urga to see what the Russians do with the Lama there, but characterized the apptmt. of a consular officer there, as mere pinprick. However it is a great thing to have got his consent to using B. in the former way. He asked me to go to see him on my return to town, at Lansdowne House.

Mrs. Mounsey and her daughter Daisy born in Japan came to call.

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Down to Beer [to stay with the W.G. Astons] by the 1 o'clock train. In it a Capt. of Marines going to Plymouth with a party of recruits, and we had a good deal of talk together; he said recruiting had been brisk, as the pay was so good, and had now been stopped.

30 April Cunningshams and Wrigleys came to lunch. The morning rainy. In the afternoon we all drove to Ronsdon to tea with Lady Peek and her two daughters. Sir Edmund & Lady Fremantle there also. Quantities of marsh marigold in a swampy place on the road up from Axmouth.

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1 May to Netherton in Farway with the Astons to lunch with the Tukes, who have a house dating from 1605 or 1607. Plenty of primroses and bluebells flowering together intertwined, also a purple orchid; the gorse this year is magnificent. Heavy rain going. Read part of Inge's "Christian Mystics", a very profound & interesting book.

The Carrs and Miss Woodward to dinner. He is a brother of Crumpus Carr, she a sister of Mrs. Wrigley, another sister married one of the Cozens-Hardys. He was an artist, but has now turned into an architect, and built Aston's house, as well as the rest of the group about it, also a few in the village.

2 [May] Walked as far as the gate on Beer Common wch. looks down into Branscombe, the morning being fine. Then to Teignmouth by the 11.54 train, arriving there at 2.24. Cloudy again and rain at night. No one here by Joe and Josephine.

3 [May] Rain again. In the afternoon to tea at Colonel Morrison's, formerly of Dublin Fusiliers. Met there Miss Holmes, friend of Mrs. Murphy's, & a Col. Walsh who had known Major Ord of the 2/xx father of Walter Hillier's divorced wife.

4 Walked with Josephine in the morning over the Skew Bridge and back by the Dawlish road, in the afternoon across the ferry to Shaldon, to visit the curious new church and the old one in the churchyard, back by the bridge. Mrs. Eddie Tozer to tea. Her husband is the landlord of Arthur Davenport, formerly a consul in China.

5 By 9.17 train to Plymouth, where David [Satow, elder brother] met me and took me up to Horrbridge to lunch. Staying with him and his wife were Mrs. Moberly sister of Genl. Sir Ar. Dorwood now of Singapore & her dau[ghter] Mrs. Wishaw whose husband was of Petersburg, British factory family. Walked with D[avid] on the Yelverton Common, and after tea came on to the Hendersons at Devonport, where he has the dockyard. Only other guest a Mr. Scholes of the West Indies.

6 In the morning tramped all over Devonport dockyard, and went over the "Edward

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VII" and "Montagu". Afternoon to Keyham & thro' the shops, then all round the extension works, where huge groups of concrete cylinders have to be sunk thro' the mud to a depth of sometimes 95 feet to reach the rock so as to form the skeleton of the sea wall and wall on the inner face of the basilio, and to the naval barracks, where there is room for 4000 men. A young Lt. named Rogers showed us round, and took us to the magnificent officers' quarters, where he gave us tea.

At dinner Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, Sir Ed. Seymour, Sir Alex & Lady Buller, Lady Butler the wife of the Genl. in command and her daughter, Mrs. Egerton and Miss Clarke-Jervoise, sisters of H.S.C. Clarke-Jervoise formerly of the F.O. Mrs. Dalton wife of Col. Dalton the C.R.A. here, sister of Mrs. May (Col. Sec's wife of Hongkong) & dau. to Genl. Barker. Lt. Cawl-Worsley and his wife. Sat betw. Mrs. Dalton & Miss Butler, pretty & sensible girl of 19.

7 Went by train to Plympton and lunched with the Bullers. They have a son in the 60th Rifles who is [in] India, and will come home this autumn. Told them I shld. be glad to put him up at Peking if he came back that way.

Returning met David in the street near the station, & went on to the Royal Western Yacht Club to meet Henderson. Made the acquaintance of Rear-Admiral Poë, who has just been apptd. 2nd in command of the Home Squadron.

Dined with Sir Henry [sic. Edward?] Seymour. Buller, Admiral Bosanquet, Henderson, Alton the Secy. & Cawl-Worsley. Bosanquet talked about the necessity of training ships at the ports for the merchant navy, offering good terms. Told him my view that big Cos. shld. be allowed to organize services and that the wages & kit of deserters should be accounted for by captains of merchant vessels to Consuls. Sir Ed. Seymour spoke highly of Sir Cyprian Bridge his successor on the China Station, and we discussed the situation in Manchuria. I told him I thought it not worth while for either England or Japan to turn out the Russians, but that my advice to H.M.G. was to maintain gunboats at Newchwang, & that if we made a joint naval demonstration with Japan it would cause the Russians to withdraw their demands.

Buller says that when he sent ships to Port Arthur in 1898 he got instructions fr[om] home to withdraw them. When the Reuters teleg[ram] came out stating that they had been withdrawn at the request of Russia he sent others. Lord Salisbury foreseeing trouble with France over Fashoda and with the Boers became alarmed, & insisted that the Admiralty shld. instruct him to withdraw. The F.O. sent almost daily to the Admiralty for a whole week to urge despatch of these instructions, & yet Ld. Salisbury stated in the [H]ouse that the ships were taken away by him (Buller) because the exigencies of the service required their presence elsewhere. The Russian admiral received instructions almost

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simultaneously to withdraw his ships, so if Ld. Salisbury had held firm, the Russians wld. not have got Manchuria. I replied that Ld. S. sh[ou]ld have taken his stand on the Treaty, and have sent orders to him to remain.

8 Returned to town by 10.30 train and had tea with Mrs. Churchill at her club 21 Hanover Square. Dined at the Travellers, and talked afterwards with Clement Hill and Mowbray Morris.

9 Went to Butlin, who recommended [finger] massage by a man named Climpson. Then to Edwards to tell him to send a copy of bamboo book to Sir A. Buller. Down to Berkhamsted. Walked with Sam [Satow] on the Common. Dull weather.

10 Walked on the Common as far as the entrance to the Rhododendron Avenue of Ashridge Park, overlooking the ancient village of Albury and Mrs. Humphrey Ward's house of Stocks.

11 Up to town. Climpson came. Then to bank to draw money and to see A.A. Shand. After lunch to F.O. where I spoke again about Cockburn's allowance. Made the acquaintance of Oakes the Librarian, who succeeded Hertslet. Called on Mrs. Francis Gore, Lady Albemarle, Drage, Mrs. Trower & Mrs. Thursby. Found only the first and last at home.

12 [May] To Lord Lansdowne at 10, and discussed the Manchurian question further. He says [Russian minister in Peking P.M.] Lessar acc[ording] to [Russian ambassador in London Count Alexander] Benckendorf is not Anglo-phobe, but I said I had never found him [Lessar] ready to come to an understanding with us in Peking. We also talked a little about the Persian Gulf, and I was surprised to find out how accurate his local knowledge is.

Went to Sir Hermann Weber, who found my liver still slightly enlarged, and prescribed for me. Weight 9st. 7½ lbs.

Lunched at the Club and talked to Henry Yorke. Called on Mrs. E. Moon and Mrs. Felix Schuster, both at home. Felix Schuster is Governor of the Union Bank. Then to E. Sturges. Dined with Ch. Bilbrough at St Stephen's Club; Lord Alverstone also, who is an old friend of his, & adjourned to the Westminster Town Hall to the Abbey Glee Club of wch. A. is chairman. Met there Sir Walter Peace Agent-General for Natal, who married a cousin of Kate's. The singing delightful.

13 May Waited in till lunch time for Mr. E. Davies, for whom I had given an apptmt. at the request of the Duke of Abercorn, but he never came. Lunched with Chirol. [John] St. Loe Strachey editor of "Spectator". Sir Ed. Grey, Spring-Rice, Tower, Col. Browne, & Yarborough M.P. Sat next to Strachey, who asked a lot of questions abt. China, and discussed Germany & Russia. Said I thought we were bound to oppose Russia tooth & nail in Afghanistan, Thibet, Persian Gulf & Manchuria. He is agst. me & others on the Persian Gulf, & I said tooth & nail meant war. I said that a challenge wld. not be accepted

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by Russia. Had to leave early to go to the Committee on consular service. Sir Wm. Walrond, Sir James Mackay, Lord Cranborne, with Tilley as Secy. Said I thought general consular service might be thrown open to China, Japan & Siam after a certain no. of years' service, especially for benefit of Siam service; advocated limited competition, nominations being given to certain schools & universities, so as to do away with the examiner & cutting down the age to 21, so that men might not go on competing time after time. Also that general consular service shld. be thrown into one, even including clerks. Told them my experience in Montevideo with Ayres & the consular clerk. Also explained the impossibility of consular reports such as demanded by the press, and the indifference of merchants to their contents. The duties of consuls where no jurisdiction exists chiefly to enter & discharge seamen, compose disputes betw. masters & sailors, recover deserters & so forth. Altogether 40 minutes.

Called on the Bergnes, not at home, then on Hon. Mrs. Napier. At Travellers [club] Tower, Col. Browne & Vaughan dined with me. Clarke-Thornhill after dinner joined us, and we had a long talk about Japan, the consular service, and the old quarrel betw. the Frasers & the Napiers, in wch. the latter behaved shamefully.

14 May Went to Lombard St. & saw Sir Thos. Jackson. He says silver is 13% better than it was, thinks it will hold its own, and wishes H.M.G. wld. adopt the same line as the U.S. abt. payment of the indemnity. Talked to Sir E. Cameron abt. the delay in issuing decree authorising Shanghai-Nanking Rlwy. agreement. He says the hitch is the Chin. Govt. want to appt. agent in London to inspect materials purchased. He thinks this is reasonable, but then the Syndicate wish to let the construction to a contractor & not to purchase materials themselves. He gave explanations of the delay in carrying thro' the negotiations on their part wch. seemed to me lame. Cheng, he says, refuses to agree any lines fr. Pakou to join Luhan or S. of Yellow river except the line to Sinyang: Syndicate have applied for the Széchuan rlwy. Also had a talk with Duncan Campbell C.M.G. Hart's representative. He told me that Yüan Shihkai had memorialized abt. the Kaiping mines & obtained a rescript ordering Chang Yi to get them back. I said that my language had always been that if Chang Yi and his friends thought themselves injured, they must seek a remedy in En[lish] courts of equity. He also read a passage fr. a letter of Hart's explaining why he had appointed Konovaloff Acting Com[missione]r at Niuchwang, in order to forestall & prevent a Russian demand that such an apptmt. shld. always be made as a matter of course.

Went to Lord Lansdowne & told him all I had heard. He showed me d[ra]ft teleg. to Townley authorizing him to offer to Chinese to take up to 1911, subject to a subsequent decision as to the payt. of the difference. I said that it seemed all right, since Russia &

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France at least had taken their own line in supporting payment of duties in gold.
Lunched there: Lord Algernon Percy & his dau.

To last concert of Joachim Quartett with E.S. Allen & Olga. Met Mrs. Norris there, nothing but Brahms. Called on Mrs. Ker, Mrs. Wm. Lowther (not at home), Mrs. Cockerell, & dined at Travellers.

15 [May] D.H. Jackson came about professorship at Peking. Read his credentials & showed him the draft contract. Gave him card of introduction to Duncan Campbell, and afterwards sent him a letter of introduction to Chang Têyi.

Went up to Chirol & had a chat; told him that I am going out by way of Simla to see Curzon, of wch. he greatly approved. As to Manchuria, I did not think either Japan or England wld. appeal to force, but it would not do to say so. The Americans had flattered the Russians by putting forward a demand for the opening of Mukden & Taku-shan.

Sir Henry Oldham abt. his son's claim of £700 for property destroyed at Mêngtze. He read a good deal of correspondence, & I advised that his son shld. call on me when I pass thro' Shanghai abt. end of July or beginning of August. Paul May to lunch with me at St. James'. Went to P. & O. in Northumberland avenue and engaged passage to Bombay for 18 June (19th fr. Marseilles). Then to stores about pearl studs. Geoffrey Satow came: is out of a job. Learning shorthand & typewriting & will try to get a secretaryship. At his request sent him letters of introduction to Sir Samuel Montagu and A.A. Shand. To tea with Mrs. Bishop. Wrote a letter of introduction for Arthur Gore to Wm. Haggard, minister at B.A. [Buenos Aires] Dined with Lucy & Ellis & took out Lady Collins, very interesting woman, had just returned from Athens. The Master of the Rolls, Akers-Douglas, Middleton the Conservative agent (formerly in the navy, was on board the "Ocean" at Kobe in 1868) & his wife, Dowager Lady Hylton, who asked me to call on her, & Rufus Isaacs a barrister, a little woman from Cairo, and Mrs. Fedor Satow, who looked very pretty. After dinner Mabel, with roses in her cheeks, looking charming & bright.

16 [May] To Batsford by 1.45 train, with Sir Henry Yorke. Lady Redesdale away from home. Lady Bective & Lord & Lady Arthur Hill & their daughter were the other guests. Rainy weather, so that we saw very little of the garden.

17 [May] More rain. Came to town with Yorke by the 6.59 train, wch. means half an hour's wait at Oxford.

18 [May] Went to the King's levée. Saw Fred Verney, the Siamese Minister, Wm. Haggard & Chang Têyi.

Lunched with Mrs. Pownall at her club in Dover Street. Her sister & nieces Hamilton, & Mrs. McNeill of Shanghai. Then to Oslers to order glass &c. Bought photos. of Tangier for Mrs. H. Currey at Spooner's in Strand. To dinner with the Shands

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at Upper Norwood. His brother W.J.S., his two daughters, G.W. Thomson & Trevithick.

19 [May] To Fred[eric]k Yates in Norland Square Notting Hill and sat two hours for a crayon portrait wch. he is going to give to Agneta. Then to E. Hannens to lunch, Lady H. and Jessie, a cousin Miss H. & Mrs. E.H., and the little boy. to Stones to order lamps &c. dined with Tom Warrington, Mr. Justice Walton, Levy Bagnold, young Binyon of the B.M., Mrs. Thursby, Mrs. Otter sister of J.W. Cross a very amusing woman, a Miss Cohen, a Miss Dickinson.

20 [May] To stores for groceries and stationery articles. Lunched with Duchess of St. Alban's, Miss Beaumont a dau. of the Duchess, Lord Ormround and Jas. Knowles of the XIX Century. Then ordered ties, cup for races at Peking, canvas shoes and spats, and left card on Lord Currie. To Mrs. Ch. Churchill's at home, and met Col. Arthur [Churchill] just home fr. Japan, with whom I walked as far as S. James' Park.

[Margin: Clement Allen called, & told me he had be[en] to Brighton to a missionary meeting. He agreed with me as to the error of missions demanding compensation for losses.]

Dined at Fishmongers Hall on the invitation of the Prime Warden Rawlings, and took Lucy Hume Williams as my lady. Sat next to Mrs. W.K. Foster, Rawlings' sister. Met there Duke of Abercorn, Lord Tweedmouth, who as Ed. Marjoribanks was in Japan in 1871 with Kenneth Muir-Mackenzie, and stopped with [F.O.] Adams & myself at Monriō-In; also Sir Edward Busk, with whom I used to sit on the same bench at Univ: Coll: London 1859 to 1861. The Bonsers also & Dean Wace, and young John Murray, to whom I spoke about Houston Chamberlain's Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.

21 May Ordered some menu cards &c. at Harrisons, then went down to Hampton Wick to lunch with Bobby Boyce at his new cottage on the river. A truly lovely summer day, cloudless sky, and all the trees dressed in their fresh green. Agneta to tea & Arthur fetched her away. Dined with the Bergnes en famille, their two boys, one of whom is in the South Kensington Museum, the other on the Stock Exchange. Told them all about Peking, the looting and the fortification of the Legation quarter. Bergne said he had much wished they wld. send me to Washington.

22 [May] Col. Manifold called about a further journey of exploration he desires to make in Western China, in combination with railway exploration on behalf of the Peking Syndicate, wch. wld. prob. contribute to the cost. I said if he wld. write to me abt.it I wld. put it before Lord Lansdowne.

Wrote to Sir J. Mackay for information abt. journey to Simla & on, and got a very full reply, also promise to write to his firm and have every facility given to me by them.

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Lunched with Ernest Beck & his partner Grainger to discuss wines & brandies for Peking. He can also supply a good olive oil & white wine vinegar.

To F.O. to see Cockerell. He says Harold at Scutari will also go to Cettigne in charge whenever the Minister in Montenegro goes on leave. He prophesies that I shall go to Petersburg.

Saw Charles Hardinge. He thinks Paget might be left at Bangkok as Ch. d'Aff. when Tower is apptd. somewhere else, and I agreed that it would be a good arrangement. We talked about Russia and the proper way of dealing with her, as to which we agree. He is now in charge of Consular matters. It seems we met at Cairo in Feb. 1883 when he was there with Lord Dufferin.

Saw Sanderson & told him Lord L. approves of my going to Simla. He says C[urzon] rather resents refusal of his proposals, but if he had been listened to we shld. by this time prob. have occupied Lhasa, and put forward demands on France in connexion with Siam. As to Manchuria he does not think the Russians at present will annex, or try to keep out our trade, but later on will do so when they have strengthened their hold on the 3 provinces. They prob. will manage to get the apptmt. of a Russian as Comr. of Customs made permanent, but we must insist that next time some one of a different nationality must be apptd. Also they will do their best to get the sanitary matters of the port into their hands. I said that we had hitherto said nothing about Manchuria in meetings of the Dipl. Body, but I thought it would be advisable to take, not make, opportunities of doing so, as we must maintain the right of our people to import into Manchuria under Chinese tariffs. He approved of this idea (I shld. get the U.S. & Jap. colleagues to combine with me.) Churchill tells him that the Japse. think nothing can be done to save Manchuria, but if Corea is touched Japan will fight. He again mentioned Backhouse's employ[men]t & pay[men]t out of SS wch. is approved.

Went down to Dulwich with [R.K.] Douglas, and dined with him, after going to the cricket ground & visiting the gallery, where are some good Rembrandts', Murillos N. Poussin, a beautiful Hobbema, some Reynoldses and a couple of fine Gainsboroughs. Only his wife & sons Jim & Sholto [William Sholto Douglas?].

23 [May] Ordered Kerner & Oliver [a botanical textbook] for Hisayoshi, some clothes fr. Beman, into National Gallery for a few minutes, to see Yates' picture of Mrs. Otter (for his sake, not hers), and after lunch went on to see E. Sturges lying on the sofa, looking ill, but still anxious to go somewhere and tire herself further.

Down to Wantage Rd. by 5.15 to stay with Lady Wantage at Lockinge House, at the station fell in with Ronald Lindsay, son of Lord Crawford, in dipl. service, at Petersburg. Other people staying were Miss Balfour who arrived late, Arthur Elliott the new Financial

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Secretary & his wife, Harry Lindsay & his wife, a Bourke grand dau. of Lord Mayo who is pretty, picturesque, plays the piano admirably and has a charming infantine voice. Lady Wantage a fine figure, beautiful, white hair, a good profile, and grande dame.

24 [May] In the morning most went to church, wh[ic]h is close to the house, and afternoon drove on to the downs South, wch. command a fine view. On returning found Mrs. Elliott, a dau[ghter] of Sir Henry the old diplomatist. She talked a great deal about Constantinople, and the Turkish Constitution of Midhat Pasha, wch. her father maintains wld. have been a success if a fair trial had been given to it. After dinner Mrs. Harry Lindsay played some delicious things of Chaikowsky & Brahms, & he sang, notably a section of In Memoriam "but in the use of numbers" set by Maude Valeria White.

25 [May] Returned to town. Lunched with Jas. Knowles & his wife, and talked a great deal about the anti-German feeling in England & the true policy for both Engl. & Germany, also abt. Lord Kelvin's recent declaration that Science postulates a directing Power, and the whole question connected with it; Tennyson's intense belief in the continuance of consciousness. Knowles generously gave me a few mezzotint of Leighton's Clytia and a magnificent photograph full sized of the head of Millais' portrait of Tennyson; both of wch. he possesses. He has also Watts' him that sat on the white horse of Revelations, and drawings by several of the old masters.

Edmund Davis, the Jew financier introduced by Duke of Abercorn, called, his principal object being to arrange for a call fr. Col. Thuys, the Belgian financier connected with the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co., Cie. Internationale d'Orient, the LuHan and the Hankow-Canton line, & other enterprises in China.

Down to Seend [Wiltshire] to visit the Dickins'.

26 [May] In the morning walked with him [Frederick Victor Dickins] to Steeple Ashton by way of Reevil, and visited the fine church. Antiquated houses of beams filled in with brick at both places. Afternoon we all drove through Melksham, a thriving town where 'lifts' are made, to Lacock, an old-fashioned village with still more picturesque houses of wood & brick, & to visit the abbey wch. is inhabited by the Talbot family, much altered, adapted & modernised.

After dinner Mrs. Ransome, sister-in-law of the two sisters Edith & Jessie at Peking came in, & her sister Miss Bolton.

27 [May] Came up from Seend, changing at Newbury. Warren came to lunch with me at St. James' Club, where I saw Eddie Morant. At 3 Edmund Davis with Colonel Thuys, who explained to me how he came to be concerned in the Engineering & Mining Co. After listening to his story, in the course of wch. he spoke hardly of Moreing and Hoover, I advised them to write the whole history, giving chapter & verse & copies of documents, to

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Ld. Lansdowne, who then wld. be in a position to give me instructions.

Went off to Ed. Yates, for him to finish crayon sketch. Dined with Louis at Carlton; Lucy & Ellis, Basil & May.

28 [May] To Butlin to show him my hand. Then to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, to look at Knowles' terra cottas, and saw Arthur Evans intagli, of great age, from Crete. Lunched with Winstanley at the Imperial & came home to meet J.H. Glass of the Peking Syndicate, who showed me their new plans for railway concessions. Then to call on Mrs. Lowther, where I met a youngish Mrs. Vickers (of Vickers, Maxim & Co.), Lady Albemarle & her daughter, & then on to leave card on Viva & her husband. Tea with E. Sturges. Dined with Drages. Count Metternich. Took in Mrs. Pirrie of Harland & Wolfs, and sat next to a young Mrs. Nepean. A professor Church (Sir Wm. Resident R.C.P.) . Had a little talk with Metternich after dinner, praised Mumm; said de Giers was not liked; colls. told me when I got to Peking in 1900 that the Russians had fomented the Boxer rising 'pour embêter les Anglais et les Allemands' [to annoy the British & Germans]; he explained to me his view of how the present hostile feeling betw. Germ. & Engl. nations originated; fr. Boer war, language of press, "Times" & other papers stirred it up. Standard & Daily Teleg. less so.

Afterwards we had a talk with Drage; he says that J. Chamberlain is agst. Russia. Wants to bring about a meeting betw[een] him & me.

29 [May] Lunched c. Mrs. Murphy & her brother-in-law the retired soldier & Miss Berkeley, sister of Sister Xavier Berkeley from China at the Empress Club. Then to Edwards to choose books to be taken in my luggage to China out of those wch. he has been binding for me & to inspect the others. Left cards on Ad. Buller & the Basil Allens. Had a talk with Chirol abt. preferential duties & general policy; J. Chamberlain the only strong man in the Govt.

Dined with Chang Teyi at the Prnce's Restaurant. Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Ewen Cameron, Sir Walter Hillier, C.W. Campbell, Viscount Hayashi & a Chinese Secretary. Walked home c. Campbell. Told him I think unlikely Cockburn will leave Peking, & my idea for him is either Tientsin or Chengtu as acting, & have no objection to his taking three months extra leave. Told him my plans about Simla & Rangoon.

30[May] Down to Brighton by the 10.5. Aunt seemed to take in the fact that it was I better than at Easter. Very warm.

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1 June Up to town with Emma Sturges by the 9.50 to Victoria at 11.35. Lunched at Travellers and met there Lord Desart, who as Hamilton Cuffe discussed with me the trust deeds for

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the funds of the British Cemetery at Montevideo many years ago: young Verney married his dau[ghter].

At three to the F.O. to meet the United States Commission on International Exchange, consisting of Hugh H. Hanna, a grey haired oldish man, Jeremiah W. Jenks, whom I met in Peking some months ago, and Charles A. Conant. Jenks was the chief talker. Told them I thought that a uniform system of silver coinage, supervised fr. Peking, but produced at the Provincial mints, wld. be practicable. Foreign minting experts to see to the purity of the coinage wld. be required; also consent of Viceroy: it might be taken that Chang Chih tung & Liu Kunyi had accepted the article in Mackay's treaty. The appointment of Nat'ung as President of the Board of Revenue was a good thing. Advice from a friendly & independent Foreign Power wld. be necessary: either let Conger take the matter in hand or send an expert. They asked me whether international jealousies wld. work against such a scheme as might be proposed 1st for uniform coin, 2nd for fixing a parity of exchange, 3rdly for giving China easier terms for the payment of the indemnity. I laughed & said it was scarcely fair to put such a question to me. They said they had got a more hopeful view from me than they had expected, and were greatly encouraged. They intend going also to Paris, the Hague, Berlin & St. Petersburg.

Caught 4.55 train to Oxford. Walking in the Parks after dinner with Henry met the Tylors, who asked me to tea tomorrow.

2 June Walked in the Botanical Gardens & observed a huge *Sophora japonica* just coming into leaf: it must be a very old tree; also a good-sized *Salisburia*.

Called on Mrs. Shaw & met there a Miss Lloyd, sister of the Rev. Arthur Lloyd of Tokio. On Mrs. Ker at the Stouts, & saw the baby Kenneth: Mrs. Stout is a sister of W.P. Ker: her husband has been recently appted. Professor of Moral Philosphy at St. Andrews. Then to tea with the E.B. Tylors, to look at some Chinese coloured drawings of Miaotze and other tribes of Kweichou.

3 “ Went to the Bodleian [Library], and saw Nicholson, who showed me a set of facsimiles of Japanese coins executed in base metal that has been presented, also some old Greek & Bactrian coins, & facsimiles of early Roman bronze coins, huge circular and rectangular coins, one a decussis. In a chest there were some fine medals, especially beautiful a bronze medal of Napoleon & Josephine and one of Napoleon alone.

Henry [Tozer] and I drove nearly to Boar's Hill, then got out & walked by a road thro' the fields along the ridge commanding fine views of Oxford towers and spires, then down to Ferry Hincksey and so the railway station by the Seven Bridges [Botley] road, returning in a hansom. Fine day but east wind.

Ronald Shaw came to call. He is to be attached to Wadham [College], but live with his

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mother.

4 [June] Mrs. Shaw & Dorothea came to tea.

5 [June] Went to tea with the Markbys. He praised the Viceroy.

6 [June] Tylor came to see me. I promised to write to Japan about the dimensions of the bat used in dakiū .

7 [June] Dined at All Souls with Sir Wm. Markby. Made acquaintance of the Warden Sir Wm. Anson, of Prof. Holland, to whom I told our settlement of the Kowshing case & how two successive sets of Law Officers had given contrary opinions as to the liability of Japan, also to Prof. Goudy.

8 [June] Returned to town & found an invitation from Count Metternich which unluckily I cannot accept, as I must go to Cambridge that evening.

Lunched with Bonar at the St. James' Club. Then to the Sisters of Mercy in Carlisle Place to see Sister Xavier Berkeley, who has been many years in China at Kiukiung & Ningpo. Showed me some beautiful embroideries on satin done at the technical school she has established. To tea with Mrs. Lyte, she talked in a wild manner on politics & abt. Claude MacDonald. Dined with the Webers: the Felix Schusters, Linda and Edie and a young Capt. Phipps R.A. from the Soudan[?], also a Mr. Hughes whom I have met there before.

10[9] [June] ¹ F. Yates, G.R. Davies & Henry Satow came in while I was having my hand done. Later on H.S. Wilkinson & Walter King. The former said he wanted his son to succeed him; but W.E. Davidson had said that there must be an interval filled by some one else. I said I understood the chance of his succeeding was small, in fact I had heard the bar wanted a man from home. This H.S.W. denied they would have said, but he & Mowat were strongly agst. Bourne. H.P.W. had been offered Archer's succession at Bangkok, but he had declined it.

Lunched with Hayashi at the Carlton. Chang Teyi, Col. Hume, the Japse. military attaché, little Koike the Secy. to the Japse. Legation, C.W. Campbell and Wileman. Hayashi says the Chinese, like Li Hung-chang did not care a bit abt. Manchuria wch. they thought was an incumbrance. They had in the T'ang period got rid of it, & been strong.

Sir Walter Hillier came. Met Chirol and Spring-Rice outside the station as I was going off to see Miss Mason at 79 West Cromwell Road. [Margin: Michael Fairless was Maggie Barber. A very clever modelling in clay of sand subjects, author also of the Gathering of Brother Hilarius.]

Went to see Langley about Campbell's allowance as Acting Chinese Secretary, & spoke to Louis Mallet abt. my audience of the King. Later I got a letter to say it is to be on the 13th at noon.

¹ Since the next entry is also 10 June, this should be 9 June.

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J.F. Burton dined with me at the Travellers. Gave instructions abt. settlement to be made on Ethel.

- 10 [June] Sent off luggage to the "China". Lunched with G.W. Thomson at the "Ship & Turtle" Leadenhall St. A large company, including Mr. Edward Webb a former member of Dent & Co., Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Dimsdale M.P., W.G. Howell, F.V. Dickins, Sir Jas. Sivewright, Percival Osborn, H.A. Herbert (formerly of the O.B.C.), F. d'Iffanger, A.M. Townsend (father of the boy who died of typhoid at Yokohama after the siege of Peking), J.P. Reid, Basil Braithwaite, Thomas Hardy the novelist, A.S. Harvey formerly of the China Consular Service, E.J. Reid who married one of old Cargill's daughters, W.J.S. Shand, G.W.F. Playfair, & Andrew Currie of the Cornes Co. Ltd., besides others whom I did not know, mainly connected with South Africa. Thomson proposed health of myself, Herbert and Osborn to which I replied.

Went down with C.S. Leckie to Watford, walked in Cassiobury Park, round by the mill & Ld. Clarendon's place, dined tête-à-tête with him.

- 11 [June] Yates came to put finishing touches to my portrait. G.R.B. Davies came & bored me while Climpson was doing my hand, and stopped to say that he & his friends wld. like to get a tramway concession for Peking, in wch. case he wld. be in a position to make a return for kindness I had shown him in Japan many years back in introducing Japese. business to him. I cut him very short.

Went down to Cambridge by 2.30 train, together with Mrs. Murphy, and put up with the Registry J.W. Clark, whose wife is a sister of George Buchanan. A married son in Cambridge.

Went to tea with the Masons at Pembroke Lodge, and made the acquaintance of old Mrs. Mason, a very intelligent and well-informed lady of over 80; Thos. Mason also there. At dinner Dr. & Mrs. Ward of Peterhouse, the Masons, Prof. Ewing whom I knew in Japan, Dr. Guillemand of Marchesa fame and the married son Edward with his wife. Dr. Prothero the editor of the Cambridge series of histories came in after tea.

- 12 [June] Called on Mrs. Poole, mother of our dear late doctor Wordsworth Poole. A lunch at Queens' [College] to all recipients of honorary degrees, who were the Duke of Connaught, Sir Geo. White, Lord Grenfell, Sir Edward Seymour, Genl. Hunter, General French, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Capt. Percy Scott & myself. The Vice-Chancellor Dr. [Frederick Henry] Chase proposed a toast in honour of the new Doctors in law, Lord Grenfell & I responded. Took in Mrs. Morgan, who asked to be remembered to Bishop Scott, and sat next to Miss Butler. Made the acquaintance of Sir R. Jebb. The Duke of Devonshire conferred the degrees in Latin, sometimes seeming to forget the formula. Dr. Sandys the public orator introduced each candidate in a Latin speech, not always most

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feliculously. Sir Geo. White was loudly applauded. Mrs. Murphy & her sister Mrs. Fitzgerald had seats close to the dais; I had got them tickets through Mr. Clark. Came back to town in the afternoon, and dined at Sir Jas. Mackay's, taking in Mrs. Moberly Bell, & sat on the hostess' right. Lord Geo. & Lady Geo. Hamilton, Countess of Malmesbury & Sir John Ardagh, Sir Arthur & Lady Godley, Mr. & Mrs. Pirrie of Harland & Wolff; Reginald Tower. Lord Geo. & Godley both told me the Cabinet had put their foot down & refused to sanction Curzon's plans about Thibet, tho' the former personally had been inclined to approve them: they both like the ides of my going to see Curzon.

13 [June] R. Gordon Smith came. Gave him a letter of recommendation to Baron Soné. He talks of returning to Japan in Aug. Thinks Japan wants more backing fr. H.M.G. abt. Corea.

J.S. Walsham came: wld. like a post in China. Said perh. Dalny Vice-consulate might suit him if one were established. Said I wld. mention his name to Sanderson.

James Knowles came to ask whether I could go there for a talk before leaving.

Went to take leave of the King. Was with him from 12.00 to 12.45. He talked a good deal abt. Russian duplicity in connexion with Manchuria and hoped we shld. in conjunction with America and Japan insist upon the maintenance of the 'open door'. Of course we had known all along that they would not evacuate, but why did they promise to do so? He told me to give Lessar a friendly message, to remind him of their conversation when L. came to take leave of him on leaving London in 1901, and to add that H.M. had followed his career with interest. H.M. says L. has not yet reached Peking. (If so he must be dawdling some where in Manchuria.) I explained that in my view the question of Manchuria was done for when they got Port Arthur and the right to construct the railway. Told him of the £2,000,000 expended to get it. The E.D. not likely to run the risk of being turned out of her capital a second time. Li Hung-chang missed by noone but the Russians. In ans[wer] to his question said we had 1400 men in N. China, commanded by Genl. Creagh. K. said he thought Creagh would be decorated on the next list of birthday honours; he underst[oo]d I spoke well of him to Ld. Lansdowne. He asked how Townley was getting on, & when I said he had done very well, the K. hoped I shld. write & tell Ld. Lansdowne so. He spoke of Morocco & said Nicolson had a difficult time of it, & Harris, whom he knew, was intriguing agst. him with the French. Finally he told me to write now & then to Lord Knollys anything of special interest, & it wld. be kept quite private. He sees my letters to Ld. Lansdowne. Went in to say goodbye to Knollys, and to tell him this. The sort of topics anything about the Empress-Dowager or the colleagues, or the designs of Russia.

Met there Col. Napier, who goes to Petersburg as military attaché. Lunched with E. Sturges & drove with her to Watts' Studio to see the ghastly Paolo & Francesca; several of

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the portraits that were shown in Manchester in 1887, also a wonderful piece of colour called *The World after the Deluge*, a portrait entitled *Sympathy*, *The Song of the Shirt*, and *In a dry Archway*. Then to the Leighton House, but the darkness caused by the rain too great to see much, so I came back to tea.

Dined with Duchess of St. Albans, her dau. Alix, Lady Dorothy Nevill, a wonderful old lady of 80, Raschid Sadi Bey an ex-diplomat from Rome, Col. Haig and a Captain Crichton. Stayed talking till past 12.

14 [June] Had an hour's talk with the James Knowles & then went to lunch with the Drages. T.H. Whitehead the banker formerly of Hongkong, and a lawyer named Dent. After lunch we discussed preferential tariffs, Whitehead in favour, the other two desiring full inquiry. Went to say goodbye to Augusta at Mrs. Wm. Sewell's, to the Bonsers and the Bullers, and dined at the Travellers' with R. Tower, who has been offered Munich.

15 [June] Manifold. Dr. George Eastes father of our student, Geo. Brown the director of the China Association's School of Chinese & Cumming Macdona called: the latter abt. the Syndicate called after him, wch. he says wants to apply only for a line from Canton to Swatow, & to be placed in the same position as he was in before the coup d'état of '98; when he had arranged a great deal with Chang Yinhwan, & was assured verbally by MacDonald that he had made satisfactory progress. I referred him to Lord Lansdowne.

Lady Hannen called and asked me to support her in getting a nomination for Beau for the next F.O. exam. I promised to mention it to Lord L.

Mary & Ethel Satow & Sam to lunch.

To F.O. saw Barrington abt. Beau, & he gave no indication of a promise. Said goodbye to F.A. Campbell, W.E. Davidson & the Chief Clerk's dept. Urged C.W. Campbell's claim to acting pay as Chinese Secretary on Cartwright & Newman: C. rather sticky, N. more friendly. Then to Tilley to ask that copy of the report on the consular service may be sent to me when it comes out; they are to have two more sittings and possibly will not present it before July. Goodbye also to Charles Hardinge.

Dined at Grand Hotel with Agneta, Olga, Louie, Ernest & Hugo.

16 June Arthur & Basil came to say goodbye.

J. Duncan Campbell called & told me a long story abt. the apptmt. of Konovalov to Newchwang customs. Lunched with the J.P. Reids. There were Ambrose Walford, Dr. Divers & Bonar, Miss Reid a tall young girl, Hon. Mrs. & Miss Napier & Miss Gibson. Said goodbye to Sanderson, who apropos of Germany said we ought to work with them, but they were very tricky. He had told Metternich that some day the ill feeling would blow over. Of course we shld. be glad to come to an understanding with Russia, but it seems impossible, tho' there are indications that they desire it; but they want us to take them on

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trust, wch. will not do. If I find that Townley has exceeded his SS advances I am to teleg. Discussed propriety of making a present to the E-D, abt. wch. I am to inform him if it seems desirable.

A.G. Angier called. Told him ratifications of Mackay treaty had gone out. Burton called. Left cards on Drages, Lucy, Mackays & Webers & saw Lady Albemarle, to whom I repeated what the King had said about Townley & Lady Susan.

T.H. Whitehead came to tell me abt. a proposal fr. Yüan Shih kai that he shld. go out as financial adviser to Chinese Govt. Last telegs. about 5 weeks ago, thinks they have dropped it.

Dined with J.F. Burton, Wm. Wills & Edward Norton. Last is son-in-law of Mr. Justice Wills. Came out to Hongkong in 1863 to Birley & Co.; his 1st wife died there.

17 [June] Went to Lord Lansdowne. Discussed railways, on wch. he had replied to Lord Mayo last night. We must do our best to obtain line from Puk'ou to Chêngtu, but not use force for the purpose.

Manifold. Is rather disposed to postpone, at least, M's. exploration towards Thibet. Told him M. wld. do the Syndicate's portion first, & not get to Thibetan part till end of next year. He appeared satisfied with this re[ply].

Garter for Mikado. Told him what Hayashi had said. He thought at one time the King might be induced to create a separate category of non-Christian PP., but nothing done. Very difficult at present. Will bear it in mind. (Sanderson told me yesterday that the King had indicated to Mrs. Ch. Hardinge that he wld. give it to the Shah, and she told H. who passed it on. Then the K. wanted to draw back, and there was a danger of Lord L's resignation.)

T.H. Whitehead's proposed apptmt. Told him my views as expressed to American commissioners. He says it has been dropped as regards Whitehead who is thought to be unsatisfactory; but Hgkg & S'hai Bank might lend Addis. He thought perh. a tael valued ½ dol[lar] wld. be feasible. I said not, as this wld. be depreciation. He told me to see the papers. (So I went afterwards to Langley & read them. Mackay thought Whitehead only wanted the offer to screw something out of his own people, a vain, unreliable man. Nothing since March.)

Germany. To go on the same lines as hitherto. Lord L. thinks Metternich straightforward. Deplores outcry made in Engl. abt. Bagdad rlwy. I agreed with him that the popular view of Germany was a mistake. Russia as before.

Left card on Metternich.

Lunched with Lady Arthur Russell, her two daus., son Conrad, a married dau. of Grant Duff and Major Pereira.

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Went to J.F. Burton & signed a codicil giving plate &c. in three equal parts to Sam, Aug[usta] & Agneta, bks & curios to be sold for benefit of residuary estate, also Ethel's trust deed. Eitarō trust deed to be sent to Shanghai to sign and a new will to be drawn up including all the codicils.

Augusta to tea.

Dined with Ed. Moons. Miss Emma Kekewich, Wason [Watson?] M.P. & Canon Hensley, a young-looking, lively, clever, brilliant talker, also Walter Hillier. From there to Jas. Knowles, to hear Mrs. Cory play; her sister Lady Carew & Lady (Clinton) Dawkins.

18 [June] [Satow leaves England.] Left London by 11 o'clock P. & O. train. Sam, Lady Hannen & Jessie, Ethel, Arnold & Geoffrey Satow, Chang Têyi, Koike, C.W. Campbell & Mayers came to see me off. A good crossing in the "Lord Warden".

19 [June] Left Marseilles at noon in the "China", only 55 1st class passengers. Much rain and several deafening claps of thunder, but after lunch the weather cleared up.

23 " Arr. Port Said 3 p.m. after a pleasant voyage, bright sunshine, cool breezes and little motion. Went ashore for an hour.

24 " 25" Started at 11.7 a.m. through the canal and got to Suez at one a.m.

28 [June] Anchored at Aden 1.30 p.m. and transshipped to the "Arabia" Capt. Leigh at 3.30; a pleasant breeze all the time we were at anchor. Teleg. fr. the Mill Owners Association asking for a conference Monday the 6th replied Friday afternoon. Letter fr. Lord Curzon in reply to mine, inviting me to the Viceregal Lodge at Simla and one from Monteath of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. Said goodbye to Dr. Paton, Learmont a young ex-gunner with whom I played bridge & Mrs. Capper. Left 5.30.

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3 July Anchored at Bombay 6 a.m. The 30th June [Satow's 60th birthday] after we got out of the Gulf of Aden was rough, & the ship rolled badly, but the 1st it got smoother, and on the 2nd almost a calm. Bridge party consisted of Dr. Miley connected with emigration service, clean shaved handsome face about 50, Capt. Kincaid-Smith of the 9th Lancs. and Lt. Wybrants. I won 73 shillings.

R.G. McL. Monteath of Mackenzie Mackinnon & Co. came off to meet me, and took me to Capt. Goodridge R.N. controller of the Bombay Marine to breakfast, when I met a Col. & Mrs. Rowan R.H.A. [Royal Horse Artillery] & a Col. Porter. Every arrangement has been made for my comfort. Lunched with J. Stiven of the Chartered Bank whom I used to know in Japan: he had also J.M. Dick Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and two civilians. In the afternoon to meeting with the Millowners association, who object to Art.

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VIII of the Mackay Treaty and wish Chinese currency to be reformed. I consoled them by suggesting that a long interval must elapse before all the Powers wld. join, and that an American commission was going the rounds of Europe to find out what the Govts. thought could be done for rehabilitation of Chinese silver. Afterwards taken for a drive by Osvald Muller, Professor of Political Economy at the Bombay University and then to tea at the Royal Bombay Yacht Club. Here we met the C-J. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Kincaid-Smith & young civilian named Cowie. At dinner J.M. Dick, H.E.H. Procter, the Professor, F[rederi]ck Noel Paton Secy. of the Association & Ireland of Mackinnons.

4 “ Bomonjee Dinshaw Petit and his son Jehangir Bomonjee Petit called and carried me off to visit their cotton mills, where I spent an hour in visiting the different departments. The most interesting portion was the room containing the newest machines for knitting stockings. They make 20% on their capital annually! Afterwards he took me to his house, a huge building full of rather gaudy ornaments and busts and statues. They speak excellent English of a rather bookish kind. The son drove me into town to the office of the B.J. and I came out again to the Bungalow.

The large Poinciana in blossom, pretty plentiful, the smaller rather rare. Pale pink, white and lake-red oleanders, red Lagerstrœmia indica.

Lunched with Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Col. Porter the Controller of the Bombay Mint, Cowie of the J.C.S. and M. Kincaid-Smith. The last travelled with me as far as Ghaziabad. Left Bombay by the 3.45 p.m. train, and af[ter] crossing the Ghanto dined at Igatpuri. It had rained a good deal after we left the plain, and was pleasantly cool.

5 July Reached Itarsi early and took tea and toast about 7 o'clock, breakfast at Bina about 11. As the day went on it got hotter and hotter, with a good deal of dust. At Gwalior [in Madhya Pradesh] a welcome shower, but it was merely local, and a few miles further on the heat was as bad as before. Agra fort about 7, a fine massive fortress of red stone. As we rounded the corner on to the bridge could see the Taj [Mahal] on the opposite bank of the river. Dined at Tumla. Kincaid-Smith got out at Ghaziabad, and I went on to

6 “ Kamal, getting there at 3 a.m. Cathie & Arthur Wilkin on the platform to welcome me. After a bath, got to bed at four o'clock, sleeping under a punkah without a mosquito net. Stayed in the house till after tea, when we went for a drive round the place. Heat great, about 98°. Started at midnight by train and arrived at Kalka at 5.15.

7 “ Dressed and breakfasted, then started in a landau for Simla. Hot & dusty drive. Great quantities of the candelabrum euphorbia, some apparently wild pomegranates. The road ascended to a considerable height, & then down again to Solon by 9.20, say three hours. Off again at 10, and reached Simla at 1.45. The Viceroy [Curzon] being absent, I am put up by the Lawrences. (Sir Walter); he is private secy. to the Viceroy, was formerly resident

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at Srinagar, and afterwards Agent to the Duke of Bedford. In the afternoon left cards on Sir Edmund Barrow whom I knew in China, and at the tennis court met Col. Hamilton on the staff of the Commander in chief. At dinner a young man named Grant at present attached to the F.O., a son of Sir Alexander Grant the logician, a solid intelligent fellow.

8 [July] At dinner Genl. Sir Edmund Barrow & his cousin Major Barrow who had charge of the English section of the Chinese city of Peking in 1900-01 & his wife. Went with Lady Lawrence to tea with Mrs. Daly, whose husband Major Daly is in the F.O. Made acquaintance of L.W. Dane the Foreign Secretary. Bought embroideries from a dealer named Manick Chand and a good piece of old Burmese silver repoussé in the form of a cylindrical jar with a cover; the latter is modern. Discussed various subjects with Lawrence preliminary to a talk with the Viceroy, and gave him to read the F.O. memo. on Thibetan question to examine.

9 [July] The Viceroy & Lady Curzon came back from Naldera [a resort near Simla], and I went to tea with her. At dinner there were only ourselves and Baker-Carr one of the A.D.C. & young Ruthven. Afterwards to Lord Kitchener's ball, where I talked chiefly to Mrs. Daly and Lady Mary Tagart, also Lady Wolfe-Murray and L.W. Dane. Sat next to the wife of the C.J. of Allahabad at supper. During dinner the talk was chiefly about Peking. Rain still holds off.

10 “ Read files of papers all the morning, & after lunch had some talk with the Viceroy abt. Tibet. Francis Younghusband & Claude White have crossed by our road to Khambajong, whence he hopes they will get to Gyantse; if proper official does not meet them there, they will push on to Shigatse. They have an escort of 200 men, and are prepared to sit it out. We drove back from the art exhibition together and discussed Kashgaria and Raskam. V. thinks Russians are destined to possess Kashgaria sooner or later & it might be inconvenient if British people from Hunza were found were found to be residing in a portion of the territory so annexed. It might therefore be desirable to compensate the Mir in some other way, only for the loss of prestige involved in our not getting the Raskam leases thro'; it is only Petrovski the Russian consul at Kashgar who opposes. Question of Miles being appointed Consul. On this matter the Viceroy has a decided opinion in favour. I suggested that he shld. ask Home Govt. to authorize me to inform Chin. Govt. that Miles is Consul without asking for exequatur; if they objected then I shld. argue with them that they must not expect us to accept worse treatment than Russia, and again, that our interests in Kashgaria are equally important as being adjacent to British territory. I also said that if the thing were feasible, an undertaking obtained fr. China not to cede Kashgaria to any other Power might be a good thing, of course with instruction fr. F.O. Only it might seem perhaps that we had gone too far already in tacitly admitting

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Russian predominance there, and might be accused of bad faith if we had to get such an undertaking. To this he replied that Russia in the first abortive Manchurian convention had tried to get reversion of Manchuria & Kashgaria, & what they did we had equal right to do.

At dinner I took in Lady Mary Tagart and had Major Bingley of 7th Rajpoots, who was at Lu-ko-chiao in 1900-01, on my left. After the ladies left Sir Denzil Ibbetson came and sat by me, and we had pleasant talk, not all about India. Afterwards Capt. Bannerman who turned out identical with traveller who interpreted for me at Tundla & explained to the waiter that he had given me 8 annas too much change; introduced also to Lady Ibbetson a stout grey-haired pleasant woman.

11 [July] Went to Dane at his office and discussed the various subjects: Seistan & Tibet of prime importance; Raskam only a pawn; Burma frontier question they take up at the instance of Burma Govt. Speaking of the hope that Khambajong may be exchanged for Yatung as a trade mark, he says it must on no account be made an open port.

Questions for discussion in Burma with Barnes are Warry's successor, who we agree shld. be lent for three years, and then changed, unless they asked for him to be extended. Transit of opium thro' Burma in bond: Frontier question.

I said that whatever documents relating to Burma frontier I might send to India shld. be communicated to Consul-general in Yünnan at discretion of Burma Govt: as I regard him as representing India rather than the F.O. Miles if he is apptd. Consul will be put in F.O. List, but remain dependent on India.

Had an hour's talk with Viceroy on general subjects after lunch. Ld. Rosebery in 1893 told him we were within an ace of war with France abt. Siam wch. agrees with Rousing's[?] story to a certain extent, also that there was a conversation betw. Ld. R. & the Emperor William wch. ended the dangers.

I said that I was anxious to have a good man as chief staff officer to Ventris; and I found the V-R's opinion of Wingate accorded with my own.

Thibet. The prob[lem] seems to be that we shall go on from Khambajong to Gyantse, from there to Shigatse and so to Lhassa. What is to be feared is that the Russians shld. get into Lh. at the same time. The home Govt. have allowed this mission, but do not foresee what it will end in.

He says there certainly is no 'understanding' verbal or written between us and Germany. In his opinion, tho' Spectator wrong perh. in saying that Germany starts the Bagdad railway in order to have something to swap, yet it is quite on the cards that having done what she wants there, she might join hands with Russia against us. I said that looked at fr. the German point of view there surely must be a desire to be free from the

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pressure on their eastern frontier, and that they perhaps desire rather an alliance with us than with Russia. I can see that he distrusts the Germans, while feeling that we are destined everywhere to oppose Russia. Clinton Dawkins & Ernest Cassel were the financiers who negotiated with the German group & had obtained the pooling of the interests of the Anatolian company, when suddenly the concession obtained fr. the Turkish Govt. was published & it was found that the Germ. financial group were not really playing fair. Then Ld. Lansd. took the alarm and they backed out. There were no direct negotiations betw. Br. Govt. & German.

Called on Mrs. Dane for tea. Sir Benjamin Franklin a sort of P.M.O. & a native doctor in European clothes & turban named Micha. On to Sir E. Fitzg. Law & left cards. After dinner the house party to the play to see "An American citizen."

12 [July] Sunday. To Christ Church. Bishop Lefroy of Lahore preached abt. Sunday observance. After lunch Viceroy showed me the portraits of his predecessors in the council room. The dining room with coats of arms of Viceroys and the silver howdah used by Ld. Lytton at the proclamation of the Queen-Emperor & by himself at the State entry into Delhi the other day.

Went to tea with the Ibbetsons, where there was a civilian named Arbuthnot who till 3 years ago was in Burma: real name of the author of the Soul of a people's Hall. From there went on to the Lt. Gov. of Punjab & the promised storm coming on brought back Lady Lawrence. Dined with Sir Edmund Barrow. There were also Sir E.F. Law, a quaint-looking Irishman full of talk, Risley of the Home Dept. devoted to ethnology, Genl. Elles the Mily. member of Council, Genl. Wolfe-Murray the Qr. Master Genl. Captn. Goodridge fr. Bombay. Scott who was at Tungchou in 1900, Lowe who was provost marshal in Peking, Mockler who commanded the police at Tientsin.

13 [July] Gave a rough note of my ideas abt. Miles being appted. Consul at Kashgar to Sir W. Lawrence for Viceroy. V. will write a desp. founded on it.

E.N. Baker, Secy. to the Finance Dept. came to see me and I gave him an idea of what China shld. do to place her currency on a sound basis. He promises papers showing what has been done in India and of what is proposed for Singapore.

After lunch had some talk with the Viceroy about Burma frontier, and agreed that its demarcation is not a vital matter, but the Chinese may be told that if their people cross the provisional boundary, namely Nmai Kha watershed they will be turned back. I have remarked that delimitation is not necessary for our interests.

Khambajong turns out to be a miserable hole, scarcely more than a mere *nominus umbra*, & wld. not do for a trade mart. I have said to Viceroy that I entirely agree in Thibet being dealt with directly, instead of thro' Peking, the authority of China being not more real than

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formerly in the case of Corea, and the Amban a mere figurehead.

Went to Law & talked abt. Chinese currency reform. He suggests that if a tael coin is struck for the whole of China, its use in the interior should at first be permissive, not obligatory. Is not sure that India could furnish the right men. He finds them so hidebound and devoted to ancient ideas, incapable of absorbing anything new. (V-R told me Law was too fond of proposing innovations. Law says all the things he has tried to introduce have been rejected.) He agrees with me that the proper man is an official, not a banker, and unless a genius can be got fr. Europe, prob. an Indian man.

Viceroy talked about the N.W. frontier province, wch. was Lytton's idea, & his frontier militia, both of wch. are a great success. He expressed a high opinion of Ibbetson. Both he & Lady Curzon very fond of Sir Hugh Barnes.

In the course of conversation he told me that it was he who suggested Cecil Smith for Peking, but he refused it, and then Ld. Salisbury off his own bat apptd. MacD. Also that Euan-Smith's apptmt. to Bogotá was his doing, on the understanding that he wld. not take it up. This was just before he left for India. Afterwds. E-S announced his intention of taking up the apptmt. & had to be sat upon.

14 [July] Left Simla at 10.5. The horses were changed every four miles. Lunched at Solon, taking 40 minutes there, and got to Kalkan at 12 min. to 5. No rain, but what fell last night & the night before had laid the dust. Started at 6 by train for Calcutta, and dined at Amballa. Cathie & Arthur [Wilkin] came to see me at the station; they leave for England on the 22nd, & will be starting again for India 2 Oct.

15 “ Had tea at Etawah [in Uttar Pradesh] at a quarter to six, and nothing more till Allahabad at half past eleven. Very dusty journey the greater part of the day. Clouds threatening, but no rain, except away on the Southern edge. The fields still quite dry, but in one or two places nurseries of young rice. Near Allahabad the giant euphorbia planted in rings round young trees as a protection, and near Dinpore (I think) tall palmetto palms. Dined at Mokameh junction at 8.15.

16 “ Arrd. Calcutta at six, and met by D.M. Hamilton of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. who lives at 12 Elysium Row, Chowinghee Road, who puts me up. Found a letter from Major Prain I.M.S. [Indian Medical Service], Director of the Botanical Garden, who proposes to give me a day there, Sir D. Ibbetson having written to him on my account. The country here is altogether different to what I have seen hitherto, very green and damp.

My host is married, and there is a young Mr. Burn, brother of his wife staying in the house.

After tea drove with her to buy books. Thacker, Spink & Co., and cigars at Manopolo's, then to the office, where we picked him up & drove along the river side past

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Fort William, the race course and jail, where the Victoria Monument is to be erected. The Maidan is a splendid stretch of turf, adorned with fine umbrageous trees, as [and?] is almost as large as Hyde Park & Kensington gardens put together. Chowlinghee Rd. wch. runs along the eastern edge is the residential quarter, houses massive and surrounded by well-planted gardens.

- 17 [July] Went by apptmt. to call on Bourdillon the Acting Lt. Govr. with whom I talked about our enterprises in Thibet and Kang Yuwei. He says Sir Andrew Fraser suffers from dyspepsia and dysentery, and possibly may be unable to come out again, tho' he will certainly endeavour to take up his apptmt.

At 4.30 went off to the Imperial Library, and was shown a few things by Macfarlane, who got this post after sixteen years at the B.M. We went off together to Govt. House, taking with us the book lately published abt. the Oriental Club, to compare the portrait there of Warren Hastings with that at Govt. House. Ascertained that ours was taken when he was an old man, living in retirement, while the other represents him as he was during his tenure of office in India, with a frontless shirt and a long waistcoat of an Indian pattern, very bright eyes. The portrait of Clive they have here closely resembles that at the Club, but differs somewhat in pose. There are portraits of most of the Governors-General, amongst which that of Lord Hastings is perhaps the ugliest. Thence to the Asiatic Society's rooms, where there are three of Sir Wm. Jones, one as a boy by Reynolds & a portrait of Warren Hastings, not at all like him.

In the evening to an amateur charity concert, where the music was below par.

- 18 [July] Spent the day with Major Prain I.M.S. at the Botanical gardens. A curious indiarubber plant, with purseshaped leaves, the back being united for part of the way up the edges. Mahoganies. Teak does not do so well. Also a fine collection of bamboos 173 species in all. Made the acquaintance of his coll: Capt. Gage I.M.S. Good library of botanical and travels. Read a great part of Francis Younghusband's travels, notably from Hami through Chinese Turkestan over the Mustagh Pass to Srinagar.

At dinner Currie, a partner in M.M. cousin of Sir Hugh Barnes, and McMorran, V-P of the tea Association. The latter has been into Thibet as far as Yatung, and seen the wall built across the valley by the Thibetans, beyond wch. no one may pass from India, but as a matter of fact they do go to a monastery on the mtn. side about 3 miles beyond the barrier. Thibetans on the whole are friendly, but stand-offish. There is a Miss Taylor there, a missionary on her own account, very hostile to Parr, whom she wld. like to hang. Acc. to her the Thibetans wld. be glad to throw over the Dragon [China] if they were assured that the Bull [John Bull, i.e. Britain] would take them up. She fears White means to transfer the mart from Yatung to Khambajong. Yatung is in a side valley, no houses, whereas there

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is a real town 2 miles off. He is in favour of having communication with Thibet, by the valley of the Tessta, at the head of wch. there is a pass over into Thibet lower than the Jeylapla. He has been asked by Indian Govt. what wld. be a duty that Indian tea could bear, & reported 5%, the same as on Chinese tea into India. Prob. Lamas have a monopoly of China tea into Thibet, & therefore opposed to the admission of Indian tea.

I said I hoped the question wld. now be settled direct betw. the Indian Govt. & Thibet, without the interference of F.O. or Chinese Govt. (The existing arrangements with Thibet are the insidious work of Robt. Hart, I shld. incline to suppose. Parr also is prob. no real friend of Indian Govt. tho' he poses as such.)

19 [July] Started for Rangoon in the B.I. steamer Bharata, 4600 tons; she ought to do 16 knots, but as yet not more than 15 have been got out of her, quite a new steamer. The B.I. have given me a free passage, two very good cabins. Only one other 1st cl. passenger to Rangoon, about 200 deck. Dropped down to Diamond Harbour by about three p.m. say 5½ hrs. fr. Calcutta.

20 [July] Left about 6.30, the mails having been br[ough]t on board this morning. Early in the afternoon we got into open water and the sea came fr. S.W. a new st[eame]r machinery not working smoothly and the 1st saloon being at the stern. Squalls also began to add to the discomfort.

21 “ Beam sea, and prolonged rain squalls. By the afternoon felt nearly well again, but avoided the saloon.

22 “ In smooth sea this morning having got round C. Negrais about 2 a.m. Took a pilot on board about 12.30 and in spite of rain squalls got to Rangoon. W.H. Wilkinson, the Govr's aide-de-camp and the Officer of the Port, a Commander of the Indian Marines came to meet me & take me and my baggage ashore. Drove to Govt. House, where I am recd. by Sir Hugh Barnes the Lt. Govr. & his sister Mrs. Mallaby. At dinner Sir Geo. Scott, Fell I.C.S. [Indian Civil Service?] his private Secy. Champaign his Aide-de-camp & W.H.W.

23 [July] This morning we discussed the Burma frontier question, and as the Nmai-Kha-Salwin boundary drafted (1) a teleg. to the Govr. of India giving our joint opinion as to notice to be given to Viceroy of Yünanni & Chinese Govt. of our intention to treat the proposed line as in effect definite until some final decision is come to, & warning them not to send armed parties into the Nmai Kha [river] valley. (2) agreed that the question of the boundary to the S. thro' or round the Wa Country shld. be made the subject of a desp. to the Govt. of India.

We discussed also proposal put forward by Litton for making a road to Têng-yüeh, to wch. I gave my hearty approval. Also his suggestion regarding transit of Yünnan opium thro' Burma and of imports under certificate with title to drawback on export into Yünnan.

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As to the former I stated the reasons wch. in my opinion & that of the Viceroy it is undesirable to initiate proposals for development of the opium trade, & as to the other, my view that the benefit to be derived is insignificant and wld. not tend to increase trade to any appreciable extent. I also read out W.H.W. suggestion that Burma officers shld. go to Yünnanfu for the study of Chinese, instead of to Peking: and his remarks on the difficulty of trying Indian B.Ss. at Yünnan. This latter subject we agreed shld. be left till he got there & found how it presented itself in practice.

At dinner the Bishop of Rangoon & his sister Miss Knight recently apptd. Hon. A.R. Birks & Hon. C.E. Fox judges, Comr. Holland the officer of Indian Marine who brought me on shore yesterday. Hon. C.H. Wilson of the Hgkg & S'hai Bank & his wife, a handsome young woman, dau. of one of the partners in Smith, Baker & Co. of Yokohama. Birks is a cousin of Ed. Bickersteth the late Bishop of Japan.

24 [July] G. van Someren barrister brought his son, a lieutenant in the 45th Rathay's Sikhs, aged 27, to say that he wld. like to go to Peking to study Chinese & be in the row that is now likely to come off in their opinion. Has passed in Russian & French. I said I wld. make a note of his wish, in case there was any job on wch. he could be employed, but that our present idea was to send men to Yünnanfu for study.

W.H.W. says he will stay at Yünnanfu for a couple of years, wch. wld. bring him to say Aug. 1905 if his health remains good.

Drove with Sir Hugh [Barnes] round the lakes, wch. have been tastefully laid out so as to form a really fine public garden.

At dinner Col. Keary, Sir Herbert Thirkell White, Findlay of Bulloch Bros. and his wife, Mrs. Tripp, and Major Tripp who commands the Kings, and a number of other people, C.S. Bayne the Chief Secretary.

25 [July] Embarked at 2.30 on board the B.I. steamer "Purnea", capt. Packman and sailed at 3.30. Other passengers a Capt. Stone of the Royal Fusiliers, one Pennell formerly in the Civil Service and now a barrister in partnership with a Burman, and a young Dutchman in the Dutch Bank at Singapore.

28 " After two very uncomfortable days at sea, much rolling and rain squalls, reached Penang in fine weather and anchored about 11.30. The P. & O. [?] intermediate str. "Sumatra" was lying there, so I transferred myself & luggage to her, and we started for Singapore at 2 p.m. Swettenham was there, but there was no time to go and see him, and prob. the teleg. I had despatched from Rangoon had not reached him. Phil Satow to whom I had sent a teleg. also came over from Ipoh in Perak to see me, and I liked his fresh open countenance. Amongst the passengers an engineer named Hubback employed on the Federated Malay States railways, who says he is commissioned by the Macdona

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syndicate to proceed later on to China to see what can be done for the Canton-Swatow railway concession of which Macdona spoke to me shortly before I left London [see June 15 above].

30 “ Arr. Singapore and landed about half past eight. Peel the Asst. Colonial Secretary came on board on behalf of Taylor, Colonial Secy. to offer to put me up, but as W.H. Cadell of the Borneo Co. had also offered me hospitality, I went to the latter.

To the Hgkg & S'hai Bank where I found as agent Nicholson & no. 2 Guinness, both of whom were in Yokohama when I left Japan in 1900. Lunched with Cadell at the Club, along with Nicholson & 3 other men. Murray, Vade and Groves, the latter being in the police, formerly in Bangkok. In the afternoon called on Taylor the Colonial Secretary and his sister, pleasant people, and on Sir Arthur Dorward, who is just leaving the Singapore command to take charge of the Military Works Dept. in India.

At dinner Nicholson and Dunn, a dark-haired man of the Borneo Co. who has been here a long time, and knows a good deal about plants.

31 [July] Before breakfast to the Botanical Gardens with Dunn, and fell in with Ridley, who took us thro' the economic garden, where the chief thing worth noting is Para rubber. The outturn [what is produced] of this is extremely profitable after the sixth year.

Met at the Club Comr. Nicolas of the “Phoenix”, & Comr. Jackson of the “Rosario” called on me, but I did not see him.

Played Bridge at Club with Nicholson, Vade and Sir Lionel Cox.

Had a talk with Sinclair, editor of the Free Press, to whom I narrated how Russia has been permitted to establish herself in Manchuria beginning with the speech of Arthur Balfour at Bristol some years ago.¹ He says the author of China from within is really Lim Boon Keng, who now admits that a great deal of what he said about the Empress Dowager rests on incorrect information.

Dined at Taylors. There were O'Sullivan & wife asst. Secy. Mitchell & his wife, Dr. MacDonell the P.M.O. Jackson of the “Rosario”, John Anderson & Cadell. Went straight on board after dinner.

¹ A. J. Balfour (1848-1930) Leader of Conservative party, Chancellor of the Exchequer and later prime minister. In a policy speech at Bristol on 3 February 1896 he welcomed the idea of Russia obtaining a warm-water port on the Pacific as a 'commercial outlet'. Russia duly acquired Port Arthur in 1898, with access to nearby Dalianwan/Talienwan. See John Berryman's comments on the 1897-8 Far Eastern crisis in 'British Imperial Defence Strategy and Russia: The Role of the Royal Navy in the Far East, 1878-1898', International Journal of Naval History, vol. 1, no. 1, April 2002, http://www.ijnhonline.org/volume1_number1_Apr02/article_berryman_royalnavy_fareast.doc.htm accessed on July 7, 2005.

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1 Aug. Sailed at daylight.

6 Aug. Arrd. Hongkong 8 a.m. Sir John Keane the A.D.C. came off to fetch me up to Mountain Lodge, and Commodore Robinson (gunnery Lieut. in the "Iron Duke" in 1881) to tell me that the "Vengeance" will take me up to Weihai, and a smaller ship to Swatow and Amoy.

A sederunt [=long discussion, session] this afternoon lasting an hour and three quarters with the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, consisting of S.A. Hewitt Chairman, Law of Butterfield & Swire, Dickson of Jardine's, Smith of Hgkg & S'hai Bank, Wood of Gibb Livingstons &c.

Hewitt read a long paper, evidently his own composition, and I suspect the whole thing was got up by him. However, I took the whole, one by one, & discussed them amicably.

At dinner Bishop & Mrs. Hoare, Commodore Robinson & his wife, the Mays (Col. Sec.), the Dicksons (she was Sir Harry Parkes' youngest daughter), Murray & Gershom Stewart, Col. Browne R.E.

Bishop Hoare & I had a little talk afterwards. He told me of a case where a Chinese Christian, one of his people, had a petition thrown back to him by a mandarin on the ground of his being a Christian. He had told the Consul who had refused to interfere. In that he thought the consul was wrong, but he was glad of it, because it was desirable to avoid invoking consular aid in such cases & it c[ou]ld do no harm for converts occasionally to suffer for their religion. (These were not his exact words, but the sense of them.) I propounded to him my view that missionaries are not accredited agents of the British Govt. for the purpose of seeing that the Treaty is observed, to which he assented. Also I told him of my talks with Morris at San Remo and the conference with representatives of missionary Societies in London 17 April.

He wants to find out what is the exact legal position of the church buildings at sectarian ports in his diocese, Macao, Canton, Fuchou &c. Said I wld. endeavour to get it for him if he wld. let me have a list. He has been 28 years in China, & before he came to take charge of this diocese, was under Bishop Moule at Ningpo.

His wife, who has a pleasant, good, open face, and dresses her hair in the nice old-fashioned simple way, was born at Ningpo and speaks that dialect.

7 [Aug.] Went down to Commodore Robinson and arranged to send teleg. to Ad. Bridge thanking him for the offer of the "Vengeance", wch. I am obliged to decline, as I must go to Shanghai, whence I would come on by a B. & S. str. to Weihai.

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At dinner Sir Wm. Goodman his wife & dau. Sir H. Berkeley & wife, Col. Wyllie (?) of the Derbyshires & his wife, R.T. Johnson a cadet with great linguistic capacity, Capt. Jerome of the "Albion".

8 " Called on Gen. Sir Wm. & Lady Gascoigne. They go home in September.

Sir Paul Chater came to lunch: he is Armenian by birth, but one of the most enterprising capitalists of Hongkong. He urges that the B. & C. [British & Chinese] Corpn. shld. be forced either to build the Canton-Kowloon railway or to let the American Syndicate, who have the Canton-Hankow concession do it. I said that I cld. not lend my aid to the concession passing into the hands of a foreign syndicate, but I wld. speak to Brenan, & urge him to go on with it. I did not consider that the B. & C. Corpn., who obtained the concession by the interposition of H.M.G. had any right to sell it, without the consent of the latter, & I thought that if they thought fit, the B. Govt. might give it to someone else.

The Ad. telegs. that if I let him know when I wish to leave Shanghai, he will send a ship to Wusung to take me to W.H.W. Replied 14th inst.

11 " Arrd. Wusung about 1 and left in the tug "Gutzlaff", got up to Shanghai in 2½ hours. Guard of Shanghai Volunteers, Bob Little, Bayne, young Burkill, members of Consulate-Genl., Capt. Stokes of the "Eclipse" and one or two more to meet me.

12 [Aug.] Hanson to see me abt. the Bank of China & Japan Ltd., liquidation, & read a letter wch. he had sent to his people at home for communication to the F.O. Asked him to send me a list of the Chinese shareholders in Chinese, showing wch. had signed the special agreement & wch. did not.

Marcus Wulff abt. Goldmining in Weihaiwei. Told him to write me a letter.

O'Shea, abt. Hankow waterworks.

[Times correspondent J.O.P.] Bland tried to jump me about our intentions in regard to the "Supao" case [Shanghai sedition trial]. Declined to tell him, but admitted that we shld. not give the men up. He was inquisitive abt. what wld. happen if the Chinese insisted & refused to go on with the case in the Mixed Court, but I wld. not say.

Dined with the Bournes; the J.L. Scotts, Capt. & Mrs. Stokes, young Burkill, F. Anderson & King.

Played a couple of rubbers of bridge at country Club with Bavier & Levison (asst. Secy. of the Municipal Council) & won \$5.

13 [Aug.] Taotai came to call about "Supao" case. Disclaimed having an authority in the matter until I got to Peking, & intimated that we cld. not possibly hand them over. He finally made a suggestion as fr. himself that the hsien shld. sit in the Mixed Court ad hoc. Mansfield & I thought this afforded a possible solution.

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Bishop Moule abt. his converts rice case, & the other Hsia who has been arrested. Told him what Ratard had said to me yesterday abt. giving the value & interest for 5 years & that he hoped to settle it shortly; & I wld. tell Mortimore to go to Ratard & hasten matters. Also that missionaries are not accredited repres[entati]ves of the British Govt. for the purpose of seeing to the execution of the Treaty. He assented. Related to him my conference with the represves. of missionary Societies on 17 April. Told him the Romans [Roman Catholics] wld. prefer having a [papal] legate at Peking. ¹

F. Anderson to say that he has been having talks with Shêng abt. concession [for] a railway fr. Hankow to Szechuen & S. is well-disposed, but wants also to borrow 5 or 6 million taels on security of his iron mines. Canadian firm of Mackenzie Mann & Co. wld. find some of the capital, also Weetman Pearson, who is represented in China by one Muir or Moir. Latter says Peking Syndicate are throwing money away in building a railway before having decided what coal to mine. He also told me that negotiations with the Russians abt. the mining enterprise in Manchuria in wch. Ubert & Ce. are interested are still dragging on very unsatisfactorily.

In the afternoon spent an hour with Committee of China Association, on the whole not unsatisfactorily, and promised to give my attention to various subjects contained in an address wch. they had sent me beforehand.

Afterwards distributed China medals to the British portion of the Shanghai volunteers.

At dinner Sir Ch. Dudgeon, Bredon, Bayne & other leading members of the Br. community.

- 14 [Aug.] Wheelock & Co. lent their large tug the "Victoria" to take me down to Wusung, and so I got on board the "Eclipse" without difficulty, though there was 'a nasty lop' on. Bob. Little, Bayne, Marshall & several other people besides Mansfield, Mortimore, Pitzipios, Tours at the jetty to say farewell. Capt. Boisragon of the Municipal Police came on board the "Eclipse" for Weihai. Rather rough in the afternoon after we got out of the river, and I was sea-sick. Left Wusung at noon precisely.
- 15 " Wind gradually diminishing till the afternoon, when it was nearly calm. Sighting the light on the South promontory of Shantung about 10 p.m. we slowed down so as to arrive at Weihai about 7.30 tomorrow morning.
- 16 " Anchored abt. 8. No sooner were we at our berth when the wind began to get up, and by ten o'clock a gale was blowing. This was the fringe of a typhoon before wch. we had been steaming all the way fr. Wusung, and it had now caught us up. Too rough to go on board the "Glory".

¹ See Satow's conversation with Cardinal Gotti, March 18, 1903.

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Vengeance, Ocean , Amphitrite, Cressy, Blenheim, Thetis and some smaller ships lying here.

The Ad. ¹ came on board in the forenoon and we had some talk. He says the Japse. sent for [naval attaché in Tokyo] Trowbridge to the Naval Dept. & remarked on the paucity of first-class cruisers in the Br. squadron. This he believes Hayashi also must have mentioned in London. The Ad. himself wrote home to the same effect, also pointing out that the Russians now for the 1st time in history outnumber us in battleships & cruisers. We have always and everywhere been hitherto superior in numbers to any single power. The Argonaut he says has orders to remain out here after the arrival of her relief the "Leviathan". I told him that Lord L[ansdowne] had remarked to me that the Japse. seemed to think we were not supporting them sufficiently, & he thought they were prob. right.

17 [Aug.] Came over to the "Glory" at 11 o'clock, after receiving visits of Capt. Wyndham of the Amphitrite and Capt. Stopford of the "Blenheim". We had some further talk. He [Admiral Bridge] considers that our people at home have not played the game as regards the alliance, and ought to have done much more. Cl. MacD. [Claude MacDonald] does not get on well with the Japanese, rather the contrary, & seems to give the tone to some of his subordinates. Bonar particularly anti-Japanese. Barclay very nice fellow. [Lt. Col. Arthur G.] Churchill rather rubbed the Japse. up the wrong way, by going to the War Dept. in dittoes [a suit of clothes of the same material and colour throughout] & a straw hat when other mil. attachés went in [more formal] frock coat & tall hat. We both agree that it wld. be very bad policy to allow Russia to crush Japan, and that we should favour her trying to resuscitate China; also that it wld. be unlikely that Japan wld. attack Russia abt. Manchuria, but wld. fight for Corea.

Lunched with [Weihaiwei commissioner Hon. J.H. Stewart] Lockhart. Abt. Marcus Wulff's goldmine, it appears the Germans pretend they have a concession for goldmining 250 li round Chefoo, wch. covers the Br. sphere of influence. We agreed this cld. not be tolerated. Both L. & Townley have reported home abt. this. As to the Chinese being allowed to have a custom-house at W.H.W. ² we agreed there must be a quid pro quo,

¹ Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, new commander of the China station. Most of this conversation has already appeared in Ruxton ed., 1998, *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, p. 323.

² "In 1898, at the same time as a 99-year lease was arranged on Hong Kong's New Territories, the small territory of Weihaiwei on the northern coast of Shantung was leased to the British 'for as long a time as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia'. Though plans were made to develop Weihaiwei as a naval base and fortress harbour, the expense involved and the costs of the Boer War put an end to such plans. Double the size of the Isle of Wight, Weihaiwei never developed much trade...It did however provide a pleasant summer holiday resort for British residents in China...Family holidays were well catered for, but Weihaiwei does not seem to have offered much

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wch. he must state.

At dinner Commodore Foote of the "Ocean", Tudor of the Cressy, Windham of the Amphitrite, of the "Vengeance", Brock of the "Alacrity", Crocker R.M. Walter the magistrate, Douglas the S'hai magistrate, comr. of the "Glory" and Stewart Lockhart, besides some others. I went on board the "Alacrity" to sleep.

18 [Aug.] Left at 9 a.m. in the "Alacrity": smooth sea & cool breeze. At ten knots we got to
19 " Chiuwangtai[?] about 5.30 this morning, and anchored close to the entrance of the port. Landed & off in a private car at 6.50. Phillips had come from Tientsin to meet me. At the Peitaiho junction met Mumm, who travelled with me to Tongku. He says the Germ. F.O. wanted to send him to Washington, but the Emperor insisted on sending Speck. He thinks the Emperor interferes too much, & that the apptmt. of a man because he has an American wife is a mistake, as the American ladies don't like it. Rockhill pulls the strings in Chinese affairs, and goes agst. Conger, because he thinks he ought to have the billet.

Reached Tientsin at 3. Hopkins & Genl. Ventris, besides Bower, Wingate, Young & several other officers and a guard of 100 P.I. Mackenzie, McLeish (who is now secretary to the Municipal Council) Morrison & others on the platform. Very hot afternoon.

Bower, Wingate, Brenan & Boys Kup dined. Br[enan] is here negotiating about the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway along with Cordes, the other side being Tang Taotai & another delegate of Yüan Shihkai. He told me of the deadlock (mentioned this morning by Mumm) produced by the Chinese refusing to guarantee the loan wch. wld. have to be raised. His private opinion is that the B. & C. Corporation do not care abt. proceeding with this line at present, at least until they have successfully floated the Shanghai-Nanking rlwy. At Nanpiao a thick seam of coal has been found, but he is pessimistic about the future, because of the Scott agreement, believing that Russia will take the whole of Manchuria down to the Great Wall, if she is not hindered.

Mumm in talking of rlwy. matters today said the Kiaochou-Chinan line was a German Govt. line, but then corrected himself, and said German Co., and that Chinan to Ichou is part of what was conceded by China to the Germ. Govt. But they are willing to throw it in to the Tientsin-Chinkiang line, wch. is to be a Chinese Govt. line, if they can get a guarantee. Otherwise they will build it themselves. As to this B. states Cordes is very pessimistic abt. getting any money in Berlin without a guarantee, so that Germany wld. not be able to do more than complete the Chinan, and then their line cld. not possibly

amusement for sailors..." (Frances Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, pub. John Murray, London, 1998, p. 109)

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pay, as it would be left in the air.

20 [Aug.] Went to call on Viceroy with Hopkins. He had a feverish cold. The talk was of no importance, but he declared there was no secret agreement betw. Prince Ch'ing & the Russians, & showed some curiosity to know what England would do.

Wynne came to call. Says there is to be a rlwy. Board in India, & thinks he might get a billet on it, so has resigned and is going home in Octr. or Decr. as circs. demand. Has got rid of the Belgian from Tongshan & kept them at Linsi. When Hoover came out in 1901, he got Chang to sign a sale out & out in place of the trust deed of July 1900, on wch. no money cld. be raised, and at the same time signed the memo. of equal date agreeing to a China Board, wch. has since been repudiated by the people in London. (Townley tells me that this sale was antedated to July 1900, so that explains the two documents of the same date and of different character). Some coal was sent down the Grand Canal under English flag & confiscated by the Chinese under the pretence that the B.Ss. had no right to trade in the interior of China, & as it was a small affair, only 2000 tons, Wynne did not trouble the legation about it!

At dinner Genl. Ventris, Cousins, Mackintosh, Wynne and

21 [Aug.] Returned to Peking.

22 “ Went round the compound with Harris of the O.W. [Office of Works] and arranged with him to have trenches dug to prevent surface water flowing from the carriage park and travelling into the old compound.

Called on Conger. He has recd. instructions fr. Washington about the “Supao” case not to agree to handing over the men accused, & to insist on the agreement of the Taotai with the three Consuls-general to have the trial conducted & the sentences carried out in the Settlements.

Left a card on Joostens.

Read all the Supao case and half the papers on Manchuria.

23 [Aug.] Called on Uchida. He says Kurino on 12 Aug. presented proposals to the Russian Govt. for mutual definition of their interests in Manchuria & Corea, wch. wld. lead to evacuation of the former (exactly what Hayashi told Ld. Lansdowne on 13 July).

Chinese Govt. being asked by Japan to suggest opening of Wiju, instructed their Min. at Söul that China wld. neither propose nor oppose opening, but being unable to open ports as desired by themselves in Manchuria, did not see their way to recommending Corea to take steps with regard to Wiju wch. were opposed by Russia.

He says Pr. Ch'ing is all-powerful but weak.

Very satisfied with Chang Chih-tung who has plenty of initiative and ready to entertain compromises in commercial Treaty matters.

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To Dubail, who says Lessar informs him Russia will evacuate 8 Octr. Russia having made declaration to the Powers that she does not oppose opening of ports in Manchuria all difficulties have disappeared.

Left cards on Czikann and Gallina. Conger came. Told him briefly what Uchida had confided to me, and begged him to keep it secret.

Called at Waiwupu, saw Wang Wenshao, Lien-fang & Ku Chao-hsin.

24 [Aug.] Went out to the Cottage with Kidston. The trees planted last autumn are a great success.

25 “ Stayed all day, and Dr. & Mrs. Gray coming in abt. tea time, we went with them to their place. Norris to dinner.

26 “ Returned to town & dined at the Congers. The two Miss Youngs, sisters of Capt. Young late D.A.S. to Genl. Creagh; one plays the violin & the other accompanies her.

27 “ Lienfang & Ku Chaohsin returned may call. Lienfang says Lessar promises the evacuation for 8 October.

Czikann came. Talked abt. a proposal to appt. a higher tribunal for the Supao case & that 5 years imprisonment insufficient. I said H.M.G. wld. not oppose the addition of a higher magistrate to the Mixed Court for the trial, and wld. accept an exemplary penalty, but wld. be absolutely opposed to handing over the offenders to Chinese justice, no matter what assurances might be given. The beating to death of 沈蕙 had rendered that impossible. He says Uchida intervened to save the man fr. decapitation & his beating to death was the result!

29 [Aug.] Called on Uchida. He says he was instructed to tell me only of presentation of the Japse. proposals at Petersburg, & not to say anything to Conger. Fr[om] his tone I drew the conclusion that he expects war.

Called on the Korean, and then to the Congers. Mrs. C. went yesterday to see the Empress-Dowager at the Summer Palace, but she did not let out what the conversation was about.

C[onger] gave me list of the British Syndicate who are co-operating with Thurlow Weed Barnes in regard to the rlwy. from Hangkow to Chengtu.

31 [Aug.] To Chang Chih-tung, who talked abt. Manchuria. I told him that any cooperation of England, America & Japan to drive Russia out of Manchuria was not to be thought of. If China cld. not fight her own battles, she must not expect us to do it for her. He got on to the Supao case, wch. he was very anxious to discuss with me, but I found out that it was not in his hands, & told him I c[ou]ld not tell him what our terms were, unless he were authorized to negotiate, but said that H.M.G. & other govts. wld. not give the men up, & insisted on the accused being tried in accordance with the Taotai's agreement of wch. he

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pretended not to have heard. Finally, I agreed that he might come to see me about it on the 3rd. He said he knew nothing abt. Hankow water-works proposals from any one. An arrangement had been come to about the Luhan assisting in collecting likin, but professed ignorance of the precise terms.

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1 Sept. Called on Hu. He says the Tientsin report of the intended issue of bonds to construct a rlwy. fr. Kalgan to Peking with Chinese capital is not true. The rlwy. cannot be built with English money for the Russians wld. object, nor with Russian for England wld. oppose, nor with Belgian, for both R. & E. wld. protest. Nor with Chinese, for they have it not. Replying to my questions he said he thought the agreement as to rlwy. guards for the Eastern Chinese rlwy. was for 6000; the Germans have only a few more on the line fr. Kiaochou to the interior of Shantung; likin question on Luhan where it was, the likin officials making their collections outside the stations as the rlwy. people will not admit them inside. No arrangement has been come to to pay rlwy. a commission for collecting. He says the coal at Nanpiao is very good & plentiful, & showed a letter fr. the Waiwupu undertaking not to give concession of mining areas betw. Nanpiao & the rlwy. line to any but the Northern R[ai]lw[a]ys Administration. I urged that the branch to the mines shld. be proceeded with. He says the extension to Hsing-ming-ting is $\frac{2}{3}$ finished. He displayed curiosity to know what I thought about Manchuria, & whether we were going to do anything. Prince Ch'ing sent Lien Fang to Lessar a couple of days ago, but he (Hu) did not know what had taken place. Lien Fang seemed to have lost his former confidence in the value of Russian assurances.

Went on to Nat'ung, who was very chatty. I remarked that I might have to talk with him officially abt. establishment of a uniform coinage for China, & mentioned the recent rise in silver, bringing the tael nearly up to where it was at the time the Final Protocol was signed.

On to Chang Kweiti, who is a dull old fellow. Dined with Joostens, & sat betw. Mme. Cárcer & Bobroff. The latter tried to lecture me on the necessity of Siam (where he was with Olarovsky before coming to Peking) & Corea losing their independence. I replied that all small powers had a tendency to be attracted by great agglomerations in their neighbourhood. Later on Cárcer tormented Lady Susan [Townley] with the desertion of Japan that was to be looked for from us, & appealed to me, but I declined to be drawn into a political discussion. Joostens told a good story of Cambon at Washington, who being asked by a lady at an afternoon party what the situation was replied, Je vous

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remercie Madame, ni thé ni chocolat.

2 [Sept.] Dined quietly with Lessar, only the Townleys, Clear the new Germ. Mil. Attaché & Commandant of Legation guard, & Lissakowsky, who was in Bangkok & then in Tokio with the Iswolskys.

3 [Sept.] Chang Chih-tung returned my call. I had sent him a message that it wld. be better not to interfere abt. the Supao case, but leave it to the Foreign Board, & he consequently held his tongue on the subject. But he was very insistent abt. Yü Lien-san, who he thinks shld. be apptd. a govr. some where. Acc[ording] to him Yü in 1900 arrested & punished a Hunanese agitator, a hsiu-tsai [lowest degree holder in imperial exams]; for having cut that man's head off, & also that of the Tussü for the Chênchou murders, the Hunan member of the Grand Council (Chü Hung-chi) took advantage of the opposition offered by the F. Mins. to Yü's apptmt. to Shansi to dismiss him altogether. I responded that it was certainly not Yü who had decapitated the tussü, but the Br. Govt. That the old man admitted, but he had been told by the Chêkiang member of the Grand Council that Chü was bitterly opposed to Yü for the execution of the other. He wanted me to tell the Waiwupu that I had no objection to Yü's getting another post. I said that I wld. look into the papers, but in no case cld. I take the initiative, Townley & Cockburn who were present knowing more abt. the protest wch. had ended in Yü's downfall, put the dots on the I's for me in the discussion.

Afternoon called on Chang Pohsi, who referred to his request, to me last year to engage a professor in London. Chang Têyi had written to him that \$400 a year was too little but as other people had accepted it, they did not make any difference. I explained that it was not the amount being insufficient but our man objected to payment in a constantly depreciating metal, & wanted his salary fixed in gold. Chang replied that this did not remove the difficulty. Asked abt. the building of the University. Nothing has been done. He has now a colleague in the Chancellorship, one Jung Ch'ing (President of the Board of Punishments), & his hands are not so free as before.

Morrison says Bland has telegd. to "Times" that Chang Chih tung has asked that the "Supao" accused shld. be handed over for trial to Chinese Govt. upon an undertaking that they shall only be imprisoned. If this refers to Chang's conversation with me on the 31st, it is curious how the report can have got to Shanghai. I told Morrison what had happened, not for publication, & my advice to Chang not to burn his fingers.

4 Sept. Joostens came to talk about the Kaifêng mines. He had heard fr. Col. Thuys, who spoke of his interview with me, & sent him also a copy of the petition filed by Chang Yi agst. the Engineering & Mining Co. I told him that I had recommended Edmund Davis & Thuys to put their case before Lord Lansdowne, who prob. wld. give me

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instructions. That Ld. Lansdowne had not done. There was a statement in their case wch. was incorrect, namely that the Chiu wangtao title deeds had been sent to H.M. Legn. That I had urged Hoover & Eames to do, but they had been unable to produce them. Told him of Wynne's correspondence with Germ. & Fr. military authorities. The former acc. to Mumm had come to a friendly arrangement. The latter refused to give up the land, wch. they had occupied before the transfer of the property, & they meant to hold it, because Chui-Wang-tao was a monopoly port. I also told Joostens of the falsely dated document, i.e. the sale out & out, which Hoover obtained in 1901 Feb, getting it antedated July 1900. This he said he knew nothing of.

Asked him about levy of likin on Hankow-Peking rlwy, & mentioned the able letter of Casenave. That said Joostens Casenave had been obliged to withdraw. Gaiffier had sent in a similar one, & was much vexed when their contention was shown to be wrong. There were better partners than the French (wch. I suppose was an allusion to the idea of an Anglo-Belgian combine []). He promised to find out & let me know what had been arranged abt. likin. I remarked that it was unfortunate that the Chinese put the control of their railways in foreign hands. The Eastern Chinese rlwy. was Russian, that in Shantung German, the Lu-Han French. He begged me not to say this, but I replied that the Fr. claimed it. Ansr. was that the Chinese cld. buy up the Lu-Han nine years after completion; wch. he puts in 1905, barring the bridge over the Yellow River.

5 [Sept.] To see Lessar. He proposed that we shld. omit informing Chinese Govt. of result of Tientsin arbitration. I said I wld. look into the matter. He complained also of Yüan Shihkai building a branch of the rlwy at Tientsin to bring goods direct to the Chinese city with the object of ruining the trade of the foreign concessions.

7 [Sept.] Uchida came with memo. about the Dunne case at Amoy. Says he rather thinks it will be difficult to avoid war, & that Japan will not allow the Russian concession at Yongnampho to be ratified.

Archie Little called. Says the Ning yüan concession is made out to Pritchard Morgan & the Yangtze Valley Corpn. The latter are postponing application for ratification, in order to tire P.M. out, & give him as little as they can. Same with the petroleum concessions, wch. however are to the Yangtze Valley Corporation only. He has been told that his services are no longer needed. Has entered into partnership with Chinese owners of coal & iron. If he could only get a concession in his own name, he wld. go to England to get capital to work them.

Mumm came. Tried to pump me about Japanese negotiations with Russia: referred him to telegs. fr. Kobe in North China Daily news. Supao case; he wld. take a back seat if it were discussed. Told him of Dubail's instructions.

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Went to Hart to ask about trade mark registration & opening of Nanning & Kongmoon. Found him weak & ill.

8 [Sept.] Wang Wenshao, Chü Hung-chi; also Juiliang, who goes to Hunan as Provincial Treasurer. We spoke to him about the anti-foreign spirit said to have appeared in the province, & promised at his request to send him a red note wch. he wld. be able to make use of.

9 [Sept.] Prince Ch'ing came to return my visit to the Yamên, & particularly to talk abt. the "Supao" case. He wanted me to instruct Mansfield to surrender the accused, undertaking that they shd. not be put to death. I replied that my instructions prevented my doing this, & several colls: were in the same position. H.M.G. desired that the agreement made by the Taotai with the consular body shd. be adhered to, by wch. the accused were to be tried at the mixed court, & the sentences to be carried out in the settlement. When I passed thro' the Taotai had suggested to me the addition of the Shanghai hsien to the court, to wch. I was willing to agree.

Prince made a distant allusion to art. 21 of the treaty. He thought we were bound to surrender Chinese criminals. I said not political offenders, to do that wd. be contrary to all English traditions.

After a further ineffectual attempt to persuade me, seeing that it was useless he said he would telegraph to the Viceroy of Nanking to reconsider the Taotai's proposal. I had said to him that we must try to get this case out of the way, & then frame regulations wch. wld. prevent such abuses in the future.

Conversed abt. the new Russian proposals for Manchuria, result of wch. I teleg. & wrote to F.O.

Railway. He is willing that the substance of what was agreed to betw. him & Townley shld. be put in the form of a red note, to wch. he wld. reply in the affirmative.

Chang Chih-tung is kept here by negotiations for Japse. treaty of commerce & to frame regulations for the government of Chinese students in Japan.

Morrison came in immediately afterwards & I told him that his information telegd. to "Times" on the 7th was correct, & added two particulars of wch. he had not heard.

11 Sept. [Thomas Beaumont] Hohler [Second Secretary] of the Tokio Legation came up, and as he had no other place to go to, I gave him a room. He tells me that the Japanese as a whole want to go to war with Russia, but Ito [Hirobumi, 1841-1909] is trying to stave it off. ¹ It

¹ "One of the most important events in the run-up to the Russo-Japanese war is the visit of Marquis Itō to Russia in November-December 1901." (Ian Nish, *The Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, Longman, 1985, p. 116) Itō reached Petersburg on November 25th and was welcomed by the Tsar on the next day. He and Tsuzuki Keiroku met Lamsdorf and Witte on December 2-3rd, but he left Russia 'empty-handed and disappointed'. The Russians were content to play for time while the

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was not at first intended to let even Uchida know that negotiations wld. be attempted at Petersburg. The Uchidas dined tonight, also the Congers. U[chida] says he yesterday by instructions from his government saw Prince Ch'ing [慶親王], & urged him strongly not to accede to the Russian terms, & the Prince promised to delay. ¹

12 Sept. Dined with DuBail. He has two new Secrets. Pannafien & Vignon. The former a dark beard man who comes from Tokio and the latter pretty as a barber's block. Mrs. Marsh & her husband the U.S. naval attaché, & Mrs. Sewell & her husband, young women, daughters of Fighting Bob Evans.

14 Sept. Went to Lessar, & told him I thought we shd. inform the Chinese Govt. of Detring's award in the Tientsin railway land case. He said he wld. write to Laptiew[?] to ask whether the whole affair was settled & then we cld. draft a note, wch. could be either joint or identic as we shd. decide.

15 With Hohler & Eastes to the Cottage by the 1.20 train. The Ottewills came to dinner.

16 At 3 Joostens came to a meeting of the Drafting Committee, but Dubail did not turn up. We discussed a draft, wch. he afterwards took round.

Dinner at wch. Oudendijk the little Netherlands Ch. d'Affaires, Lyssakovsky, Godfrey Palmer a globe-trotter who brought a F.O. ticket-of-soup. Shangli [?] of the Customs & young Mayers of Hgkg & S'hai Bk. dined.

18 Sept. Went to Dubail. Talked first abt. Joostens' proposal abt. the indemnity.

He said that some time back he recd. instructions to offer to the Chinese the same terms that we did, namely to receive silver for ten years, leaving the question of the arrears to be dealt with after the expiration of that time, but had not communicated it directly to the Chinese, because they refused to sign the gold bonds. But he told them that if they signed, they wld. find the Powers ready to take their circumstances into consideration. He thinks that Lessar's addition to Joosten's draft makes it more difficult for the Chinese to accept. I said H.M.G. would have been willing to forego the arrears, but as the other Powers had refused to entertain the first part of our proposal, I had never mentioned the second part.

I also mentioned the circular of the day before yesterday abt. the Supao case, and a

Trans-Siberian railway was being completed – it opened in the summer of 1903.

¹ "...on 6 September [1903] Prince Ching [successor to the pro-Russian Li Hung chang as foreign minister who had died in 1901] received new Russian demands. If they were accepted, Russia undertook to put part of the evacuation [of Manchuria] into immediate effect, but to defer evacuation in Kirin and Heilungkiang provinces for from four to twelve months." Various conditions were attached to the demands, including that Manchuria should never be ceded to any foreign power. The Japanese, British and American ministers all urged the prince to oppose Russia's demands. "On 25 September Prince Ching addressed a note to [Russian minister] Lessar refusing the new conditions and insisting that the Russians should first evacuate Chinese territory and then discuss the pledges they sought. The viceroy for the far east, Admiral Alekseyev, as one of his first acts, broke off negotiations..." (Ian Nish, *The Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, pp.182-3)

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conversation ensued of wch. I made a long note. Four weeks ago Ld. Lansdowne got the Fr. Govt. to send Dubail instructions to refuse the surrender of the accused, and told me that he wld. confer with me. I waited therefore to hear from him. But today came another teleg. saying that the Fr. Govt. had heard nothing fr. Peking for the last four weeks and seemed annoyed that I had not spoken. So I made up my mind to make the first step.

Gallina at our suggestion yesterday put on the circ. that he advised the matter being entrusted to those of us who had recd. Notes fr. the Chinese Govt. to find out a solution. So this morning I went to Czikkann and begged him to send round the circular a second time. Cz. talked abt. the obligation of the treaty being clear & without exception, but I said that in our view political offenders must always be excepted.

Yokoyama Magoichirō came to call. He says he wants to sell rifles to China of the 1897 pattern. That he is trying to arrange combine with Wynne for putting up the prices of Kiushiu and Kaiping coal to something like \$6 - \$8 a ton. That McBain's steamers have been sold to the Nippon Yūsen Kaisha and the transaction completed a month ago. That he had tried to get the Chinese to allow export of rice to Japan last year from Wuhu. It would have laid down at Nagasaki at \$10.50 a koku, the price there being \$15 to \$16, but the Chinese declined.

Dubail also gave me to understand that his efforts on behalf of Marshal Su had been so successful that no sentence had been passed on him. He also hinted at a possible compromise betw. the Luhan and the B. & C. Corporation by wch. the former should be allowed to build the Tientsin-Paoting line, the Luhan withdrawing their opposition to the line asked for by the Peking Syndicate. I told him of the instructions I had recd. abt. the Tientsin-Paotingfu line, wch. were contrary to my own theory of live & let live, and he confessed that he had instructions strenuously to oppose the Syndicate's line.

- 19 [Sept.] Sir R. Hart came to call. He said that Nanning, Kongmoon and other matters on wch. I spoke to him recently were in train. A report was called for from Nanning.

Yokoyama came to lunch but did not say anything fresh.

Dined with Nat'ung, along with Townley, Cockburn and Hohler, Coolidge & Williams of the American Legation, and Krebs of the German. Old Hu, Jui-liang, Chuan the interpreter, a cousin of Nat'ung and a flat nosed fellow who spoke German. It was an excellent dinner, Chinese dishes, and not too long.

- 21 Sept. Hillier came to tell me that Lessar was reported, on authority which he believed, to have within the last few days written again to the Chinese that they must give to Russia the same advantages that they granted to G.B. in any part of China, which they interpreted to mean a reference to our agreement about the Inspector-Generalate of Customs, and also that they must accept the terms offered for the evacuation of Manchuria speedily, as it was their last chance. I

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sent a short red note to Prince Ch'ing warning him not to give anything to Russia that conflicted with our interests, if they wished to preserve the friendship of England, & telegraphed to F.O. that I had done so.

To Uchida [Japanese Minister in Peking 1901-06 Uchida Yasuya] to tell him this. He had not heard of this, but at the outset a fortnight ago had heard of Lessar's attack on our interests, but was told afterwards that it was conceived in more general terms. He did go to the Summer Palace on the 10th to present the protest of his govt. He has seen the first Russian demands of a fortnight ago, which were written on separate sheets of paper, and cannot be sure that he has seen all. He thinks Lienfang saw Lessar and recd. verbal communication for Prince Ch'ing, and that to some of the five he agreed as far as he was concerned. Apparently he wrote down in Chinese copies of something shown him at the Russian Legation. In reply to an observation of mine that we cannot hope for peace in the far east so long as Russia does not give Japan satisfaction in regard to Manchuria, he agreed, and his face assumed an expression of strong hostility. He thinks Ito is for peace, but that Yamagata supports the view of the Cabinet, which is his protégé. He has heard that Prince Ch'ing, alarmed at finding himself betw. Japan & Russia, is going to [U.S. Minister E.H.] Conger tomorrow to ask his advice and assistance.

Supao case. He asked that instructions might be sent to Odagiri, and does not know their nature. Has recd. none himself to refuse surrender of the six journalists.

22 Sept. Uchida came. He says Prince Ch'ing is going to see Conger this afternoon, presumably to ask him to mediate betw[een] Russia & Japan.

Li Shengtê called. Very civil. Gave him the remaining volume of the Yunglo Tatien.

Hu came. Says I ought to go to see Prince Ch'ing and advise him to follow the councils of Uchida and refuse to accept the Russian demands, especially those for military posts along the Sungari river and along the road from Tsitsihar to Blagovestchensk.

Returned Father Capy's call.

Hu also said that Lessar had written privately to Lienfang saying that Sir Robert Hart had been very harmful to Chinese interests as I-G & that now China & Russia were on such friendly terms, they shld. agree to have a Russian I-G for Manchuria, & appt. Russians to be Commissioners at Moukden & Antung hsien.

24 [Sept.] Went to see Conger and got from him the account of his conversation with Prince Ch'ing.

Had to dinner Almeida the Portug. Ch. d'Aff., Matsui Japse. Secretary, Col. Grandprey Fr. Mil. Attaché, von Claer Germ. do. de Lichtenfilde Belgian 2nd Sec., v. Radewitz Germ. 2nd or 3rd Sec. Panafien the Fr. Sec. of Legation & Hawdon, a soldier who is studying Chinese. Mrs. Foote arrived.

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22 Dinner to Genl. Ventris, very stiff & dull affair.

23 Dined at the Legn. guard mess to meet the Genl.

25 Went to see Prince Ch'ing. What I said to him abt. Thibet, his relation abt. Note to Lessar on Manchuria, Supao, Rlwy Note. On first three result in despp. & telegrams.

26 Sept. Went to Conger & told him conversation with Pr. Ch'ing abt. Manchuria, wch. was in accordance with advice he had given to the Prince, & he beamed all over. Also talk abt. Supao case with Dubail of yesterday morning.

To Uchida & told him the same. He had recd. Chu Hung-chi yesterday & found out fr. him abt. the Manchurian Note.

To Sir Robert to ask about Russian demands for separate Russian organisation in Manchuria. He declared he had not heard a word of it, wch. was absolutely false, as he had some days ago told the whole story of Lessar's note on the subject to Morrison. He mentioned Konovaloff with praise, on wch. I remarked that the appointment had given great offence to senior men in the Customs service, who had been passed over. He defended himself rather feebly I thought. Then he said he had signed an agreement with Alexeieff that the Newchwang customs revenue shld. be paid into the Russo-Chinese bank "to the credit of China" (wch. explains Cranborne's statement), but could not tell me whether the Chinese Govt. could draw or had drawn any part of the balance remaining after payment of the Russian clam for repairs to the extra-mural railway, wch. he said had been paid by China with an order on that fund. Altogether he produced on me the impression of quite Chinese shiftiness & evasion.

He is no doubt unfriendly to us. 1°. It was not the Br. Govt. nor Sir F. Bruce who put him where he is, but the Chinese, & the rest is his own creation. 2°. The choice of the Br. Govt. of Bredon to be his successor some years ago, & the stipulation that after him the I-G shld. always be an Englishman offended him, as being unnecessary interference. 3°. The most recent intervention of the F.O. in the spring of this year, by wch. they told Bredon he was no longer their candidate, & they put Hipposley forward as favourite, has again vexed him. He does not want anyone to be I-G after him, but a committee of different nationalities, for in his opinion no single man is up to the weight of responsibility but Robt. Hart. In past times he has been so flattered & rewarded by H.M.G. & the world in general that his head has been turned, and his chief characteristic now is senile vanity.

Capt. Kell & his wife dined.

27 [Sept.] Sir Robt. having apparently repented of his prevarication abt. the Russian proposal for a separate I-G. in Manchuria has now written and told the truth.

28 [Sept.] Mrs. Foote went down by the 2.12 train.

29 To the Cottage in pouring rain with Russell by the 1.22 train. Eastes came out later. It

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cleared up in the afternoon.

30 [Sept.] Brilliant morning. Returned to town with much regret.

Took to Lessar dft. of note identique about railway lands arbitration. He says that Laptiew tells him that he & Hopkins have to make their report on the result of the arbitration, attaching thereto a map. It is amusing to think that when Lessar first spoke to me on this subject, he assumed that it had long ago been completely disposed of, and that consequently we need not trouble to inform the Chinese. I observed that as L. & H. had not agreed upon any point, there really was nothing for them to report on, beyond sending copies of Detring's two awards, wch. I had recd. from Hopkins.

Mumm came. He said that we were credited with an intention of claiming compensation as a set off to the Russian possession of Manchuria. I told him that if he wld. believe me, there was nothing in the story, & that I had absolutely no instructions of the kind fr. H.M.G. He said he believed me, & that it wld. be a great pity if any other Powers began to take bits of China, as that wld. prob. not be allowed. Russia could of course do as she liked. No one interfered, because even the boys in the street regarded Manchuria as somehow hers. Then again 8 weeks ago there was a story about English sailors having been landed on the Yangtze by Admiral Bridge somewhere, but this he had traced back to a row abt. a steamer, when the American consul (? Nanking) had, in the absence of an U.S. gunboat asked for an English man of war, wch. he did not get. I said this was no doubt the Yang-chou affair of steam launches, when the people rose and destroyed the launch agencies. I had not heard of the application for an English gunboat. There were centres at Peking & Nanking from wch. false news was disseminated by Chinese. That abt. our demanding something for ourselves by way of compensation had originated in Peking. Last year an equally imaginary story had come from Nanking. Two colls. (i.e. Goltz & Casenave) had asked me abt. it, but when I told them it was not true they had still believed it, wch. had been inconvenient. But quite recently I had traced it back to its original disseminator, & I now know his name. (Mumm quite understood what I meant.) Another thing he said was that last year the Italians had renewed their demand for Sanmun, & that the Chinese piqued themselves on having rejected the same day. I said I did not believe a word of the story. We ought to take great care what we believed in this genre.

Dubail came in, & after discussion about the glacis being international, Mumm took his departure. Dubail wanted to explain that if he consented to the Fr. glacis being lent for a circus, he wld. know no peace. Already he had rejected half a dozen similar applications made direct to him. He did not think it was quite decorous for the Powers a few months after taking all this land from the Chinese for purposes of defence to turn it to commercial or any other ends than those for wch. it was appropriated. He had made a report on the

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internationalisation of the glacis, suggesting that hereafter it might be turned into a Park for the diplomatic quarter, when no longer needed for purposes of defence. I thanked him for taking the trouble to come & explain the objection he had noted on the circular wch. I sent round this afternoon.

We then talked of the indemnity proposal of Joostens, & he said that his previous instructions led him to suppose that the French Govt. would approve, but he had not yet referred it, as Joostens had not made it officially. One thing the Fr. Govt. would not agree to was the Chinese being excused from payment of interest on arrears. I said how much more generous France and England had been in 1860, we took 6 000 000 of 8 000 000 taels in silver, not our 'equitable indemnities' wch. one colleague had explained to mean 'all that China could be made to pay'. One Government after the agreement not to charge any military expenses after 1 July 1901 was now commonly known to have added on the cost of barracks & the expenses of keeping troops in N. China till 31 Mar. 1904. The last drop of blood, Shylock's pound of flesh. (This is Germany.)

October 1903

1 Octr. Mrs. Stokes arrived at 6.30.

3 Octr. Meeting of Dipl. Body at Lessar's (who is ill). Discussed various unimportant matters and the "Supao" case, in order to see whether we could agree upon an answer to be sent thro' Goodnow to the Viceroy's letter of 30 Aug. Lessar made a violent attack on Morrison for having telegraphed the opinions of the various colleagues on July 29, calling him "un triste personnage" and on the Municipal Council for allowing the accused, according to Goodnow, to allow the accused journalists to go on writing & publishing seditious articles after they had been arrested. I said that what the Times correspondent had done was merely a piece of legitimate newspaper enterprise, and it was not the only occasion on which the deliberations of the D.B. had been made known outside. During the conferences of 1900-1 the numerous correspondents in Peking & even the Chinese Govt. were made acquainted with the utterances of various representatives within a couple of hours of the meeting ended. The accusation brought by Mr. Goodnow against the Municipality had been made secretly to the D.B. & I did not doubt that they wld. be perfectly well able to defend themselves. I said my instructions were precise. I could not consent to the accused being handed over. The Chinese Govt. knew perfectly well that we never gave up political offenders, & had in their letter to Townley asked for the surrender on the ground that these were not political offenders. It was impossible to believe that the senior consul wld. have counter-signed the warrant but for the proposal spontaneously made to the Consular Body

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by the Taotai, and I shld. like to add that if the Chinese refused to carry it out within a fixed term, we shld. say that the accused must be set at liberty. H.M.G. were desirous of proper punishment being meted out & I was ready to consider the means of preventing a renewal of such writing.

Lessar maintained that these people having mentioned an individual by name were common criminals & not political offenders. He must have been reading the report of Mort's Trial.

Finally Gallina, as the most moderate & reasonable person present was charged with drafting a reply to Goodnow.

I remained behind to speak with Lessar abt. our note to Chinese forwarding the award of the arbitrators in the Tientsin railway land case. We talked abt. the disclosure made by Morrison. Lessar said it had done much harm to Dubail & Joostens. I expressed my opinion that he had used unmerited language with regard to Morrison, & that what he complained of always occurred. Narrated what had happened with respect to an utterance of mine as to missionaries indemnifying themselves, that had never even appeared in the procès-verbal, but was repeated in the German newspapers from something published in America. He replied that anyhow what he had said wld. prevent recurrence of the abuse for the time. We looked at his copy of the circular, & it appeared likely that the original must have been showed to Morrison betw. Uchida & its return to the Doyen.

4 Oct. Mrs. Stokes left by the afternoon train.

5 Oct. Drafting Committee at Joostens.

Lord Ronaldshay called. Got on to the Siberian railway at Obi, and came down thro' Manchuria to Port Arthur. Much activity in forwarding troops. Barracks being built along the railway, for the men cannot be housed & have to live in rlwy. carriages.

Ch. Oliver came, formerly a professor in the Tung Wên Kwan, & now in the Maritime Customs.

He says that Chang Yin huan & Wêngt'unggho were the two members of the Tsungli Yamên, the latter being also on the Grand Council. These two made the agreement for giving up Kiaouchou [to Germany in 1897] without the knowledge of their colls: who were furious when they heard of it. Wêng put it thro' with the Emperor. The Manchus would have fought Germany rather than give up. This led to their disgrace when the Empress-Dowager resumed power. No wonder orders were sent to cut his head off in 1900 and that the E-D refused so long to rehabilitate his memory. He says he has a power of attorney fr. Mrs. Dudgeon to take out letters of administration & look after her claim.

Met Mumm at the door and brought him in. He suggested that my not going to the

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Summer Palace on the 8th is because I am offended with the Court! I said no, that simply I do not want to go. He also poked the fire & tried to make it blaze by affecting to think Lessar's language on the 3rd abt. Morrison was too strong.

Morrison came. He still looks very unwell. I told him we were drafting a desp. abt. the "Supao" case, wch. wld. take some days.

6 Oct. Went to Jap. Legation to return Makino's call, but found he had gone off.

At dinner Major & Mrs. Wood of the U.S. Legation Tokio and Lord Ronaldshay, just arrived from Central Asia by way of Kuldja and the Siberian railway. He says there must be quite 200,000 men in Manchuria.

7 Oct. Lighted a fire at one end of the ball room for the first time.

Gatrell came. He says many Chinese complain at the cost of the New Dominion, 600,000 taels a year: Kueichou cost 150,000. Something has been done in the former by dismissing soldiers. But they wld. favour getting rid of it. Li Hung-chang proposed some years ago to give it to Russia in exchange for Vladivostock, but the proposal was vetoed by the Court. He has been staying with Wei Kwang-chien, Chang Yi's private secy., seeing much of Ku Hung-ming and another enlightened man named Yen Fu (said to be a Director of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co.). Everyone is looking on to see what decision the Courts will give in the case of the Tongshan Mines, & Chang Yi is confident he will gain his case. These Chinese think there is no hope for China. The PP. go on taking territory, they would try to keep a few central Provinces for China, & work outwards from them to re-establish the State. The condition of things is hopeless at the Court, all sorts of abominations go on, of which foreigners have no conception. As long as the Empress-Dowager lives there will be no reform. The only 3 men in the Empire are Chang Chih-tung, Ts'en & . Natung is given up to amassing wealth.

8 Oct. Went to Mumm and talked to him about the Weihaiwei Goldmining Co. and the German interference. Also abt. the position of the German consular official at Tsinan. He showed me Gallina's draft letter to the Senior Consul about Viceroy's letter of 30 Aug. on the "Supao" case, wch. I criticised and said I cld. not accept. He says confidentially that he has instructions not to refuse their surrender, but will not give this out.

Morrison came. I told him we were doing [our] best to get on with the "Supao" case. He had heard of my not going to the Imperial Garden-party, & wished to be able to tell the "Times" that it was because I was dissatisfied with the arrangements. I told him I was dissatisfied, but had not put it on that ground. No Chinese had been to see me, so that I had said nothing.

10 Oct. Took my counter draft round to Gallina, Czikann, Dubail & Mumm. The last said it was better than Gallina's, Dubail said he had no objections, and would try to induce Lessar to

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accept it.

Went out to the cottage. Russell & Eastes also. Rain during the evening. Crops nearly all cleared off, except sweet potatoes, the foliage of which is turning black.

12 Oct. Walked in, taking the cemetery on our way, to look at the outside of the mortuary chapel and the restored monuments. 2 hrs 5 mins from door to door.

14 Oct. Meeting of D.B. at wch. letter of Doyen to Senior Consul abt. "Supao" case was settled. Also a note abt. audiences at the Summer Palace. Lessar & Dubail have not yet recd. instructions abt. Joostens' proposal for settling the indemnity question. Nor has Lessar instructions abt. the admission of articles for consuls free of duty.

Dined at Sir R. Hart's, and took in Frau Jacobsen, wife of a German naval man. Frau Truppel the wife of the Govr. of Kiaochow was also there, 3 officers of the German guard, two Miss v. Möllendorfs, Miss Foley dau. of the railwayman and a Miss Stewart, whose father was in the arsenal. Mumm tried hard to get me to agree to Hillier's paying his share of the expenses of the municipality on the E. side of the Canal, but I held out for the glacié question being settled and the cadastre of the Diplomatic Quarter being completed & accepted. Said I regretted the publication of the map of the Quarter by a German bookseller, showing details of buildings.

17 Oct. Edmund [Trelawney] Backhouse¹ lunched with me. I proposed to him that he shld. furnish me with précis of the newspapers and now and then a Peking Gazette memorial, also translations from Russian, and should study Mongolian for a year with a view to going to Urga & Mongolia generally to furnish news, to give him £300 a year. He has a five year engagement with the Peking University, which can be terminated at 3 months' notice, and it was [agreed?] that he should go on with this until the time arrives for him to go to Urga.

19 Oct. Lienfang and Ku Chaohsin brought Chinese versions of the corresp[onden]ce betw[een] [Russian Minister to Peking 1901-05 Paul Mikhaelovich] Lessar & the Chinese Gov[ernmen]t about the new conditions precedent for the evacuation of Manchuria. The only explanation obtained fr[om] the Russians for the presentation of fresh demands was that it is usual when evacuation is carried out to stipulate for safeguards. He hoped that H.M.G. [His Majesty's Government] would speak the 'word of justice' to Russia. I replied that I had done my best to put the state of the case before H.M.G. and that it was for them to decide what line they w[ou]ld adopt. Supposing H.M.G. made observations to Russia, and they met with an unsatisfactory reception, then the discussion might proceed and

¹ Edmund Backhouse was "a fantasist on a monstrous scale whose fraudulent activities extended far beyond academia. It was Hugh Trevor-Roper of Oxford University who, in his famous study *Hermit of Peking*, at last exposed Backhouse in 1976." Diana Preston, *The Boxer Rebellion*, p. 330.

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finally become so heated that the two parties w[ou]ld stand ready to come to blows, and therefore much consideration was necessary. I said I thought China was entirely in the right. Some of the proposals, as that the branches of the Russo-Chinese Bank should be protected by Chinese soldiers were innocent enough, but the proposals ab[ou]t landing stages on the Sungari River & posting stations on the road from Tsitsihar to Blagovestchensk amounted to giving up control of all the arteries of communication. China ought never to give up the control of her railways to any foreign gov[ernmen]t. Only to companies cld. she safely entrust them. We conversed abt. the missionary clause in the American treaty & I said I had given similar instructions to the consuls wch. was in accordance with my letter to Li Hung-chang, pointing out that if China carried out Art. VIII of the Treaty, there wd. be no ground for interference. I had had a meeting with the representatives of the societies at home & expounded my views, in which they had concurred. It was however sometimes the mandarins who sought out the missionaries, and tried to get them to settle cases amicably. This they should avoid doing. Lienfang said some mandarins were hostile to Christians, and wld. never listen to their complaints. Others on the contrary were so afraid of the missionaries that they cld. never be induced to give a case agst. a convert.

Mumm came. Says his financiers want to separate their interests in the Tientsin-Chinkiang railway from those of the British group, & he had been asked his opinion by the German Govt; he did not know what view to take & so came to me. I said I had heard nothing either from H.M.G. or from the representative of the British group. I fancied that the difficulty in ending the negotiation was the question of a guarantee. M. replied that this was owing to the large amount required in consequence of the Germ. financiers having included the branches fr. Yen-chou to the Shantung frontier in the direction of Kaifêng, and from Tî-chou to Chêng-ting. For there he had got promises from the Chinese, and the financiers had tried to include them in the present negotiations, agst. his wish, and now his influence at Berlin had induced them to abandon the idea, so that if the German interest cld. be separated from the English, they would have a better prospect of overcoming the obstacles.

He also says that in about 3 weeks time the Doyen will call a meeting for a proposal to form a single municipality, & that Gallina will be ready to agree to the international character of the glaxis, provided we can provide him with a decent excuse for retreating from the position taken up by Salvago.

Col. Wyllie of the Sherwood Foresters called. Tsai-chên, Wu Ting-fang and Chên-pi, as President and Vice-presidents of the new Board of Commerce called. I asked what railways they would have charge of & they said only the new ones.

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Pu-lun called: has been apptd. to go to St. Louis Exhibition next year.

20 Oct. Mumm came again & gave me what he said was the Chinese text of the clause by wch. concessions made to others outside the radius of 250 li from Chefoo were excepted. It says exactly the same thing as what he showed to Townley in German in July. He chuckled at the exception being made only as regards 'mines already conceded to merchants of other countries'. I said I wanted to see the German text which was alone authoritative. He made some difficulty about this but finally pulled out of his pocket a German document wch. purported to contain the passage in question, and in this the word "Regierungen" [Governments] takes the place of "merchants". There was also a note that v.d. Goltz had sent a written protest to the Foreign Board in Jan'y 1903, I asked him to let me have a copy, but he replied first that "Regierungen" must be a mistake, and he wld. look again. Finally he promised to give me a copy of the German of this passage, provide I would undertake not to inform H.M.G. officially where I got it from. The clause even as it stands in the German concession will not do, as it purports to give mining rights in the leased territory at Weihaiwei.

21 " The Raja of Kapurthala and his Secy. called. They arrived last night, without letting me know anything beforehand, so I was unable to send any one to meet him. Asked him to dinner. He inquired about an audience of the Emperor, but I said that the latter was at the Summer Palace and could not be got hold of conveniently, the distance was too great. I had sent sedan chairs for him & his suite.

Inspected the powder magazine and commissariat stores with Col. Bower, and found that various penthouses ¹ have been put up against the two outer walls, rendering it an easy matter to scale them. Asked him to order a board composed of Warren & King to report on what is necessary to put things in a condition of safety, & I wld. then ask by teleg. for sanctions to be given immediately.

Went to [Edwin] Conger. He had taken offence at remarks I made at last meeting of the colls: to the effect that at the last audience of ladies at the Summer Palace, the Empress-Dowager was surrounded by American ladies under the conduct of the Doyenne [Mrs. Conger], and was evidently desirous of making a scene. I endeavoured to explain that I made no attack on Mrs. Conger personally, but that the arrangements on these occasions were unsatisfactory, and I had merely repeated what I had been told. He wld. see that I had expunged the passage from the procès-verbal. He declared it was not true, and that the other ladies were not prevented from following the Doyenne; evidently very angry. However we parted on friendly terms, and I said I had great respect & regard for Mrs. C.,

¹ penthouse (here): a shed or sloping roof attached to the side of a building or wall.

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and had not intended anything against her. ¹

But elsewhere the Doyenne on these occasions presents the new diplomatic ladies who have no 'chiefess', and mothers them so to speak. It ought to be the same thing here.

24 [Oct.] Uchida came to say that Prince Ch'ing had again been to see Conger, but he did not know with what object. He said he had instructions to ask me to use my good offices at Hankow to obtain permission for the steamers bought from McBain to use his pontoon. Told him my instructions were that no steamer except those flying British flag could be allowed alongside our concession.

Went out to Cottage. Pleasant warm day. Cockburn & Eastes later in the evening.

25 " Rained fitfully throughout the day, with wind fr. the North horribly cold and raw.

26 " Walked in from door to door [i.e. Cottage to Legation] in 1 hour 35 min. Dubail came to say that he has instructions to agree to Joostens' proposal, and even to remit the interest on the difference between gold and silver. He supposed it had been arranged betw. Paris & London. I said I had no instructions on the latter point.

He also talked about a railway from Wan hsien to Chêngtu, wch. French capitalists are anxious to obtain. He thought that an 'entente' betw. French & English capitalists would be very useful, and forward everybody's wishes, instead of them cutting each other's throats as they do now. I said that personally I had always been in favour of not offering opposition to other people's schemes, but had instructions to do it. We agreed that to find money anywhere at present, either in France or England for the construction of railways in China is very difficult.

O. Middleton & his lawyer Kent came to see me about land at Hsinho wch. the Germans keep hold of, originally belonging to China Merchants' Co., and sold to M. in Aug[ust] 1900. I said that we had reported home Dec. 1902 and had got no answer yet: supposed the matter was being discussed betw. London & Berlin. Wld. teleg. to inquire how things stood.

Returned Call of Prince Chên, Wu Tingfang & Chênpi.

Genl. von Rohrscheidt came to say goodbye. He is going home viâ Japan.

27 " Returned Pulun's call [of Oct. 19] with F.E. Wilkinson, and then went to Sir Robt.

¹ Yet Lady Susan Townley ridiculed Mrs. Sarah Conger as a "funny old lady" who "bade us all curtsy to Her Chinese Majesty and strongly recommended that we should all wear white embroidered under-petticoats, so that, in the event of our tripping...in the performance of these curtsys, no undue display of stockinged leg should offend...the surrounding Chinese dignitaries." (*"Indiscretions" of Lady Susan*, London: Thornton Butterworth 1922, pp. 86-87; *My Chinese Notebook*, London: Methuen & Co. 1904, p. 272. Quoted in Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 407) See also: "The senior legation residents were all there [at Hart's lawn party], including the mutton-chopped former cavalry officer Edwin Conger, and his painfully sincere wife, Sarah, a Christian Scientist who saw herself as a potential successor to the congregation's founder, Mary Baker Eddy. The Congers were drab, no-nonsense people..." (Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 7)

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[Hart] to arrange about the band for 9th Nov.

Mumm came, and told me that *Regierungen & not merchants* was the expression in the Germ. text of the Shantung mining concession. He asked whether I could give him any information about Manchuria, but I had none, except that fr. the way in wch. the negotiations were prolonged I anticipated a peaceful solution.

28 [Oct.] Morrison came. Very penitent abt. his rashly sent off teleg. that an attempt had apparently been made to blow up the Legation.

Chang Pohsi returned my call. Univ. has 70 students. Backhouse has been engaged in place of the man they proposed to get fr. London.

29 “ Tang Shao-yi [唐紹儀] called with a message from the Viceroy [Yüan Shihkai] to say that he had been much disturbed by the rumour of an attempt to blow up the Legation, and was generally obliged for the contradiction I had sent thro' Hopkins and for having had the story corrected. He could assure me that nothing was further from the thoughts of the Chinese govt. than any attempt against the F. RR. They were resolved to do their best to observe their obligations.

The Russians have resumed control of the telegraph office at Mukden and another place betw. it and Tieh ling, and had also sent parties of soldiers across the Liao river to intimate to the telegraphists at certain stations that they must not forward telegrams. This last news he had this morning from the Viceroy, and he did not know the names of the places, but was going to Lessar to ask what it meant.

He then said that the Viceroy was much concerned about the negotiations between Japan & Russia; if war was the result what attitude should China take. She could hardly remain neutral if there was fighting in her territory.

I said I should hesitate before advising China to adopt a course that would land her in greater disasters than she had already experienced. Had she troops and officers capable of leading them, that would be of any use to an ally?

He said no, but she could furnish provisions and transport. If Japan had allies, wld. that affect the operation of the Anglo-Japanese agreement [of January 30, 1902].

I replied that it would not.

He said that if there were war, the Jap. ground of action wld. be a desire to force Russia to fulfil her obligations to China, and what *casus belli* [reason justifying war] could Russia put forward wch. wld. give her as good, or a better title to a Chinese alliance. But there was a fear that if Japan were victorious, she would become very domineering.

I replied [in support of Japan] that as far as I could gauge Japanese feelings in the matter, it was a sincere desire to help China in every way ag[ain]st foreign encroachment. Nearly all Asia was dominated by Europe, and Japan felt that if China fell under their control, her

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own independence would be endangered. It was unlikely therefore that she would feel inclined to herself domineer over China, but rather to afford her assistance.

He acknowledged that this was the view of all sensible Chinese. But the Viceroy fears that in case of war one or the other party may occupy Peking, in order to put pressure on China to take sides. Suppose Japan sent 5000 or 6000 men here with that object.

I thought it unlikely that Japan would do that as long as the Russian fleet was afloat, but possibly Russia might. He asked whether Russia or Japan might not land a large force at Shanhaikwan. The answer to this I said was the same as in the other case [Peking].

He observed that the protocol [Final Protocol of September 7, 1901 settling the Boxer Rebellion] limited the no. [number] of foreign troops, and could not the other Powers appeal to that to prevent any increase being made.

I told him that the protocol did not fix the no. of troops at Peking or anywhere else, and that it was arranged betw. the generals, but when 300 each was fixed as the limit at Shanhaikwan the Russians declared they wld. not be bound by the agreement, and wld. station there 1500. I told him the recent incident about the Russian offer to hand over part of the site of Fort No. 1 on condition that they might have it back whenever they gave notice of a desire to return.

What was to be feared he said was that the Russians would seize the railway rolling stock, and bring troops up to Tientsin and Peking.

I tried to comfort him by observing that if war came, the Japse. strategists might possibly not fight in Manchuria, as the public expected them to do, but go for Vladivostok. This I begged him not to repeat to anyone, but to regard it as confidential.

He said the Viceroy would be here about the end of the Chinese month (say 3 wks. hence) & if the situation had not then changed, wld. prob. come to talk matters over.

30 Oct. [U.S. minister E.H.] Conger came. His opinion on the Manchurian question is that the Powers ought to have long ago insisted on Russia giving up Newchwang [新庄], a Treaty Port, where they are assuming powers that infringe upon the authority of the Foreign Consuls. But as far as he can see there interest in the whole question has much abated. Germany & France never took much [interest], as their object is to do in Shantung and in the South what Russia is doing in Manchuria. He doubts whether Japan will take any steps agst. Russia there [i.e. in Manchuria], it is only if her interests in Corea are affected that she will take up arms. I did not contest this view, and said that considering the long time expended in negotiation it was probable that peace would not be disturbed. If war did unfortunately break out China would be in an uncomfortable and abnormal position. He asked whether if China went to pieces, Japan was likely to assert her claims to Fuhkien. I replied that in my opinion no Power would follow the Russian example.

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November 1903

1 Nov. [Yangtse Viceroy and elder statesman] Chang Chih-tung [張之洞] sent Liang to say that he was going to the Summer Palace and would like to know my opinion on the Manchurian question, as he expected that he wld. be consulted on that.

I said I thought China should stick to her refusal [to accept Russia's fresh conditions for evacuation from Manchuria]. That I was certain Japan had not agreed, as the newspapers reported, to let Russia do as she likes in Manchuria in return for a free hand in Korea [a kind of Man-Kan kōkan]. That Russia intends to stay in M. [Manchuria] unless turned out by force. Whether there will be war or not I could not say, but that peace is by no means certain.

He asked whether China might not appeal to the Powers to express their opinion that Russia ought to clear out. I said no, because Russia wld. regard that as an unfriendly act, and the Powers wld. either refuse or give no answer. Her best plan is to remain still, and not to listen to Chinese newspapers who urge that China shld. ally herself with Japan. That wld. provoke Russia to do something still worse than merely remaining in M[anchuria].

(Conger told me a day or two ago that Lessar says Russia will either continue the occupation by a friendly understanding with China, or failing that take over the country for herself and disregard an unfriendly China.

My conjecture is that if war breaks out, it will take first the form of an endeavour [by Japan] to destroy or neutralize the Russian fleet, and be followed by an attack on Vladivostok, thus avoiding war in either China or Korean territory.)¹

3 Nov. Had talk with Dubail abt. Yünnan Railway.

4 “ A man calling himself Frederic A. Chamier[?] of Sydney, who looks much more like a Russian spy, and tho' speaking good English having certain peculiarities of pronunciation, came to talk abt. some dispute his principal, who is a Russian or was (Startoff) had with Ad. Alexeieff abt. a gold mining concession in the N.W. of Hei-lung-chiang. I told him I had nothing to do with the matter as his principal was a Russian, & sent him abt. his business.

Rev. T. Howard-Smith called to ask my help on behalf of the Y.M.C.A. Promised to send \$100.

¹ Satow's guess was correct inasmuch as when war broke out on February 8, 1904, Japan first attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. But the main land theatre of the war was Manchuria, not Vladivostok.

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Hillier brought a Mr. Aubrey, mining expert in coal, who gives a roseate account of the Nanpiao coal, bituminous, anthracite and cannel.¹ Advised him to see Yüan Shihkai, & urge construction of line to collieries, 36 miles.

5 [Nov.] Dubail brought me back my essay on the glacia, of wch. he approves.

Mentioned to him the complaint of Bishop Moule that the rice carried off by one of Bishop Reynaud's clergy had not yet been paid for, tho' Ratard was said to have given judgment in favour of the Protestant convert who claimed it.

Told him that Mumm had come to know of the Fr. Govt. readiness to remit interest on arrears of the indemnity after 1940; I did not know how he had learnt this fact, but I thought he had conveyed it to Lessar. D. said he had told Czikann & also Lessar. Russia not particularly anxious to be friendly to the Chinese at the present moment, but he hoped the Joostens proposal wld. be eventually adopted.

His acting Con[sul] Gen[era]l at Shanghai telegs. that the consular body sent in a letter about the Supao case in conformity with our letter.

A terrible bore named T. Barker, Secty. of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce called with a letter of official introduction from Sanderson. Had great difficulty in getting rid of him.

Ed. Cousins came, and stopped to lunch. I discussed various Tientsin questions with him. He says the Nanpiao mines & the SS. Cos. wch. go by the name of the "Pool" could build a breakwater for themselves at Lighthouse Point, Peitaiho, the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. having refused to let their steamers come alongside at Chiuwangtao. I told him frankly that a condition of my favouring this project wld. be that no monopoly similar to that at Chiuwangtao shld. be established.

6 Nov. Had a talk with Morrison abt. the Municipal Council having indiscreetly addressed themselves to the Senior Consul (who happens to be the Russ. Consul-genl.) giving their opinion that it is illegal to detain the "Supao" prisoners in confinement without trial, and that they ought to be let out of jail on bail. I said that the consuls under instructions fr. their minister had written the same thing five days earlier to the Viceroy & that the intervention of the M.C. cld. only do harm, as it was not their business. It was a generous indiscretion, and I shld. defend them if the Colls: said anything about it, but it was very annoying to have these unnecessary rows.

He [Dr. George Ernest Morrison] says the Russians have again made a demand that China shall accept a Resident at Mukden, returning thus to one of the demands in their early convention of January 1901 about Manchuria.²

¹ Cannel: a bituminous coal burning with a bright flame.

² The Russo-Chinese agreement signed at Port Arthur on November 22, 1900 contained nine clauses.

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Bredon is making it a grievance that he is no longer the nominee for the succession to Sir Robt. & is corresponding with him on the subject. Hippenley, who is the man wished for by the Customs, is suffering from uraemia¹, wch. causes him to fall asleep at every moment, & must affect his brain. I said I had made inquiries, and could find no trace of it.

He asked abt. the Hwangpu Conservancy. I said there were many difficulties, and a great deal of opposition amongst the Shanghai people.

Call from Atabage Azam, his son and interpreter. The former also speaks some French, but prefers to use an interpreter.

7 [Nov.] Went to Hart and talked to him about the error of Hobson in levying duty on opium in transit for Wei-hai-wei and refusing drawback on re-export. He seemed rather to argue that Hobson was wrong, but cld. not give instructions unless he got them from Waiwupu. I told him that I had instructions fr. F.O. abt. the matter, but did not wish to make it official with the Chinese Govt., if he could arrange it. If he could do so I would write to him, but w[ou]ld not do so merely to get a refusal. Finally we agreed that I shld. send him a memo. of the two cases unofficially.

Returned the Atabage Azam's call. Went to express to Lessar my regret at his being unable to come to ball on 9th & talked to him abt. Chamier, who I said was certainly not English. L. said he was the agent for the widow of a rich Russian who had got a valuable gold mining concession in Heilunchiang, wch. the Viceroy Alexeieff now disputed, on the ground that it had been obtained by bribery, and maintained that this was quite sufficient to upset the concession by the laws of Engl., France & Germany. He asked me therefore whether it was so by the laws of England. After pointing out to him that the fact of his being a Br. Subject did not give me any locus interventionis on his behalf, as his principal was a Russian subject, I said I was not a lawyer, & recommended him to consult a lawyer at Tientsin. All this I told L. who said the man wanted to take over the concession for himself, and was threatening to go to Petersburg to bring an action agst. the Russian Govt.

9 Nov. Parade at nine, feu de joie & march past, I taking the salute as on the previous occasion. Full uniform & decorations.

Calls fr. various coll[eague]s. I chaffingly asked [my colleague the French minister] Dubail whether there was any truth in the Reuter [press agency report] that Russia, France & Germany were combining together to make war on England & Japan. He replied that he

An additional agreement was concluded at Port Arthur on January 31, 1901 by the Russian commander-in-chief and the Chinese Military Governor of Mukden. Both agreements referred to the establishment of a Russian official resident at Mukden. (G. A. Lensen, *Korea and Manchuria between Russia and Japan 1895-1904: The Observations of Sir Ernest Satow*, Florida: Diplomatic Press, 1966, pp. 127-133.)

¹ Uraemia: a morbid condition due to the presence in the blood of urinary matter normally eliminated by the kidneys.

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had reason to believe that it was quite the other way, France having been asked by Engl[and] & Japan to mediate between them & Russia with the object of preserving the peace, and that he was confidentially informed that matters were proceeding hopefully. He remarked that Germany was now particularly detested in Japan, & I told him the history of [German minister in Japan Freiherr von] Gutschmid & his doings there, the sudden Germ[an] volte-face in 1895 after having flattered & congratulated the Japsee. on their success.

Joostens says Lessar gave him the idea that Russia wld. not join in letting China pay in silver, because she is not disposed to do her a kindness at the present moment, & moreover can always arrange to be paid in full. He thinks L. prob. goes further than his instructions warrant (wch. I said was an experience we often had of Russian agents) & the only thing left for him to do now was to try & work thro' Brussels or Petersburg. I told him that if we got it through, we must have the bonds antedated, as his scheme amounted to a modification of them. Gallina also despondent about the adhesion of Russia.

Sports by the Legation guard on the recreation ground in the afternoon, in spite of the high West wind and dust.

Ball here in the evening, Sir Robert's brass band; a supper for forty laid in the dining room & people went in by relays. Seemed to be a great success, the floor being in excellent condition and the music first rate. Over at half past nine.

11 Nov. Went to congratulate Gallina on his King's birthday, and told him I was preparing something about the glacis, wch. I would send to him later on.

Lienfang came fr. Pr. Ch'ing to say that Chang Têyi had telegraphed that troops had been advanced into Thibet, and wld. I send a telegram to Lord Lansdowne to have them stopped. I said I had seen a teleg. to that effect in Reuter, but had no official information. Apparently the Thibetans still refused to give up the two B.Ss. they had detained at Gyantse. It was much to be regretted that the new Resident Yütai, whose departure for Lhasa had been announced for Feby. had delayed in Chêngtu till October. I promised to give them information as soon as I had any myself.

[There came a teleg. fr. the F.O. today saying that the expedition (mission) will advance to Gyantse, & retire when it has accomplished its work, & referring to a teleg. of 4 Nov. fr. the Indian Govt. wch. I have not recd. In the absence of information fr. India, wch. is prob. very detailed, I of course cld. not repeat what F.O. had told me.]

He says the Atabeg Azam¹ & his son had a private interview with Nat'ung & himself a few days ago.

¹ *Atabeg-i-'Azam*: (Persian language) a title sometimes conferred on particularly distinguished prime ministers, while holding office. The highest title attainable by a commoner.

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Prince Ch'ing is coming into town shortly to receive the new Dutch minister van Citters.

Yünnan railway agreement has been signed. Lienfang has promised a copy to Cockburn, & told him the railway is to revert to China after 80 years! There are to be no shares, only debentures, and China is to get no share of the profits on the working.

Chang Chih tung [張之洞] sent Liang with a kakemono [hanging scroll] of bamboos of the beginning of the Ming dynasty. He asked abt. the negotiations. I said they were apparently proceeding smoothly, and that there wld. not be war. He asked whether it wld. not be well to appeal to the Gt. Powers. I said no. Well to England alone. I replied that [Foreign secretary] Ld. [Lord] Lansdowne wld. probably answer that H.M.G. [His Majesty's Government] were using their influence to bring abt. a satisfactory result, & wld. refuse to undertake to make special representations at St. Petersburg.

12 Nov. V.H. Caesar-Hawkins came to call, and told me as a great secret that Lessar had been to the Waiwupu yesterday to advise the Chinese to telegraph to Petersburg about Moukden!

Wingate called. After a conversation with him telegd. to F.O. suggesting that Ventris should be made Major-general to date from before 5th inst. when Rohrscheidt left, so that he may be senior to the Germ. Petzel who has just recd. that rank.

Lunched with Lessar to meet the Persians. Czikkann, Gallina, Joostens, Sir Robt. Hart & myself. The man who speaks German & French calls himself Mehdi Gouli Khan.

Dinner to Chen Rützü, Wutingfang, Chênpi & Nat'ung: had also Uchida & his interpreter Tei who speaks Chinese admirably.

Uchida says that his Govt. must conclude something before 5 Dec., for wch. date the Diet is summoned, for if they don't the Cabinet must fall under impeachment, and if they try to quiet things by dissolving the Diet & so preventing the impeachment, Katsura [Tarō] or Komura [Jutarō] will certainly be assassinated!

13 Nov. There dined with me the Atabeg Azam, of whom the "Times" says that he has been banished from all the Shah's dominions, his son Ahmed Khan & the interpreter Mehdi Douli Khan. Lien-fang, the Townleys, Russell, the Cockburns, Miss Money & Eastes, a really pleasant party. Showed him some Japanese lacquer, ivory netsuke and metal work in shibu-ichi and shaku-dō.

14 [Nov.] Kidston & Flaherty returned.

15 Nov. Conger came. He says that the U.S. seem indifferent to the fate of Manchuria, & he does not believe that the Russian reoccupation of Moukden is in any way connected with the American Treaty by wch. it is stipulated that this city shall be made an open port. Germany is only waiting for an example that she may do the same in Shantung that

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Russia is doing in Manchuria. The Chinese Govt. is more effete than ever, and it is not worth while fighting to help them. He hears that there is a good deal of unrest in Central China and along the Yangtze. The people attribute the heavy burdens imposed on them in consequence of the events of 1900 to the Tartar dynasty, and feel that the only hope for China lies in getting rid of them.

16 Nov. Mumm came.

The letter to the Viceroy abt. the Supao case was agreed to by all the consuls in the absence of the Russian, who was ill; but signed. Afterwards he sent a protest conceived in the same terms as Lessar's. He considers that Lessar weakened his position by having this done.

He wants to propose to the Railway Administration to make a carriage access to the Terminus platform by a level crossing & to keep road from Watergate to Hata mên in good order, as promised by the Br. Rlwy. Administration. I said that fr. the moment I handed over the railway, I purposely refrained from interfering, but had no objection to representing these two matters privately. He would remember that the B.R.A. Kinder & I had proposed to make a passage thro' the wall wch. wld. have given access fr. the Dipl. Qr. to the front of the station, but Rockhill opposed this on the ground that we had undertaken not to alter the external aspect of the wall. I then negotiated for power to enlarge the Water-gate in return for not pulling down the wall of the outer Court of the Palace opposite to our barracks. If the subject of access to the station were mentioned I shld. recall this.

17 [Nov.] Capt. Gunter R.A.M.C. lunched on his return from a journey of exploration N. beyond Kupei Kóu, & Kidston & he exchanged experiences.

Ducat came up and called. He says the no. of soldiers reviewed at Port Arthur at the beginning of last month did not exceed 20,000.

Dined at the Bowers & met Mrs. Watts wife of Col. Watts who commands the detachment of Sherwood Foresters at Tientsin, and her daughter. Mrs. W. is terribly deaf.

18 [Nov.] Consulted Bower abt. the German proposal, reported by Genl. Ventris, to evacuate Tientsin. He thinks the flag ought to be left flying with a sufficient guard. In case of disturbances we should know beforehand in time enough to send troops to protect the bridge.

Hillier came to show me the returns of traffic on the extra-mural line, wch. have fallen from \$100,000 monthly to less than \$40,000. The last monthly instalment of interest on the railway loan was not paid in until the B. & C. Corpn. wrote to Yüan & Hu giving them notice of the failure in terms of the loan agreement, wch. instantly produced the money. \$400,000 of revenue have been spent on reconstruction, without being paid

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into the Bank. He asked whether it would not be possible to obtain the interest at least on the amount of the railway claim admitted up to the present, and I promised to telegraph. \$30,000 are owed by the Russian Military Auth: & of this \$22,000 have been remitted fr. Port Arthur to the Russo-Chinese Bank in Peking, wch. has paid it over to the Russian Legn!

Kinder came. Spoke to him abt. this expenditure of revenue without payt. to the Bank & demonstrated to him that it was irregular. He says the Tartar-Genl. imposes likin on goods carried by rail at such rates as to drive traffic away, the roads being covered with carts & animals. The Russians have sent scouring-parties to Hsin-ming-tung, apparently to see whether there are any Chinese troops about. I told him I was going to telegraph to London about the interest on the railway claim.

To Mumm abt. the Germ. proposal to withdraw fr. Yangtsun and found he knew all about it. Told him what I had replied to Ventris & that he wld. be ready to occupy the place with Indian troops. That the bridge fr. a military point of view was a very important post. It could easily be reoccupied if disturbances were threatened. I saw no sign at present, but if war broke out betw. Japan & Russia, of wch. the possibility was not entirely excluded, it was to be expected there wld. be great excitement in the province. Perh. the Russians wld. consider themselves entitled to treat China as an enemy & send troops into Chihli, & then the bridge might be attacked. He said he was quite ready to agree to leaving the Germ. flag flying with a guard, whether I proposed it to him or the proposal was made to Petzel by Ventris.

I told him I had spoken to Kinder abt. repairing the road alongside the railway from the watergate, to the Hatamên, wch. he promised to do, but he was opposed to carriages crossing the railway by a level crossing and going on to the platform.

Dr. Krummacher called. He has been up to Lama miao with von Borch, returning on the 9th. Found houses to lodge in everywhere. The description in the "Letters of an attaché" left nothing to be said by any other travellers.

Hu Yüfen, Lien fang, Ku and Li Shêngtê dined. Besides Chinese speaking members of the staff I had Hillier and Norris.

Going away Lien fang asked me if I had any reply fr[om] London. I said yes, identical with what Lord Lansdowne had told Chang Têyi. Had they heard fr. the latter. Yes. I said that the Thibetans had not given up the two B. Ss., but on the contrary were reported to have put them to death, & had carried off some of the Nepaulean yaks. It was considered necessary to occupy the Chunshi valley & advance to Gyantse. The Chinese Govt. were not blamed for the acts of the pigheaded Thibetans, but we must obtain reparation. He said that a teleg. had been sent to Yukang by way of India to hurry to meet Younghusband

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& try to arrange matters. I said I hoped he wld. be able to do this.

Told Hu that I had spoken on his behalf to Natung, for wch. he was grateful. He is very anxious to get the Temple of Heaven station removed before the Emperor goes there to worship next month. I said I had written to Cousins [to] ask whether the Chien-mên goods station sidings were sufficient, & on getting his answer I wld. write to the General.

19 [Nov.] Col. Watts of Sherwood Foresters, his wife & dau. dined.

20 “ Col. Munther called. Said nothing, except that he had originally been in the I.M.C. [Imperial Maritime Customs] & since that with Yüan Shihkai.

Returned Nat'ung's call. Said I wanted to talk to him abt. Burma-Yünnan frontier, Shêng's difficulties in negotiating with George Jamieson and Regulations for registration of Trademarks. Agreed to 13th day of Chinese moon. 1 December.

A little dinner for van Citters, the new Dutch coll: Gaiffier and Oudendyk also.

21 Nov. Wu Tingfang [伍廷芳] came in the afternoon, and stopped talking for an hour and a half about his commercial code and connected subjects. His idea is to draft also a new criminal code, and put both into force at the outset in the open ports. I said they ought to abolish ling-chi & torture, also to have proper codes of procedure as well. He wants to reform the mixed courts. At Shanghai the judge of the mixed court should have the rank of expectant Taotai. We discussed the court of appeal. I suggested the Niehtai, the pl'tf's consul and a Swiss lawyer appted. for ten years, selection to be made by the Swiss Govt. We also talked abt. reform. He said Rockhill & Komura had made a great mistake in the organization of the Waiwupu. Instead of a Prince, we shld. have taken a foreign-language-speaking man & insisted on his being head and also member of Grand Council. I objected the difficulty of finding a man. Besides himself and Cheng-tung there was no one with sufficient experience of foreign countries.

He mentioned Lo Feng-luh, Tang Shao-i and Liang of Hankow. I feared the two latter were not sufficiently influential.

The Board of Commerce he says contains not a single man who can be of any help to him.

I urged him to take in hand the registration of trademarks, for wch. an office must be opened at Shanghai and another at Tientsin. The Bd. of Commerce apparently wants it to be at Peking. I objected Peking not an open port. He replied that Peking was to be opened when the Legation guards withdrawn. Wld. I not consent to their being withdrawn. I said no, for in the present state of the Manchurian question I thought it wld. be imprudent, for if war broke out, Peking wld. prob. be much disturbed. Otherwise I felt no anxiety. We discussed what China shld. do. I advised her keeping quiet until the negotiations betw. Japan & Russia were decided. We must not invite Russian hostility, wch. was looking for

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an opportunity to seize Peking. He said the F. Min. [Foreign Minister] ought to prevent that. I said that speaking confidentially I did not think Japan wd. attack Russia in China or Korean territory. He guessed Vladivostok. He also alluded to the reports that other PP [Powers] wld. take advantage of the occasion to seize territory, and he particularly feared Germany. I said I thought not; at any rate they must be on their guard agst. Russian suggestions that Japan wd. come to an agree[men]t to leave Russia in Manchuria & seek compensation in Fukien. He might banish that idea fr. [from] his mind altogether.

He urged that I shld. ask for an audience of the Empress Dowager & tell her she must remodel the Grand Council & the Boards by admitting younger & more intelligent men. I objected the impossibility for me to obtain an audience, & suggested his talking in the same sense to Conger.

Dined at Uchida's. He says the Chinese are not giving way about Manchuria, and reiterated his view [see November 12] that the Japse. cabinet must arrange something to satisfy public opinion before 5 Dec. There had been a great meeting of business men & journalists at the Teikoku Hotel, where Shibusawa [Eiichi, 1840-1931] had made a fiery speech, and a resolution was carried, calling on the Govt. to take decided steps without delay.

22 [Nov.] Townleys, Russell & his bro. a Lt. in the Grenadiers, Major Pereira of the same, Ducat & Kidston.

23 “ Snow from last night and till past midday, I am told to a depth of four inches. Mrs. Kassberg my new housekeeper arrived.

24 “ General Ventris & Capt. Daniell to lunch. I had the pleasure of informing the former that he is promoted to the rank of Major General from 17 Oct. He is going to send me Genl. Creagh's report on the Chinese regiment for my observations. Genl. Creagh proposed that the reorganization be confided to Bower, & that the Legation guard shld. be placed under the command of the Military Attaché. It seems Bower did not desire to have the Chinese regiment. I said that it wld. certainly not be good to put the M.A. to command the guard. Another of Creagh's ideas is to replace the Engl. non-commissioned officers by Chinese, wch. C.W. Campbell I think & Bower did not approve. I told him that I saw no signs of guard or troops on lines of communication being reduced, & that my advice a year ago was to keep them as they are as long as the Empress-Dowager lives. Explained abt. Ducat's not having any right to quarters, but that I would give me [him?] a shakedown in the spring in the old Escort quarters E. of the Langting'rh.[?], & that I shld. like to be able to tell the colleagues that the hornwork [a kind of fortification] would be removed in the spring.

25 [Nov.] Mumm came. He says that his man at Chinanfu is now styled Wei-yüan or

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Commissioner, that his district comprises nearly the whole of Shantung, except Chefoo, and that he has all the functions & jurisdictions of a consul.

Showed him my Essay on the glacis. Major Pereira & Gilbert Russell called, the former going to Corea, & thence by Japan to Frisco, & so home.

Dined at Lessars, a farewell to the Townleys. Wozack was there. Plançon was in Peking a day or two back to see Lessar from Alexeieff, who is going to Petersburg.

Dubail said he wld. send me his general essay on the glacis & also what he proposes to submit to the colls: Spoke to him abt. the duty on paper.

26 Nov. Farewell dinner to the Townleys of the whole staff, except Ducat whom I had forgotten to ask, & including Gilbert Russell & Miss Money.

27 “ Sent Gallina my memo. on the glacis. I had gone the previous day to leave it with him, but found he was in bed.

Dinner Bowers, Bagshawes, Hilliers, Morrison, Capt. Brewster of the United States Legation Guard, Aglen of the Customs.

Returned Lady Susan's ms. ¹ to her including chapter on Empress-Dowager and Emperor, fr. which I advised her to admit everything of a personal nation [nature?], especially about personal appearance and character.

Nov. 30 Dined with Mumm to play bridge. Told him & Dubail abt. the pretension of the Chinese officials at Shanghai that in the 'Supao' case the S'hai magistrate is merely sitting in the Mixed Court Building, that he is holding a purely Chinese Court and counsel will not be allowed to appear. M. made no remark, and probably is pleased, but D. said it was inadmissible, that it is of course the Mixed Court with a higher magistrate; since the presence of an assessor gives it that character.

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Dec. 1 The Townleys left for home by Siberia.

Spent a couple of hours at the Foreign Board [Waiwupu] trying to persuade Nat'ung & Ku to agree to give a written undertaking that Chinese troops shld. not cross the watershed into the Nmaitcha valley & told them what I was instructed to write to them failing this. I said that if they gave me this written undertaking, I wld. then urge India & H.B.M. to consent to a joint commission to inquire into the facts on the spot, composed of a British & two Chinese members, one fr[om] Peking and one from Yünnan. But I refused to

¹ Lady Susan Townley, wife of the first secretary, attended the Empress Dowager's tea parties for wives of ministers, since Satow was officially a bachelor despite his Japanese wife and two children in Tokyo. She wrote *My Chinese Notebook*, published by Methuen & Co., London, 1904.

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give an undertaking on our part that we wld. not send troops, tho' I said I truly believed the Indian Govt. had no desire to do it.

It was agreed that he shld. take an opportunity of conferring with Prince Ch'ing and let me know their answer.

Inquired how Jamieson was getting on with Shêng. They had written to him for full particulars, but no answer yet. He was believed to be away burying his father at Wusueh.

Asked them to hint to Hsiliang that he shld. call on Hosie.

Dec. 2 With Kidston & F.E. Wilkinson to see the collection of porcelain of Ch'ing-Ku'an (慶寬) to whom we were introduced by Li Shêng-teh, formerly Minister at Tōkiō. He showed us fine vases of Yung-chêng, Kanghsi & Ch'ien lung, splendid blue & white, magnificent five-coloured pieces, processions, green celadon pale hue, a fine Ming vase in colours, and a splendid piece [of] black glaze with plumblossom in white, which cost him 3000 taels, and for wch. he has refused 20,000 from Runge! Others he had paid from 600 to 1500 taels for. Of cloisonné he had not much worth looking at, but some good pieces of carved black wood furniture.

After we had left the place Wilkinson revealed the fact that he [Ch'ing-Ku'an] is the man accused by the newspapers of having denounced the unfortunate Shên-Chien, the so-called reformer who was beaten to death in the Hsing-pu last August. I do not think I should have gone had I known this beforehand.

3 Dec. Went to Dubail and left with him a note of the English tariff on paper. He said he wld. look the matter up, and tell me what their objections were to the specific duties on printing paper. We spoke of the "Supao" case, and I took the opportunity to mention the new draft mixed court rules of procedure. To my astonishment he flared up & said he wld. have nothing to do with the Mixed Court in the International Settlement, and that he had determined the French Govt. to refuse their approval. He would never consent to the Fr. assessor going to the International Mixed Court. I said that I had no desire to trouble the Fr. Legn. with the affairs of our Mixed Court, but it was established by an agreement among the Heads of Missions in 1869, and could not be amended without their concurrence. What Mumm, Conger & I had framed had nothing to do with the dispute betw. the Fr. Consulate & the Municipal Council. It was quite apart; the International Settlement was established by the whole D.B. in 1869, & nothing could be changed without their consent. He said the constitution of the Fr. settlement was fixed by general consent in 1865 also. I said I had never heard this before, but it explained much & I shld. be glad to get a copy of the agreement he alluded to, if he would show it to me.

Then to Conger abt. Hwangpu. During my absence, he said, the Chinese had approached the D.B. complaining that the Conservancy Board deprived China of her

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sovereignty, and they were willing to do the whole thing at their sole expense if the Powers wld. let them. He replied that they must first appoint their delegate, & then if they made any workable proposal he wld. consider it and put it before his Govt. That was how they came to promise him that on Wei Kuangtao's arrival at Nanking they wld. make him nominate the Chinese delegate. After that he asked them several times, but they always put them off. He wld. be quite willing to go at them again. I said I wld. try to interest Mumm, and talk to Nat'ung before writing, so as to prepare him. He asked whether Giles who sits as assessor in the "Supao" case wld. agree to a sentence of death. I said certainly not. In the case of a conviction I thought 5 years imprisonment with hard labour shld. be the maximum, and that we must insist on the agreement made by the Taotai with the three Consuls-genl. He said that he was quite satisfied to know that the Assessor would not agree to a death sentence. I also explained my refusal to approve of the demand made by Mumm for a road way to the Chien mên from the Watergate, on the grounds I had stated. He said I was right, all that was wanted was a way to the Chien-mên across the level crossing, and the other railway people were much worse, for they were proceeding to block up the whole way to the racecourse under the wall.

5 Dec. Went to Czikkann, and discussed the necessity of stirring up the Chinese about the Hwangpoo conservancy, wch. we can bring on the tapis at the next meeting. Indemnity. He thinks we might act independently of Lessar, but if the Russians do not agree, none of us can accept inferior terms, so there is an impasse. Privilege of consuls for importation of goods free. Since the joint note was written to the Chinese, certain of the colls: he among the rest have been told by their govts. not to ask for it, as they cannot accept it reciprocally. He tells me that the Chinese wrote first a note to him as Doyen, asking for reciprocity and for an explanation why Conger's signature was absent; so he went off to Lienfang, and told him he could not accept this answer to Doyen for a joint note, & that there were several who cld. not, like the American, accord reciprocity, and he must take it back. Hence the note wch. he did receive and sent round, offering to allow consuls to bring in their personal effects free of duty. The plan of the Legn. quarter wch. Mumm told us on the 30 Nov. when we dined with him was ready to be circulated has not yet come round.

Dubail called & brought me a "règlement d'organisation Municipale de la concession Française révisé à la suite d'un arrangement intervenu entre le Consul général de France et les Consuls des puissances représentées à Peking pour modifier l'article XVI, et publié à l'occasion des prochaines élections", dated 14 April 1868 which shows that the organisation of the French concession was by international agreement. But as to our mixed Court rules, he says they did not receive Fr. consent, Rochechouart having been

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instructed fr. Paris in 1869 to refuse it.

I remarked that any one who was not acquainted with the whole history of this question, wld. naturally expect reciprocity between the two Mixed Courts to be the rule. What our Municipal council complained of was that in the French settlement Chinese were found to present themselves as 'prête-noms' for outside Chinese, who thus got Chinese residents in the International concession carried into the French Mixed Court. He rejoined that a large number of electors in the International concession were prête-noms for Chinese, who got their property cheaply registered at the Br. Consulate-general, for \$5 or \$6. I replied that I was not speaking of prête-noms for land, but for civil claims. He retorted that he was speaking about land. The Municipal Council had usurped a consular function, that of inquiring into a case before giving effect to a warrant. That was the duty of the consuls; he always, when he was at Shanghai, inquired carefully, and all warrants had first to be brought to him no matter at what hour of the night. (I agree that in theory the Municipal Council have no right, but when the senior consul is hostile, or careless, then there is justification or at least excuse).

He said that 6 months ago, when there were troubles in Yünnan, the Tonquin authorities collected 15,000 men at Laokai, and the Fr. Govt. was on the point of giving leave for marching them into the province. He protested agst. this, on the ground that it would throw China into convulsions, and create troubles in the far interior, whither we could not send troops, and after a fortnight's deliberation, he recd. a teleg. thanking him for his firmness & stating that they wld. not do it. He had often said to Lessar that Russia was proceeding very imprudently in Manchuria, and the result wld. be disturbance again. I observed that Lessar no doubt wld. have preferred to see the convention he had negotiated carried into effect, but the military party, said Dubail, were too strong for him.

He also said that the Taiyüan-Chengting railway loan had been underwritten by 2 Fr. banks & the Russo-Chinese bank, & that a commencement had been already made of the works; the loan will prob. be brought out in Jan.

6 [Dec.] J.W. Jamieson arrived.

7 “ Conger came. Told him I had seen Czikann about Hwangpoo conservancy and got him to put it on the agenda for next meeting. We discussed the Manchurian situation & I told him that I had advised the Chinese to be very careful not to enter upon hostilities with the Russians. If they did, I felt sure that the position of the foreigners in Peking would be very precarious. He asked about Thibet. I said that there seemed to be good reason for thinking that the Russians had their eye upon that country, & I confirmed the correctness of the Reuter telegrams.

Collins came. He had no information abt. the opening of the Japanese Diet yesterday.

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Capt. Mortimer O'Sullivan called to show plans of Yalu[?] forts.

Mumm came. Told him my talks with Conger and Czikann about Hwangpoo, and suggested that we might threaten to resume the 5% effective duties. M. thinks that there is not much to be done, but ready to join. Mixed Court rules. Told him my conversation with Dubail. I wld. try to get D. to say in a meeting that he wld. not interfere if those of us who had agreed originally now took the matter up independently of him. Canton harbour regulations. Promised to see Uchida abt. it. Carlowitz's mining concession in Kwangsi. He had read in the Haiphong paper that the Fr. Legn. had interfered, so he went to the Waiwupu and inquired; they denied that Dubail had said anything. We agreed that our position was the same respecting French claims to priority or exclusion rights in Kwangsi.

Cockburn to Waiwupu, to ask them to make their note about Tientsin railway land clearer.

8 [Dec.] To Uchida, and asked him about Canton port regulations. His consul wishes the consuls to have a voice in the anchoring of hulks and pontoons, as well as respecting wharves & jetties. I said I shld. have no difficulty in agreeing to this. He had no news abt. the opening of the Diet.

Mumm came to explain that he thought the men who robbed Thomas' servant were probably Russians, as a friend of the German Legation caterer had complained that he had been robbed near the same spot at nearly the same hour on the same night.

Told him result of my visit to Uchida as to Canton Harbour regns. & also that there was no news abt. opening of Diet. Mumm says he is informed that State opening of the Diet wld. take place today. He evidently is much interested in the chances.

(Uchida said Dubail was reported to be urging the Chinese to give way to Russian demands about Manchuria, but he cld. not learn anything definite.)

With Mumm I also discussed the Mixed Court Regulations, wch. contain nothing that in any way trenches on what the French claim with respect to their Mixed Court & said I wld. try to get Dubail to promise to say at a meeting of the D.B. that he wld. not in any way oppose.

Also his fresh letter abt. the road outside the wall south of the Legation quarter. I had overlooked [=looked over?] his letter of 15 July 1901 to me & my own to C.A.R. Browne, but I had no answer.

Fr. railway project fr. Ichang to Chengtu. J.W.J.[Jamieson] saw Liang today, who said that it had been mentioned about 3 mos. ago, and had then fallen thro'. Nothing since. Chang Chih-tung's departure not yet fixed, perh. the turn of the year. He has overworked himself in compiling a very learned and detailed scheme of education for the provinces, wch. Liang thinks is useless. It is framed on the Japse. model. L's chief objection seems to

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be that there is no supply of teachers forthcoming.

Dined at Congers and sat betw. Mrs. Conger and Miss Carl the artist. Talked with Sir Robt. after dinner about W.H.W., registration of trade marks, opening of letters in the post; he says that not long ago a letter reached him from Parr, posted at Darjeeling, with none but English postmarks on it, from wch. various enclosures had been abstracted, before it reached H'gK'g, where it had been closed up again by the P.O. He says the reputation of Tsai-chên as a money-grabber is almost as bad as that of his father.

9 Dec. Hu Yü-fên came. He denies the report of his having been apptd. Administrator of a Peking-Kalgan railway, which the Waiwupu recognizes cannot be constructed with Russian or British capital, and the rumour that has been going around has no foundation. But Lessar saw Lienfang a few days ago about the apptmt. of two Chinese Directors to the Chinese Eastern Rlwy. to fill vacancies. The apptmt. is worth 15,000 taels per annum, and his name was proposed for one of the vacancies. So he went out to the Summer Palace and explained that it was no use for him to undertake it, as he does not know Russian, and the apptmt. is that of a dummy without anything to say in the affairs of the railway. He prefers the Northern Railways, wch. tho' pledged to English capitalists, are worked entirely by China. He is going shortly to Hsing-ming-ting to make an inspection, and will meet there a taotai for Mukden, with whom he will try to arrange to remove the extra likin on railway transported goods. But for that the rlwy. would pay well.

He said Lessar was pressing for an edict removing Yüan Taha fr. Taotai ship of Fêng huang cheng: he has been removed in fact, but the Russian claim is that he shld. be publicly dismissed. Prince Ch'ing refuses, as he considers Yüan did well. I applauded this refusal; to comply wld. simply be to weaken all good men.

10 “ Returned the call of P'ang Hung-shu, who came to see me on the 8th. He has been Taotai of Taming in S. of Chihli and goes to Hunan as Meh-tai.

A bridge party of colleagues with Cockburn & Capt. Bagshawe added. Dubail had heard of the result of the Supao trial. His view is that we cannot accept the magistrate's judgment. Had we handed the men over and then a sentence of death been pronounced, the responsibility wld. have been with the Chinese. But once it is decided that we take a part in the trial, we must of course see that no judgment is pronounced that is not in accordance with western jurisprudence, and we cannot admit a sentence of death commuted to imprisonment for life. I said that I had told Warren that five years penal servitude, wch. was the utmost that could have been pronounced in Mort's case, was the outside. He replied that Mort got 18 months. I said that Giles had offered three years. So evidently Dubail is on the right side now. He thinks the Chinese govt. will let the matter slide, and not bring it before us.

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11 “ To Conger, from whom I got some information abt. proceedings at Garden parties in Oct. 1902 & spring of this year, of wch. I have made use in a desp. today to F.O. on what occurred on the 9th & 10th Octr. last.

“Supao” sentences; told him what Dubail had said last night, to wch. he said he heartily agreed, & had no doubt his Govt. would.

Hwangpu Conservancy. Told him my idea abt. returning to Tariff of 1858, as the Chinese had not fulfilled the condition on which we had granted the effective 5% ad valorem tariff, but that they preferred the other means of pressure, namely that we wld. instruct the Board to meet without the Chinese delegates. He said that as late as Sept. last Prince Ch'ing had promised that there should be no further delay. He was going to see Prince Ch'ing this afternoon. I said that it wld. be a good thing if he wld. tell them what at least one more coll: besides himself was prepared to do, & give him a strong stimulus. I also said that acc. to rumours that reached me fr. Shanghai some consuls had been hinting to the Viceroy that he need not trouble himself about the nomination – their motive being that it was intended to nominate an Englishman [Bredon]¹. I was not particularly anxious to have an Englishman, and they might appt. a Chinaman if they liked. He responded that he did not care who it was or of what nationality, provided the matter was proceeded with. His Govt. took a great interest in it, as it was for the general benefit.

13 Dec. Conger came. I had written to him the news of the Dissolution of the Japanese Diet, & he wanted to know what it implied, as he had heard the same thro' Collins. He saw Prince Ch'ing yesterday, & learnt fr. him that China will certainly not accept the Russian demands until they know the result of the Russo-Japanese negotiations. Told him of my draft abt. Whangpoo, wch. he approves; his govt. is very anxious to see it put thro'; and promised to take it to him when copied out. Also that I would ask Mumm to sign along with us, and mention the matter to Dubail.

[German Minister Freiherr Alfons] Mumm [von Schwartzenstein] came; he had seen Conger who had seen Uchida & learnt abt. what had happened; that the Diet in its address in reply to the speech from the Throne had touched upon Manchurian affairs, wch. proceeding had brought about the dissolution. As the new Diet cannot meet till March, the Japse. Govt. has time before it. He thinks this event looks peaceful. I said it had that appearance, tho' I did not feel sure. Certainly if the Diet had not been dissolved it wld. have looked much worse, as the whole nation & the Diet were for war. He had seen Lessar but had not discussed the question. Told him my draft was ready, and I hoped he wld. sign it. Even if the colls: did not agree to the threat of opening the sittings of the Conservancy Board without the Chinese Delegate, we had another shot in the locker, wch.

¹ This is Satow's own parenthesis, using square brackets.

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had this advantage that a return to the tariff of 1858 wld. benefit precisely those powers that have the smaller indemnities as they have the bigger trade. I hope he will repeat this. He tried to tease me abt. Thibet, and the China Times' para. yesterday about an agreement between China and England that the latter should assume a protectorate over Thibet. I burst into laughter.

Called on Lessar and Uchida. The former was asleep, the latter out. Went for a walk with Mrs. Bower to the Tungpien mên, where we saw numbers of paitze in the moat & canal.

14 Dec Meeting at Joostens to draft Note to Railway Adminr. about road betw. Hata mên & Chien mên.

Dubail told me he had reported favourably to Paris abt. our draft amendment to Mixed Court rules, & that he wld. engage not to throw any obstacles in our way, if he recd. instructions from Paris.

Gen[era]l Yamané [Takesuke] ¹ came to say goodbye. We discussed the situation. He finally asked me whether Japan ought to fight now or delay, not as Minister, but as a private person acquainted with Japan and the general situation. I pondered, and then said yes, for if Russia is left undisturbed in Manchuria out of wch. she will never retire willingly, she will end by taking Corea, and the position of Japan wld. thus be imperilled. ² China I thought ought to be very careful not to join in too soon, as the Russians wld. come down on Peking. He asked if it was true that the bondholders wished to sell the extra-mural line. Replied no; it was the idea of an individual agent, moreover China was bound to us not to sell it. Pointed out that Port Arthur wd. be starved if supply of provisions from Chefoo stopped, & railway cut in two or three places. Y[amane] spoke modestly of the Japanese army & navy, but said the common schools in Japan had done a great deal; out of 300 men in the Japanese Leg[atio]n guard there are only 4 illiterate.

17 Dec. Chang Yi called to tell me that he was going down to Tientsin to send off certified translations of papers required for his action agst. the Directorate of the Chinese

¹ Yamane Takesuke 山根武亮 (1854-1928) was born in Hagi. Educated at Meirinkan, the Chōshū clan school. Active in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese War as a military engineer. Commanded 8th and 12th Guards Divisions. Met Mori Ōgai in Kokura. Helped found the Nagato Gorge Preservation Society in Yamaguchi in Taisho 9 (1920) with the painter Takashima Hokkai (1850-1931). Made a Baron in 1907.

² "Russia did not want war. But the course of events eventually swept her past the point of no return. As [Belgian Minister in Japan Baron Albert] d'Anethan reflected in February of 1904, following the rupture of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia: 'During the long negotiations conducted between Japan and Russia, we never thought of a peaceful solution, knowing that the concessions demanded of Russia would hardly be given by her and that, on the other hand, we had too much proof of the stubborn resolution of Japan.' " (George A. Lensen, *The Russo-Chinese War*, p. 281)

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Engineering & Mining Co. I took the opportunity of telling him that his preventing the administration fr. opening a new shaft at Shui li chuang might prejudice his case. He excused the refusal on the ground that they had to get the consent of the Waiwupu & Yüan Shih kai - and that Wynne quite understood how it was.

Gallina came to talk about the glaxis. After much debating, I said I would cut out the part of my note relating to Salvago and the Tangtzu, and add words proposing the dedication of the glaxis to the common use in perpetuity, provided he set up no claim to any part of the glaxis in reversion. If he did, I must do the same.

Reuter telegs. fr. Tokio that the Japanese Govt. are made gloomy by the Russian answer.

18 Dec. Morrison came to ask abt. the negotiations. I told him that Reuter's telegs. fr. Tokio were much more reliable than those fr. Petersburg, but avoided giving him anything confidential. He says Chü Hungchi and Ku constantly visit the French delegation.

Hillier brought me a plan of his property and that of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank for the cadastral survey. He says that he hears Chang-yi has been degraded. My information is that it is at the instance of Prince Ch'ing and Yüan Shih-kai. Article in the "China Times" prompted by me thro' Wingate, denying the reports in Chinese papers that England is about to appoint a Viceroy of the Yangtze and otherwise aims at the partition of China.

19 Dec. Mumm came before dinner, and we talked abt. the situation, but guardedly. He says, evidently fr. Russian inspiration that no concession will be made to Japan about Manchuria. Gave him the "Japan Times" of 11 & 12 Dec. to read, showing the real meaning of the dissolution of the Japanese Diet. He thinks the chances of a peaceable solution are less than they were, or looked, some time ago. It certainly looks as if the future of Japan depended on her resolution now. Talking of European affairs he said he did not think it possible there shld. ever be war again between France and Germany. I recommended his reading Hanotaux's remarks on the disturbance of equilibrium in Central Europe by the events of 1870, and lent him Cheradame on the Bagdad railway on the ground that fas est et ab hoste doceri. ¹

Dined with Gaiffier, and played Bridge.

21 Dec. To Uchida. I gathered from him that he knows more than he has hitherto admitted. I observed that the press were beginning to be told what is passing. He admitted that the Tokio Reuters were in the main correct, e.g. in saying that the Russians ignored the basis of negotiations, & that Japan would make one more effort, but as to fixing the date by which an answer would be expected, he did not think that would come next. He observed

¹ It is proper to learn even from an enemy. (Ovid)

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that if Corea alone were concerned Japan would have sufficient in the agreements of 1896 and 1898. He admitted that Japan having started this negotiation for the sake of Manchuria, wld. not & could not be satisfied with the subject being ignored. I went on to discuss what wld. happen if war broke out in the way of others taking part, and remarked that China would no doubt join in if she saw that Japan was having some successes. He nodded his head most emphatically. We discussed whether France was obliged to join Russia, but not knowing the conditions of that alliance, could not decide the point. ¹ He thinks Dubail's intervention was not very urgent, and that he merely spoke to Lienfang, suggesting that it would be well to come to an understanding with Russia before [Admiral E.I.] Alexeieff went to Petersburg. So Prince Ch'ing sent Lienfang to Lessar to ask what they wanted, and he replied that the matter was in Alexeieff's hands and he had nothing to do with it. He saw Prince Ch'ing on the 10th, who evidently thought Dubail's suggestion came from himself, and not from the Fr. Govt. As to Dubail's story to me that Japan & England had asked France to mediate with Russia, he had asked his govt. who told him it was a fable. I suggested that possibly Germany might join in, and so revive the 'triplice' of 1895; it was true there were no signs of this, as Hohler had written to me fr. Tokio, but in 1895 also there was no warning, Germany up to the last moment having manufactured the greatest friendship to Japan. Uchida said that Mumm had been to see him, and on two occasions lately had gone out of his way to assure him that Germany would observe the strictest neutrality in the coming struggle, which meant that they certainly would not back up Russia. I observed that for Germany it was a question whether Kiaochou and the rest of Shantung [province] were more valuable than Asia Minor and the relief of her Eastern frontier from the pressure of large bodies of Russian troops. It certainly did seem that the distance of Kiaochou from Germany must greatly diminish its value.

Going away I said that if war broke out, it might have far reaching consequences, & China might in consequence become able to retain her independence; to which he heartily assented.

Collins and McCormick both came in search of information; they know as much as I do.

End of PRO 30/33 16/6.

PRO 30/33 16/7 starts at December 22, 1903.

¹ If France had joined Russia, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 would have required Britain to join in on Japan's side.

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Dec. 22 T.R. Wynne of the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co. came to tell me of the secret edict to Yüan, by wch. the latter is authorized to call upon Chang Yi to get back the mines & the land at Chin-wang-tao, and he has given him a couple of months. Yüan now is interested in the China Merchants S.N. Co. and is vexed (naturally) at refusal of the C.E. & M. Co. to let their steamers use the wharves at Chin-wang-tao during the winter, on wch. the C.E. & M. Co. have spent £140,000. If Chang Yi succeeds in his action, well & good, but if not he disappears in two months. Who will then carry on the action? I suggested Yüan, or whoever succeeds. He showed me the text of the original document signed by Detring as Chang Yi's attorney in July 1900, by the side of the other document, executed in Feb. 1901 but antedated July 1900, showing that the first was a trust deed. Then agreements with Germans (Genl. Rohrscheidt), Semba for the Japse. & Vice-Admiral Bayle for the French. He & the V-A. went round and removed Fr. flags in accordance with this agreement, wch. Dubail afterwards had replaced. I told him that if he appealed to me for assistance, I shld. simply send it home with a recommendation to try Paris.

24 [Dec.] Went to Dubail and thanked him for information abt. the French duty on paper.

He asked me what news I had from Tokio. I replied that it was not pacific, and it seemed to me that the Russians made a mistake as to the temper of the Japanese people. They thought that their preparations wld. frighten them, but various incidents made me think they were wrong. The dissolution of the Diet in consequence of the address to the Emperor did not mean much. The address was the result of a political intrigue against the cabinet, as soon as the leaders saw the result of their action, they wanted to reverse it, but Kōno the President of the lower house interfered.

He said that what Japan wanted was a free hand in Corea, in exchange for giving Russia freedom of action in Manchuria [J: Man-Kan kōkan]. In fact Itō went last year to Petersburg with such an offer. I rejoined that as soon as the Japanese Govt. knew what he was up to, they recalled him. It was true that Itō was pacific, but it seemed to me that his influence had diminished. It was remarkable that Saionji who was Itō's henchman, and had been put in by him to head the Seiyukai, had uttered warlike sentiments and the party had allied itself with the Shinpōtō.

I said that the Russians appeared to me to have been too grasping in regard to Manchuria, wch. they aimed at acquiring as a consequence of 1900. They went even to Yongampho. Dubail agreed that for Japan Corea was a vital question, but said that Yongampho was merely a commercial speculation in timber. I said not so, for the President of the company was [A.M.] Bezobrazoff, & the manager [Baron] Ginsburg, the âme damnée [tool] of [Colonel K. de] Wogack. As to Japan not being willing to fight

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about Manchuria, it must be remembered that people had said to them that their China campaign of 1894-5 was a mere military promenade, and that they would never get their position as a nation recognized until they crossed swords with an European Power. That was a strong motive with them.

Yes, he replied, the old samurai spirit. But war would ruin Japan. At the outside she had only £ 16,000,000 of gold, and the first result of a declaration of war would be the return to forced currency. The resources of Russia were so enormous.

I agreed with him that in the long run the result must be disastrous for Japan.

He went on to say that he hoped the Chinese would observe neutrality. They had neither officers nor men, and in three weeks Russia would be at the gates of Peking. He had advised them on no account to join the Japanese, as Russia would then leave Japan alone and hurl her forces upon them; they would have to pay the piper and Russia w[ou]ld prob[ably] take Chihli as well as Manchuria. He had been asked for his advice by the Empress-Dowager and Prince Ch'ing & had as a friend counselled them to keep aloof. Could I not do the same.

I said I had not seen Prince Ch'ing for some time, but when my opinion had been asked I had given the same advice as himself. I was afraid that if China joined in the whole country would be in flames. But suppose an European country were in the same position, could she without sacrificing her self-respect refrain from taking part. I asked what were the obligations of France in such an event. Wld. she be obliged to join Russia.

He smiled [at Satow's probing question] and said he was not able to tell me exactly, but he thought not. When the counter-declaration of last year wch. followed on the Anglo-Japanese treaty [signed on January 30, 1902] was being discussed he advised against it. What France had gained by her alliance with Russia was the certainty of not being attacked by Germany, but Russia could not help France in the Far East.

I said that in England there was not the slightest feeling of unfriendliness towards France, and we should regret it very much if we found ourselves in the opposite camp to her. Yet we were under obligations to Japan [by the terms of the 1902 Alliance].

He replied that the relations betw[een] London & Paris were such that he thought their efforts would be rather directed towards the maintenance of peace, or to restricting the area of disturbance. He knew that England had given strong advice to the Japanese not to break the peace.

I observed that Russia was an absorbing Power. She aimed at universal domination, being the youngest of the nations, full of sap; Eastern Europe and the whole of Asia was what she aimed at. Just as a century ago Napoleon was able to conquer Europe because of the jealousies of the Powers, so now Russia was enabled to acquire a predominant

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position by reason of our existing jealousies.

He attributed the continued occupation of Manchuria to the military party in Russia, and said that Lessar was quite opposed to it. I responded that I believed that too. Lessar who had negotiated the convention would certainly have desired to see it carried out.

We talked about the absurd reports in the newspapers about an English Viceroy of the Yangtze, and he said that Chang Chih-tung ¹ had sent Liang to him to ask if it was true! I again affirmed my opposition to a partition of China & so did he: how could we possibly find the men to carry it out, and then just think of the difficulties among ourselves.

Hwangpoo. He has written to Paris. The Chinese Minr. in Paris proposed to the Fr. Govt. (and he supposed to ours also) that China shld. take it up with the assistance of European engineers, and the Fr. Govt. had replied that they wld. take it into consideration. After all, they would save us all a great deal of money. I said the Chinese had made no proposal in London, and as far as I knew had mentioned the subject only at Berlin and to Conger. He promised to give me the wording of the Chinese proposal. He talked of various projects that had been put forward from time to time, knowledge of wch. he possessed thro' his term of office at Shanghai.

Carols in the chapel, a delightful success. Dined with the Bowers and looked in at the Anglo-American smoking concert, wch. was extremely poor.

26 [should be 25 Dec.] Dinner of 26. Cockburns, Wilkinsons, Ottewill & his sister, Grays, Bagshawes, Kings, Miss Money, Russell, Kidston, Flaherty, Garstin, Fraser & Ferguson R.A. Freud & Mayall of the Sherwood Foresters, Bowers, Norris & Dr. Gunter. I had asked the six students thro' Eastes, but they were undecided whether they would come, or have a Christmas dinner of their own, and as they did not accept my invitation, I cancelled it. Some played bridge, others hopping matches and various other children's games. Eastes was kept in bed by a cold.

26 Dec. Went to Conger and told him of my instructions about the proceedings of the Bankers' Commission at Shanghai in fixing the rate of exchange in Jany. & July last so low as to

¹ 張之洞 Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909). Chinese classicist and provincial official, one of the foremost reformers of his time. From 1862 to 1882 he was a scholar and educational director, and from 1882 to 1907 he rose from a provincial to a national leader. Politically he supported the dowager empress Tz'u-Hsi who favoured him with many promotions. For 18 years from 1889 he was governor general of Hunan and Hupeh. In 1907 he was summoned to court to become a grand secretary and grand councillor. The severest test of his political sagacity was during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 when he disobeyed an imperial edict to declare war on foreign nations and maintained peace. After the Rebellion collapsed his action was endorsed and praised by the dowager empress. (Abstracted from *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition, 1986). Satow was less complimentary, describing Chang as "an eloquent old ass, unstable as water. His services in keeping things quiet in 1900 have been greatly exaggerated, for he only followed in the wake of Liu Kuwji." (Satow to F.V. Dickins, letter dated July 22, 1904. PRO 30/33 11/6)

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inflict loss on the Chinese, and promised him a copy of my letter to the Doyen, so that he might ask for instructions. The U.S. sent out a Commission to inquire into what had passed, but he did not yet know the result. Also told him confidentially my talk with Dubail the other day [December 24th]. He thinks perh[aps] the Russians may avoid a quarrel with China, in order not to bring France in and so necessitate our joining Japan. He thinks also that even if the Japanese and Russians fight it out, that will by no means settle Far Eastern affairs.

Then to Czikann and found out that Rosthorn apparently did not address anything written to the D.B. in Feby. last on the rate of exchange, as in his report to Vienna he says he has conversed with Conger and Townley.

MacDonald is active in telegraphing 1. privately to me that Dubail is not to be trusted 2. to F.O. that his object in trying to persuade the Chinese to remain neutral is to avoid having to take up the cudgels on behalf of Russia 3. that Scott's opinion that the Emperor of Russia is animated by peaceful intentions is all wrong & 4. that Japan has not seriously considered the question of our alliance with China in the event of war. He seems to be in a critical mood, and to think we are blind to things he sees.

Dined at Rogestvensky's and played bridge, the rooms exceedingly hot.

27 [Dec.] Major Menzies came to call. He talked of Wynne and his secretary Barclay, who acc. to what he says have been very indiscreet in their utterances abt. the Chinese, people and officials, and have not tried to smooth over difficulties regarding the mines. I told him that I understood Yüan was vexed with them for refusing to let the China Merchants' str[s]. [steamers] use the piers at Chin-wang-tao. He thinks disposition to assist the Japanese is a good deal abated, and that they feel their uneasiness.

Wingate he says is a mischief-maker, the cause of most of the friction between military and the Legation, and that it was he who brought to Creagh's notice the passages in Col. O'Sullivan's journal unfavourably commenting on various people (myself among the rest). In fact he has a very low opinion of W.

28 “ Joostens came to see me. I told him abt. the Note I am addressing to the Doyen on the subject of the rate of exchange fixed by the Bankers' commission, & promised to send him a copy. I thought his Govt. had asked H.M.G. to say something at Petersburg abt. his proposals for facilitating the signature of the gold bonds. He promised to teleg. to Brussels abt. the Note.

Yüan Shihkai's action abt. the Kaiping mines and Chin-wang-tao has no interest for him. The Belgian Compagnie d'Orient has ceased to exist. He has heard that Yüan has put a 5% export duty on Kaiping coal.

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Asked him if he knew Col. Thys. ¹ Yes: he is now in low water, his Banque d'Outremer has been a failure the shares being now 90% discount.

Talking of the prob[abilit]y of war he said that Fighting Bob Evans' ² opinion was that the war, if there was one, would be quickly over, as the Russians wld. finish off the Japanese fleet in one battle. The [British-built] ships were good, but the men and officers inefficient. I said that rather surprised me, as I had heard quite a different estimate from English naval officers.

29 [Dec.] Mumm came. Whangpoo conservancy: told him that Dubail sent home by post for his instructions, wch. shows that he is not eager to get them. M. said he wld. lend me copies of the note addressed to German Govt. by Chinese Minister in Berlin, & of their reply, to the effect that they were bound to the other signatories of the Protocol, and cld. not take the matter up unless the others agreed. He supposed the Fr. Govt. had given a similar answer.

Chingwantao and Chang Yi; he had heard at Tientsin that the general opinion was Chang had merely transferred the property to save it fr. the Russians, and that he had been swindled by Hoover and his associates; it was a trust, wch. they took advantage of to sell the property to a Co. in London. I replied that whatever might have been the first intention, Chang Yi eventually executed a bill of sale out and out: The property was now in the hands of a Br. Co. and any attempt to take possession of it would be resisted by me in the same way as in Nov. 1902, when I gave instructions to invite the Chinese manager to lower the Chinese flag, which was done. I did not sympathize with Syndicates or stock exchange speculators, but the Chinese could not be allowed by force to anticipate the decision of a Court of Law.

30 “ Dec. Gatrell writes to tell me Chang Yi has been made to pay 1,000,000 taels for royalties due on Kaiping, and that he greatly blames Wynne. Also that last night he met Joostens going in as he went away from Chang Yi's house.

This fact is a curious commentary on the affected indifference of Joostens when I

¹ In 1886 Albert Thys, captain of the general staff and orderly officer of King Leopold II, founded the first large colonial holding, the Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (CCCI). After that he founded the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo, the Compagnie du Katanga and the Banque d'Outremer. (<http://www.wpb.be/doc/doc/1may96c.htm> accessed July 9, 2005)

² Robley Dungliston Evans (1846-1912), Rear admiral, US Navy. In 1902, he was named Commander of the Asiatic Fleet, a post that he held for two years. Evans died on January 3, 1912. His obituaries described him as personal friends of Admiral Dewey, Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia, Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg (British royalty) and British Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. Rudyard Kipling also knew him personally, and wrote a poem in his name as a tribute to Evans which begins: “Zogbaum draws with a pencil/ And I do things with a pen./ And you sit up in a conning tower/ Bossing eight hundred men.”

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spoke to him on the subject recently.

Morrison came. he says that the Russians are willing to let the Chinese carry on the railway line to Mukden from Hsin-ming-ting, and that the revenue of the extra-mural line has jumped by \$75,000 to \$180,000 per month since the branch was opened.

Hu Yü fên came & told me all about his trip to Hsin ming ting & Port Arthur, where he saw Alexeieff and Plançon, who professed great friendship for China, and said that the hitch that had occurred in the evacuation of Manchuria was owing to the intervention of the Japanese. The Chinese Govt. ought to deal directly with A. & the best thing wld. be to send a high official to Port Arthur where they could confer with each other without any foreign power knowing anything about it. What were the real views of the Chinese govt. They would not wish to see Yüan whom they disliked, as he was also disliked by other foreigners. He replied that he had only come on a railway inspection tour, & had no authority to speak. But he did not mind saying that China attached great importance to the retention of the Administration of the Three Provinces in her hands and the observance of her treaties with other Powers. She did not wish to interfere with the Russian railway, & as to smaller local questions, they could no doubt be arranged. Why did not Russia carry out her original evacuation convention entirely, as she had evacuated the first third. Alexeieff replied that he was very anxious to evacuate, but that the intervention of the Japanese had prevented it. China & Russia were on such friendly terms that there was nothing to prevent their coming to an understanding. Hu abounded in compliments too. The next day was the Emperor Nicholas' name day, and he went early in the morning to offer his congratulations & drink toasts. Coming away he said to Plançon that all the trouble was of his causing by the delivery of his demands in six articles, & it behoved him now to set matters right. Plançon said he wld. write to Lessar.

When he got back here he told Prince Ch'ing all that had passed, who sent him to see Lessar, to whom Plançon had evidently written. Lessar said he had nothing to do with the matter, it was all in Alexeieff's hands, & the best thing they could do wld. be to send a high [official] to confer with him. But Yüan had telegraphed that the negotiations with Japan had now been again taken out of Alexeieff's hands and removed to Petersburg for the Emperor to deal with direct.

Hu also said there had been talk abt. a junction betw. Hsin-ming-ting and Mukden, wch. the Russians suggested China shld. build. Hu replied they had no money, to wch. the officer who drove him about responded that they could borrow any amount from the Russo-Chinese bank. But no English engineers shld. be employed only Chinese, and he asked how many foreign engineers there were at Hsin-ming-ting. Hu replied none. There were three Chinese whom he named, one Englishman at Yingkow and another at some

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other point outside the wall.

31 “ Major W.S. Nathan R.E. recently apptd. to take Wynne's place as Manager of the C. E. & Mining Co. called. He spoke confidently of the success of the Co. in the action brought by Chang Yi, and said that the plttf. lawyers wld. prob. not go on with the case. Some five years ago he was travelling in Honan for the Peking Syndicate. He says the latter want to get out of the affair. They have spent a great deal of money, and have got out of it nothing. They have approached the C.E. & M. Co. with proposals. We are much indebted to the Belgians for coming to our help financially. We could have taken the Luhan railway if we had chosen, but people in England would not put their money into China. There were other places where they could invest it to better account. I told him I did not wish to do more than merely protect the British nationality of the C.E. & M.Co. and not to interfere in the litigation betw. Chang Yi & the Co. He said there was evidently no intention on the part of the Chinese to actively interfere. I said my instructions were that if the Chinese Govt. tried to take forcible possession, to interfere by force to prevent them. He remarked that it was merely a struggle betw. Yüan and Chang. He had seen the latter last night, & had come to the conclusion that it wld. be more politic to support him, and to get him reinstated, wch. could easily be done. Yüan wld. be an interfering man to deal with, while it was certain that with Chang Yi aided by Detring they could get on very well. He cannot understand the attitude of the English out here towards the Co., wch. seemed to be prompted by jealousy. I said that possibly the shareholders were annoyed to see the large sums made by the promoters. That he said was only fair considering the risks they had to run, for the Co. was formed Dec. 20, 1900, when things were most uncertain in China. Edmund Davis he said was a large holder of stock & shares. I had alluded to the fact of the greater part being held in Belgium. There was said to be in it money of the Russian imperial family, & perh. some of the King of Belgium. I had heard that only about £175,000 was held in England. He said there was more; and that the notion that the Belgians wanted to turn it into a Russian concern was absurd. It was of political importance, he thought, that it should remain British. In this I agreed.

Dined at Mumms. Nearly all the colleagues, but Lessar, Conger, Czikann & Uchida, and a number of younger ones, to play bridge till midnight. We agreed that there should be no leaving of cards on each other tomorrow, only on the wives of heads of Missions.

[End of 1903]

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